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Articulating The Path Of Shamanic Transformation

by

Patricia D. Sherlock

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the common social, ritual, and transpersonal experiences of shamans and proposes that they can contribute to the individuation of shamans. These experiences include: the challenge of initiatory experiences to previous perceptions, the acceptance of vocation, training in ritual techniques, numinous experiences, experiences of "psychic" energy, etc.. It is also suggested that some shamans are highly creative individuals whose work as shamans can be compared to that of high level creators identified by creativity theorists (Briggs, 1988). This idea is explored through the examination of the life of a Washo shaman and the application of Briggs synthesis of creativity theory to the ideological and technical vision the shaman developed in his practise.

KEYWORDS: shamanism, states of consciousness, cosmology, ritual experience, transpersonal anthropology, Jung, individuation, symbolism, the Washo, creativity, New Age practises and shamanism.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

There is a long history of European interest in, and reaction to, the practises of indigenous cultures which anthropologists have called shamanism (e.g., Mealing, 1632-73/1963)[1]. "Shamanism", and its practitioners, "shamans", have become a significant part of how we in western societies have represented the "cultural other" to ourselves. This has resulted in moral and intellectual judgments about the value and meaning of shamans's practises and the spirituality of their societies. We are at a time in western intellectual history when re-examinations of the role, practises, data, and ongoing importance of anthropology, are being made within the discipline (Clifford and Marcus, 1986), by the former "subjects" of our investigation (see Prattis, 1985:226-253), and as part of a "crisis of self-reflection in all of science (Laughlin, et al. 1990:xi)." For these reasons it is important to understand the implications of our past and present interpretations of "shamanism", and other tradition-based epistemologies. They will have an impact not only on the future of the discipline, and on our relations with "the other", but are becoming part of a "spiritual" movement within marginal groups[2] in western societies (Ferguson,

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[1] When a document is cited for the first time in the thesis its initial date of publication is indicated followed by the date of the edition that I have used. Thereafter, the publication date for the edition that I have used is cited alone.

[2] Ferguson (1980/1987) documents the growth of a largely informal movement in North American society which represents a paradigm shift from the traditional scientific-materialist worldview and espouses the personal transformation of attitudes, self-awareness, and action in the world (23-43). Likewise, Townsend (1988) documents the the influence of "neo-shamanism" a specific part of this "movement". The characteristically

1980/1987; Townsend, 1988) and increasingly influence[3] our popular culture (Walsh, 1990:3).

(I) STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

This examination of shamanism makes several arguments about the nature of the common experiences of shamans which I will argue demonstrate that the different forms of shamanism are transformative systems for human development. First it will be argued that shamans's experiences of social and personal transformation commonly empower individuals to become master shamans in diverse cross-cultural settings. The concept of master shaman is used to illustrate the transformation[4] of neophyte shamans into mature and

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eclectic approach to personal transformation by individuals within these groups includes participation in such practises as: "traditional" meditation (e.g., Buddhist), psychological approaches (e.g., Jungian, psychodrama), bodywork (e.g., acupuncture), Western occult practises (e.g., Tarot), and alternative healing systems (Jamal, 1987/1988; McGuire, 1989). See chapter three for the discussion of shamanism and New Age practises.

[3] See the work of Castenada (1982), Andrews (1985), Brown (1988), Erdoes (1972/1976) and Shea (1991). Despite the controversies over whether some accounts of shamans are fiction or non-fiction, these popular publications have had an impact on public awareness of "traditional" shamanism and can be seen as part of a broadening interest in Native spirituality and transformative experience (Ferguson, 1987:130). Some commentators have credited Castenada with changing the lives and perceptions of those who have read his books, as have some of his readers (e.g., Erikson in de Mille, 1980:227-235; Ferguson, 1987:95-97; Wilk in de Mille, 1980:158).

[4] References to transformation in this thesis are twofold. First, they refer to the ritual transformations of shamans through altered states of consciousness, such as when the shaman takes on the ritual identity of a spirit helper (e.g., Jonaitas,

empowered practitioners of shamanism. A master shaman is considered to be an individual who uses, and has control over, the ritual techniques of shamanic practise and who lives, and practises, according to a personal vocation and vision. A master shaman is professionally established and recognized by the community and exhibits, at the minimum, an understanding of his, or her, society's cosmology verified by personal phenomenological experience[5].

My second arguement is derived from the proposal of Prattis and others (Laughlin et al. 1990) that the symbol systems of "traditional" societies have, "...an intentionality analogous to Jung's concept of artificially induced individuation and the Buddhist use of meditation symbols (Prattis, 1984:73)." I will argue here that the experiences of personal transformation in shamans exhibit pan-human features which may be archetypal in nature and are evoked through similar ritual experiences and training cross-culturally. It will be shown that experiences resulting from ritually-induced A.S.C.s, and from the social role and expectations of shamans, can lead the individual to experience

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1982); and second, they refer to changes (in self-perception, social status etc.) in individuals in their development from being a shamanic candidate to becoming a master shaman.

[5] The term phenomenology has been used with some ambiguity in psychology and anthropology. The older philosophical definition of the word referred to the basic properties of mind (Laughlin, personal communication). For the convenience of this discussion of shamanism, and because the literature on shamanism in psychology and anthropology makes use of term to refer to "inner" subjective experiences, I will employ Jung's usage. Jung used the term to refer to dreams, visions, inner journeys of revelation, and inner subjective experiences (Jung, 1969/1980:54-55,62)

an altered phenomenology and an integration of personality which results in a personal expression of "power"[6] which transcends that of most people in their society. Specifically, that the common experiences of shamans may contribute to the individuation (Jung, 1977, 1979:123) of some shamans.

Jung defines individuation as, "...a possibility of development immanent in everyone that culminates in rounding out the individual into a psychic whole (Jung in Jacobi, 1967:13)." The application of the concept of "psychic wholeness" cross-culturally will be argued for in the development of the concept of master shaman in chapter seven and in the demonstration of the potential individuation of shamans. Since few people in any society will ever achieve individuation (Jung in Jaffé, 1977:83-84), this "goal" is considered to be an ideal one. Despite the unlikelihood of becoming fully individuated, the overall effect of altered phenomenology in shamans will be shown to be fostered by the empowerment of the individual through ritual systems of transformation and the social sanctioning of the shaman's role. I will argue here that shamanic experiences can combine an innate human potential for individuation with a particular course of training in shamanic methods, awareness, and personal vocation, which potentially produce a master shaman

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[6] In shamanic societies "power" is considered to be the basis of all life and the capacity to make use of "power" is equated with "success" in any endeavour. See the section in chapter two entitled, "The Shaman-Layman Distinction", and the discussion of, "Power And Energy Systems In Shamanic Worldviews", in chapter three, for further discussion of this concept.

who embodies "wholeness". The sudden changes and gradual unfolding of this process within individual shamans is described as shamanic transformation.

The concept of empowerment is central to the idea of becoming a master shaman, and potentially individuated. The concept has three aspects which are applied to this discussion. First, it refers to the production of an altered phenomenology in an individual resulting from "ego-transcending experiences" which may include: dreams, ritually-induced experience, spontaneous visions, etc. (Tart, 1975). I will show that these experiences can produce changes in self-perception and self-other perception[7], which result in an individual's increased capacity to act in the world. In shamanistic societies this transformation is characterized as the acquisition of "power" (Eliade, 1974:67-109; Kalweit, 1984/1988:121).

The second aspect of empowerment referred to here is that of ritual authorization (see Given, 1990:8). Ritual authorization is embodied in social rites which convey on the prospective shaman certain rights and obligations to further training and esoteric knowledge. Receiving ritual authorization involves either experiencing a formal initiation ceremony which confirms the signs of inner transformation which have already begun to occur in an individual (Eliade, 1964/1974:110), or a formal rite in which a shaman-teacher

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[7] References to self-other perception in this thesis refer to the individual's relationship with all aspects of the world which are external to conscious ego awareness. For shamans this includes the "supernatural", and the physical and social environment. Specifically, other people, and "supernatural" entities and forces.

conveys certain "powers" on a student, or enacts a ritual to provide
"supernatural" protection to the prospective in the work and training that he,
or she, is about to undertake (Rasmussen, 1976b:112).   A third feature of
empowerment is found in the "example" of mature shamans and combines the
inner and outer forms of empowerment. I will demonstrate that in master
shamans, the ritual authorization and social recognition which control outward
behaviour and status. correspond with the individual's experience of inner
empowerment and altered phenomenology. The idea of integrated
empowerment is also related to the third central argument of the thesis, that
the common features of shamanic experience are associated with a high level
of creativity in some shamans, and that the expression of this creativity is part
of the nature of their empowerment. This arguement is explored in the
examination of the creative life of a Washo shaman in chapter seven.

(II) THE THEORETICAL CONTEXT: THE SHAMAN AS "THE OTHER"

The point of departure for this thesis lies in the recognition that western
discourses have tended to perpetuate ethnocentric, "cognicentric" (Harner,
1980/1986:xvii)[8], and specifically, "orientalist" (Said, 1979), representations of

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[8] The term cognicentric refers to, "...the analogue in
consciousness to ethnocentrism (Harner, 1986:xvii)", whereby an
attitude is held that is based on inexperience with states of
consciousness other than that of the "waking state", and which
regards such states of consciousness as dreaming, or ritual-
induced states, as inferior to "waking" or "ordinary
consciousness".

shamans. Following the "tradition" of Foucault (1972/1980), Said's (1979) discussion of orientalism provides a deconstruction of the hegemonic discourses of the west which have presented a picture of the "nature of reality" which has prevailed over those of others (7-8), including shamanic cultures. Said shows that, "The orient is a style of discourse based · an ontological and epistemological distinctions made between "the Orient" and (most of the time) the Occident (2)." This discourse provides a definition of normalcy in terms of "waking consciousness". As Harner (1986) observes this has lead to a cognicentric perspective in western discourse which has made the altered states of consciousness (A.S.C.s), which shamans experience, suspect (e.g., Noll, 1985). The assumption of this discourse is that "normalcy" exists only in "waking" consciousness, a perspective which has been shown to be invalid in Bourguignon's cross-cultural study of altered states (1972). Using Murdock's Ethnographic Atlas (1967), in which data on 488 societies is listed, Bourguignon has identified that 437, or 89%, of these societies make use of institutionalized forms of dissociation, or ritually altered states (Lex, 1979:118). More recently, Korp's 1992 study of western "earth work" artists has demonstrated that, westerners, without the template of culturally defined and ritually induced altered states (besides the common ones such as dreaming and drug-induced states), do experience A.S.C.s..[9] The argument is made by Lex

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[9] While there has been a tendency to characterise western cultures as having a monophasic consciousness (e.g., Laughlin, 1989a:18), it should be noted that a number of subcultures within North America do provide ritual templates for the experience of

(1979), Harner (1986), Laughlin et al. (1990), and others, that A.S.C.s are part of an innate and "normal" biopsychological propensity in the human species.

The western position of "complex hegemony" (Said, 1979:5) over "the other" has been enforced through relations of colonialism, neocolonialism, and first and fourth world relationships, with shamanic cultures in the east and elsewhere. An example of western hegemonic discourses is found in the portrayals of shamans in academic and popular venues in the west which have been both denigrating and romanticizing (Walsh, 1990:3). This corresponds with the construction of "the Orient" which, Said (1979) observes "...has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the west (5)." As an academic and popular subject shamanism was created by western discourse. Even the word "shaman" is a western construct with its origin in the context of Tungus culture (Eliade, 1974:495).

A.S.C.s.. For example, among religious fundamentalists (glossolalia), in "New Age" practises (see chapter three), spiritualists (Mishlove, 1983), and among immigrants bringing with them ritual practises from around the world (Heinze, 1991), etc.. The useful application of the concept of monophasic consciousness to North American societies refers to, a tendency in society to, "institutionally value experiences occurring only in normal waking consciousness (Laughlin et al., 1991:293)." The institutional limitations on experiencing states of consciousness other than "waking consciousness" can be seen in attempts made by the Catholic Church to control the legitimization of visionary experience, something which Noll (1985:444) documents back to the Middle Ages, and is still an issue for the church today (see "Time" magazine December 30, 1992).

Said (1979) also proposes that the contrast which is made between orient and occident, with its differential relations in power (5), serves to strengthen occidental identity (3). For example, the contrast between "savage", or "primitive" cultures (including shamanic cultures) and "civilized" cultures, has served to help westerners shape their identity. Said observes that in these hegemonic relationships there has been no possibility of "oriental" objection to western power and discourse about them (7-8)." The idea of "savage" versus "civilized" has had a long tradition in the interaction between shamanic peoples and missionaries (among other westerners) in diverse parts of the world (e.g., Mealing, 1963). As "savages", or "heathens", shamans, and their behaviour, were often equated with diabolic "possession" (Inglis, 1989:22), and from this discourse which condemned "savagery" came the suppression of "savage" practises. Among the "four commandments" issued by Bishop Durieu to the Gulf of Georgia Salish in the 1860s were the injunctions to stop consulting shamans, and to stop potlatching, ceremonial dancing, and gambling (Lemmert in Jilek, 1982:11). Similarly, the Catholic Church and Spanish legal authorities in South America persecuted shamans from the time of the Spanish conquest (Sharon, 1978:3).

A particular example of hegemonic discourse which combines western constructions of "normalcy", and the separation between the west and the "primitive", is found in the ethnopsychiatric and psychoanalytically-influenced literature in anthropology. This influential discourse has denigrated the

behaviour of shamans and equated it with psychopathology (Sherlock, 1989). It depicted shamans as mentally ill individuals who used the social role of shaman in order to find a useful place in their societies when they would otherwise have been handicapped (e.g., Devereux, 1956, 1957; Linton, 1956). It also applied a range of "diagnoses" of the types of mental illnesses that shamans were said to exhibit, from schizophrenia to "arctic hysteria" (Sherlock, 1989).

The treatment of shamanism in anthropology is part of a discourse which focused on the origins and nature of religions and asserted a "taxonomy of religion" in which it was argued there has been an "evolutionary gradation" of religious structures from animism to polytheism to monotheism (Evans-Pritchard, 1965:11). The origin of religions were believed to be found in fetishism and animism (Evans-Pritchard, 1965:20). Evans-Pritchard traces this progressionist theory of religious types back to Charles de Brosse, a contemporary of Voltaire, but it is from the nineteenth century progressionist theories (e.g., Tylor) that we may see how the largely negative portrayal of magico-religious practises developed. Shamanism was associated with animism, the earliest, and therefore, supposedly most "primitive", form of religion in the progressionist taxonomy. A competing idea of the day was the concept of the degradation of religious types which proposed that the religions of "primitive peoples" represented a regression from a previously more "civilized" state (Evans-Pritchard, 1965:11; Wallace, 1966:10ff). Such an interpretation does

nothing to improve the status of "primitive religion", and anthropologists have tended to be influenced more by progressionist theories (11).

One evolutionist, Edward Tylor (1873), proposed that religion functions to explain to human beings such phenomena as death, dreaming, trance[10], and unusual altered states of consciousness (Geertz, 1989:7). Tylor argued that the origin of religion was to be found in the idea of souls which was derived from these experiences. He proposed that if you could dream of someone who is dead then the idea of "doubleness" arises and the concept of souls (Evans-Pritchard, 1965:23-24). From the concept of souls, he believed, was derived the idea of spirits and from spirits that of God (35). Tylor also presented the idea that "religions of the lower races", with their animistic belief systems, lacked a connection between morality and their belief systems, in contrast with those of later religions. Tylor judges them to be unmoral, rather than immoral (Radcliffe-Brown, 1968:170), in comparison with the morality of the "great" religions. As Radcliffe-Brown points out, however, the distinction that Tylor makes between the morality of animists and other religions may be based more on the differences between western morality and those of animists, rather than

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[10] The word _trance_ has a long history of imprecise usage in western thought, by anthropologists (Walsh, 1990:217) in popular culture, and in academia (see Inglis, 1989). It has been used to identify a number of A.S.C. states experienced by shamans including: "possession" states, a range of ritually induced altered states, induced through the "tuning" of the autonomic nervous system through drumming, etc., and states induced through the use of hallucinogens (Harner, 1973). The term A.S.C. will be used here to include those states referred to as "trance" states in the literature, with the proviso that it includes "range" of altered states which shamans experience (Heinze, 1991).

on any other reason. Thus the contrast between "primitive" and "civilized" in orientalizing discourse has placed shamanism at the bottom of the scale in evolutionary terms and in a questionable position in the moral evaluations of the west.

What Tylor did contribute was the idea that "primitive peoples", were rational, even though their religious views and cultures were "limited" (Evans-Pritchard, 1965:23). This is not a recognition of essential equality, but goes further than some psychoanalytic researchers did at a later date, as we shall see. In agreement with other evolutionists, Tylor also demonstrated "the universality of religious experience (Webber, 1980:4)."

Another evolutionary theoretician, James Frazer, proposed (drawing from Comte) that there were, "three stages of intellectual development, from magic to religion, and from religion to science (Evans-Pritchard, 1965:27). He applied this to the epistemologies of "cultural others" with his assessment that

> ...the shrewder intelligences probably discovered that magic did
> not really achieve its ends, but, still being unable to overcome
> their difficulties by empirical means and to face to their crises
> through a refined philosophy, they fell into another illusion, that
> there were spiritual beings who could aid them. In course of time
> the shrewder intelligences saw that spirits were equally bogus, an
> enlightenment which heralded the dawn of experimental science
> (in Evans-Pritchard, 1965:27-28).

Such a formulation, besides having been criticised for the lack of fieldwork data to support it (Evans-Pritchard, 1965:28), carries in it the dominant arguments of western discourse against the epistemologies of shamanic cultures. It is cognicentric and scientistic. That is, it is scientistic because it

presumes an 'ideology of science wherein science is held to embody the highest values (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1979:371)'. This tendency towards scientistic thinking is supported by the fact that many of the major figures discussing religion in the nineteenth century were agnostics or atheists (15) and "primitive religion was with regard to its validity no different than any other religious faith, an illusion (15)."

The evolutionary schemas of Tylor and others (Evans-Pritchard, 1965) were questioned by Radcliffe-Brown (1968:170) and later researchers, and their varied taxonomies shared the difficulty of being impossible to verify (Wallace, 1966:8). Radcliffe-Brown drew on Durkheim, Fustel de Coulanges, and other functionalists (176) to develop a theory of the "social function of religion" (176). Radcliffe-Brown regarded religions, especially those of "primitive" people, as largely "systems of erroneous and illusory beliefs (1952/1968:153)", but he argued that by focusing on social rites rather than beliefs we can see that they serve the aims of social solidarity. This is accomplished by allowing individuals to release emotion through ritual expression (157) while controlling their behaviour in relation to others (160); by generating courage needed to defend the society from outside (161); and, by providing solidarity to social structure through the continuity of lineages through ancestor worship (164).

Malinowski (1948/1954) with his own brand of functionalism proposed that religion serves the psychological function of alleviating anxiety and giving

human beings confidence in areas where anxiety is evoked (the "supernatural",

physical environment, etc.). His focus on the alleviation of anxiety through

ritual was on the individual, as opposed to Radcliffe-Brown's emphasis on the

relief of anxiety was so that the individual could contribute to social solidarity.

He emphasized the biopsychological needs of individuals as the basis of

secondary social needs and therefore the impetus for social institutions, such

as, religion, magic, and ritual (Malinowski 1973/1988·277, 289-291). Following

the lead of Frazer, Malinowski considered magic to be a pseudoscience, an

attempt to rationally establish cause and effect, but a limited one, based on

false beliefs (Malinowski, 1954:28ff; Wallace, 1966:8). His contribution to

understanding what was considered to be the "primitive mind", was to show

that "primitive thought" reaches sophisticated levels of expression and

distinguishes clearly between "mystical-magical and empirical-pragmatic

thinking" (Geertz, 1989:13).

The structuralism of Levi-Strauss, argues for underlying "deep

structures" of the mind which are common to all humanity and inform the

transformations of surface structures (myth, ritual, kinship systems etc.). He

sees "religious" symbol systems as "communications systems" (Geertz, 1989:14),

which operate by synchronically producing transformations at the level of

surface categories which mirror deep structure. As Prattis (1991:113) observes,

Levi-Strauss failed to appreciate the importance of the experiential

transformation of the individual within the categories, such as within the

mythic-symbolic systems of transformative ritual practises, which occur diachronically (e.g., initiation). It is problematic that the entire category of transpersonal experience is ignored in Levi-Strauss's focus on the "horizontal" relations between categories. For these reasons it is necessary to examine "transformation" through other means. One set of approaches that have had a long history of influence in anthropology are psychological theories.

The psychological approaches to studying "religious behaviour" have left their mark in both anthropology and ethnopsychiatry and have been important influences on the western representation of shamans. Freudian and Jungian "schools" have both played a role, however, Freudian influence has predominated (Wallace, 1966:22). Freud (1927/1964) considered religion and "religious" behaviour, to be a type of symptom formation (Wallace, 1966:13). Freudian based analyses considered myth, religion, ritual and religious experience as,

> ...a symbolic form a neurotic compromise between Oedipal wishes and super-ego commands; and second, that the fantastic repressions, denials, displacements, reaction formations, and other defensive manoeuvres institutionalized by religion are a necessary but painful discipline imposed on an immature humanity incapable, for the time being, of rational ego control of sexual and aggressive instincts (Wallace, 1966:13-14)

I have argued that some of the most negative and inaccurate representations of shamans have come from this psychoanalytic discourse (Sherlock, 1989). By contrast, Wallace (1966) summarizes the Jungian contribution to the study of religion as Jung's recognition of religion as both a 'cultural product and as an

experience which integrates the individual intrapersonally and with society (22).' Jung, "...took the position that 'primary-process thinking' [A.S.C.s] was an ordinary and natural mode of consciousness (Larsen, 1988:25)", in contrast with the cognicentric orientation of psychoanalytic theory. Although the influence of Jung in anthropology has been less than that of Freud, in the last twenty years some scholars, a few anthropologists (Sharon, 1978), and psychologists (Larsen, 1988), have drawn upon Jungian psychology, with its emphasis on psychological maturation, as a means to approach the subject of shamanism without assuming that the shaman-psychopath equation is correct.

Some recent approaches in anthropology (Laughlin et al. 1990; Turner, 1988, 1986; Webber, 1980) have also concluded that "religious practises" and ritual systems are more than schemas of "erroneous beliefs' important for social solidarity, relieving anxiety, and accommodating psychopathology. The "anthropology of experience" (Turner and Bruner, 1986) recognizes that we can build "maps" of phenomenology which are maps of the experience of individuals, rather than just maps of social structure or posited "evolutionary leaps" in human cognition. Specifically, that these maps of subjective experience are drawn from the representations of experience which exist in a "forest" of multi-vocal symbols and relations within a culture. That through the unfolding of these symbol systems within the consciousness of individuals they can articulate a reality which facilitates processes of phenomenological transformation within the individual (see Turner, 1967, Webber, 1980).

These perspectives assert that "religious systems" use highly complex and evocative symbol systems which are "spiritual technologies" capable of opening an individual to inner transformation through ritual (Laughlin et al. 1990; Webber, 1980). Furthermore, that the "content" and experiences of ritual can be distinguished from each other by identifying specific cultural content and distinguishing it from pan-human content (4-5). One of these perspectives, transpersonal anthropology (Laughlin et al. 1990; Webber, 1980) is particularly useful in providing a framework for the investigation of A.S.C.s in shamans. Transpersonal anthropology was derived in the mid-seventies from transpersonal psychology (Laughlin, 1989a:17), and shares an interest in, 'seeing the significance of human experience which "transcends" the boundaries of ordinary ego-consciousness (17).' Krippner outlines these interests as:

> ...meta-needs, ultimate values, unitive consciousness, peak experiences, ecstasy, mystical experience, self-actualization, transcendence of self, sacralization of everyday life, cosmic awareness, individual and species-wide synergy, transcendental phenomena, and the theories and practise of meditation and spiritual paths (Krippner, 1981:11).

It is an approach which explores with the types of "extraordinary" experiences shamans[11] have including: dreams, experiences of psi phenomena

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[11] The term transpersonal experience will be used to refer to the range of A.S.C.s that shamans experience (visions, dreams etc.) which are a part of the individual's phenomenology. They are considered to be synonymous with A.S.C. experiences which are labelled "extraordinary" in some sources (see Laughlin et al., 1990). They correspond with the research interests of transpersonal anthropology and psychology as Krippner (1981) outlines above.

(clairvoyance, telepathy etc.)[12], ecstatic experiences, spontaneous visions, spirit contact, etc. I would argue that the importance of these transpersonal methods of understanding ritual experience is that they have the capacity to explore the universality of "religious" experience both for the group and the individual.

(III) A HOLISTIC APPROACH TO SHAMANISM

There has been a tendency to focus studies of shamanism on either: (1) external sociocultural factors in functionalist (sociological) approaches (e.g., social role), which tend to ignore the phenomenological experiences of shamans; or, (2) to emphasize psychological approaches which investigate A.S.C.s, the use of psychedelics, etc. (Drury, 1989:5).' I will argue that both the "inner" and "outer" experiences of the shaman are significant to the understanding shamanic transformation, indeed, that the analytic separation of the two is itself problematic from the perspective of individual experience. For this reason I draw on several theoretical approaches to explore shamanism in this thesis.

These approaches are: analytic psychology (Jung, 1969; Jacobi, (1967), Jaffé (1983), Hall (1983), Von Franz (1975)) ; transpersonal anthropology

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[12] Mishlove (1983) describes psi phenomena as, "...the generic term for uncanny or ostensibly paranormal phenomena (1)." In this document experiences which western cultures, and the literatures on shamanism describe as clairvoyance, precognition, telepathy, ESP, are considered to be a central part of experiences reported by shamans (Heinze, 1991; Walsh, 1990).

(Laughlin et al. 1990: Webber, 1980) and transpersonal psychology (Kalweit, 1988; Grof, 1988; Tart, 1975); creativity theory (Briggs, 1988); and the use of some concepts from humanistic psychology (Maslow, 1962/1968, 1976).

The data used about shamanism and transpersonal experience in this thesis are drawn from the anthropological literature on shamanism[13], psychoanalytically-informed analyses of shamans and shamanism, and some investigations of shamanism and "extraordinary" experience by transpersonal psychology (Grof, 1988; Kalweit, 1988).

It is argued that transpersonal anthropology is useful to the explorations of this thesis because its practitioners are aware of the necessity of having 'anthropologists experience transformations of consciousness analogous to those experienced by cultural others, in order to gain an approximate understanding of the potential for personal transformation in such experiences (Laughlin, 1989a).' Following the example of transpersonal anthropologists (cf., Laughlin et al. 1990) I also draw upon my transpersonal experiences, to elucidate the interpretations I make about shamanic experiences.

The transpersonal approach finds its orientation in Tart's proposal that we become "state-specific scientists" (Laughlin, 1989a:20) and make personal

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[13] For the sake of convenience I will adopt the format outlined by Ruth-Inge Heinze in the Proceedings of the International Conference on Shamanism II. Berkeley, CA: Independent Scholars of Asia, 1984, p.vi., which states that, "The term 'shamanistic' is used for shaman-like activities which can be carried out by someone other than a shaman, while the term 'shamanic' indicates that these activities are carried out by somebody who actually is a shaman." See this note in Lukoff (1990-1991:29).

explorations of A.S.C.s (Tart, 1975). Researchers in transpersonal anthropology consider the impact of A.S.C.s on anthropological data and ask whether, "the nature of reality being observed is determined to some extent by the state of consciousness of the observer ? (Laughlin, 1989a:20)." And if so, whether science should not, "... require scientists to be trained to enter all relevant states of consciousness so as to observe reality from the fullest possible perspective ? (1989a:20)." Although, "The common wisdom about transcendent moments is that they can never be properly communicated, only experienced (Ferguson, 1987:66)", transpersonal researchers assert that, "...it is an evasion of scientific responsibility to take refuge in the claim of ineffability and attempt no description of experience whatsoever (Laughlin, 1989a:23)."

The idea of using a state-specific approach to data collection is also related to the issue of the quality of data that anthropologists receive from informants who are in a position to control such data (see Griaule, 1965/1975). Given (1990) argues that, "...it is likely that the sorts of explanations that are offered to a naive questioner [often the anthropologist] are very different than those likely to be offered to a fellow practitioner [of transformative ritual practises] (21)."

The "classical" anthropological method of participant observation (Burgess, 1985:78ff) is being redefined in transpersonal research by investigators whose criteria of "participation" has expanded to include studying as apprentice shamans, and undertaking "transpersonal journeys" (e.g., Harner,

1986; Halifax, 1988; Heinze, 1991; Sharon, 1978). I believe, however, that anthropological forays into this type of research are in their infancy. Laughlin (1989a) observes that, 'few anthropologists have made the effort to experience A.S.C.s (18).' What has been accomplished illustrates that anthropologists are capable of expanding their methodological-epistemological tool kit, to make the same sort of lifetime commitment to this kind of research that shamans make to their vocation. To my knowledge there has been no long term study of shamanism within a single culture by an anthropologist which is the equivalent a shaman's lifetime practise.

There are several points of connection between transpersonal approaches and analytic psychology that make it appropriate to integrate them in this thesis. The first is the importance ascribed to "inner" experiences and spiritual life (Lee, 1981:10), especially, in their focus on both the diachronic and synchronic aspects of human development. Second, both transpersonal and Jungian scholars explore processes which are held to culminate in the most mature expression of human experience. They are described as, "individuation" (Jung, 1977), "self-actualization" (Maslow, 1968), or "wholeness" (Grof, 1988:165). Third, they have a common regard for the significance of the inner experiences of the researcher as data. There is an understanding that the researcher must be self-reflexive enough to see where personal projections and epistemological assumptions may influence their data (Prattis, 1985:266-280). Fourth, both "schools" have gathered data cross-culturally and from different

historical periods. They consider experiences which alter consciousness to be important and "normal" pan-human traits, and have research interests in the areas of dreamwork, mental imagery cultivation (M.I.C.), consciousness, and personal, and socially scripted, symbol systems. They also recognize the importance of ritual (Jung 1959/1980:117; Johnson, 1986; Von Franz 1975). Finally, they support the transformative capacity of human beings and seek to understand the ultimate mystery of human experience.

The major difference that exists between analytic psychology and transpersonal anthropology is that the cross-cultural work of Jungians is essentially consists of reading texts about, and from, other cultures without using anthropological methods of fieldwork. This limitation is redressed in this thesis through the incorporation of ethnographic data and the approach of transpersonal anthropology.

There are several areas of similarity between the experiences and roles of some <u>anthropologists, shamans, and Jungian practitioners</u> which make this holistic approach appropriate. All three groups are involved in the explication of <u>patterns</u> as a significant part of recognizing, understanding, and conveying meaning which may have a transformative effect on their clients and communities (see chapter seven for this argument for shamans). They operate as <u>technicians,</u> while seeking to expand their own worldview, and that of their fellows, through the explorations of A.S.C.s etc.. They also share the challenge

of balancing transpersonal experiences with their social roles and professional expertise in their daily lives.

Jung's commitment to a lengthy and sometimes trying personal journey toward consciousness in his life (Jung, 1961/1965; Stern, 1976) had much in common with the transformative experiences of shamans and some anthropologists. He developed some of his own means of using A.S.C.s and accessing the unconscious[14], and functioned in the "shamanic role" for all of his adult life. Thus both transpersonal anthropology and analytic psychology elucidate many of the facets of experiences which I will argue are common to shamans.

(IV) EXPLORATIONS IN TRANSPERSONAL FIELDWORK

Transpersonal anthropologists point out that it is not necessary to have phenomenologically identical experiences in order to approximate those of the "cultural other" and gain an understanding of the nature of transpersonal experiences (Laughlin, 1989a:20-22). Therefore, I have grounded my theoretical understanding of transpersonal experiences in my own A.S.C. experiences and expanded the scope of my understanding by comparing it with the documentation on shamanism.

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[14] Jung developed the active imagination technique, his own approach to dream analysis, and word association tests, for accessing the unconscious. The first two require that the subject access altered states of consciousness (Johnson, 1986).

The basis of my personal interaction with the thesis topic is found in the incorporation of accounts of my transpersonal and other experiences in "Creative Focusing" for one and a half years, from December 1988 to July 1990. Creative Focusing (C.F.) is a contemporary meditative-transformative practise, which has been in existence for about seven years. This practise does not have any official name so, with the permission of my meditation teacher, I have decided to refer to it as "Creative Focusing".

During the time I participated in C.F. I studied with two teachers who are initiated masters in this work. I have worked with each of them for two to three hours every week for three to four months. During the interval between these periods I occasionally attended C.F. seminars which lasted about six hours each day. I have also attended one weekend seminar, and one single-day seminar, with the central teacher who is the originator of this practise. From September to December 1990 I attended a weekly gathering of meditators in a group which was not part of C.F. for the purpose of continuing meditative work, and have subsequently continued on my own. Further discussion of the nature of the C.F. practise, and my experience in it, is found in chapter three.

I have made other explorations of transpersonal experience by practising dream analysis for twenty months on an almost daily basis beginning in April 1988 and since then have occasionally continued dream work. I feel that the experiences and change that these practises have brought to my life constitute a shift in my own worldview to such an extent that they represent a new life

orientation, and are not simply a means to gather data about transpersonal experience.

My fieldwork explorations have had a direct bearing on the organization and approach to this thesis in two significant ways:

1) As a basis for examining the phenomenological accounts of shamans's transpersonal experiences in the anthropological and psychological literature.

2) In the identification of the common types of transpersonal experiences of shamans.

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter two discusses the definitions of shamans that have occurred in the anthropological literature and the consequences of using some of these definitions. Chapter three focuses on the common features of shamanic societies and illustrates how shamans fit into the cycle of meaning (see figure 1) within such societies. A synopsis of the process of shamanic development during the period up to and including the formal initiation of the shaman is provided in chapter four. In chapter five, "The Pathway of Continuing Knowledge", key types of common shamanic experiences are explored with an emphasis on the continuity of experience from the point of initiation. Chapter six follows with a discussion of the personal articulation of worldviews by maturing shamans and the attributes of personality, technical capacity, and the integration of "inner" and "outer" empowerment in master shamans. An analysis of the lifehistory of a Washo shaman is made in chapter seven, which illustrates the creative

accomplishments of some master shamans. Chapter eight closes with a

discussion of the conclusions and implications of this research for our

discipline and for the shaman-informants who have made the work of

anthropologists possible. The common experiences of shamans, as they are

outlined in chapters four through seven, are presented in figure 2 at the end of

chapter three. These chapters correspond with the following sections of the

diagram: chapter four (A-C), chapter five (D-E), chapter six (E-F), and chapter

seven (G).

CHAPTER TWO: WHO IS A SHAMAN ?

There are probably as many definitions of the word shaman and interpretations of the nature of shamans's practises as there are writers about the subject. The labels shaman, medicine man, wizard, sorcerer, witch, seer, witchdoctor, indigenous healer, and others, have been used interchangeably by some scholars to describe the same type of practitioner (e.g., Eliade, 1974:3). Others have used them to differentiate between types of practitioners (e.g., Dixon, 1908; Loeb, 1929). Definitions used by anthropologists have often reflected disciplinary fascinations with different aspects of shamanic practise (Walsh, 1990:8-9). This chapter examines where some of the influential definitions of the shaman have come from, how they have influenced anthropology's treatment of the subject, and provides the definition that is used here. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section provides the definition which I will use; section two discusses Eliade's influential definition of the shaman; the third section compares shamans to other magico-religious practitioners; and, section four provides a summary of the arguments for the definition that I will use.

(I) THE SHAMAN DEFINED

A shaman is considered to be, 'a practitioner in any of a family of traditions which includes men and women who voluntarily enter A.S.C.s to

contact and utilize what are coded as "hidden realities"[15]. They experience A.S.C.s as journeying to these other realms, either by themselves, or with their spirit helpers, in order to acquire "power" or knowledge to help others (Harner, 1986:20; Walsh, 1990:11).' Their work is generally "consistent with the values of the community (Klopfer and Boyer, 1961)" in contrast with the activities of people who are referred to as "sorcerers" or "witches" (e.g., Handelman, 1972).

Shamanism is understood to be a "family of traditions" (Walsh, 1990:11), in the sense that not all practitioners who fall within the general definition provided above have identical methods of accessing A.S.C. experiences, nor do they have identical socially defined areas of responsibility, although there are strong similarities cross-culturally. For example, some societies have more than one type of shaman, all of whom may contribute to the good of the community in some way, and use the knowledge gained from A.S.C.s to do so (e.g., Eliade, 1974:184-189, Grim, 1983). In some cultures different levels of functioning are distinguished among shamans, based on personal ability, training, and calling (Grim, 1983; Szeged, 1968). There are also some healers

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[15] The term "hidden realities" is used to refer to what are identified in shamanic epistemologies as planes of existence beyond that of the earth. These "planes" are believed to have the power to affect human life. It is also believed that individuals can experience (enter) these planes through the use of ritual techniques (which induce A.S.C.s.). Included in this definition is not only the "sacred geography" of shamanic cosmologies (Eliade, 1974:259 ff), but also their "content" in the form of spirits, ghosts, divinities, and forces who are believed to dwell there. The latter are also referred to as "supernatural forces".

and spiritual adepts who combine shamanic practise, as defined above, with the characteristics of other types of practise, but who will be considered shamans here because of their shamanic content (Harner, 1988:9).

(II) ELIADE: THE CLASSICAL DEFINITION OF THE SHAMAN

The stricter definitions of the shaman that have influenced anthropology were derived from early fieldwork done among the Siberian and Central Asian hunting and herding cultures (e.g., Czaplinka, 1914/1969, Shirokogoroff, 1935). The characteristics of shamanism derived from these cultures were synthesized in the work of Eliade (1974), who has influenced most recent attempts to produce a strict definition of shamanism and has often had an implicit impact on broader definitions (Doore, 1988).

Eliade (1974) proposes that, "Shamanism in the strict sense is pre-eminently a religious phenomenon of Siberia and Central Asia (4)." The main attributes of the shamanic practises of this area include: a technique of ecstasy referred to as "magical flight" (5), in which the shaman's soul leaves the body and flies to the sky world or descends to the lower world; feats of magic, such as mastery over fire (5); the voluntary use of spirits (6); possessing an ideology of a world centre and levels of reality above and below the earth (259), the use of this ideology as, "...the itinerary for their ecstatic journeys (226); the use of a costume that, "constitutes a religious hierophany and cosmography (145)"; and

an archaic belief in a "Supreme Being", even where a later focus on ancestors, semi-divine and divine beings, replaced it (505-506).

Eliade (1974) argues that his definition "...has the advantage of presenting a structure in which elements that exist independently elsewhere in the world...- are here already found with a particular ideology and validating specific techniques (6)." He identifies these techniques and ideologies among, "...the primitive peoples of Australia, the Malay Archipelago, South America, North America and other regions (502-503)." Some examples are also cited for Europe, such as among the Lapps (172,223-224) and Hungarian taltos (225). From this definition other scholars have found that, "...wherever the system of shamanism manifests itself today, even vestigially, it is apt to do so with a similar fundamental Weltanschauung and cosmology, with similar techniques, and sometimes with similar symbols, if not in detail then at least in underlying meaning (Furst, 1977:6)." Faron finds such correspondences in the practises and ideology of the Mapuche (Araucanian) of Chile and Argentina, who are presumably descendants of Paleo-Indian migrants who arrived in South America 15,000 to 20,000 years ago. He describes a photograph of a Mapuchen shaman pounding her circular drum atop the notched pole that stands for the world tree (as well as her own celestial ascent) and observes that she could at first sight be mis'aken for her counterpart in Siberia (Faron in Furst, 1977:6). This strict definition of Northeast Asian shamanism, applied cross-culturally by Eliade, has become a "classical" definition of shamanism in

the anthropological literature and is referred to by scholars of other disciplines as well (e.g., Walsh, 1990).

Several issues emerge from using Eliade's focus on the practises of Siberia and Central Asia (1974:495ff) as the basis of a "classical" definition. First, there is the question of the origin of shamanism in the cultures of Siberia and Central Asia and how that particular type of shamanism came into being. Second, there is the issue of the origin of the word itself which has been explored in attempts to discover the origin of shamanism[16]. Third, Eliade cites archaic archaeological evidence which raises the possibility that some forms of practises and ideology which are later identified as "shamanic" in Eliade's strict definitions had precursors in earlier periods and in far-flung geographical locations.

Eliade (1974), in agreement with Shirokogoroff, identifies a significant influence from the spread of Buddhist lamaist practises on the configuration of shamanic practises that he considers to be characteristic of "strict" definitions of shamans (496-498). For example, techniques of ecstasy used for controlling

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[16] Eliade (1974) and others have proposed that the word shaman was derived from the Tungus word saman, via Russian (4), and originally might have come from South Asian sources (496). Eliade also cites the possibility of other influences, such as the Pali word, smana, which was thought by nineteenth century scholars to have been derived from the Chinese sha-men, before that idea was rejected (1974:495-496). Dioszegi tells us that the word shaman comes from the from the verb "to know" (1974: 638). Another source, suggests that the Vedic word sram, "meaning to heat oneself or practise austerities" is the root for shaman (Blacker in Halifax, 1979:3). The origin of the word shaman, and the origin of shamanic practises are not likely to ever be totally resolved.

spirits (499), most of the names of spirits (496) and their importance in the practise (499), the use of the drum (497), the mirror (498), aspects of costume (497), and the paintings of shamans (497), all appear to have come into Tungus shamanism from these sources (496, 497), and most are also found in other shamanic peoples of this area of Asia.

Eliade (1974) did not, however, assume that shamanism in Northeast Asia was an altogether foreign phenomenon, but agreed with Shirokogoroff, that Tungus shamanism is a case of "shamanism stimulated by Buddhism" (498), and is "not the creation of Buddhism (498)". Eliade argues that there were local practises based on an earlier sky god cult and cult of the dead (499), prior to the spread of these influences. While later shamans do not officiate at the rites of the sky god, nor are they normally involved in rites for the dead, "...shamanic seances still contain a number of elements that could be regarded as celestial", and the shamanic symbolism of ascent occurring at the time when classical definitions of shamanism were derived, was still documented in the local ideology (499). Eliade proposes that, "Shamanism has its very profound roots in the social system and psychology of animistic philosophy characteristic of the Tungus and other shamanists (Mironov and Shirokogoroff in Eliade, 1974:498)."

The second category of influences on classical shamanism that become evident from the examination of Eliade's (1974) "strict" definition of shamanism is the possibility which he raises of, "Indian influences (500) on the

mythology, cosmology, and religious ideology of the Buryat, the Mongols, and the Tartars (500)." He argues that other southern influences besides the Indian ones occurred during prehistoric times, as well as, later influences from the Near East (500), and that all of the cultures of the circumpolar regions bore the influence of prehistoric Europe and paleo-Oriental sources (500-501).

Eliade's review of the archaeological evidence (prior to 1964), points to existence of shamanic ideology and techniques, not only in archaic cultures around the globe, which were unlikely to bear paleo-Oriental influences (502-503), but possibly to the Paleolithic period. For example, the use of shamanic "trance" is argued for from the interpretation of Paleolithic cave paintings, such as those at Lascaux (503). The painting at Lascaux of the figure of a bird on the top of a staff (see Halifax, 1982:11, 82), is interpreted as a shamanic tutelary spirit and associated with "shamanic flight" in shamanic ideology (504). According to one source cited by Eliade there is also evidence for the belief in, "the return of animals to life from their bones (503)", which is seen as the basis of "bear ceremonialism" in North America and Asia. The evidence for this interpretation is found in archaeological sites of Paleolithic Europe (from prior to 50,000 to about 30,000 B.C.). The artifacts include animal skulls and bones thought to be ritual offerings (503). Other evidence cited by Eliade includes artifacts discovered at Onley island in the Barets Sea (dating to 500 B.C.), which are believed to be drumsticks and therefore have been interpreted as evidence for drumming and possibly shamanic practises (503). Eliade

concludes that whatever the early origins of shamanic ideology and ritual practises, Lascaux (ca. 25,000) presents the earliest remaining evidence for shamanism, but perhaps not its earliest manifestation in human experience (504).

Eliade's argument for the very ancient origins of shamanism does not appear to have engendered any contradiction in subsequent general discussions of shamanism on the part of anthropologists or others (e.g., Drury, 1989; Furst, 1977: 2-3, 20; Halifax, 1979:3; Heinze, 1991; Lommel, 1967). Halifax (1979), among others, suggests that the early origins of the shaman may even go back to "Neanderthal times" (3).

A. THE IMPLICATIONS OF ELIADE'S DEFINITION

Some scholars have argued for the usefulness of specific definitions of shamans and have supported the idea that the term be applied cross-culturally only when the practises it is applied to exhibit many of the specific characteristics of Eliade's definition of "classical" shamanism. Eliade's argument that the range of terms used to describe shamans is, at best, confusing, still finds support today (Harper, 1988). While it is comfortable to have a set of criteria against which to measure practises which are not from Northeast Asia, it is important to see where the privileged voice which has been given to classical definitions is also misleading. Eliade's recognition that the northeast Asian form of practise that came to be crystallized as a

recognizable entity, and called shamanism, had earlier characteristics, calls into question the convention of using Siberian practises as the sole canon against which to measure whether a practise is inherently shamanic.

It will be useful to begin with some of the general characteristics that Eliade documented as being found cross-culturally in shamanism in widely divergent parts of the world, and to compare these characteristics with the archaic and archaeological evidence of early periods looking for general features of practises which are related to those of Siberia and Central Asia.

(III) SHAMANS DISTINGUISHED FROM OTHER PRACTITIONERS

A.S.C.s have also been used as a defining characteristic of shamanism (e.g., Eliade, 1974). Practitioners who do not use A.S.C.s will not be considered to be shamans even if some of their practises overlap with some of the social functions of shamans as defined by shamanic cultures. This demarcation is made because it will be argued that A.S.C. experiences have a considerable impact on the phenomenology of shamans over the course of their lives.

As important as A.S.C.s experiences are to shamans, the shaman is not defined here by any particular type of A.S.C., whether drug-induced, or induced by other means. The practitioner who uses "lighter" or "heavier trances" is not precluded from the definition of shaman, as sometimes has been the case (e.g., Gilberg, 1984). There is a range of depth in A.S.C.s and that

range may apply to the specific instance of usage by a specific practitioner, (Heinze, 1991:163; Laughlin, personal communication), as well as, to cultural tendencies to train candidates in the use of "deeper" or "lighter" altered states. This has lead to the contention that the characteristics of the A.S.C. experience should form the criteria for defining the shaman. For example, Hultzkrantz (1985) describes medicine men as, "...wise men or visionaries who use only a light trance and are characterized by their vision (24)," and he contrasts these practitioners with a definition of shamans as, "...ecstatics who in deep trance leave their own body, which in some cases is occupied by their guardian spirits (24)." In this examination of shamanism I will consider a range of depth in A.S.C.s experiences to be acceptable as partial criteria for defining the "hidden realities" which shamans access.

The use of A.S.C.s is not, however, the sole criteria for defining the shaman, although the absence of A.S.C.s will be considered to be criteria for excluding that type of practitioner. For example, many cultures have practitioners of herbal medicine who do not enter into A.S.C.s in order to diagnose and treat illness and they will not be considered to be shamans (e.g., Bergman, 1973:663-664). While the work of the shaman can make use of knowledge of herbal remedies (Rogers, 1982), the shaman performs this task by also using A.S.C.s for diagnosis and seeking answers about remedies (e.g., Handelman, 1967:451). Therefore, although the socially defined tasks of the shaman in one culture may overlap with the function of other practitioners in

another culture, the social function of a practitioner does not, by itself, define the individual as a shaman.

A. SHAMANS AND ORGANIZED RELIGION

Shamanism is found in association with animistic worldviews, with institutionalized theistic religions (Christianity, Buddhism, Islam, Hinduism, and Judaism), and with less formal polytheistic religions (Eliade, 1974; Endicott, 1981; Kakar, 1983; Rogers, 1982:85; Winstedt, 1951/1982). The relationships between institutionalized religions and shamanic practitioners vary according to time and place, with shamans sometimes practising despite the disapproval of the institutionalized hierarchy (e.g., Drury, 1989:20,46-47; Harvey, 1979). Shamans may also claim to be members of organized religions. For example, Heinze says that shamans in Southeast Asia, "all claim to be either Muslims, Taoists, or Buddhists (1991:143)."

Where shamanism co-exists with other systems of belief about the supernatural" it is of interest to this thesis if it retains enough of the essential elements of shamanism according to my definition, even if traditional ideologies, myths etc. have been influenced by these beliefs. For example, the Central and South American curandero or curandera, are described as, 'healers who make use of magic, herbs, and charms in their practises (Rogers, 1982:ix)'. They are considered to be shamans if they use A.S.C. techniques and access "hidden realities", despite the influence of Christianity on their "traditional"

practises (e.g., Halifax, 1979:129ff; Sharon, 1978). Heinze (1991) points out that the use of elements of belief systems from outside of shamanism, either to gain tolerance from a dominant religious authority, or to improve the performances of shamans, illustrates the "resiliency" of shamanism (138). Given also observes that the intention of shamanic practises to produce A.S.C.s which transcend the dominant discourses of these religions may also contribute to the irrelevance of their content to the continuity of shamanism (personal communication). These shamans focus on their social "duties", and despite influence of organized religion, either in their societies as a whole, or in their own personal practises, they work independently, and are not a part of the hierarchy of those religions (see Sharon, 1987).

B. SHAMANS, MEDIUMS, AND POSSESSION STATES

A.S.C.s are used cross-culturally for purposes which are not specifically shamanic and by people who are not necessarily defined as shamans. For instance, mediums, yogis, and the practitioners of an array of different meditative traditions, (Pattee, 1988). There are several reasons for distinguishing between shamans and these practitioners.

Mediums have been distinguished from shamans because they have been seen as being "possessed" by the spirits in A.S.C. experiences, while shamans have generally been considered not to be "possessed" (Eliade, 1974:6, 507; Harner, 1988:8). Shamans are defined as practitioners who seek out and learn

to control the spirits who are encountered in A.S.C. experiences, while mediums are possessed by them and usually have only partial memory, at most, about what occurred in this altered state (Harner, 1988:8). Thus the distinction is being made on the basis of a perceived difference in A.S.C. experiences between shamans and mediums.

Harner (1988) and others who have made this distinction between shamans and mediums have made some exceptions, as in the cases of shamans in several Himalayan cultures (8) who function in both ways. At the same time, Harner asserts that, "The fact that one person can do both does not make shamanism mediumship (8)."

Some anthropologists have recently argued convincingly that it is not always clear whether mediums can be distinguished from shamans. Heinze (1991) has identified the capacity of some shamans to experience both "shamanic flight" and "possession" states. She found that Southeast Asian practitioners who have mediumistic experiences, "also go on magical flights to the world of spirits where they talk directly with whomever they encounter (15-16)", even though they may not remember what happened when they have finished. On this basis Heinze questions earlier interpretations which have based on perceived differences of experience between shamans and mediums (e.g., Eliade, 1974). Likewise, Townsend (1988) asserts that, "...at least some deep-trance mediums may also undertake shaman-like journeys in alternate reality with the assistance of their guides, and recall the events that took place

(76)." Further support for this position is found in Walsh (1990) who cites a study of twenty-one cultures in which over half of them had shamans who engage in "magical flight" and also act as mediums (123).

Heinze (1991) also argues that mediumistic practise is not a result of the cultural degeneration shamanic flight, as Eliade (1974) and others have suggested. She contends that shamans she has worked with (mostly in Southeast Asia) 'progress from involuntary "possession", to identification of vocation, to a "more and more monitored "possession", to a condition where they have rare experiences of "possession", and finally to a state where the mind of the shaman 'expands into the realm of intuitive knowing (158-159).' Thus, the use of mediumistic states by some shamans is a developmental process which in no way precludes the use of magical flight or the fulfilment of social duties. Neophyte shamans progress from having involuntary and disruptive experiences to being able to enter into and exit from mediumistic states when they desire. The use of mediumistic states, like the use of "magical flight" (Noll, 1985) involves learning to control states of consciousness and results from being enculturated within particular shamanic traditions. Heinze (1991) notes that Southeast Asian societies have some shamans who function in both types of A.S.C.s and others who mostly use "possession states". Therefore, I consider mediumistic-shamans to be shamans if they also use the technique of "magical flight", or if they use mediumistic experiences on behalf of others for generally the same purposes as "flying shamans". I agree with Heinze (1991)

that there is more than one A.S.C. that shamans experience, and that the differentiation between them is often an inappropriate mapping of experiences because an individual may experience shamanic flight and mediumistic states alternatively within a short period of time (15-16).

C. SHAMANS, PRIESTS, AND MEDICINE MEN

The shaman is distinguished from the priest by the fact that while shamans can be involved with prayer, the performance of liturgy, and with making sacrifices, these are not a large part of shamanic practise (e.g., Eliade, 1974:181-182). Describing the peoples of Siberia, Eliade notes that, "In many tribes the sacrificing priest coexists with the shaman, not to mention the fact that every head of a family is also the head of a domestic cult (1974:4)." Although shamans and priests coexist in some cultures they generally have different spheres of influence and duty (Eliade, 1974:297). Among the Huichol of Mexico, the mara'kame is an exception. The mara'kame combines the roles of shaman and priest, "...with the emphasis on one or another function varying from person to person and from situation to situation (Harner, 1988:9)." Where a practitioner functions in a way which involves entering A.S.C.s to obtain knowledge on behalf of a client, I will consider that person to be a shaman (e.g., Halifax, 1979:169-173, 233-237).

The terms medicine man, or medicine woman, are other common labels which have been used in academic discourse about shamans. They have been

used in two ways. First to differentiate between what is understood to be a specific type of healer, referred to as a priest or as a ceremonial leader (Doore, 1988:5) and second they have been applied to "flying shamans" of the type described by Eliade (1974). For example, Harner (1988) differentiates between medicine men and women and "flying shamans", referring to medicine practitioners as priests. He specifies that:

> An important difference between a shaman and a priest is that
> a shaman journeys and otherwise works in another reality while in
> a substantially altered state of consciousness, whereas priests
> work basically in ordinary reality (Harner, 1988:9).

Harner, however, alludes to the fact that some medicine men may also be shamans (1988:9), but does not clarify this as he states that Plains medicine men have some "shamanistic practises", such as the vision quest (9).

For the purposes of this thesis I will consider some medicine men and women to be shamans. The criteria applied are that a "medicine" practitioner must: use A.S.C.s in a way that clearly distinguishes them from other members of the community; access a "hidden reality", including spirit familiars and entities; share several of the social roles that are designated as shamanic within stricter definitions of shamanism; use A.S.C. techniques for diagnosis, healing, or acquiring knowledge; use sacred paraphernalia; and have an identifiable pattern of initiation beyond that of usual puberty rites (e.g., Halifax, 1979:83-84), or exhibiting signs of shamanic potential (see chapter four).

Shamans are also distinguished from priests by their tendency to be more "opened to change" in their ritual practises (Heinze, 1991:10). They

"...are less predictable because they adapt to the specific conditions at the time of consultation (Heinze, 1991:10)." Shamans 'create new rituals to meet the needs of particular situations and to interpret universal knowledge that constantly changes (10).'

D. SHAMANS AND SORCERERS: ORIENTATION AND PRACTISE

There is evidence from a number of cultures, that shamanic cultures make a distinction between the positive and negative orientation of practitioners (e.g., Handelman, 1967:444; Torrey, 1972:70; Kidd in Rogers, 1982:x). Shamanic worldviews contend that the "power" that is available to humans to access for their own purposes is neutral (Sharon, 1978), and that shamanic practitioners can decide to use it on behalf of their clients as they choose. Boyer (1961) observes that, "In other cultures individual practitioners are known by reputation to primarily follow one path or the other, and choose to use them as they see fit (16)." It is common that those who act in a positive way, for example as healers, are distinguished by a label, and by training, from those who practise "black magic". For example, Dixon (1908) described the practises of sorcerers as the use of sympathetic magic in "...the miraculous shooting, throwing, or blowing of the 'pain' into the body of the victim...(8)."

The demarcation between shamans and sorcerers in not always absolutely clear. Shamans and sorcerers share some of the same techniques, such as the use of A.S.C.s, ritual paraphernalia, and having "spirit" helpers etc.

(Eliade, 1974). At times even practitioners whose primary orientation is to perform socially beneficial acts, act against someone in the community to fulfil the requests of clients, or for personal reasons (Cove, 1987:207). Harner (1973b) reports that among the Jivaro, a distinction is made between "curing shamans" and "bewitching shamans" (116-133), whom he labels "good" and "bad" shamans. He describes the "power" of both types of shamans in the community. Bewitching shamans (yahauci uwisin), "...derive their social influence primarily from the fear in which they are held by their neighbors. Their mildly expressed wishes are often interpreted as near commands by laymen (117)." The curing shaman (pener uwisin), by contrast, "exercises a less ominous type of social power, deriving primarily from the fact that his neighbours tend to view him as an important asset to their welfare (117)." It is not quite apparent whether these two kinds of practitioners can so easily be labelled "good", or "bad" since according to Harner's description it sounds as if fear is a primary motivating force for others in both relationships. It does seem, however, that the Jivaro make a distinction between practitioners and it is significant that practitioners who function positively, or negatively, are often known by the nature of their practise within a community.

Since the role of positively-oriented shamans often calls upon the practitioner to support destructive actions for the good of the community that he, or she, serves, such as calling down harm on the enemies of the community, such actions will not be considered to be support for the "black arts" since they

are interpreted within shamanic cultures to be functioning for the survival and good of the community (e.g., Chagnon, 1977:2).

Another consideration of the issue of sorcery lies in the possible incorrect interpretation of shamanic behaviour by individuals, or groups of people within a society, which may be based on their own fears of a particular shaman, or shamans in general. For example, Handelman (1967) described the following story told to him by the Washo shaman Henry Rupert:

> "Although the Washo attributed rattlesnake power, the power to sorcerize, to Welewkushkush, Henry maintained that Welewkushkush had been taught to handle rattlesnakes without personal harm, and that the Washo feared and mistrusted phenomena which they did not understand. In another case, an old female shaman was accused of killing both a Washo political figure and a promising young shaman because she coveted their positions of leadership. According to Henry, however, she was a fine old woman who understood the "law of nature" and lived under it, and she could not be evil since her power was derived from a beneficent source (Handelman, 1967:456)."

Not all reports of the intention to practise "black magic" in ethnographic accounts are likely to be true. We can only speculate about the motives of some informants whose accounts of these practises underlie the data which has been produced by anthropologists.

In the literature on shamanism the two orientations toward the use of "power" are sometimes given different titles, such as when Torrey (1972) distinguishes between the terms "witch" and "witchdoctor". He argues that the two types of practise are never the same in a given society (70) and that the distinction between these orientations can be used as a basis for ascertaining

what kind of practise is being followed by a practitioner. Specifically, for contrasting the work of the positive orientation, which supports individuals and communities with the negative orientation, which supports divisions between people and fragments communities.

In the attempt to demonstrate how shamanic practise and training contributes to the individuation of the shaman, it is important to ask whether the "sorcerer" who operates outside of, and in opposition to, socially sanctioned values will achieve individuation. The process of individuating does bring to conscious awareness aspects of personality and intentionality that are often not construed as socially acceptable, however, by making them conscious, it provides the means for them to be integrated into personality in such a way that renders them unharmful (Hall and Nordby, 1973:48-50). It will be argued here that this integration does not occur for "sorcerers" and that this represents a difference in experience and development between shamans and sorcerers. I will also be proposed that the negative orientation is unlikely to have any intrinsic relationship to individuation since it moves towards social and personal _fragmentation_ and not _wholeness_. For this reason, and because shamanic societies are aware of the differences in orientation that exist among practitioners and identify them, the definition of shaman used here will include only those practitioners who espouse the positive orientation. Therefore, the definition of shaman presented at the beginning of this chapter combines not only state-specific criteria, such as the use of A.S.C.s, but also an essentially

positive orientation, as well as an array of social functions that may differ from society to society. These functions, which are outlined in detail in chapter three, may vary, and are divided into shamanic specialities in some cultures, but are differentiated from the intentions and activities of "sorcerers".

E. THE SHAMAN-LAYMAN DISTINCTION

Campbell (1989) argues that, "...there is no such thing as a shaman (3)." He maintains that although 'specialist roles exist (110)', the rigid distinctions that have been made by anthropologists between shamans and non-shamans do not reflect the reality of the Wayapi, an indigenous Brazilian people whom he lived with for two and a half years. He suggests that

> Thinking of shamanism primarily as a quality or attribute allows
> another way in. The problem is not difference but alteration, not
> categories of people, but changes people undergo. This includes
> both moving from one quality to its opposite (from hot to cold,
> from being shamanistic to not being shamanistic), and the passage
> through states of serial order, or better, degrees of intensity:
> being more or less shamanistic (Campbell, 1989:112).

This critique of "traditional" interpretations offers some valuable insights. Campbell's focus on the quality of an individual's activity and the alteration of his, or her, phenomenology, is significant and corresponds with the focus on empowerment and transformation in the individuation process that is addressed in this work.

The idea of the quality of shamanizing also corresponds with conceptions in shamanic worldviews of the idea of "power". While a discussion

of this subject is found in chapter three, it is necessary to outline it briefly to show how it affects definitions shamans. People who have greater success in their life endeavours are considered to have greater ability to use, or access, "power" through shamanic practises. Success is an indicator of having "power". Inasmuch as many shamanic cultures allow for, or encourage, "shamanizing", or the cultivation of "power", on the part of many individuals, there is no absolute distinction in practise between shamans and laymen (e.g., Chagnon, 1983; Furst, 1977:25; Speck, 1935/1977). For example, a particularly successful hunter may have access to "power" and skill in hunting (Speck, 1977). Likewise, a specialist in working with healing herbs, or a great warrior (Harner, 1973b:111-112ff). Cove (1987) recounts that,

> The Tsimshian word for shaman is halait....it designates someone who has acquired powers and been changed by them. However, like the term for power (naxnox), halait refers to many concepts. Guedon (1984a:138-39) states that, although it is normally limited to shamans, some naxnox dramatizations, and the elements of secret societies, it can, in principle be applied to anyone or anything with supernatural characteristics (Cove, 1987:177-178).

Similarly, Oswalt (1967) argues in his discussion of Alaskan Eskimos that there is no clear demarcation between shamans and others, or between the "supernatural" and the natural. Shamans, he proposes, are, "simply were better versed and more competent in extrasensory matters than the average person (221)." The possession of greater extrasensory ability is a manifestation of "power". Even within Eskimo communities, he adds, there is considerable variation in thinking about the details of shamanistic concepts (221).

Despite the usefulness of Campbell's (1989) idea of shamanizing as a quality, the importance of "lexical designations" for "specialist roles" and their relationship with the quality of shamanizing must also be acknowledged. Shamanic cultures have both <u>formal and informal ways</u> of recognizing those who have a special relationship with, and expertise in, the use of "power" to perform specific functions on behalf of the community. One of the formal ways, as Campbell points out, is the use of lexical designations. It is on the basis of indigenous criteria, both formal and informal, that I will argue for the use of the term shaman.

Formal distinctions between shamans and others include the following: shamans generally have formal <u>initiations and training</u> which imply a personal acceptance of their special relationship with "power"; they experience a <u>calling</u> to their vocation; they often have special <u>ritual paraphernalia</u> and distinctive clothing; they must follow specific <u>taboos</u>, or others must observe specific taboos in relation to them. For example, beliefs about the "power" of shamans among the Tlingit result in the burial of shamans with their ritual paraphernalia far from villages, while lay people are cremated and their family crests and paraphernalia are kept indoors (Jonaitis, 1982:129).

Shamanic cultures also recognize particular ways to access and use "power" that differentiate trained shamans from others in the community who "shamanize". For example, some spirits, or categories of spirits, may interact only with shamans and not others in the society, or only with specific shamans.

The Salish of Puget Sound, and the Nanaimo of Vancouver Island, differentiate the tutelary spirits of shamans from those of lay people (Jilek, 1982:10-11). A number of ethnographic accounts have also noted that shamans spend longer periods seeking spirit helpers and have visions of greater intensity. For example, prospective shamans of the Upper Stalo Salish of the Fraser Valley, "underwent a long and rigorous quest and obtained from a spirit in a dream or vision a specific power" (Duff in Jilek, 1982:10)." By contrast, Jilek (1982) observes that 'the same guardian spirit could be obtained through a vision by a lay person but without power, except to obtain a personal dance and song (10). Shamans also had more guardian spirits and more powerful ones (10).'

Less formal aspects of interaction between shamans and others also illustrate differences between shamans and those who "shamanize" in both the quality of their practise and the recognition of that quality by the community. Harner (1973b) observes that among the Jivaro, "Shamans frequently utilize their wealth and social influence to secure specific services from non-shaman neighbors (117-118)." It is common in the accounts of shamanic cultures to note that shamans are often treated with fear, reserve, or ambivalence. For example, among the Washo (Downs, 1966), the Apache (Boyer, Boyer and De Vos 1982), and the Kenyah Dyak of Borneo (Halifax, 1979:214), there is considerable fear of shamans and concern about the possibility of the use of "powers" in witchcraft. Other informal aspects of shamanic practise which will

be discussed later in the thesis include attributes of the individual, such as an intentionality and commitment to practise, which are formally sanctioned in ritual initiation at some point.

The merging of formal and informal qualities of shamanizing in shamans can also be seen in the application of lexical designations. Many cultures use lexical designations to refer to the quality of an individual's shamanizing (experiential) and to formal recognition by the community that they not only shamanize, but that they have received ritual authorization and social acceptance of the use of their abilities. For example, Szeged (1968) observed, "The shamanistic peoples of Siberia used to classify shamans in different categories according to their capabilities and powers (147)", indicating, "that it is impossible to set up a complete system of classification (147)." Eliade (1974) noted that for the Tungus there are two "great" classes of shamans. One class is designated by the clan and is hereditary, and the other who is independent of the clan (17) and defined by the fact that its practitioners have a strictly personal vocation. Even within the class of hereditary shamans, however, there is the necessity for experiential confirmation of vocation, and without it a clan may withdraw their backing of a particular individual (17).

Campbell's (1989) focus on shamanizing as a quality of experience, and my emphasis on personal ability in the use of "power" exhibited by an individual, are inherent parts of the lexical designations of shaman by particular societies. They are also the criteria by which anthropologists have

defined shamans. What needs to be clarified is that there are <u>degrees</u> of difference and similarity between shamans who are seen as having great "power", or exceptional ability, and others in their societies who are considered to have lesser ability and lack formal initiation and training. Cross-culturally, there are greater, or lesser, gaps between specialists and non-specialists (e.g., Cove, 1987:189). In terms of contrasts which are made in the anthropological literature between shamans and laymen, we do not need to imply that people in shamanic societies who are not identified as shamans by anthropologists, cannot, and do not, shamanize. It is important to recognize that strict <u>categorization</u> can contribute to the misrepresentation of life in shamanizing societies as Campbell pointed out.

Campbell's (1989) focus on the changes that people experience in shamanizing and the idea of moving from one quality (shamanizing) to another, is useful to understanding accounts of initiated practitioners who have "lost their power", a subject which is discussed in chapter five.

On this basis, I propose that shamans do exist by virtue of the quality of their use of "power" and through formal and informal recognition of their community, but that it is important to see shamanic practise as akin to the practises of other members of shamanic communities. Furthermore, I propose that the general application of the term shaman by anthropologists to imply recognition of these criteria is useful.

(IV) SUMMARY

The similarities and differences of shamans cross-culturally are such that even as we seek to deconstruct the definitions which have shaped the literatures on shamanism, we are forced to use these definitions to discuss the matter. Ultimately, the question of what defines a shaman, is a dialogue within anthropology that is continued every time the word is used, and it is the responsibility of each writer to provide his, or her, definition of the practitioners whose work they are describing. The use of local categories, where they exist, is optimal for the discussion of a single culture. For the purposes of making cross-cultural comparisons, however, the quality of "shamanizing", the role of the individual doing it, and the sense of vocation which that person has, need to be established by the writer to illustrate the validity of the comparison.

The definition which I provided at the beginning of this chapter is situated between Eliade's (1974) "classical definition" and those definitions which are so vague that they are of little practical use. The work of Eliade is taken as a starting point from which to define a number of essential features of practitioners of healing and magico-religious arts, but I consider departures from some of his criteria to be valid. By using Eliade's criteria we can distinguish the shaman from a priest, from some mediums, from various kinds of healers, from practitioners in institutionalized religions, and most of the time, from sorcerers. We can see where the abilities and functions of shamans

may occasionally <u>overlap</u> with the practises and feats of various kinds of healers, clairvoyants, priests, and the "shamanizing" of other members of their societies.

The usefulness of my definition lies in the fact that it allows for the inclusion of practitioners whose work and experience is substantially shamanic, but whose practise by stricter definitions, includes some non-shamanic aspects. For example, the priestly functions of the <u>mara'kame</u> and the "possession states" of shaman-mediums. It also serves to emphasize that there are a <u>range of experiences</u> among practitioners within shamanic traditions who cultivate "power". Even in societies in which a lot of "shamanizing" occurs, some individuals are distinguished from others by their practise, experiences, and social role. It will be argued in subsequent chapters that some shamans are more likely to come closer to individuation than others. Some of the distinctions that have been made between shamans and others who "shamanize" may provide some clues to understanding the differences among shamans. For example, where an individual "shamanizes" to a greater extent, we will explore the importance of "personal calling", service, and the continuity of practise, to their development as individuals.

The difficulties of defining who will be considered to be shamans, cross-culturally, are related to Cove's (1987) observation about finding personal experiential accounts of Northwest Coast shamans's transformations. He writes: "To discover what it might mean to be a shaman is like casting seeds on

rocky ground. The answers will be stunted surface manifestations of what we want to probe (164)." Despite the difficulty in establishing what the subject matter is, the rest of this work is such a probe. I believe that it is possible to define and investigate shamanism without distorting the self-understanding of the people being described. By using the definition that I provided earlier, which focuses on the experiential qualities and journeys of shamans within their social roles, the commonalities of shamanic experience will be shown to be significant.

CHAPTER THREE: SHAMANIC REALITIES: THE CYCLE OF MEANING AND KNOWLEDGE

This chapter outlines the common features of shamanic societies and situates the "extraordinary" experiences of shamans in their social and cosmological context. It will be argued in this chapter that the social functions of shamans are not separate from the pursuit of their personal vocation. Specifically, that the relationships between shamans and their communities contribute to shamans's phenomenological knowledge through their mediation with the "supernatural" on behalf of the community using ritually-induced A.S.C.s.. Furthermore, it will be argued that the phenomenological experiences of shamans enrich social constructions of reality (e.g., cosmology) and that social expectations of shamans provide them with validation of their experiences. These arguments are key to establishing the central argument of this thesis, in subsequent chapters, that the various types of shamanism are systems for engendering personal individuation.

This chapter is divided into three sections. Section one examines the nature of shamanic societies and the role of the shaman in them. Section two discusses the nature and practises of "Creative Focusing" (C.F.) a meditative-transformative practise in which I worked. C.F. is compared with the common features of shamanic worldviews in order to make explicit how my transpersonal experiences in that practise have contributed to my understanding of "extra dinary" experience and its impact on the individual. The third section provides a summary of the chapter.
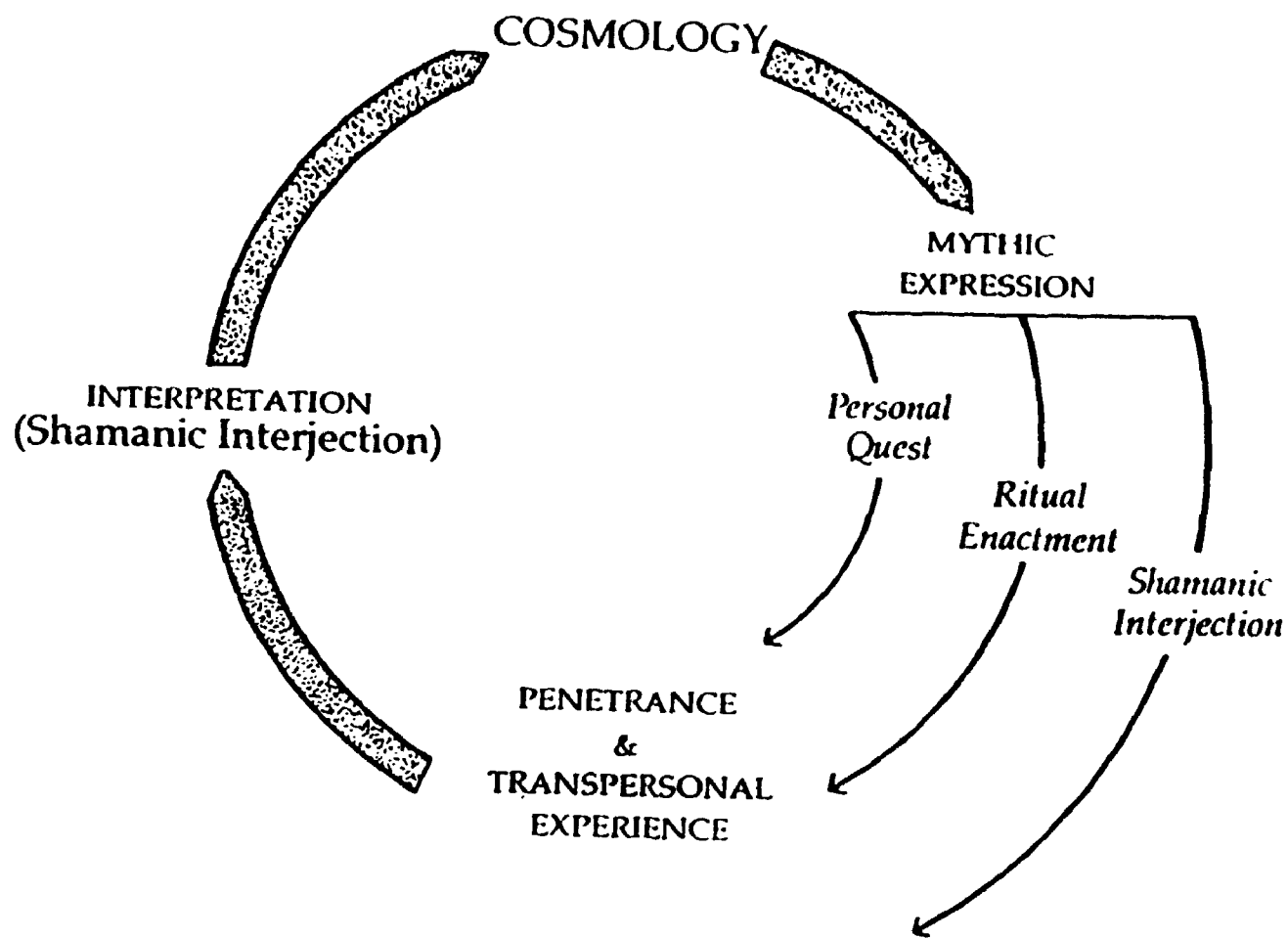
FIGURE 1 The Cycle of Meaning

A cosmology is symbolically expressed via myth, ritual, and shamanic activity leading to trans-personal experiences that are in turn interpreted in such a way as to verify and vivify the cosmology.

Drawing by Donna Gordon. Chart used courtesy of Laughlin, McManus and d'Aquili (1990).

(1) SHAMANIC SOCIETIES AND CYCLES OF MEANING

The cosmological and social relationships of shamans are defined here within the conceptual schema of the "cycle of meaning" (see Figure 1) (Laughlin et al. 1990:214-231). This schema shows how the elements of a society's worldview, its cosmology and symbolic expressions (art, drama, ritual, games, mythology, story telling etc.), exist within a feedback cycle of socially constructed meaning, in which the existence of multiple realities are "verified" in ritual experiences mediated and interpreted by shamans. These cycles and the multiple realities they engender are shown to exist cross-culturally in shamanic societies. It will be demonstrated that a socially defined relationship, based on reciprocity between man and "supernatural" forces, exists within a socially framed cycle of meaning in shamanic societies.

Within the cycle of meaning a dialectical relationship exists between the elements that functions as both positive and a negative feedback systems. Forces of change, are considered to be positive if they contribute to the maintenance of a cycle of meaning and negative if the contribute to its fragmentation. This implies no value judgement about the continuity of particular cultures. The 'changes which can affect a cycle of meaning may be environmental, cultural, or due to transgenerational divergence'. They contribute, to maintaining, revivifying, or fragmenting, the cycle of meaning (Laughlin, et al. 1990:214-230).

A. THE SHAMAN'S PLACE WITHIN A CYCLE OF MEANING

Individuals participate within a cycle of meaning beginning as early as pre-and perinatal life, incorporating and influencing the content and relationships within the cycle (Laughlin, et al. 1990:214). Factors such as social role, personality, sex, and the timing of influences on an individual, allow some individuals to have greater impact within the cycle of meaning of a society in a specific time and place. It will be demonstrated in this thesis that many shamans have had such an impact, both from their personal influence, and from expectations attached to their social role (see chapter seven).

Despite the shared interpretations of reality that are held by people within a cycle of meaning, no two people, will have identical "models" of reality. The cosmology of a group is a convenient label for the overlap in the "models" of individuals who have been enculturated in much the same way. These personal models have been referred to by anthropologists as the cognized environment (Ec). The same term is also used at the collective level to represent, "...the model of the environment conceived by the people who act in it (Rappoport, 1968/1970:237ff)." The Ec of a group is contrasted with the operational environment (Eo), which refers to 'the physical environment of the people whom an anthropologist is studying (237-238).' D'Aquili, Laughlin, and McManus (1979), observe that changes in the Eo generally result in changes in the Ec of individuals or communities (13). Although individuals share many aspects of their personal Ec with others in their community, there can also be

considerable 'variance in their models and in their participation in their
culture's cosmology and cycle of meaning' (Laughlin, et al. 1990:227). The
training of shamans in fairly standard practises in particular cultures makes
shamans a subset of enculturation in their society, but each shaman also has a
personal Ec.

B. THE COSMOLOGIES OF SHAMANIC SOCIETIES

A cosmology is

> ...an account of the elements and relations that go to make up
> the world, as well as the origin and perhaps the destiny of those
> elements and relations. And most of all, a cosmology defines the
> position of humanity within the world by treating the human
> being as a microcosm of the whole (Laughlin and Richardson,
> 1986:414).

A primary feature of shamanic cosmologies is that they are holistic. Within a
cosmology, the design, function, and health of an individual, or a society, is
connected with that of the cosmos. For the individual, experience of the
cosmos is constituted within multiple realities, which are represented in
mythopoeic forms (myth, drama, stories, etc.). These forms illustrate the
connection between multiple "planes" of reality and link humanity with them.
The mythological representation of a cosmological system may show another
level of reality as essentially the same in design as that of the "earth plane"
(e.g., Eliade, 1974:260-261), or having characteristics that are the opposite to it
(Cove, 1987). Through ritual training, an individual can come to experience
these multiple realities and their connection with human life in greater depth.

C. COMMON CHARACTERISTICS OF MULTIPLE REALITY

WORLDVIEWS

The following outline adapted from Young-Laughlin and Laughlin (1988), and Laughlin et al. (1990), summarizes the common characteristics of multiple reality worldviews and the dialectical relationships that exist between their elements in a cycle of meaning.

1) "Experience of the world is relative to the domain in which it occurs (Young-Laughlin and Laughlin, 1988:66)." Experience of one domain of reality is as ontologically valid as another. For example, experiences of the "dreamworld", or drug-induced state, are not necessarily seen as false, or unreal, as they have been in the western paradigm (Harner, 1986; Tedlock, 1987:2).

2) Aspects of reality are judged to be sacred or profane (Laughlin et al. 1990:214). Those areas interpreted as being profane are also invested with sacred meaning when the individual experiences an awareness of the interconnectedness of all levels of reality through ritual experience, or sudden revelation incubated through learning accumulated in altered states of consciousness (A.S.C.s).

3) "The central dialectic of the cycle of meaning exists between enculturated systems of belief and the direct experiences of individuals (Young-Laughlin and Laughlin 1988:66)."

4) "An auxiliary dialectic of the cycle exists between the mythopoeic expression (e.g., drama, ritual, art, or myth) of cosmological realities on the one hand and the interpretive framework (e.g., textual guidance, group consensus, or shamanic intercession) on the other (Young-Laughlin and Laughlin, 1988:66)."

5) The existence of multiple levels of reality becomes known and codified through the experiences of some people more than others. While, "Cosmological belief systems may be linked to activities, practises, symbolic expressions and cognitive-perceptive operations that confirm those systems (Young-Laughlin and Laughlin, 1988:66)" ; for most people, cultural interpreters (e.g., shamans) play a greater role in revitalizing and influencing the systems (Laughlin et al. 1990).

6) "Commonly there is a consonance between a mode of symbolic expression and an interpretation of experiences that arises as a consequence of participation within a symbolic frame (Young-Laughlin and Laughlin, 1988:68)." An individual inhabiting a mythopoeic system, moves from existing within the framework as a "consumer" of mythopoeic representations, to experiencing an intuitive apprehension of it. This results in a "phase of interpretation", in which personal experience of a cosmology and its multiple levels is joined with mythopoeic expression.

Within the cycle of meaning in a multiple reality belief system a number of circuits of feedback exist which support, shape, or potentially destroy, a

cycle of meaning. The individual is born into a cycle of meaning and develops a personal cognized mapping of the world (Ec) which shares basic features with those who participate in the same system of enculturation, although substantial degrees of difference may occur in the their degree of participation in the mythopoeic expression of the belief system. The individual may personal changes in their Ec, or broader changes in the cosmological system brought about by external forces. Some individuals may evoke these changes through a dialectic between collective representations and idiosyncratic experience. For example, feedback loops exist between mythopoeic expression and their interpretation, and between the Ec of an individual before and after experiences which evoke cognitive-perceptive changes, such as initiation rituals (e.g., Webber, 1982:72-80). The place of the shaman within such a dialectic will be shown to be a special one, based on both socially defined expectations and on personal ability to fulfil the social role.

D. RECIPROCITY WITHIN SHAMANIC COSMOLOGIES

Several analytical levels define the kinds of reciprocity involved in the relationship between shamans and their societies. First, there are the socially defined tasks of the shaman for which the shaman receives payment of some kind (e.g., Cove, 1987:202). They involve the shaman's mediating reciprocal relationships between humanity and the "supernatural" forces of multiple realities as defined in the cosmology. The shaman's role in these relationships,

is defined by the ability of shamans to use the 'pre-eminently shamanic technique of "magical flight", to "travel" among cosmic planes, ascending to upper worlds, and descending to lower worlds, dealing with the denizens of these planes (Eliade, 1974).' These planes (multiple realities) are not directly accessible from "ordinary reality" (Harner, 1986:xvi) and the shaman navigates them from A.S.C.s.. Eliade (1974) observes that cosmic structure has three levels (planes) joined by a central axis which facilitates this travel. While this schema varies cross-culturally, the shaman's role, based on the technique of "magical flight"[17], remains constant[18], and sets him apart from other members of the community (Eliade, 1974:265)."

Specific tasks which shamans undertake include: healing disease (Noll, 1985:444) treating soul loss (Eliade, 1974:300), escorting souls of the dead (208-209), forecasting and changing the weather (Eliade, 1974:304-305; Rasmussen, 1976d:28), combating demons and black magic (508), interpreting dreams (305), intervening in exceptional cases in childbirth (181), recovering

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[17] The terms "magical flight", or "soul flight" refer to the A.S.C.s of shamans which involve experiences where they are believed to leave their body and travel (fly) either to the upper or lower worlds (Eliade, 1974:5,140). These experiences have been equated with "Out-of-body-experiences" (O.O.B.E.) by some scholars (Kalweit, 1988).

[18] Particular attributes of cosmological "geography" differ in multiple reality cosmologies. The central axis may be represented by a tree, pole, mountain, etc., or have a different number of celestial and underworld realms. The characterization of gods, spirits, and mythological stories are specific to individual cultures (Eliade, 1974).

lost goods (Sharon, 1978:2), divining the future (Murphy, 1964:58),

"...distributing magical force to the needy (Metraux in Sharon, 1978:153)",

locating game (Downs, 1966:31; Rasmussen, 1976d:29), initiating new shamans

(Grim, 1983:12), mediating interpersonal relations in the cor munity (Balikci,

1967:198) and magical defense of the community (Eliade, 1974:181-182;

Rasmussen, 1976d:29). All of these possible tasks situate the shaman at the

centre of the community's need to know how and why they are being affected

by "hidden realities". As Eliade (1974) observes 'it is comforting to know that

someone can see what is hidden and bring back reliable information about

"supernatural" worlds (1974:509).'

The second aspect of reciprocity involving shamans is the payment they

receive, not only for specific work, but in the form of the legitimization of their

social status. Whether a community is large, or a band made up chiefly of

related family members, the shaman cannot achieve shamanic status solely by

personal declaration. Among the Tungus of Siberia, for example, "...an

aspirant may renounce his intentions if he is not recognized by the clan

(Eliade, 1974: 17)." The shaman's contribution is clearly illustrated in the

belief of many cultures that the shaman risks his, or her life, or that of a

relative, in the pursuit of shamanic duties. For example, among the Apache

(Boyer, 1961:15). In some cultures, such as the Chukchee, shamans are

believed to have so much "power" that the failure to cure a patient constitutes

a deliberate act on the shaman's part which may be punishable by death (Rogers, 1982:27-34).

The third aspect of reciprocity in the shaman's relationship with the community lies in the "hidden" benefits the community receives from shamans's practising in A.S.C.s, such as, validating the belief structure of the cycle of meaning. The latter may not be recognized by the group, but is nevertheless significant.

E. POWER AND ENERGY SYSTEMS IN SHAMANIC WORLDVIEWS

The interdependence of shamans and their communities mirrors the interconnectedness of all things in multiple reality worldviews. It is commonly believed that systems of "energy" or "power" underlay this interrelatedness. The following provides a synthesis of the basic features of "energy" systems in shamanic cultures (Mehl, 1988:130-131; Harner, 1986; Sargent, 1984:144; Sharon, 1978:50-51; Young-Laughlin and Laughlin, 1988:66).

First, "power", or "energy", is considered to be the basis of all life and existence, animate or inanimate. Through "energy" systems all of existence is connected, so that changes at one level of reality affect all others. Through "energy" systems there is an all encompassing consciousness and intentionality in the universe. The exact nature of "energy" systems is not known to humanity, though it purposefully governs human lives.

While the greater meaning of movements in "energy" are beyond ego control and understanding, people, especially shamans, can use "energy" for their own purposes. Shamans ask for and seek knowledge about specific human concerns in the course of their professional practises. As was mentioned, "energy" is believed to be neutral and can be used for what is culturally defined as harmful, or beneficial ends.

There is variation in the amount of "power" that an individual is able to access. Despite the desire of individuals to possess "power", a person's inner nature, or fate, determines whether they acquire it, or not. For shamans, "power" is not acquired at birth alone, but must be sought out and earned, even where there is hereditary shamanism (Eliade, 1974:13-14). Whatever the initial "power" of the individual, he, or she, can cultivate more. Common methods used to access "power" in shamanic cultures include: the use of drugs in ritual "journeying", meditation, vision quests, prayer and supplication, fasting, mortification of the flesh, and dream incubation.

Other sources of "energy" which are cultivated, especially by shamans, are "energies" which are concentrated in particular physical forms. For example, there are believed to be significant focal points around the world which have come to be identified as sacred places. Mountains and water are common sites of such concentrations. "Power" objects; either natural ones, such as crystals, or objects made by man from sacred materials, such as shaman's rattles, contain special "energy" (Jonaitis, 1982:119ff; Swan,

1988:152). Many plants (especially hallucinogenic ones) are invested with "power". Guardian spirits are sought by most members of shamanic cultures and additiona! spirit helpers are the common companions of shamans. As specialists in the techniques of gaining and using these sources of "power", shamans generally have a stronger connection with sources of "power" than do others.

"Power" is manifest in human actions in the ability to "see" and <u>influence</u> the essential nature of a situation. When a shaman works with "energy" he, or she, perceives the localized forms of "energy" in their physical embodiment. The shaman interprets an illness as a localized manifestation which reflects the patterns of greater "energy" systems. Within shamanic societies there is a reverence for the intentionality of "energy" systems which are beyond human understanding. By acknowledging the "sacredness" of the interconnections among these systems shamans mediate reciprocal relationships between humans and "supernatural" forces.

F. THE SHAMAN'S ROLE IN SHAPING THE CYCLE OF MEANING

Change is ever-present within a cycle of meaning and as was mentioned earlier, can be positive[19], taking the form of supporting or revivifying an

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[19] The use of the concepts of "positive feedback" and "negative feedback" within a cycle of meaning, refer to the maintenance of the <u>status quo</u> within a cycle or the alteration of the elements of a particular cycle. It does not indicate that any value judgment being made about such occurrences.

existing cosmology and belief system, or negative, in which the, "...round of symbolic expression, experiential realization, and mythopoeic interpretation may be completely broken at any point in development (Laughlin et al. 1990:234)." In fact, "So vulnerable is the cycle of meaning that it may be rendered developmentally inert in a single generation (Laughlin et al. 1990:230)." The place of shamans within this cycle of change is twofold. Shamans contribute both to the positive force in a cycle of meaning, and when negative forces play a role, the shaman often acts as a mediator, and sometimes as an innovator (Nadel, 1946; Handelman, 1967). A central part of a shaman's participation in the cycle of meaning is in the positive feedback loop. Shaman operate in the production of the central dialectic between the enculturated systems of belief and the personal experiences of members of the society. For example, in the capacity of ritual leaders. They may be leaders in rites of passage ceremonies (e.g., Elkin, 1980), in some secret societies (Eliade, 1974:316), in shamanic initiation, (47) and act as psychopomps (Eliade, 1974:182). The more common duties of shamans, such as healing, are also a part of the cultural environment which can produce transformation in individuals (Lommel in Heinze, 1991:190). As a ritual leader the shaman directs and prepares individuals for these changes.

Laughlin et al. (1990) identify three stages to the process of bringing an individual into full participation in and knowledge of a cycle of meaning (226-229). Shamans experience these stages themselves and later on are facilitators

of the process for others in their shamanic role. The first level is that of belief. At this level the individual, "...'believes' in the experiences reported by others (Laughlin, et al. 1990:227)." At the next level, that of understanding, the participant begins to be informed by direct knowledge rather than just the accounts of others (227). "Symbolic material and direct experience become increasingly and metaphorically intentional and gradually approximate a totality a knowledge about the world (228)." The third level is designated as realization; it marks the full participation of the individual in the cosmology through transpersonal experiences which allow the individual to "know" the reality of the cosmology. The shaman is involved in many aspects of the process of moving from belief to realization. For example, the auxiliary dialectic that exists between mythopoeic expression and the interpretive framework of experience is a major focus of the shaman's art (Young-Laughlin and Laughlin, 1988:66). The shaman helps the individual to understand and interpret A.S.C.s, and other experiences, in terms of the cosmology. Dream interpretation, and the interpretation of visions experienced during puberty rites are common examples (e.g., Halifax 1979:145). It is important to note that

> If transpersonal experience is not incubated from a cosmology
> and its attendant expressions, and interpreted to verify the cosmic
> view giving rise to the experience,then (presuming it does arise) it
> will not articulate with a total view of life and world. No matter
> how profound and numinous such experiences may be, they will
> not be "religious" ...for they will not result in self-knowledge
> conducive to a totally integrated view of self and world (Laughlin,
> et al. 1990:230).

Thus, the work of the shaman in making this possible is essential.

On behalf of the community, the shaman embodies the group cosmology, recreates mythological time, introduces an opportunity for spiritual growth (through the stages mentioned above), and at times, his ritual enactments even provide entertainment for the community (Halifax, 1979:69-60). All of these activities serve to tie the personal experiences of the individual into the social construction of reality by a particular society. The opportunity for spiritual growth that the shaman makes possible is not only from those perceptions designed to be triggered by the rituals themselves, but also by example of the shaman's life. "What the shaman or seer brings forth is something that is waiting to be brought forth in everyone (Campbell, 1988:59)." The creation of ritual and ritual paraphernalia, telling of "power" tales (Kremer, 1988:189ff) and singing sacred songs, by shamans, provide the shaman with the opportunity for expressing visionary experience and society with a revivified collective identity.

The contributions of shamans in a situation of negative feedback in a cycle of meaning can be as significant as their participation in the positive course of the cycle. The most noted example of this is in situations of acculturation which involve the breakdown of collective identity (Oswalt, 1967). In these situations shamans can act as mediators between the people and acculturative forces. For example, the Peruvian shaman, Eduardo Calderón, told the anthropologist D. Sharon:

> It would be a very strong, and very abrupt change for the individual confronting a growing society to suddenly abandon his forms, his ancestral principles, traditions leagued to the old society of his grandparents, of his ancestors. Thus the curandero diminishes the force of the blow, but, more important, he provides a beginning, an entrance, an opening in a smooth fashion toward the society to which one is going to adapt (Calderón in Sharon, 1978:32).

While shamans can be conservative in their approach to the incursions of western culture into aboriginal life, they are also, "...often the first to introduce new ways of thought and material goods (Laughlin et al. 1990:254)." For example, when Pima shamans learned of the biomedical conceptions of germ theory, "...they neither rejected the idea nor doubted their own system. They merely incorporated the idea of germs into their list of impurities that could cause wandering sickness (Krippner, 1988:112)"[20]. Shamans are also involved in revitalization that is innovative and not just integrative. For example, 'visionary experience may result in a new interpretation that transforms the cosmology and becomes the essence of a revitalization movement from which new religious cults emerge (Wallace in Laughlin, et al. 1990:230).'

For all of the contributions that shamans make to their society, it is also a reciprocal relationship in which the shaman is served as well. Several bodies of evidence can be drawn upon to support this argument. There is evidence, that shamans use their personal experiences of self-healing and their contact

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[20] Murphy (1964) notes that it has been observed that the acceptance of germ theory in aboriginal cultures experiencing acculturation often occurs to account for the process of how a disease occurs, while shamanic cosmologies provide meaning about why one person becomes ill and not another (61).

with the "supernatural" and their own personal "power", as a basis for many of their socially oriented tasks. For example, Ojibway shamans use the visions or dreams that they have during initiatory vision quests, and subsequent transpersonal revelations, as their basis for healing rituals and other types of ceremonies conducted on behalf of clients (Grim, 1983:120). During initiatory experiences the prospective shaman receives the knowledge that he, or she, has a shamanic vocation, and what "powers" and techniques to use in shamanic practise (Grim, 1983:121-122). In this culture four general types of shamans are identified (65). They are distinguished by the techniques the shaman practises, by the type of work they do, and as stated, and by their identification of a specific personal vocation through transpersonal expression (64-67). These potential shamans develop a special relationship with "manitou presences", which are described as, "...special hierophanies in which the individual participates by receiving symbolic communications from the spirit world (Grim, 1983:64)." The experiences of manitous by Ojibway shamans are the basis of their knowledge of sacred things and therefore of their personal and social "power". In this way their personal expression of "power" comes to be the basis for their professional work.

(II) CREATIVE FOCUSING: CONTEMPORARY TRANSFORMATIONS

I will depart from discussing the features of shamanic worldviews in order to describe some of the similarities and differences between traditional forms of shamanism and Creative Focusing (C.F.).

The purpose of the C.F. practise is for practitioners to learn to root all of their actions in what they describe as a "state of being" that results from the connection between their "Godself" and the "energy" that comes through the Godself from universal sources. This is the transformative essence of the work. The techniques used in C.F. to evoke transformation within the individual are primarily meditative. C.F. teaches that when enough individuals experience personal transformations that a "critical mass[21]" will be reached and change will result for the human species as a whole. Specifically, that as people experience personal empowerment through transformations in attitudes and consciousness which are evoked through training in meditation, they can have greater clarity and "truth" in their lives which contributes to greater clarity for all of humanity. One participant summarized her understanding of C.F. in the following statement:

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[21] The expression <u>critical mass</u> was originally applied in physics to refer to, "...the amount of fissile material needed to maintain a nuclear reaction (Oxford Dictionary, 1976)." It has been used colloquially by some meditative groups, for example, TM, to describe a building force of "spiritual energy" which will have a global impact on society when enough people participate in meditation to cause this to happen. It is assumed that even those who are not meditators will be effected (Forem, 1974). The term is used in this sense by C.F. practitioners.

> The focus of this work is not so much personal or connected to the living part of personal life as it is to the evolutionary work of mankind as a whole - the expansion of consciousness to lighter, higher vibrational levels - the movement of life lived on a gross physical plane to the loving of life as spirit. In other words the reason to participate in a work of this nature is not personal but planetary (X, personal communication)[22].

This statement of C.F.'s purpose is elaborated upon in the section to follow describing the nature of the C.F. practise. As was mentioned in chapter one, C.F. has been in existence for about seven years. It is focused on the teaching of a <u>central teacher</u> and has a number of initiates, some of whom teach meditation and personal techniques of transformation. C.F. has participants living in several cities in Canada and the U.S. (Ottawa, Vancouver, Denver, and Crestone, Colorado) and provides seminars on meditation and transformation for initiates and others. The C.F. initiates set up several a research institutes several years ago which were to investigate scientifically changes at the cellular level that result from meditation and C.F. practise, among other things, however, to my knowledge this has been discontinued.

A. C.F. AS PART OF A SOCIAL MOVEMENT

C.F. can be conceptually situated within a broad social movement in North America which was identified by Ferguson in <u>The Aquarian Conspiracy</u> (1987), by Townsend (1988), as a "new mystical movement" (73), and has come

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[22] This informant, whom I will refer to as X, estimates that she participated in C.F. for about five years.

to be referred to in popular culture as the "New Age movement". Ferguson (1987) documents the growth of a 'largely informal movement in North American society which crosses class and social boundaries, represents a paradigm shift from the traditional scientific-materialist worldview (though it may incorporate the views of "new science"), may be apolitical, or take a new stand towards politics, and which espouses personal transformation of attitudes, experience, self-awareness, and action in the world (23-24).'

It is difficult to find precise definitions of what is "New Age" because the eclecticism of the "movement" and its participants is an essential part of its character (Ferguson, 1987:85-87; Townsend, 1988:79). Blair (1991)[23] observed that there are many "levels" of understanding what the "New Age movement" is about, however, he offers some ideas which seem to be shared in "New Age" epistemologies. He includes: 'the idea that everything is connected; that human beings need to explore the spiritual side of their nature and have an infinite capacity to develop it; the idea that we need not be restricted to logic as the only means we have to understand the world and that human beings can "know" things experientially, and personally, rather than being subject to belief systems.' "Truth" is sought through experience. There is no invalidation of the understandings of others on the basis of the "truth" that you

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[23] Alexander Blair's statements come from a CBC Radio interview he did with Peter Gzowski for the programme "Morning Side", on December 3, 1991. Blair is the editor of "Dimensions", which he described as Canada's first national "New Age" magazine. The magazine had not begun to be published at the time of this interview.

have discovered, nor are the criteria of being right, or wrong, used to make judgements. Blair observes that the ideas of reincarnation and the possibility of experiencing past life regressions find sympathy among many "New Age" practitioners, as does a concern for the environment. In agreement with Ferguson (1987), Blair argues that the "New Age movement" is not a monolithic organized entity, nor he argues is it an ideology.

Townsend (1988) described what she called a "new mystical movement" in North America and Europe which she identified as having views which I propose correlate with Blair's list of commonly held New Age views. She described this movement as having a "...new spirituality characterized by a turning to non-Western religious systems (1988:73)". These are primarily derived from Buddhism, Hinduism, and Native American cosmologies (Prattis, personal communication). Townsend (1988) identified "neo-shamanism" as part of this mystical movement in North America. She characterizes "neo-shamans" as having an understanding of the interconnectedness of all things (79); having an eclectic approach in their views and practises (78-79); making personal spiritual explorations and contact with the "transcendent" a personal goal, rather than being affiliated with any organized "religious" group (78). She summarises other values held by people in this movement as: believing in the existence of alternate realities (79), having a concern for the environment (79), and supporting "the rights of people to explore their spirituality (79)". Townsend (1988) observes, as does Ferguson (1987:35), that the impact of this

movement is potentially greater than that of past "religious awakenings" in the west due to the communications systems available to its participants (1988:74).

I consider C.F. to be a part the New Age movement as represented in a continuum of practises sharing the values and social dynamics identified by Ferguson (1987), Townsend (1988), and Blair (1991). I will argue for this interpretation in the discussion of similarities between shamanism and C.F.. It is important, however, to state that this perspective is not necessarily shared by all practitioners of C.F.. One C.F. teacher with whom I worked expressed a dislike for this label because he felt that New Age views are perceived by the public as being "flaky". Another C.F. participant pointed out that she felt that much of the "New Age" movement was focused at the personality or ego level, on personal development, rather than on concern for something "larger".

I would argue that while many people begin their spiritual work by focusing on personal development in a way which is ego-motivated, that many organizations and practises that are popularly labelled as New Age teach students about transcending ego motivations and gaining a broader understanding of the final goal and purpose of their practise. There is evidence for this proposal from several studies. For example, in Ferguson's (1987) examination of transformation as a social movement she surveyed 185 people who related their experiences of personal practise in various transformative practises (432-433). Many of the practises that people indicated had a transformative effect in their lives have ego-transcendence as part of

their teaching and as a requirement of their "final" goals. For example, many

forms of meditation, both traditional (e.g., Buddhism), and those that have

synthesized traditional methods (e.g., Arica), some self-help networks, and

consciousness-raising groups (86). The intention to transcend ego-motivated

living is also corroborated by accounts of the life experiences of individuals

whom Townsend (1988) and Jamal (1988) call neo-shamans. Townsend's data

is based partially on a survey of people involved in workshops on neo-

shamanism, mystical practises, and spiritualists. Jamal conducted in-depth

interviews with 14 women who have made the teaching of transformative

practises the mainstay of their lives and professional work.

The accounts of Jamal (1988), Townsend (1988) and Ferguson (1987)

illustrate that most New Age practitioners are eclectic in their participation in

transformative practises which contributes to the likelihood that they have

participated in some practise which teaches the value of ego-transcendence.

Those practises mentioned by the people surveyed or interviewed which do not

seem to fall into this category are often only a part of an individual's spiritual

path. Townsend (1988) notes that many people are involved in more than one

practise at the same time (77). For example, the focus of a particular

alternative form of health care, such as biofeedback, may be on healing

specific problems and may not set out to evoke a global transformation of the

individual. An individual may be involved with one practise which clearly

evokes ego-transcendence, such as many "traditional types of meditation", as

well as with other practises which do not, such as biofeedback. Even within practises that do see their purpose in enlightenment", "species evolution" or some way of living which transcends the limitations of ego perceptions, the understanding that individuals have of the practise can vary greatly over time. Therefore, I propose that New Age practitioners are not categorically separate from C.F. practitioners because the latter uphold the importance of ego-transcendence.

The practitioners of C.F. also correspond with Townsend's (1988) contemporary "mystical movements" (1988:73) because their membership includes many, "...well-educated, upper-middle-class people who are in positions to influence the society's ideas and trends (73)."

B. THE NATURE OF THE C.F. PRACTISE AND WORLDVIEW

This section will provide a synopsis of the "values" and aims of C.F. as they were presented to me as a practitioner. This is followed by a critical examination of the differences that I perceive between how the nature of C.F. was presented and my perceptions of these characterizations. Following this a comparison is made of the similarities and differences in outlook and practise between shamanism and C.F..

The C.F. practise is not directly modelled after any non-western practise, but most of its practitioners have pre· ᵒus experience in a variety of spiritual and esoteric practises. For example, Reiki (a Japanese healing

technique), Yoga, Past Life Regression therapy, Buddhist meditation, a number of types of bodywork (e.g., Rolfing) and alternative approaches to medicine (e.g., acupuncture) etc..

Practitioners of C.F. are taught that it is not necessary for them to hold a common belief system, although some basic values are held in common and are part of the basis for assessing the progress of participants. These values include: being non-judgemental toward others; acting with unconditional love towards others; acting with integrity, in the sense of acting according to the knowledge received from your own Highest Self; being, in the moment; releasing the expectations and attachments of the ego; honouring the appropriateness of the different paths that others may follow in their lives, and presenting this work by means of example without proselytizing.

There is a focus in this work on being "in the moment" and all knowledge is considered to be changing and participants are encouraged to be unattached to any views. For example, some participants hold a theistic view, some have told me that they are agnostics, none to my knowledge, consider themselves to be atheists. Many practitioners, including myself, seem to be comfortable sometimes using theistic terms and other times simply referring to "energy", or "the universe". Likewise, some practitioners talk about past lives in Atlantis, etc., but there is no requirement to believe in reincarnation. To my knowledge, the discussion of past lives comes from personal frameworks

established prior to beginning work in C.F. rather than from the teaching the central teacher.

Techniques used in C.F. practise include: guided meditation in private, or group seminars, and occasionally healing through the "laying on of hands". The latter has not been practised at any group seminars which I have attended and to my knowledge appears to have been more important earlier in the history of this practise. At seminars guided imagery meditation is followed by participants sharing their experiences with each other. Comments are made by the seminar leader to provide them with feedback about their experiences and interpretations of those experiences. Common forms of meditation experiences which people share are imagery, somaesthetic sensations, and sudden insights into personal situations or life. These experiences are often given a broader scope, or greater specificity, through questions asked by the teacher. This guidance is generally an interpretation of an individual's experience in terms of the values of C.F. previously mentioned. The functioning of "shamanic projection" (Laughlin et al. 1990:150) or transference, in the student-teacher relationship, which is part of this learning process, is discussed in chapter five.

A central part of the C.F. teaching focuses on teaching people how to become aware of the body as an instrument for receiving knowledge from "cosmic energies". C.F. teaching puts an emphasis on the heart chakra which is located in the upper chest approximately around the heart area. It is not equally concerned with other chakras as outlined in various yoga traditions

(Radha, 1978). The individual is taught to focus on the heart area during meditation and to experience sensations of "energy" there. By doing this the individual sets up a feedback system within the body which is believed to become sensitive to cosmic energies. In th: way the person can receive knowledge through the Godself which is not conscious at the ego level. This is done by asking a question during meditation, or answering a teacher's question during group meditation.

Focusing on the heart chakra and receiving somaesthetic sensations in that area is referred to as being "in the heart". It is taught that when people are "in their heart" they can experience "clarity" about any question they need an answer to, or see what their highest purpose is at that moment.

In learning how to use the C.F. techniques an individual comes to know the signals of his, or her, own body, as they arise during meditation and outside of meditation. Implicit in this is the idea that the encounter with the Godself is an ongoing physical activity. Eventually these signals should be present on a more or less permanent basis, although they can be impeded by emotion and attitudes such as having judgements about others. Being "in the heart" is equated with experiencing states of unconditional love and truth. The heightened physical awareness of this state of being is accompanied by an opening in feelings of awareness that include other people and the interconnectedness of all "energy" systems represented in a variety of phenomenal forms. When there is clarity within the individual, that is, when

they are "in their heart", the speaking voice is considered to be an instrument for conducting cosmic "energy". The emphasis on the heart chakra in this work is made because C.F. teaches that there is alrea   much of a focus on thinking in our society, to the detriment of other ways of knowing.

Another central focus in the C.F. practise is on addictive patterns. It is believed that all human beings have unconscious addictive patterns in their behaviour which can be released by focusing on "being in their heart". In this way the individual can shift from acting out of fear and addiction to acting from unconditional love for self and others. Practitioners learn to do this by working with a teacher who "monitors" their state of being when working in meditation and is able to provide feedback about whether the individual is "in their heart".

Relationships between people and other systems of "energy" are considered to be reciprocal in C.F.. Participants are taught to be thankful for the insight and learning they have received and to show this gratitude by continuing to stay aligned with their Godself by being "in the heart". They are also taught to be grateful for their connection with the central teacher. Relationships with cosmic "energy" are based on the conscious choice of the individual to surrender the will of the ego. The choice to surrender was described to me as, "the will or intent to learn to choose the vibrational energy of the cosmos and to receive and transmit that energy (X, personal communication)." The Godself is considered to be the highest part of

ourselves through which cosmic "energy" is "channelled" if we remain "in our heart". By this means we can become consciously aware of the knowledge of "higher vibrations", of what our highest purpose is in every moment, and "raise our vibration".

The commitment to internal change on a personal level by practitioners of C.F. is believed to be connected with and result in external global change. Internal change by participants is manifest in changes in behaviour, personal perception, perception of others, and interpretation of external experience. Internal awareness is considered to be the basis of knowledge about what to do in the external world and there is considered to be no separation between the internal and the external. When change arises in the moment by moment flow of "energy", if the individual is connected internally with their highest purpose, then an immediate shift appears in the external world through their actions, or through the shift in "energy". Change is considered to serve the growing awareness of the individual and the species. For this reason, there is no separation between working towards internal clarity for the individual and making a contribution to the Collective. The "Collective", or the "Whole", refers alternately to those participating in C.F., humanity, and all of the universe.

The emphasis of meditative practise, especially for beginners, is on gaining clarity about personal issues. For example, old emotional issues, or limited perceptions of the world based on operating from the will of the ego.

It is felt that if individuals do learn to operate "from their hearts" they will try to effect change in the external world without first addressing their internal basis of projections, assertions that others should change, "save the world" attitudes, and personal areas of blindness.

C. THE NATURE OF C.F. SELF-REPRESENTATION

There are several aspects of the representation of spiritual and New Age practises by popular culture from which C.F. wishes to dissociate itself. These include: the idea that C.F. is part of the New Age movement, that it is a group, or cult, and that it has a hierarchy. It is my opinion that this desire for dissociation from these things perpetrates some inaccuracies about the C.F. practise. I have already argued for the inclusion of this practise among New Age practises. A second consideration is whether C.F. is a group and has a hierarchy. I believe that the answer is yes. C.F. has a central teacher, initiated "masters", newer initiates, "regulars" who attended many seminars in a year, and others who were invited as guests and have the option to begin the work. The teachers of the work are only initiated masters. During my participation in this work there were some seminars and meetings which were only for "masters". Assessments of new practitioners are made by masters and reported to the central teacher. Another aspect of hierarchy is found in the monitoring of practitioners to see whether they follow the directives of the central teacher. At times it is suggested to people that they leave a seminar and deal with

particular issues before they come back. They were welcome to return when they have done this. Being close to the teacher, I believe, also contributed to aspects of inclusiveness and exclusiveness among practitioners. I propose that the aspects of exclusiveness of the practises, combined with the values which are taught, constitute the basis of a "group" identity. Even though practitioners are told that awareness can change "in the moment" I feel that the values taught by C.F. do constitute a loosely shared "system" of belief, although participants feel that it is corroborated through personal meditative experience rather than through "blind faith".

I would argue that while C.F. does not seem to perpetrate any beliefs which are dangerous to the welfare of participants and thus confirm negative popular conceptions of what a cult is, that it does display general characteristics of cults as defined in the social sciences. For example, one definition describes a cult as

> An amorphous type of religious organization. Membership in a cult is loosely defined, and usually involves simply acceptance of certain beliefs and practises. No one is born into a cult, and usually there is no formal system for joining. Adherence to the beliefs and practises of the cult is voluntary, and there is no system of enforcement or discipline (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1979:91).

Other criteria of social science definitions of cults which pertain to C.F. are that a cult is, "distinguished from other forms of religious organization by its deviation from dominant orthodoxies within the communities in which it operates (Jary and Jary, 1991:135)." C.F. is also syncretistic (135) in its

meditation practises and shares many "New Age" ideas, and "recruits individuals who make a positive choice to become involved (135)". In C.F. the "newness" of the teaching is emphasised so there is no acknowledgement of syncretism.

D. THE SIMILARITIES BETWEEN SHAMANISM AND C.F.

Areas of similarity between shamanism and C.F. include: some elements of belief and worldview, some transpersonal experiences, some socio-cultural attributes and some similarities in the life experiences of practitioners. Both have a holistic worldview which recognizes "hidden realities" and the interconnectedness of all things. Views about universal "energy" systems, or 'power" in C.F. are very similar to those of shamanic traditions. The physical plane is understood to be the site of local manifestations of "energy" which permeate all of reality and are considered to be neutral. "Energy" can be manipulated for personal ends by the ego, or the ego can surrender its will to a higher purpose, and manifest that purpose on earth through human actions. The actions of human beings and the circumstances of human existence as local manifestations of "energy" systems are not considered to be either good, or bad, but as opportunities for humanity to learn. Similarly, in both practises the intentionality of the highest "energy" systems is understood to be beyond human understanding in its entirety, although specific questions may be asked by individuals.

Through their growing awareness, shamans, and practitioners of C.F. can obtain and act upon the knowledge that they receive through "energy" systems. In C.F. the accuracy of the knowledge received is believed to be determined by the individual's personal clarity, a belief which I feel corresponds with shamanic ideas about the "power" of individuals. Those who are opened to being aware and receiving insights in C.F. meditation, "channelling", and other forms of "energy" work, experience a continual broadening of their understanding of "energy" systems, and potentially, the discovery of their purpose in every moment. Likewise, as will be illustrated in chapter seven, shamans develop personal relationships with "supernatural" forces which evolve over time.

Practitioners of shamanism and C.F. also share experiences of changes in self-perception and self-other perception and undertake a lifetime journey of exploration in which personal transformations are sought to connect the individual with sources of "power" and knowledge. In both "traditions" these connections are consciously intended for one's own benefit and in relationship with the needs of a larger collective, both human and cosmic. Practitioners progress from the belief stage of within their respective cycles of meaning to that of realization. Individuals in both "traditions" are empowered and experience greater ability to function in the world, in transpersonal states, and to integrate personal "spiritual" experience with socially useful values.

2

PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT
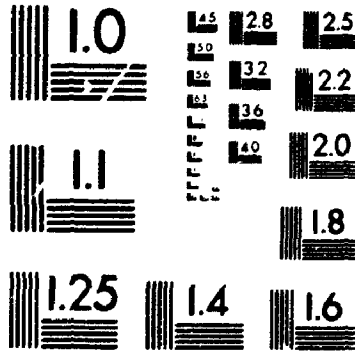
1.0	.45 / .50 / .56 / .63	2.8 / 3.2 / 3.6 / .40	2.5 / 2.2 / 2.0
1.1			1.8
1.25	1.4	1.6	

PRECISION℠ RESOLUTION TARGETS

Other similarities between shamanism and C.F. are found in the techniques they use. For example, in healing through a laying on of hands, the use of symbols to focus on in meditation, fasting, the use of A.S.C.s, the use of guided imagery techniques, sharing knowle ge among practitioners, and the training and initiation of candidates. The use of symbols in C.F. practise was primarily limited to initiates and was not a part of seminars which I attended. In both shamanic traditions and C.F. there is an intention to provide the candidate with repeated opportunities through ritual training, to achieve personal empowerment and transformation.

I believe that the focus on the body as an instrument of knowing by C.F. would not be considered to be foreign to shamans, although it is not specifically discussed in terms of feedback in accounts of shamanic practise (see chapter five).

E. THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN C.F. AND SHAMANISM

Many of the differences between C.F. and shamanism are differences of degree rather than of kind. They lie in the areas of techniques used for inducing A.S.C.s, the use of the body as an instrument of "knowing", the mapping of cosmological realms, the role of healing, the performance of different tasks in relation to the community, and the marginal status of C.F. practitioners to their society, compared to that of "traditional" shamans.

C.F. does not use shamanic techniques, such as "journeying" to a culturally defined cosmological loca 'jn through the use of drumming, or hallucinogens (see Harner, 1973a). It also does not use the ritual paraphernalia of any aboriginal shamanic tradition, nor does it claim any connection with such a tradition. For these reasons I propose that it exhibits greater similarities to other contemporary "mystical" practises than to neo-shamanism or "traditional" shamanism. For example, in the use of sitting meditation as a central technique, in the eclecticism of its values, and in the eclectic previous training of its members, C.F. practise differs from traditional shamanism. Although all transpersonal practises have some common experiential features, it is not precise to call C.F. "shamanic" in the strict sense, such as in the use of the criteria of shamanic ideology outlined by Eliade (1974).

There is no mythological representation of the cosmos in C.F. Different dimensions, or "energy" planes, and "grids", are mentioned, but the focus of this teaching is on accessing the highest part of "energy" manifestations through "being in your heart". There is no clearly mapped symbolic representation of different cosmic regions, or "supernatural" entities, as occurs in traditional shamanism (Eliade, 1974:259-287; Halifax, 1982:66-69).

Other differences are found in the area of representing "hidden realities" and in what are defined as appropriate relationships with "supernatural" forces by each of these practises. In C.F. to attempt to make contact with "energy"

manifestations other than the Godself is considered to be a diversion from the goal of continual connection with your Godself. Likewise, delving into the realm of psi phenomena, is understood to be motivated by the will of the ego and is discouraged. By contrast, maintaining contact with spirits, gods, or other forces, is a central part of traditional shamanism, as is the development of psi abilities (Harner, 1986:55,73) (see chapter five).

The use of "energy", or "power", by shamans and those in C.F., is not always for the same socially defined tasks. For example, shamanic tasks such as weather control, healing, etc., are not, to my knowledge, a part of the work in C.F.. For some participants of C.F. their personal "use" of "energy", which results from seeking their "highest purpose", includes teaching and conducting seminars with groups of people. For others, it involves making changes in how they work at previously held jobs, by being "in their heart", or by changing those jobs and even their lifestyle.

Another important difference between shamanism and the C.F. practise lies in their respective attitudes about the role of healing within their work. The central teacher of C.F. has stated that she is not a healer and that the form of practise which she espouses is based on creating and not healing. Having begun in Reiki, which is a healing practise, she later discovered that this was no longer the focus of her life or work. She assumes that healing is an ongoing lifelong process which does not need to be focused on specifically. While I will demonstrate in subsequent chapters that the work of traditional

shamans is also a highly creative endeavour, the relationship between creating and healing is not conceptualized or practised by shamans in the way that C.F. does.

For the shaman there is no separation between healing, creating, and personal experiences of transformation. For example, in his account of the !Kung, Katz (1982) states that for them,

> Healing seeks to establish health and growth on physical, psychological, social, and spiritual levels; it involves work on the individual, the group, and the surrounding environment and cosmos (Katz, 1982:34).

Shamanic techniques such as "sucking and blowing", journeying to retrieve lost souls, and various other healing techniques (Harner, 1986), are not a part of C.F. practise.

A conceptual distinction between healing and creating is made in C.F. because it is felt to correct other types of "modern mystical practises" and psychological schools which are considered to over-emphasize healing. C.F. teaching argues that when there is an over-emphasis on "sickness" and the need for healing the individual will remain "stuck" by focusing on "old issues" which will impede personal transformation.

I would argue that there is not really a great distinction between the holistic worldviews of shamanic societies and that of the C.F. practise. Each type of practise makes a different conceptual emphasis about the use of "power" and their practitioners perform specific tasks which have been shaped by their socio-historical contexts. In C.F. work there is an allowance for the

individual to release old blockages in meditation. Individuals are encouraged to do so and then to move on with what will support them in receiving new energies and making creative changes in life. It is assumed that healing does occur under the auspices of creating new forms of personal expression, whether they be "artistic" or otherwise. What is important in the C.F. teaching is that individuals create from their heart. When an individual is in connection with the "Whole" it is understood that insights come from clear awareness of what the highest purpose is for that individual at that time. Creativity which comes "from the heart" is also believed to connect the individual with an awareness which is personal and at the same time is a part of what is appropriate for the "Collective". As an individual surrenders ego-will to a greater extent, their personal expression of what "is in highest purpose" for themselves will be in accord with what is appropriate for the "Whole".

I have also been informed by an initiate that in advanced seminars for masters a lot of healing occurs to remove "blockages" which might impede the work of the group.

Aside from the newness of the C.F. practise, the essential difference between C.F. and shamanism lies in the <u>centrality of the social role of the aboriginal shaman</u> as opposed to the marginality of the C.F. practise in relation to the societies in which it is situated. The traditional shaman is, or was historically, the central spiritual and medical practitioner of his community, and often exercised considerable political power as well. In some societies the

position of shaman has now ceased to exist, or has become secondary to

priestly functionaries. Commonly, however, the role of shaman was central to

mediating with the forces of multiple realities (Eliade, 1974). In contrast with

this, C.F. is marginal to mainstream North American society although it is a

central part of the lives of its participants. It can be argued that C.F.

practitioners, along with other New Age practitioners, may, over time,

contribute to a mitigation of their marginal status due to the tendency of their

"group" to be made up of well-educated people who are in positions to

influence society, an observation which Townsend (1988) made about

practitioners of the "modern mystical movement" in general (73).

F. RUMINATIONS ON MY EXPERIENCE IN THE C.F. PRACTISE

In writing about C.F. I am aware that my knowledge is that of a novice

and of not having been privy to some of the work which is done with symbols

in this practise. As with traditional mystical practises, everything is not

revealed to the neophyte. Ferguson's (1987) summing up of the experiences of

many people currently involved in "New Age" practises and contemporary "neo-

mysticism" is an appropriate statement about my experience in C.F. and, I

believe, that of many people involved with C.F.. She writes

> Having experienced creative change in their own lives - more
> freedom, feelings of kinship and unity, more creativity, more
> ability to handle stress, a sense of meaning - they concede that
> others may change, too. And they believe that if enough
> individuals discover new capacities in themselves they will

naturally conspire to create a world hospitable to human imagination, growth, and cooperation (Ferguson, 1987:70).

My personal journey into transpersonal experiences through C.F. work has provided me with some insights into what transpersonal experience and personal transformation are about and the impact that the changes wrought in shamanic transformation can have on an individual. I have experienced "energy" in the body and other transpersonal experiences which are discussed later in the thesis. I consider the changes in self-perception that have resulted from these experiences to be empowering. There was, however, some discomfort of being "between worlds" as my previous worldview is seen to be insufficient, and yet I had not completely incorporated a new one. Ultimately, I left the C.F. practise, although I consider it to be the beginning of my "spiritual" path. I also experienced some discomfort at this stage as I began to sort out what aspects of the practise I still found to be useful and subjectively true and those which I did not. I will elaborate on specific transpersonal experiences obtained through doing C.F. work throughout the thesis.

(III) SUMMARY

This chapter has made a number of points concerning the relationship between shamans and the societies in which they work. First, we have seen that the role of the shaman as mediator and visionary is integrated within a cycle of meaning which posits reciprocal relationships with larger "energy" systems. Second, that the shaman's personal access to these "energy" systems is

facilitated by his, or her, technical expertise in A.S.C.s, which is coded as "journeying" in multiple levels of reality. Third, that the shaman's mythopoeic expression of experiences in multiple realities focuses both the "extraordinary" experiences of the shaman and the existential requirements of the community in a reciprocal relationship. Fourth, that shamans revivify the cycle of meaning by providing knowledge from their visionary explorations which is interpreted as evidence of multiple realities and delineates their nature. Fifth, that there is a significant overlap in the experiences of shamans cross-culturally. They are characterized by having holistic cosmologies involving multiple realities, beliefs in the operation of "energy" systems, relationships of reciprocity with "supernatural" forces, and cycles of meaning, which validate the use of methods of accessing "power". Finally, it can be concluded that there is no separation between the social functions of the shaman and the shaman's development of his, or her own, phenomenology, through pursuit of knowledge in multiple realities (A.S.C.s).

My experiences in C.F. have been useful to understanding shamanic experience in a number of ways. First through experiencing the shift from the level of belief to realization in a cycle of meaning. Second from the participation in a belief system which shares shamanic ideas about the interrelatedness of all things through "energy" systems and the cultivation of reciprocal relationships with these systems. Third, through the use techniques for altering consciousness which produce shifts in perception that "verify" the

belief system and produce changes in attitude and behaviour. The latter will be elaborated upon in discussions of empowerment and integration of personality in subsequent chapters.

The Unconscious
"Hidden Realities"

A SIGNS OF SHAMANIC POTENTIAL

* Dreams and visions
* Interest in shamanic lore
* Socially designated "signs" of "power"

} Successful rejection of vocation

B A SHIFT IN PHENOMENOLOGY

* Behavioural changes
* Withdrawal
* Dismemberment
* Struggle
* Uncontrolled A.S.C.s
* Choice

} Unsuccessful rejection of vocation

C REBIRTH

* Transformation (Inner Initiation)
* Spirit Helpers Acquired
* Ceremonial Initiation
* New self-perception and self-other perception

D APPRENTICESHIP

* Teacher acquired
* Training in A.S.C. control and shamanic lore
* Instructions from inner teachers (supernatural)
* Developing shamanic identity and personal visions and methods

G CREATIVITY / INDIVIDUATION

* Wholeness
* "High level" creativity

F MASTER SHAMANSHIP

* Full social recognition
* Technical mastery achieved
* Living according to a personal vision
* Fully able to function in consensus reality

Loss of "Power" can occur at any point

E SHAMANIC PRACTICE

* Success and failure
* Achieving a professional reputation
* Learning shamanic balance
* Maintaining "power"
* Refining and expanding personal vision and technical Abilities

I Belief

knowledge about cosmology is limited to symbolic expression which is believed and memorized

II Understanding

the potential shaman begins to see the cosmos as a total system which can be related to daily experiences of life

III Realization

there is direct experience of the cosmos through A.S.C.s in both baseline and altered states of consciousness the shaman's experiences are direct and personal

FIGURE 2 The Shaman's Journey

The shaman's journey begins with the identification of culturally defined signs of potential. It continues with the prospective shaman's inner shifts in phenomenology which culminate in a new sense of self-perception (rebirth). The subsequent training and practice lead to an unfolding of personal vision and integration with the social role of the shaman.

Ultimately a master shaman may achieve a high level of creativity and wholeness which are operational in consensus reality.

CHAPTER FOUR: SHAMANIC AWARENESS: SELF-KNOWLEDGE AND A RADICAL SHIFT IN SELF-AWARENESS

This chapter provides a synopsis of the common early experiences of shamans during the period up to, and including, their formal initiation as shamans. I will show that these early experiences produce changes in self-perception, and self-other perception, that contribute to a global shift in the phenomenology of a prospective shaman. I have identified the key experiences that mark the radical shift in phenomenology of this early part of shamans's careers as: signs, struggle, choice, and rebirth. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section outlines the conceptual basis for interpreting the shaman's journey, the second examines the experiences of initiation and their implications for the transformation of the potential shaman, and the third provides a summary.

(1) THE CONCEPT OF INDIVIDUATION

This examination of shamanic transformation draws upon Jungian conceptualizations of personal development, as well as making references to Maslow's concept of "peak experiences" and the overlap between his conceptualization of "self-realization" and "authentic living" (1968, 1972) with Jung's mapping of the individuation process.

Jung defined individuation as a coming to "selfhood", "self-realization", or "wholeness" (1977:122; 1980:275). He observed that, "It is generally assumed that consciousness is the whole of the psychological process

assumed that consciousness is the whole of the psychological process (1980:275)", but he argued that unconscious processes exist which make the "whole" larger than ego awareness (275). Jung (1977) described the larger for the individual as the Self which is not the personality at an ego level but is , "...the total personality which though present cannot be known (142)." The ego is, "...the centre of the field of consciousness; ...the subject of all personal acts of consciousness (Jung, 1977:139)" and it is related to the Self as a subordinate concept. Hall (1983) observed that, the Self is "...a concept needed to discuss observable activities of the psyche but is not capable of direct elucidation (21)."

Both the Self and the ego are related to the unknown. Jung differentiates the external unknown, which can been known empirically, from the internal unknown, which is called the unconscious (1977:140). In order to experience the Self consciously the individual must establish a continuing dialogue between the Self and their conscious awareness (Hall, 1983:21; Jaffé, 1983:21). In Jungian explorations this dialogue is established through the techniques of dream analysis, word association, artistic productions (painting, making mandalas, etc.), and active imagination. The latter is a technique for entering into dialogue with dream figures from a relaxed waking state (Jung, 1980:275ff; Hall, 1983; Johnson, 1986). With the help of an analyst these productions are interpreted as "messages" from the unconscious. Self-realization, or individuation, may come about when an individual accepts

statements of the unconscious and appropriately integrates this knowledge into his, or her, daily life. As has been mentioned Jung considered individuation to be a goal rather than something which is very often fully realized. On this basis Hall (1983) argues that what is important is, "... whether the personality is being true to its own deeper potentialities rather than simply following egocentric and narcissistic tendencies or identifying with collective cultural roles (19)."

I propose that in shamanic societies the dialogue between ego consciousness and the unconscious is represented as maintaining a relationship with the "supernatural". Likewise, for European cultures, "...symbols of the self...cannot be distinguished from God-symbols (Jaffé, 1983:42-43)". I will show that the vocation of prospective shamans provides an opportunity to fulfil the deeper potentialities through the dialogue which is established with the unconscious, and through the empowerment which results from initiation into a social role which supports the "inner" needs and "nature" of the shaman.

Jung distinguished a natural process of individuation from a process of articulated individuation (Jacobi, 1967:15). The natural process is presented as, "...occurring more or less autonomously and without participation of consciousness (15)", while the articulated process is, "...developed by definite methods and consciously experienced (15)." The former process is one in which the individual is a passive object, while the latter is actively experienced and sought out by the individual (18), such as through entering analysis. I will

demonstrate that when the "call" to, or conscious desire for shamanic initiation, is accepted, through the pursuit of training and "shamanizing", then it serves as a path for articulated individuation.

A. MAPPING SHAMANIC TRANSFORMATIONS

Several methodological and epistemological issues are pertinent to this examination of shamanic transformation. First, the idea of mapping the process is problematic. The idiosyncrasy of the cognized environment (Ec) of individuals within a cycle of meaning has already been outlined. This examination will document, however, that despite the differences in Ec among people in shamanic societies that common experiences of phenomenological change can be mapped within a culture and that a considerable overlap exists cross-culturally (see Laughlin et al. 1990). A second issue concerns the "levels" of representation of shamanism that are implicit in this mapping. Since the representation of shamanism presented here is based on the fieldwork of others, it represents a third-order construction of reality (cf., Cove, 1987:24-25). The first, is that of shamanic societies themselves; the second, is that of anthropological documentation of shamanism; and the third, is my own depiction and interpretation of the "literature" in the light of personal experiences of transformation.

Although logical discourse demands that this mapping is delineated in what appears to be a linear pattern, it must be considered to be an

approximation of experiences which are often not that predictable. It will be shown that shamans do not experience personal transformation as a rigidly linear pattern of progression, although many commonalities exist. From the perspective of shamanic worldviews, shamans exist in a universal ground of "power" and knowledge. The cultivation of "power" requires an "opening" in the awareness of the individual which will be shown to be "encouraged" through the use of deliberate methods, but can never be compelled.

(II) SHAMANIC TRANSFORMATION AND INITIATION

Ferguson (1987) defines transformation as, "literally a forming over, a restructuring (68)", whose essence is, "enlargement, connection, the power to transform life (31)." Shamanic transformation results in such shifts in awareness that permanently change an individual's perception of the world. Shamanic initiation has both internal (phenomenological) and external (changes in behaviour and ceremonial rites of passage) correlates in the experience of the individual (Eliade, 1974). Given (1990) observes that "...we have tended to omit from our theoretical discussions of rites of passage detailed investigations of the altered phenomenology that they often tend to engender (1)." He argues that initiation needs to be

> ...analyzed not simply as changes in social status but rather as tools for the re-ordering of phenomenology which are designed to engender long-term alterations in the initiates' experience of the world. The initiation provides a rationale and instruction conjunctive with ritual technique which is consciously designed to

globally and permanently alter the consciousness of the
practitioner (Given, 1990:abstract)

Many instances of transformation begin with spontaneous "eruptions" of
the unconscious in the individual which can be triggered through ritual
experience, personal trauma, or psychological predisposition (Eliade, 1974).
With every instance of contact between ego consciousness and the unconscious
an opportunity exists to obtain feedback from what shamanic worldviews code
as "hidden realities" or the "supernatural". This feedback, or knowledge, is
experienced in the form of visual or auditory imagery, dreams, insights,
spontaneous eruptions of song, etc. (e.g., Czaplinka, 1969:175). The
transformation of the individual from what Eliade (1974) calls "pre-choice"
status (6), to experiencing a global alteration in self-perception, begins with
these "eruptions" of the unconscious and it will be shown is facilitated by the
"technology" of shamanic initiation and training.

A. SIGNS OF SHAMANIC POTENTIAL

The inception of the process of shamanic development is identified by
"signs" which are coded as being "supernatural" in shamanic worldviews. They
may take the form of transpersonal experiences (such as dreams and visions),
specific types of behaviour in the individual, or other socially-defined criteria
that indicate that an individual has received some special mark of "power",
from "supernatural" forces, or fate. For example, signs may be unusual
phenomena, like being born in the breach position, or being born a twin

(Rogers, 1982:15). The Iglulik shaman, Aua, was born with the umbilical chord wrapped around his neck, apparently dead, and returned to life, after which the shaman attending his birth declared, "He is born to die, but he shall live (Rasmussen 1976b: 117)."

There are number of tendencies of personality and behaviour that are commonly found cross-cultural as indicators of shamanic potential. Among the aborigines of Australia (Elkin, 1980), and the Desana of the Northwest Amazon (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1971:127), observations are made of children and adolescents who take a particular interest in mythology, shamanic practises, and traditional lore. Those who are inclined to have transpersonal experiences (e.g., Eliade, 1974:58; Sharon, 1978:11), or display a meditative disposition at a young age, are considered to be potential shamans. Ackerknecht asserts that any unusual peculiarities in the life of an individual may cast an aura of familiarity with occult forces on the person involved and lead to an identification of shamanic potential by the community (in Rogers, 1982:15).

There are also reports of shamans who show no signs of shamanic potential at an early age and become shamans later in life. For example, the Paviotso shaman, Rosie Plummer, did not become a shaman until she reached her fifties, when she began to have a series of dreams in which she was instructed to become a shaman (Halifax, 1979:105). Among contemporary shamans in urban Thailand, Heinze (1991) says that most "decide" to take training and few receive the "call" or inherit their "powers" and station (99). It

appears to be more common cross-culturally, however, for those who do not pursue the shamanic role until later in life, have shown some indication of a tendency towards it at an early age (149).

For those who embark on the shamanic path the appearance of signs presents only a possibility of shamanic vocation. It is not a guarantee that the individual will in fact achieve shamanic status. Transpersonal experience must be articulated within the society's cycle of meaning in order to bring the individual experiencing it into a relationship with the cosmology and the society (Laughlin et al., 1990). Shamanic status and the fulfilment of personal vocation as a shaman cannot be achieved in a hostile relationship with society. Would-be shamans must blend their personal ambitions, abilities, and transpersonal experiences into the socially prescribed pattern of demonstrating shamanic potential in their society. Despite the fact that shamans often act as innovators in their societies (Nadel, 1946:25-37), they are not acting out the role of "social rebels" (Braden, 1971). An individual who seems to have abilities considered to be important to shamanic practise, such as telepathic ability, may be recognized as having shamanic potential (Murphy, 1964:58), but not all telepaths in shamanic societies become shamans who use their ability to serve the community. Signs evoke the possibility of recognition of shamanic status and of receiving training as a shaman.

B. THE FEAR OF TRANSPERSONAL EXPERIENCE

Another common characteristic of the appearance of signs at a young age is that they are often ignored, or at least not acted upon, until later in life (e.g., Halifax, 1979:181; Handelman, 1967:450; Neihardt, 1979:21, 159-161). One reason why shamans often do not speak of their transpersonal experiences when they occur may be found in the nature of the experiences themselves. Several shamans have described their fear that they would be perceived as being crazy by adults if they spoke of their spontaneous transpersonal experiences. For example, Black Elk related:

> I was very sad; for it seemed to me that every-body ought to know about it, but I was afraid to tell, because I knew that nobody would believe me, little as I was, for I was only nine years old. Also, as I lay there thinking of my vision, I could see it all again and feel the meaning with a part of me like a strange "power" glowing in my body; but when the part of me that talks would try to make words for meaning, it would be like a fog and get away from me (Black Elk in Neihardt, 1979:48-49).

The reasons for these types of reaction to spontaneous signs of shamanic potential can be explained as more than just the differential in power relations between adults and children in a given society, because they have correlations with the resistance of those who are in the process of experiencing transpersonal experiences in "shamanic sickness" (Halifax, 1979), the next phase of development in prospective shamans.

C. STRUGGLE, RESISTANCE, AND CHANGING SELF-PERCEPTION

Sometime after the appearance of signs in the life of a potential shaman the individual is confronted with further transpersonal experiences of that make it clear that he, or she, is being required to make a commitment to their shamanic vocation. In some cases where preliminary shamanic training and initiation are undertaken during adolescence, or earlier, the distinction between signs and the inception of transpersonal experiences of inner initiation may not be that clearly demarcated.

The commonly identifiable initiatory experience which appears after signs of potential is generally referred to as "shamanic sickness", or crisis, and is signified by a "progressive change in behaviour" in the individual (Eliade, 1974:35). For example, Eliade observed that among the Yakut of Siberia, "The candidate becomes meditative, seeks solitude, sleeps a great deal, seems absent-minded, has prophetic dreams and sometimes seizures (35)." This phase of shamanic crisis sometimes lasts many years as in the case of the Siberian shaman, Kyzlasov, who was "sick" between the ages of twenty-three and thirty (Halifax, 1979:49). These changes precede ceremonial initiation and are characterized by the experience of struggle and resistance to the inner transformation the candidate is experiencing.   The identification of these experiences as sickness, or crisis, refers to the external similarity in appearance of the behaviour of candidates with that of physical, or mental illness, as defined by the culture of the candidate. Cove (1987) observes that the

designation of "sickness" is an idiom used within oral traditions (1987:190) and is, "used by others who have to deal with the person as they appear in ordinary reality (192)."

There are several reasons for resistance to shamanic vocation which appear in shamans's accounts of shamanic crisis. These factors include: the dangers of physical death, hardship, or injury; the fear of transpersonal experience itself (Larsen, 1988:72,77); resistance to the psychological pressures of life experiences that may have triggered transpersonal initiation, and resistance to the social demands of shamanic office. While the forms of shamanic initiation are not identical cross-culturally, the content of transpersonal experiences (such as encounters with "supernatural" entities) will be ideologically appropriate, and some combination of the aspects of struggle listed above are found in most experiences of shamanic initiation.

Kalweit (1988) points out that the process of change in western societies, when contrasted to that of traditional societies, shows a marked difference in the area of personal development. In traditional cultures personal changes are seen as a, "...series of leaps from one mode of existence to another...the leap from human to superhuman (90)". Kalweit (1988) contrasts these "leaps" with change experienced in western industrial societies which, he argues, are experienced as "continuous" and "peripheral" (90)[24]. For

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[24] It can be argued that some people in western cultures do experience radical changes in personal phenomenology as a result of near-death-experiences, religious conversion (James,

those experiencing shamanic crisis, the phenomenological leaps which are made correspond with Campbell's comparison of the shaman with the mythic hero (1973:98-101). The potential shaman, as the mythic hero, and the would-be master of any transpersonal practise (e.g., Trungpa. 1987:23-28), must deal with the struggles and resistances of the ego in making these changes. These struggles are characterized by a destabilization of the ego through involuntary transpersonal experiences, personal trauma, or through culturally structured ritual techniques.

The destabilization of the ego is sometimes intentionally evoked through the mechanisms of initiatory rituals found in shamanic societies and it will be shown that it is crucial to the process of altering self-perception and evoking rebirth experiences. Intentional mechanisms for destabilization are used either subsequent to the onset of "shamanic sickness", as a part of puberty rites (Grim, 1983), or after initial signs of shamanic potential have been manifested. Walsh (1990) observed that through the deliberate destabilization of the ego, shamanic societies, "...were the first to make systematic use of the discoveries that stress, fatigue, hunger, and rhythm could produce profound and mysterious changes in one's experience (Walsh, 1990:215)." The manipulation of these

1902/1964:157-206), or from pursuing some system of personal transformation (Ferguson, 1987). Most people in modern western societies, however, do not have the opportunity to experience the type of transformations found in socially instituted rites of passage, that are a part of "traditional" cultures (see Van Gennep, 1966). As Kalweit (1988) observed, even psychotherapies in the west do not initiate the radical type of transformations, and the suffering that accompanies it, that is found in the initiatory experiences of many shamanic societies.

physiological potentials for A.S.C.s through ritually inducing these states in individuals is common in all shamanic quests for initiatory revelation. Various methods are used, such as, fasting, the induction of physical exhaustion, withdrawal from the community (or at least from everyday activities and interaction), exposure to extreme cold, the use of hallucinogenic substances, self-torture and beating, and the use of ritual acoustic stimulation (drumming, chanting etc.) (Jilek, 1982: Kalweit, 1988). Some cultures incorporate physical dangers and hardships into the initiatory process in a very direct way. For example, a White American who sought shamanic initiation from a Dogrib Indian shaman related a series of ordeals in which he was 'whipped, beaten, bathed in ice water, and badgered physically and psychologically (Halifax, 1979:153).' Among the St. Lawrence Island Eskimos of Alaska, "Initiation involved wandering alone on the tundra, going without sleep or food, and suffering a great deal of physical hardship and mental anguish (Murphy, 1964:58)."

The phenomenological experiences which are evoked during these rituals and quests, produce symptoms of physical distress which serve to destabilize ego consciousness, such as, pain, fever, extreme exhaustion, dehydration, unconsciousness, and dreams and visions (Eliade, 1974; Jilek, 1982: Kalweit, 1988:90). Through enculturation in a shamanic worldview experiences of dreams and visions are interpreted as encounters with the "supernatural", generally in culturally coded forms. Through the trauma that

these "techniques" inflict they have the capacity to affect self-perception and to restructure the individual's sense of identity (Jilek, 1982:22-23). For example, Jilek documents that in Coast Salish ceremonials for obtaining a guardian spirit the shifts in phenomenology are so extreme that ritual candidates whom he identifies as previously suffering from depression and alcoholism ceased to have these problems (97). In shamanic initiation the discovery of the new self, in the shaman's identity and role, is the central focus of transformation.

Probably the foremost cause of resistance to shamanic calling is the real possibility of physical death, either through the effects of ritual induced traumas (Jilek, 1982), or in experiences which result from an involuntary destabilization of the ego. Kalweit (1988) observes that "The shaman's is an ego death that may miss real death by no more than a hair's breath (96)." During his first experience of using hallucinogens with the Conibo of the Peruvian Amazon, anthropologist Michael Harner (1986) was warned that the experience would be very frightening (2). In his subsequent work with a Jivaro shaman, he was told by the Jivaro that some who partook of their sacred brew had been known to run uncontrolled through the jungle and fall off of cliffs, or drown (19). During this episode, the Jivaro teacher that he worked with assured Harner that the other Indians present would be sober while he journeyed in a hallucinogenic state, and would hold him down, if necessary, so that he would not be physically harmed (18-19).

Not every one of the features of initiatory ritual mentioned above is a part of initiation in every culture, but several are usually present and the manipulation of physiological potential may take different forms. For example, withdrawal may involve having the candidate go to a distant cave (e.g., Halifax, 1979:180; Eliade, 1974:47), or sacred spot, or into a deep altered state such as those experienced by many Siberian shamans (e.g., Eliade, 1974:36, 43-44). Other forms of withdrawal are found in unconsciousness during a serious illness and in ritual practises. For example, the Dyak of Borneo seclude a candidate in a private room during one phase of initiation ceremonies (Eliade, 1974:57). In many marginal environments, such as Arctic, or desert areas, isolation can be considered a physically dangerous activity as well as psychologically difficult.

The severity of these initiatory experiences may also vary, such as, the amount of time that a candidate is required to fast. The Sioux shaman Leonard Crow Dog (born in 1942) stated that, 'adult men among the Sioux generally fast from one to four days on vision quests, and a practising medicine men requiring a big vision will fast four days, and sometimes longer (83).' He explained that, "In my case it was decided I should stay up there alone without food or water for two days and two nights (in Halifax, 1979:83)." Since he was aware of wanting to become a medicine man, one day and night would not have been enough (83-84), but because of his age it was felt that four days would be too much. By contrast, the Caribou Eskimo shaman, Igjugárjuk,

described his initiatory fasting as having lasted thirty days during which he received water on only two occasions (Rasmussen, 1976c:52). When he completed this quest for spiritual initiation Igjugárjuk was completely emaciated, unable to stand, and he states that the veins in his limbs were no longer visible. It was some time before he could eat normally again (53). Thus, while there is some variety in the physical trials that potential shaman must endure, they all function to breach the everyday experiences of life, which serve to disorient the candidate and ultimately to transform the self-image of the individual.

Another type of initiatory experience that can approach physical death are those that occur during a life-threatening illness. Serious illnesses such as smallpox (e.g., Halifax, 1979:12) and malaria (e.g., Loeb, 1929:67) are sometimes the vehicle from which dreams and visions of a sacred and initiatory nature occur and experiences that occur as a result of traumatic injuries can function in the same way (Halifax, 1979:5). They are place many of the same kinds physical and mental experiences stress on the individual that are encountered in ritual and formal vision quests. Whether the physical struggles which prospective shamans endure result from set ritual procedures, an accident, or from a serious illness, they are all characterized by struggle which threatens the former status of ego awareness. Even in societies where vision or dream quests are a part of puberty rites and common in the society,

shamanic initiations are still usually longer and more arduous in comparison with them (e.g., Jilek, 1982:10; Halifax, 1979).

Another aspect of shamanic struggle during initiation can be identified as existential trauma. This term is used to refer to those situations in which some psychic shock occurs in the life of an individual and precipitates the type of transpersonal experience which may constitute initiatory experience, or leads the individual to seek out such experiences by means of withdrawal from ordinary life, fasting, attempting to use shamanic techniques, or seeking out a teacher. These traumas lead to the clear identification of a personal vocation as a shaman and often precede such a search. They are often described as having happened at the time of the death, or grave illness, of a close family member, a spouse, or a friend. Other types of trauma include the loss of a parent during childhood through death, or by abandonment (e.g., Halifax, 1979:136; Handelman 1967:445), or the crisis of unhappy family relationships (e.g., Grim, 1983:121-125). For example, the Mazatec shaman, María Sabina, began to shamanize when her uncle became seriously ill and was believed to be dying (Halifax, 1979:131). Although she had received some previous instruction in curing from her grandmother (131) and had accidentally experienced visions by taking hallucinogenic mushrooms (130), she identified the curing of her uncle as the first cure that she was permitted to perform by the spirits. Similarly, the Greenland Eskimo, Autdaruta, recounted, "When my father died, I often went out for long rambles among the hills, because I felt

that I had been left alone (Rasmussen, 1976a:306)." He goes on to describe

his initiatory experiences in the form of auditory imagery (306) which address

the fact that he had became an orphan (306).

Closely connected with resistance to physical struggle and psychological

trauma is resistance to transpersonal experiences of shamanic crisis.

"Shamanic initiation demands a rending of the individual from all that

constitutes his or her past (Halifax, 1979:13)." As Kalweit (1988) observes

"Transpersonal experience results from the dismantling of psychic diversity,

from getting off the roundabout of conceptualized stimulation (117)."

Frequently, the dramatic nature of initiatory experiences can cause great fear

in the individual, as well as later integration of experiences of self-rescue, or

resolution, through contact with forces that help the shaman fight the hostile

elements that he, or she experiences.

A final category of influences which has some bearing on the resistance

and struggle of a potential shaman are those which constitute societal attitudes

towards shamanic practise. These are the ritual constraints and taboos which

differentiate the life experience of the shaman from that of non-shaman. As

Eliade (1974) points out, 'mankind has an ambivalent attitude toward the

sacred (1974: 109).' Despite the importance of the social role and

metaphysical example that the shaman is, he, or she, deals with those areas of

life and death, sickness and well-being, where humanity feels the most

vulnerable, and where the ego of the individual is most threatened by lack of control over internal and external events.

Other constraints on potential shamans besides societal attitudes are found in the taboos which they frequently must observe. For example, periods of sexual abstinence, even for the married candidate, are common especially during the initiatory period and in the early days of training (e.g., Chagnon, 1983:107-108; Halifax, 1979:68). In some cultures there are restrictions on the amount of wealth shamans can accumulate (Kalweit, 1988:189). Taboos regarding what food, the candidate, or practising shaman may consume are common (e.g., Halifax, 1979:68), especially those regarding not killing one's own "power" animal (e.g., Downs, 1966:58). As Kalweit (1988) observes, "...the enlargement of the psychic field of activity is counterbalanced by the [imposition of] oppressive taboos and restrictive rules of behaviour, diet, etc., (189)."

Associated with fear of the unknown are the attitudes of fear and ambivalence in many cultures about the use of "power". Besides the fears of a physical death that may occur from initiatory practises or illness, there is a seemingly universal experience of death, and struggle, with powerful forces that is found in transpersonal experience and imagery itself (Eliade, 1974). Eliade (1974) identifies a pattern of "struggle, death and resurrection (33)", that is common to shamanic initiation and to spiritual transformation cross-culturally (1958). There is also considerable cross-cultural evidence of this pattern in

myth (Campbell, 1973:245-246). Siberian cultures have provided

ethnographers with some particularly vivid accounts of the struggles of

initiation as they are framed within the mythological structure of their own

cosmology. For example, the following provides an abridged version of the

account of the initiatory struggles of the shaman Kyzlasov, from the village of

Sagay, in Siberia.

> I had been sick and I had been dreaming. In my dreams I had
> been taken to the ancestor and cut into pieces on a black table.
> They chopped me up and threw me into the kettle and I was
> Boiled. There were some men there: two black and two fair ones.
> Their chieftain was there too. He issued the orders concerning
> me. I saw all this. While the pieces of my body were boiled, they
> found a bone around the ribs. This was the excess-bone. This
> brought about my becoming a shaman. Because, only those men
> can become shamans in whose body such a bone can be found.
> One looks across the   hole of this bone and begins to see all,
> to know all and, that is when one becomes a shaman...When I
> came to from this state I woke up. This meant that my soul had
> returned. Then the shamans declared, "You are the sort of man
> who may become a shaman. You should become a shaman, you
> must begin to shamanize! (Dioszegi in Halifax, 1979:50).

This account which has in it the elements of struggle, dismemberment, and

rebirth with a transformed sense of identity, is echoed in the stories of other

shamanic initiations cross-culturally (Eliade, 1974). In some accounts the

dismemberment is not of the potential shaman, but of some other figures in

the vision (e.g., in Halifax, 1979:39), or of some form of physical torture, or

hardship, experienced by the would-be shaman in the vision (e.g., Biesle in

Halifax, 1979:55-56).

It is important to consider that in the early experiences of shamanic transformation the radical shift in the identity of the potential shaman could lead to the desire to use "power" for socially unacceptable purposes. Thus, many societies are very concerned with how the sacred technologies of the shaman are going to be employed by anyone using them (e.g., Boyer, Boyer, and De Vos, 1982:302). It is often noted by ethnographers and investigators that there is a fine line between those who use their shamanic abilities for either set of purposes. Some cultures consider any shaman a potential sorcerer (e.g., Downs, 1966:57; Klopfer and Boyer, 1961:171). For this reason, shamans are feared in many cultures, or treated with a combination of respect and fear (Grim, 1983:114-115).

D. VARIATIONS IN INITIATORY EXPERIENCES

While the emphasis in many of the anthropological representations of shamanism is on the trauma of initiatory experiences, it is important to observe that not all individuals have transpersonal experiences which are so traumatic, even though they receive signs and confirmation of their vocation through dreams or visions. The differences which are noted cross-culturally can be considered to be largely the result of enculturation. For example, Heinze (1991) documents that among urban Thai shamans most "decide" to become shamans claiming that it is out of concern for others (99). Their transpersonal experiences begin at the point at which they take up training in meditation

techniques (99). This description lies in strong contrast with the Chukchee of Siberia whose shamans are reported to, 'have fits, lie motionless for several days without food or water, and then go into the wilderness to endure hunger and cold (Czaplinka, 1969:17?).'

Although less overtly traumatic experiences may seem to be easier for the individual to experience I would argue that the shift in worldview and self-definition that they entail is itself traumatic. My experience in beginning C.F. meditation and practise resulted in feelings of discomfort and being caught between two worlds with contrary values, leading to a sense of being part of neither. The sometimes troubling struggle which I felt between the emphasis in academia and my previous worldview on knowing through intellectual means and the emphasis in C.F. in "knowing" through "energy", or intuitive means, is an example of how such a shift in worldview challenges the desire of the ego to be comfortable and to avoid unsettling change.

E. ATYPICALITY AND SHAMANIC CRISIS

A number of atypical characteristics have been noted in association with potential shamans. Kalweit (1988) suggests that, "Sickness, psychic, physical, and social handicaps as well as sexual deviations result in a disturbed identity, a lack of balance, which can shorten and facilitate the path of initiation (138)." While shamanic sickness and knowledge of vocation through experiences during serious physical illnesses are common routes to the destabilization of

pre-choice identity necessary for a new sense of self to emerge, it would be a mistake to assume that they are necessary prerequisites for entering into the shamanic path. In fact it echoes the psychoanalytic assumption that shamanism serves as a "dumping ground" for individuals suffering from any psychological illness. What is significant is that any means of destabilizing the ego that allows a sense of shamanic vocation and a new sense of identity to emerge, can serve the prospective shaman as a basis for gaining "sacred knowledge" and an awareness of a new relationship with cosmic "energy" systems. As Walsh (1990) noted "...there seems no reason to assume that there is only one type of shamanic crisis (97)." It is also important to note that no single characteristic that Kalweit and others have noted is a guarantee of shamanic vocation or initiation. Many of the examples that have been presented of shamans at the period of this emergence of a new self-perception have involved such existentially wrenching issues, but having a life-threatening illness, or being physically handicapped, or having any of these qualities, alone, is not enough to be recognized as a shaman. Simply being atypical in some way does not in itself lead to transformation. Shamanic societies accept behaviour which results from the destabilization of the ego when individuals are able to show that they have experienced the necessary contact with the "supernatural", received sanction, and have demonstrated that they can function in the role of the shaman. Therefore, even if possession of atypical characteristics may

<u>contribute</u> to the destabilization of the ego in individuals, they must complete a socially recognized process of transformation.

The features of shamanic experience that contribute to struggle in shamanic initiations have been outlined here to illustrate the nature of initiatory experiences, but they are actually experienced as part of a <u>single integrated experience</u> of struggle. I would argue that the fear of physical death cannot be totally separated from a fear of encountering dangerous "supernatural" beings in transpersonal visions. Likewise, that the physical hardships of many initiatory practises cannot be separated from the desire to have an "ordinary" and easier life. All aspects of initiatory experiences of struggle are equally real for the candidate. It is the whole being of the potential shaman that begins to be transformed in the initiatory struggle. Whether the various aspects of these initiatory experiences of the would-be shaman are examined in tandem, or separately, they al! contribute to the destabilization of the ego and the rending of the individual from previous perceptions of reality, and identity. Kalweit (1988) observes that, "...the balance of a normal person must first become disturbed by shamanic sickness if that person is to experience another reality (138)."

F. ILLNESS AND SOCIAL SUPPORT FOR INITIATORY

TRANSFORMATION

Interpreting shamanic crisis as a positive force in the transformation of the individual lies in the recognition that, generally speaking, illness does not have the same meaning in non-European cultures, that it does in our own. Kalweit (1988) observes that in shamanic cultures illness is construed as, "...a process that cleanses us of the bad habits we have accumulated by our false attitude of life (90)." He observes that

> The important stages of a person's life are connected by periods of inner purification so that the individual, being properly prepared and in a clear state of mind, undisturbed by customary thought processes and memories may progress to a new and unburdened existence (Kalweit, 1988:90).

This equation of illness with the possibility for purification is illustrated in the comparison of aboriginal medicine and biomedicine made by the Mohawk Elder, Ernie Benedict. He observes that

> The difference that exists is that the white doctor's medicines tend to be very mechanical. The person is repaired but he is not better than he was before. It is possible in the Indian Way to be a better person after going through a sickness followed by the proper medicine (Benedict in Jilek, 1982:161).

The transformational capacity of illness and healing has several implications for understanding and interpretation of shamanic sickness. First, that the enculturation of pre-choice shamanic behaviour in an individual and the enculturation of behaviour related to expectations regarding illness and its treatment (Leighton in Jilek, 1982:46), play a role in the behaviour of the

individual who experiences shamanic sickness. When illness is seen as something from which personal change and development may come about, it provides the opportunity and cultural legitimization for such an experience to be exploited, even if it springs from an unconscious awareness of a need for change in the individual. If the experience of shamanic sickness results from what we code as physiological illness, such as malaria, the individual has the cultural model of such illnesses as vehicles for transformation. If the prospective shaman experiences a "call" through a fairly involuntary set of initiatory experiences, then the interpretation of his, or her, behaviour as "shamanic sickness", can contribute to the emergence of a new sense of identity in a positive way (e.g., Neihardt, 1988). Furthermore, the often frightening nature of these experiences is given meaning by the understanding that when these experiences are faced and acknowledged they contribute to the welfare of the individual and the community. Suffering that has purpose is perhaps easier to tolerate than that which does not (Frankl, 1963:164) and the support from the community during shamanic crisis goes beyond the legitimization of the potential shaman's experiences. For example, Harner (198ᶠ) tells of assistance he was received during his first episode of drinking a hallucinogenic drink with the Jivaro (18-19) during which they stayed sober while he journeyed and protected him in the jungle as he wondered about in a drug-induced altered state. In some instances the candidate may be unable to

function in a "normal" way in consensus reality[25] for a long period of time.

The Gitksan shaman, Isaac Tens, explained that four of his cousins stayed with him and looked after him during his year long period of withdrawal from daily life when he was learning his "doctoring songs" (in Halifax, 1979:185-186). He stated that his cousins wished to learn his songs. This illustrates that not only was he receiving assistance with the necessities of life, since he could not go out to hunt, but that he was also receiving validation for his transpersonal experiences, and his episodes of shamanic sickness which preceded them. In many instances the support of the community goes beyond the actual period of shamanic sickness with its "progressive change in behaviour". The Iglulik shaman Aua, designated as a shaman before birth, was surrounded by taboos which began before his birth were observed by his family and others (Rasmussen, 1976b:116ff.). This support and positive reinforcement from shamanic societies is part of the reciprocal relationship that will subsequently exist between the shaman and the community. The potential for transformation through physical and mental crisis, and through periods where everyday functioning is limited or impeded by transpersonal experience,

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[25] The term consensus reality refers to the level of assumptions about the nature of reality (self and objects) which is generally shared by the members of a society. In the literature on A.S.C.s it is often contrasted with "esoteric reality" which may be experienced in A.S.C.s.. For example, if experiences of esoteric reality obtained in A.S.C.s challenges ideas of mind-body dualism, then consensus reality in that case is defined by what is being challenged (Given, personal communication) Tart (1986) refers to the assumption that consensus reality is "natural" and "normal", as consensus consciousness (11), or the "consensus reality orientation" (81).

provides a positive example of living from one's sense of personal vocation within the bounds of societal norms and coming to a positive resolution of shamanic sickness.

Whether shamanic sickness is manifested chiefly in an identifiable physiological illness, or in some other form, it is supported as a valid, indeed useful period of disorientation or illness. Despite the ambivalence about shamanism in many cultures there are mechanisms of support within shamanic societies that can operate when the possibility of shamanic potential is perceived in an individual. For example, when the individual clearly manifests characteristics of culturally defined signs of shamanic behaviour. As Walsh (1990) points out, the would-be shaman is encouraged to shamanize and attempt healing. No doubt this encouragement is also motivated by the belief that those who are "called" and do not practise as shamans, may die, or become ill, or insane, and therefore, be a burden to the community (e.g., Downs, 1966:56-57); Eliade, 1974:109).

Walsh (1990) identifies this support for the disorientation of the shamanic crisis as a reinterpretation of the disturbance after the fact which validates the experience (91). I would argue that having been enculturated in a shamanic society the candidate would likely interpret the emerging experiences as potentially shamanic, at least at an unconscious level, much earlier, because they probably would have previously witnessed shamanic crisis within the community, or know of it by repute. Despite possible resistance to

the role, and the disorienting quality of crisis, none of the accounts of shamans in the literature state that they subsequently did not know what had happened to them, although the disorientation of the process may have temporarily lead them to fear that they would go crazy. It seems likely that an understanding of the shamanic crisis by the individual is interpreted as being meaningful (in cosmological and social terms), both prior to, and after, shamanic crisis. As Walsh (1990) observes, it is also probable that the community will interpret such a crisis as a shamanic disturbance unless there is clear evidence over time that the individual is not going to be able to function as a shaman. The key to the importance of shamanic crisis to the community, and to the potential shaman, is that the individual can learn to evoke and control transpersonal experiences (Noll, 1985) and becomes able to fulfil an important social role as shaman.

Whether transformative experiences arise in the course of a "natural illness", through sudden involuntary contact with the transpersonal, or are deliberately evoked through specific methods, they expose and expel internal, even unconscious, blockages, and this produces, "...a heightened sensitivity for the process of being - a sensitivity that ultimately enables the shaman to diagnose and heal the illnesses of others (Kalweit, 1988:90)." As Kalweit (1988) observes, "...[in] these traditional cultures sickness, suffering, and death are manifestations of the body's inherent wisdom, to which we have only to surrender to reach areas of perception capable of revealing the true basis of

our earthly existence...(Kalweit, 1988:76)." During the period of shamanic
crisis the wisdom which is beyond the conscious ego instructs the individual of
a potentially greater sense of self; that he, or she, can experience a connection
with greater "energy" systems, and that these possibilities imply a greater sense
of responsibility toward the "sacred". Thus, it is crucial to understand that the
core of shamanic crisis lies in the experience of a sense of identity which
emerges from the experiences of ego destabilization. Whether this
destabilization results from conscious choice and the use of techniques of
destabilization, or is partially present already, transformation requires that
destabilization occur and that a new identity emerge from what had previously
existed only as potential. The basis of this reconstruction will be shown to lie
in the choices made by the potential shaman.

G. CHOICE: THE KEY TO TRANSFORMATION

Choice can be considered to be implicit to some degree, in all phases
and experiences of shamanic individuation. As Kalweit (1988) observes, choice
is part of, "any experience of the larger (182)." For individuals following
shamanic traditions the most important aspect of choice comes with the
acceptance of the knowledge, I am a shaman ("inner" initiation). This
realization, which represents a global shift in self-perception, does not
necessarily occur in the same way for everyone. It requires that the individual
see that he, or she, is connected with "supernatural" forces, something which

may be resisted. In the phenomenology of shamanic worldviews "supernatural" beings may be seen as initiating shamanic transformation through their "communications" with the potential shaman, but choice remains the province of the individual. For this reason choice is the key to why shamanic paths are a form of articulated practise and do not just represent a natural process of individuation.

This examination of choice shows how choice is empowering and contributes to the positive reconstruction of the destabilized ego. I also propose that the empowering effect of choice on the individual is cumulative and will illustrate how the potential shaman moves from experiencing shamanic sickness to becoming the "self-healed healer"[26]. Halifax (1979) proposes that the changes which result in an individual becoming a shaman are generally gradual (56). Accounts of shamans seem to present two broad kinds of pictures about this issue. First, there are those candidates who do come to acknowledge their vocation very quickly. Perhaps more commonly, we see a gradual, or cumulative, recognition of shamanic identity. Although these two polarities are best seen as the polar ends of a continuum, they provide a starting place from which to examine how choice enters into the process of radical self-discovery and how it is experienced.

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[26] The expression "self-healed healer" has frequently been used to describe the transformed identity and behaviour of a shamanic candidate after the shamanic crisis is resolved. It is important because it alludes to the empowerment of the individual because of his, or her, acceptance of the call.

Second, it appears that whether the basic experience of a shift in self-perception is gradual, or spontaneous, the change will have aspects of both sudden and cumulative transformation, and some individuals may experience more of one or the other. Inasmuch as both of these aspects are present, there are choices which are radical and lesser choices which support the major changes. The conscious realization, "I am a shaman", must be supported by making choices to continue to stay aligned with transpersonal experiences and act upon the knowledge gained from them, to undergo the hardships of shamanic crisis, to continue to obey the taboos and formal rules which are culturally designated as a part of shamanic initiatory experiences, and to pursue one's shamanic identity with increasing consciousness and willingness.

H. AN EXAMPLE OF INITIATION: THE STORY OF ISAAC TENS

The following example of the initiatory experiences of the Gitksan shaman, Isaac Tens, reveals how choices to take on the shamanic role and to accept transpersonal experience become increasingly conscious. Isaac Tens described how he experienced a number of involuntary transpersonal experiences at the age of thirty. While out hunting and gathering firewood, he began to experience involuntary signs of his shamanic vocation in the form of visions, and episodes of falling into unconsciousness, or trance states, and incurred a number of minor injuries in the process. He encountered owls, trees, and natural things in ways that he identified as "supernatural" and they

seemed to pursue him in a frightening manner (184). He was told by shamans
that the time had arrived for him to become a shaman. He responded by
saying that he did not agree with this conclusion and tried to resume his
everyday activities (184-185). He was not able to do this and experienced
further terrifying visions, trances, and bouts of unconsciousness (185). In his
visions he people chased him, he experienced being boiled, and songs came out
of him that he could not stop (184-185). At this point his father came out
looking for him and took him home (185). He continued to experience
encounters with the "supernatural" in visions of huge birds and animals. He
acknowledged that they were calling him and that these visions and songs occur
when someone is about to become a halait (shaman) (185). Because he
recognized that the form and content of his transpersonal experiences were
those identified with the shamanic calling, and he no longer denied his calling,
he shifted his perception and consciousness from being involuntary to being a
conscious choice. This choice to listen to his inner awareness, or to
"supernatural" messages was confirmed by his decision to spend a year in
seclusion learning more songs, dreaming, fasting, and allowing this new
experience to come forth. He no longer struggled with his fate, but wanted his
songs to emerge. During this year he was assisted by four cousins who wanted
to learn his healing songs. Through their recognition of his vocation and by
valuing his contact with the "supernatural", Isaac's cousins helped to validate
his continuing decision to remain in seclusion and learn more from unseen

forces. After that year he began to study with several shamans, had a ceremony performed by those shamans to strengthen him, acquired charms and healing dreams, and over time began to diagnose and cure patients of his own (186-187).

While Isaac Tens' transition from experiencing the transpersonal to being a practitioner with his own clients did not occur for a year, this is actually not a long period compared to some shamans (e.g., Heinze, 1991:63-64; Kalweit, 1988:88). What is significant is the transition from involuntary to voluntary contact with the "supernatural" and his continued acceptance of the isolation and exclusion from everyday activities that the call entailed. Cove (1987) argues that the ethnographic data on the Tsimshian, shows the ambiguity involved in the experiences of becoming a shaman (185).

I believe that a ertions made about the voluntary and involuntary nature of the transpersonal experiences of shamans often amount to the creation of a false dichotomy. There appears to be a continuum along which specific cases could be arranged according to how conscious the individual shaman was during the period where he, or she, can be considered to be a potential shaman. These examples range from those who are unwilling to heed the call, such as Isaac Tens, and who deny the meaning of signs, to those who consciously declare that they want to help their people and consciously seek training and "inner" confirmation of their desire (e.g., Eliade, 1974:13).

I. EMPOWERMENT THROUGH THE CONFRONTATION WITH DEATH

An important aspect of the empowerment of the potential shaman through the choices that he, or she, makes during the period of shamanic sickness, comes from facing the possibility of physical death, or experiences of death in "psychic dismemberment". Walsh (1990) aptly observes that, "The extraordinary transformative power of a confrontation with death has been noted by both ancient religions and modern psychologies (59)." And Eliade (1958, 1974) has documented the universality of the death and rebirth motif in myth and stories cross-culturally, and in the initiation experiences of shamans, of those entering secret societies or shamanistic associations, in puberty rites, in mystery cults, and in religious experience.

Out of the choice to face death comes the opportunity for crossing the threshold of fear and living one's true life. The amazing capacity for transformation that is inherent in a confrontation with death is evident in modern accounts of individuals who have had near-death-experiences (N.D.E.s) (Ring, 1980; Underwood, 1992:34-41; Walsh, 1990:149-150). Grof summarizes Ring's (1980) study of the results of N.D.E.s observed common characteristics of the experience which include:

> ...an increase in self-esteem and self-confidence, appreciation of life and nature, concern and love for fellow humans, a distinct decrease of emphasis on personal status and material possessions, and development of universal spirituality transcending the diverse interests of religious sectarianism (Grof, 1988:220-221).

Considering that many of the qualities of these experiences are already a part of the cycle of meaning and world views of shamanic societies, and of the enculturation of potential shamans, it is not surprising that a profound personal experience of these values would facilitate a radical transformation of the individual.

J. THE SHADOW: FACING WHAT LIES WITHIN

The trauma of the shamanic crisis and the incipient basis for healing the destabilized ego, and sense of self, also begins during shamanic crisis with the confrontation with what Jung termed the shadow (1980:20ff). The shadow is described as, "...The source of the best and worst in man..." (Hall and Nordby, 1973:48)." It is closely tied in with the instinctual in man, where in western cultures the, "...motivating power for spontaneity, strong emotions and deep insights, may be cut off (49)." It is persistent in its desire to become conscious and, "By its tenacity it can thrust a person into more satisfying and creative activities (49)." The shadow is also the repository of unconscious projections of the individual (Jung, 1977:146). It "is the source of realistic insights and appropriate responses that have survival value. These qualities are of great importance to the individual in time of need (Hall and Nordby, 1973:51)."

The concept of the "shadow" can be usefully applied in examining shamanic crisis. First, it is clear from the evidence of resistance to shamanic vocation that the individual's identity as a shaman, a potentially "powerful",

socially valuable, and personally expressive role, remains as a part of the shadow if vocation is denied. Second, the repression of shadow elements contributes to the "shallow and spiritless life" (Hall and Nordby, 1973:49) of individuals who will not address them, and this can be seen in the difficulties of those who attempt to deny their shamanic call, and are sick, or troubled, for lengthy periods of time (Findeisen in Heinze, 1991:148). Likewise, with individuals who find relief from suffering only when they "shamanize" and allow themselves to consciously enter into communication with this unlived aspect of themselves (e.g., Borgoras in Murphy, 1964:76). The "power" which is released when we allow ourselves to become consciousness of areas of shadow is clear if we contrast transformative experiences for rebirth, with the limitations and "sickness" that is experienced by those who deny their vocation and live an unauthentic life. Further discussion of the role of the shadow in shamanic experience is found in chapter five.

K. REBIRTH: THE EMERGENCE OF THE NEW SELF

The experience of rebirth in shamanic crisis is one of the most significant of all shamanic journeys. Out of the confrontation with death, danger, and personal resistance, comes a surrender to the experiences which lead to self-transformation. The choices which have been made have provided an initial strengthening of intentionality for further shamanic work and training. The integration of these experiences in the experience of rebirth

brings the shamanic candidate into complete participation with the cycle of meaning of his, or her, society, and into alignment with personal and cosmic connections with "the larger".

Rebirth experiences have two central aspects: feelings of personal empowerment and a differentiation in self-perception in which an individual discovers what particular aspects of shamanic practise and ideology, apply to his, or her, shamanic practise. The most "extreme" examples of transformation are androgynous transformations which result in the individual's taking on the role of the opposite sex, which Halifax describes as a resolution of contraries in which the shaman becomes a "symbol" of primordial unity (22-23).

The common characteristics of rebirth experiences include: obtaining specific instructions about the kind of "power" the shaman has access to; the discovery of helping spirits in dreams or visions; getting directions about ritual paraphernalia which the shaman must make (often representing the nature of their "power") ; being assured that the shaman will be taught more by these "supernatural" guides; identifying the types of illnesses that the shamans may treat (not all shamans can treat all illnesses); experiencing a connection with the shaman's ancestors (especially other shamans); and often, discovering what kind of a relationship the shaman should have with the community. All of these elements help the newly emerging shaman to understand how his, or her, new sense of self is part of the social and cosmic worlds and can be expressed

in forms which are "true" to personal experience, and connect "extraordinary" experiences with the everyday needs of others.

The shaman has come to see that struggle is not an end in itself, but rather a step towards a fuller realization of a greater awareness of identity and of cosmic relationships. The essential aspect of struggle is that it, represents, " the worst kinds of experiences one can have (Halifax, 1979:204)", and at the same time it, "...becomes a vehicle to a higher plane of consciousness (Halifax, 1979:11)." Surviving the struggle and establishing contact with spirit helpers is empowering for the neophyte shaman. Walsh (1990) compares the merging with "power" animals by the shaman with psychological techniques involving role playing and with Tibetan Buddhist practises of "becoming the deity" as an effective techniques for empowerment (122). The shaman, especially in mediumistic practises attempts to embody the attributes of the spirit, or deity (Heinze, 1991), and therefore acquires greater "power" than he, of she, previously had. Through their relationships with their helpers shamans do not have to face the "supernatural" world alone.

The nature of rebirth experiences also incorporates many of the empowering characteristics that are associated with N.D.E.s and with Maslow's summary of perceptions in peak experiences (1962/1976:91-94). Maslow (1976) describes a range of values that are associated with peak experiences including feelings of connection with, or experiencing life as: 'wholeness, truth, beauty, goodness, justice, aliveness, perfection, love, completion, uniqueness,

order, simplicity, order, simplicity, richness, effortlessness, self-sufficiency,

playfulness (91-94).' For example, the Iglulik shaman, Aua, described his

transition from melancholy to joy during his period of seeking solitude as

follows:

> I would sometimes fall to weeping, and feel unhappy without
> knowing why. Then, for no reason, all would suddenly be
> changed, and I felt a great, inexplicable joy, a joy so powerful that
> I could not restrain it, but had to break into song, a mighty song,
> with only room for the one word: joy, joy! And I had to use the
> full strength of my voice. And in the midst of such a fit of
> mysterious and overwhelming delight I became a shaman, not
> knowing myself how it came about Rasmussen, 1976b:118-119).

The Sioux practitioner Lame Deer also described his shamanic vision

quest in terms of overwhelming happiness. He described a sense of sureness of

his healing vocation, an experience of overwhelming "power", a connection with

winged beings, identification with his dead great-grandfather, also a shaman,

the assurance of "supernatural" entities that he would understand them when

he sought them in a vision. He was also told that he would someday teach

others what he had learned (in Halifax, 1979:75).

Finally, the formal initiation ceremony which exists in some, though not

all cultures (Eliade, 1974:13), provides an additional external corroboration for

the inner transformation which has occurred (e.g., Halifax,1979:186), and

confirms the meaningful link between the shaman's transpersonal experiences

and the community.

(III) SUMMARY

We have seen that the provision made by shamanic communities of "systematic" paths for the transformation of shamanic candidates results in initiatory experiences which identify the individual as a potential shaman. Through the acceptance (sometimes grudgingly) of shamanic potential, through rites of purification, supervision of vision quests, ritual authorization, and support for the individual's transformation when he, or she, may have considerable difficulty in functioning in consensus reality and everyday life, shamanic communities cultivate the basic human potentials for transformation.

The initiatory experiences of shamans represent a radical shift in self-perception that serves to expand their own understanding of their relationship with "the larger", and the community. What emerges from shamanic experiences of signs, struggle, suffering, choice, and inner and outer forms of initiation, is the liberation and focusing of the pre-choice potential of the individual. This transformation can take the form of release from physical, metaphysical, or psychological "illnesses", that preceded initiation, or from limitations in the way that the individual previously lived and experienced the world. Initiatory transformations represent a global shift in individual perception because they precipitate new relationships with self, with the community, and the "supernatural".

It is not possible to become a shaman without ultimately choosing to do so, and the phenomenological, or "inner" initiation, comes about by making

the choices that manifest an inner knowledge of vocation. As Jung has argued, "Only what is really oneself has the power to heal (1977:117)." Choice must follow authentic vocation. In Jungian terms shamanic initiation represents the beginning of a dialogue with the unconscious, of being true to one's own deeper potentials, and through the acceptance of vocation, and discipline, the beginning of an articulated path. The initial commitment to personal vocation and learning is only the beginning of an ongoing process of transformation. Given writes:

> ...it seems likely that in those cases where initiates are introduced
> to ritual practises and instructions which are believed to alter
> their experience as a result of much repetition (e.g. Katz 1982,
> 1984), the process of initiation must be thought of as a result of
> including both the formal introduction to and the subsequent
> public or private practise of those techniques (Given, 1990:3).

Initiatory experiences, both terrifying and euphoric, are only the beginning of the process of becoming a shaman, and potentially, a master shaman, and an individuated being.

CHAPTER FIVE: APPRENTICESHIP AND PRACTISE: THE PATHWAYS OF CONTINUING TRANSFORMATION

This chapter examines two central aspects of the individuation process, differentiation and unification, during the apprenticeship period and subsequent practise of shamans. I have identified four main categories of experiences which commonly occur after initiatory experiences and I will argue that they contribute to differentiation and unification. These broad categories include: (II) changes evoked through ritual experience and apprenticeship which culminate in the shaman's experience of the realization stage in the cycle of meaning; (III) psychic growth which results from the practise of shamanism in a "web" of social relationships, and which occurs largely at the intrapersonal level and requires the development of a self-reflexive awareness; and (IV) changes evoked through "extraordinary" experiences, some of which can produce permanent alterations in the individual's phenomenology. It is acknowledged that there is a considerable overlap between these categories, however, their demarcations are explained in each section. The chapter is divided into three sections which correspond with each of these categories and a summary.

(I) <u>EXPLORATIONS OF TRANSFORMATION: UNION AND</u>

<u>DIFFERENTIATION</u>

Jung identifies two aspects of individuation, the individuation of the personality and the individuation of transcendence (Hall and Nordby, 1973:84). In the first, the systems of personality become <u>differentiated</u> within themselves and from each other. "The individuated ego is capable of making fine discriminations among its perceptions of the world; it apprehends fine subtle relationships among ideas, and probes deeper into the meaning of objective phenomena (82)." There is increasingly greater subtlety in the expression of the systems of personality. The efficacy of the dialogue between conscious awareness and the unconscious is based on the development of balance and differentiation of the parts of the personality, so that the ego's "repertoire of conscious acts becomes greatly expanded (82)." In the application of the concept of differentiation to shamanism I will argue in the next chapter that the development of differentiation is encouraged in shamanic practise and is evident when shamans's develop their capacities to detect patterns in transpersonal and other experiences and in the articulation of their changing Ec throughout their lives.

The second aspect of individuation is characterized by the "<u>transcendent</u> <u>function</u>" of the psyche, which <u>unites</u> consciousness with the unconscious by joining "all the opposing trends in personality (Jung, 1977:273; Hall and Nordby, 1973:83)". Both the differentiation and unification of consciousness

and unconsciousness, contribute to the realization of self (84). I will argue that for shamans unification can be realized through manifesting one's vocation in shamanic practise, through experiences of union which transcend ego-awareness, and through the integration of fragmentation within the individual by all of these means.

(II) RITUAL EXPERIENCE AND TRAINING IN A CYCLE OF MEANING

There are two central thrusts of shamanic development after initiation. The first, is the individual's development from experiencing the cycle of meaning at the "level" of belief and understanding to that of realization. The novice shaman has begun to have experiences of A.S.C.s which 'verify cultural cosmology and allow the individual to perceive the "truth" of previous teachings directly and in all states of consciousness (Laughlin et al. 1990:228).' The second aspect which involves psychic growth is discussed in the next section. Some of the experiences contributing to growth involve A.S.C. experiences and some do not.

A. ENCULTURATION

The cycle of meaning of shamanic societies provides a "living" symbol-system in which the individual is enculturated. Both personal intentionality and social intentionality combine in ritual training to evoke the transformation of consciousness in the individual. Prattis (1984) observes that,

Man in primitive society populated his immediate universe-
visual, aural, tactile- with narratives, mandalas, totem poles,
masks, art, etc. which were symbolic guides, reminders of the
parts of the collective unconscious that had been recounted by
past masters and shamans. This constant surround is to engender
and elicit, that specific ritual sequences that trigger into explicit,
conscious awareness. Thus totemism, myth, art, and narrative are
part of a constant ongoing preparation for specific ritual stimuli
to evoke elements of the unconscious in an ongoing process of
healing (Prattis, 1984:73).

The potential for individuation is largely a process of the articulation of

meaning between the conscious awareness (ego) and unconscious of an

individual, and within a "living" cycle of meaning, between the individual and

the cosmologically-defined surround. As Grof (1988) has suggested, there is a

point at which 'deep personal exploration and journeying becomes intertwined

with the experience of the cosmic (173). All of these connections, between the

cosmic and the individual, between the conscious and the unconscious, and

between the social and the individual, and the social and the cosmic, are

mediated by symbols.

Jung proposed that there are two kinds of archetypal experience:

The first where the archetype spontaneously "announces" its
existence by providing images and symbols that the ego
experiences; the second where the calculated and deliberate use
of symbols is designed to produce or activate the archetype (Jung,
1959:443).

The images of the first type he tells us are manifest, "in primordial images

through the phenomenology of dreams, trance, myth, art and fantasy (Jung,

1959:443)." There is certainly substantial evidence for the use of these means

in shamanism. Both voluntary (ritually induced) transpersonal experiences and

involuntary ones bear a relationship to personal and social intentionality. Spontaneous experiences, represent the need for certain information to become conscious within the individual, since symbolic experiences both constitute and represent the power of symbols to effect radical shifts in personal perception. And the deliberate (ritual) use of symbols represents the social need to bring individuals to a state of maturity within multiple reality worldviews.

B. SYMBOLS, RITUAL, AND TECHNIQUE

The use of symbols as effective tools for transformation in shamanic experience involves several factors including: personal and social intentionality, the creation of a feedback system of learning, and the spontaneous and ritually-induced altered consciousness of the individual through the penetrance of symbols (Webber, 1980). The use of cultural symbols and expression of personal experience in symbolic terms has two connected aspects. First, there are shaman's experiences in A.S.C. states evoked through the use of ritual techniques. Second, there is the symbolic content and interpretation of such experiences, reflecting the ideology and surrounding symbol-ritual systems, which are learned through the enculturation of the individual and shamanic training. The significance of both experience and content (as they are referred to in discussion) lies in their being organized in an intentional way within the symbol system of a cosmology, so that they have a directive function in the life

experiences of a participant of such a system. Experientially, there is no separation between the symbolic representation of inner experiences and the techniques used to engender or trigger them. Symbols mediate levels of consciousness and form personal experience at deep levels of consciousness (see Webber, 1980; Laughlin, et al. 1990:192-198).

C. INTENTIONALITY

Ferguson observes that, "We have two essential strategies for coping: the way of avoidance or the way of attention (1987:76)." In shamanic practise it is necessary to cultivate the way of attention. This is often represented metaphorically in shamanic cultures as the ability of shamans to "see" in ways which other cannot. Shamans use ritual techniques which focus consciousness in order to transcend baseline consciousness[27] and "see" further than "ordinary consciousness" allows. It is both the shamans's social duty to "see", as well as, his, or her, personal calling to open to cosmic forces. In Jungian terms this is described as developing a relationship (dialogue) with the Self.

For the individual the pursuit of "sacred intentionality" often represents an uncertain meeting of unconscious desires and growing conscious ones. Jung's (1977) argument that there is an innate drive in mankind toward

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[27] The term baseline consciousness refers to the "waking" state of consciousness which is generally taken as a baseline in our culture from which to define other states of consciousness (Tart, 1986:210-211). It is also referred to as "ordinary" consciousness in comparison with other states of consciousness (see Harner, 1986).

wholeness, although it is all too easily thwarted, identifies this innate intentionality. The potential for intentional movement towards "opening" can be cultivated, and is encouraged, through another level of intentionality which is socially constructed and directed. This conscious and persistent intention to "see" on the part of shamanic cultures, is defined by Sargent (1984) as the "sacred intentionality" of "traditional" cultures. We have already seen that the "way of attention" begins with the choices novices make to follow their vocation and it continues to be supported by the "sacred intentionality" of shamanic societies in myriad ways.

D. TECHNIQUE

Ferguson observes that,

> The difference between transformation by accident and transformation by a system is like the difference between lightening and a lamp. Both give off illumination, but one is dangerous and unreliable, while the other is relatively safe, directed, available (Ferguson, 1987:85).

These techniques commonly used by shamans include: the use of ritually-induced A.S.C.s (either through the use of hallucinogens (Harner, 1973a, 1973b; Sharon, 1978) or other means of tuning the autonomic nervous system (Heinze, 1991:165; Jilek, 1982); dream incubation and interpretation (Eliade, 1974:103), and mental imagery cultivation (M.I.C.) (Handelman, 1967; Noll, 1983, 1985). The attention which is focused during ritual can result in an immediate and sudden insight into the symbolic apprehension of the "truth" of

a cycle of meaning (realization), or can be incubated for a period of time and trigger a response at a later time (Laughlin et al. 1990). Shamans also use of visions and dreams to produces prognoses and diagnoses of illness. The importance of the use of ritual, ritual-symbols, and the experiences of spontaneous imagery (symbols), lies in their connection with and evocation of meaning, both for the shaman, and for others.

E. MEANING

Shamanic worldviews maintain that shamans are grounded in a cosmos of meaningful "powers" and happenings in their lives. Cove (1987) observed that in the Tsimshian culture shamans operate at the interstices of "power", and Sharon (1978) characterized shamans as receivers and transmitters in relation to "cosmic powers". Understanding the meaning of symbols, and the integration of that meaning into the life of the shaman and the community, is the key focus of shamanic experience. Symbols exist simultaneously as the environment and content of the shamans's A.S.C. experiences. For example, "As a human embodiment of the Cosmic Tree, the Yakut shaman functions in a highly symbolic manner as he points toward the other world (Grim, 1983:40)." Further discussion of the "recognition" and "elaboration" of meaning in development of the shaman's Ec is found in the discussion of mature shamans in the next chapter.

F. <u>CONTINUITY AND FEEDBACK</u>

It is not only the individual experiences of symbolic imagery etc., that have a potential impact upon the maturing shaman, but the <u>continuity</u> of experience within the framework of the cosmology and the communicative capacity of symbols. For example, dreams are not simply random experiences, but systematic communication between the conscious awareness of the individual and the unconscious, or the "supernatural" (e.g., Eliade, 1974:101-104). Many of the symbols in dreams have culturally coded meaning which is recognized and interpreted by shamans. Initiatory, and other, dreams are generally socially "stereotypical" and have been shaped by the cultural surround (Eliade, 1974:104). For example, the idea that a shaman's spirit helpers may appear in dreams and give the shaman instructions. Whatever the local criteria for the interpretation of symbolic experiences, they form a <u>feedback system</u>, which shamans learn to "read". While the particular content of symbolic systems differs cross-culturally the common feature of symbol-systems and their social intentionality lies in their ability to externalize the emerging psychic awareness of the individual in a way which provides a coherent understanding of life's inner and outer experiences. In doing so, shamans create symbols, manipulate symbols, and are symbols, in and for, their communities.

G. INNER AND OUTER TEACHERS

The student of shamanism has two sets of teachers, external teachers, who are shamans, and "supernatural" guides, or inner teachers, who are identified as spirits, gods, "energy", and other entities, etc. Most shamans have both (Harner, 1986; Rasmussen, 1976c:50-53).

The importance of both inner and outer teachers is that they awaken the pupil to insights by teaching the neophyte how to access the "supernatural" (unconscious) and bring to conscious awareness that which is "hidden". Through the teaching of ritual and A.S.C. techniques by shaman teachers the neophyte is able to move from simple belief in cosmological traditions to experiencing the "sacred" directly (A.S.C.s) and to control these experiences and the "powers" that they represent. The student no longer needs to rely on external authority, but can initiate contact with spiritual forces and begin to interpret these experiences. Transpersonal experiences which are understood as part of a process of learning to work with spiritual realms, have a very different effect on a person's development, than spontaneous experiences (see Lukoff, 1991:24-29). Further discussion of inner teaching and guides is found in the section on transpersonal experience.

H. APPRENTICESHIP: THE TRAINING OF SHAMANS

In some shamanic societies the request for teaching from a master shaman has a specific ceremonial form. Among the Iglulingmiut Eskimo the

would-be student says to the teacher, "I come to you because I desire to see (Rasmussen, 1976b:111)." After this request the teacher makes a <u>psychic examination</u> of the pupil to discern whether he, or she has the necessary ability to become a shaman and sincerely desires to do so. For example the account of a White student of the Dogrib shaman, Adamie, described an "inspection of the soul" by his future teacher. The student recounted:

> Whatever [Adamie] had done, he had snatched me. I had no volition, I had no power of my own. I didn't eat, didn't sleep, I didn't think - I wasn't in my body any longer. Adamie had me, ...looked at all the cracks in my soul, saw what he liked and what he didn't like (Larsen in Halifax, 1979:149).

In some cultures this examination of the pupil is extended by the necessity for a potential pupil to accumulate considerable goods, or gifts for the teacher (or the teacher's helping spirits) in exchange for acceptance by the teacher (Harner, 1986:12-13). In other cultures gifts and assessment of the candidate are not so severe, though in either acceptance is not guaranteed. For example, when Harner (1986) approached a Jivaro shaman to be his teacher he was told that the shaman was not sure that he could teach a non-Indian, but that the shaman-teacher would try (13).

I would argue that giving gifts to a teacher is not just a payment for knowledge and instruction to be received, b..t it is a means of keeping out those who are not genuinely committed and prepared to make the sacrifices that the shaman's life requires. This <u>test</u> of candidates is especially effective in cultures where the payment for teaching is considerable, or where it involves

giving up an item of personal value (e.g., Rasmussen, 1976b:111). Although all candidates may not face such a difficult assessment by the teacher as Adamic's student, or have to work hard to provide suitable gifts, other difficulties may indicate to the teacher whether the candidate seriously will undertake training. In Korea the difficulty of practising in a political and social climate which has often been openly hostile to shamanic practise may act as a test of the candidate's intentions and capacity to persevere (e.g., Harvey, 1979; Kendall, 1988). Other factors about the ambivalence of some shamanic societies towards the role and the difficulties of transpersonal experience have already been discussed in chapter four.

The relationship between student and teacher must be one of trust to be effective, and is dependent on the quality of both individuals. As De Ropp observes, those who seek, "...must find a teacher who is neither a fool nor a fraud and convince that teacher that he, the would-be pupil is worth teaching... (in Walsh, 1990:29)." The quality of a teacher's example is illustrated by Maslow's description of mature practitioners of spiritual paths as "...an inner or outer instructor who awakens the personality through touching the Self, a potential for life inherent in every individual (Maslow, 1982:77)." While it cannot be asserted that every shaman teacher has qualities which provide an example of a high degree of functioning and personal empowerment, it becomes possible to see many of them in accounts of master shamans who are discussed in chapter seven. For example, the Washo shaman, Henry Rupert,

spoke with great fondness and respect of his teacher Beleliwe whom he referred to as, "a philosopher" (Handelman, 1967:450).

A significant part of the relationship between student and teacher comes from what Jung (1966) and others describe as transference (Carotenuto, 1991) and what Laughlin et al. (1990) call "shamanic projection" (150). It involves the 'projection upon, or recognition of advanced development in another person (150)' and is inherent in the imbalance in power relations in any asymmetrical relationship (cf., Carotenuto, 1991:11). Through this projection the shaman-student is empowered by the example and teaching of the teacher. As Maslow (1968) observes, inasmuch as someone can see, "the power that emanates from or is projected onto an enlightened person, that sparks the flame (145)", he, or she, can learn to see it in themselves, and everywhere.

While there has been considerable discussion of the negative effects of transference in psychoanalysis (Carotenuto, 1991), in the situation of shamans it must be remembered that shamans who are still neophytes in shamanic practise have experienced either ceremonial, or ceremonial and psychic initiation, and often have begun to experience their own empowerment through these experiences and initial social recognition.

The types of teaching strategies used by shaman-teachers include: personal example, instruction in ritual techniques (e.g., Eliade, 1974:58-59), teaching about shamanic lore and mythology from oral traditions (Eliade, 1974:96; Sharon, 1978:3), providing direction in initiating and interpreting

transpersonal experiences (e.g., Handelman, 1967:4), and "planting seeds" for future incubation in the awareness of the pupil (Given, personal communication).

Teaching through interpreting and guiding the pupil to have a broader understanding of their own "life experience" is another common approach. Teachers put students in situations where they can learn through experience and not just learning by memorization, or intellectual examination. For example, the Dogrib shaman Adamie asked his pupil who had been "journeying" to describe his experiences. "He picked out each fear, each feeling, and he explained to me the spirit that controlled it. He told me spirit names, and what they did... (Halifax, 1979:154)." This form of teaching provides a hermeneutic system which is conducive to the workings of the unconscious. The teacher has provided a means by which the student can begin to perceive his, or her, own internal experiences through thought and intuitive insights which emerge spontaneously from the unconscious by making a corollary between the internal experience (fear, feelings, etc.) and metaphors for them provided within the symbol-system of the culture. The student can then interpret his, or her reactions, by experiencing, that the presence of a particular spirit help occurs in a particular instance. The student can learns to identify the inner experience (coded as "supernatural") as a particular spirit and follow culturally defined procedures for dealing with that situation. The

student will eventually learn to perform services for others in healing or other practises which involve diagnosis.

Shamans spend varying amounts of time with their "outer teachers". Examples range from a few months or days (e.g., Eliade, 1974:60; Heinze, 1991:99; Sharon, 1978:14), to many years. Among the Angmagsalik Eskimos a student might stay with a teacher for up to 10 years and spend the first three or four years contacting and gathering spirit helpers (Holm in Halifax, 1979:110). Students may also have more than one teacher simultaneously (e.g., Rasmussen, 1976a:111; 1976b:112), or consecutively (e.g., Eliade, 1974:60). Seeking shamanic knowledge cross-culturally occurs as well. Shamans go beyond their local areas, and ethnic traditions, to obtain knowledge (e.g., Handelman, 1967; Heinze, 1991:193; Sharon, 1978).

(III) THE GROWTH OF CONSCIOUSNESS

The second aspect of shamanic development after initiation includes the tasks of the individuation process. Specifically, the coalescence of the fragmented self through the recognition and integration into conscious awareness of the knowledge of the unconsciousness, a task which is never fully accomplished. Integration requires the recognition of personal patterns of resistance, projections, fears, and shadow elements, which have previously been unknown, or denied, by the limited conscious of the ego. It will be demonstrated that the growth of conscious awareness of these patterns makes

it possible for novice shamans to interpret them with an insight they previously did not have and that this contributes to the interpretation of life as more meaningful and integrated than before.

The discussion of the growth of conscious awareness in Jungian psychology provides a number of criteria for growth which I will show can be applied to the common life experiences of shamans. They include: collisions of duty, the difficulties of separation from the social group, the relationship with the persona and the shadow, and facing the dangers of transpersonal experience.

A. COLLISIONS OF DUTY AND SEPARATION FROM THE GROUP

Jung observed that, "nothing so promotes the growth of consciousness as [the] inner confrontation of opposites [in collisions of duty] (Jung in Jaffé, 1983:97)." Jaffé (1983) adds that collisions of duty test an individual's ethics and self-awareness because, "...they presuppose a responsible consciousness that is more differentiated than the observance of the law requires (Jaffé, 1983:97)." It is possible to see such "collisions of duty" in the common experiences of shamans. First, the individual who becomes a shaman has already begun to move toward greater differentiation of personality because he, or she, has supported an inner imperative to a social role which is not easily fulfilled. The collision of duty comes from the clash between the inner imperative to function as a shaman and other social roles which are perhaps

easier to fulfil and usually must be taken on in addition to the shamanic role

(functioning in the economy, in the family etc.). For example, Saklani

documents the story of a woman in Garhawal (Himalayas) who struggled with

her vocation for ten years because her husband and in-laws did not feel that

her desire to become a shaman could be accommodated with her role as a wife

and mother (in Heinze, 1991:62ff.). This separation from the group in order to

obey the necessities of inner directives has already been illustrated in the

examples of shamanic crisis of initiation. Eliade (1974) documents that in

some Siberian cultures shamans have helping spirits who are considered to be

the shaman's spouse (72-73). He reports that among the Yakut, "A lad visited

by an abassy no longer approaches girls, and some of them remain bachelors

for the rest of their lives (74).

A second aspect of the "collision of duties" involves the possibility that a

shaman may have to oppose cultural norms instead of reinforcing them, in his,

or her, practise. While this is sometimes accommodated by the community, as

will be shown for the Washo in chapter eight, it can also be problematic.

Perhaps the most challenging aspect of living with the "collisions of

duty" lies in potential discomfort of taking on the separateness of the shamanic

role (see Halifax, 1979:214). There is a paradoxical ambivalence toward

shamanic vocation in many societies despite the value that they place on the

functions that shamans perform. The shaman is a "liminal"[28] personality in the community in the sense that he, or she, exists in what Turner calls a "state of outsiderhood" (1988:504). That is, shamans are in some sense set apart from the "status-occupying" and "role-playing" behaviour of everyday life in the community because their status involves the "betwixt and between" experiences of liminal states. Grim (1983) observes that Ojibway shamans's experiences of the manitou, make them marginal to society because of their association with "supernatural power" (1983:139).

We can see that in a very real sense shamans who listen to their "inner voice", will experience "collision of duties" and be unable to follow the whims of ego and socially defined desires. As Von Franz (1975) points out:

> When a person tries to obey the unconscious, he will often, as we have seen, be unable to do just as he pleases. But equally he will often be unable to do what other people want him to do. It often happens, for instance, that he must separate from his group - from his family, his partner, or other personal connections - in order to find himself (Von Franz, 1975:238).

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[28] Turner (1988) borrowed Van Gennep's (1908/1966) concept of liminality to describe the experiences of sec id phase of rites of transition where the individual is in a state of social ambiguity, having neither the status he, or she, previously had, nor yet having a new one. This condition is experienced as one of detachment from social order, and existing in a highly charged symbolic field. Despite the ceremonial initiation of shamans they continue to be involved in experiences of liminality because of their involvement with the "sacred" which Eliade (1974) defined as inherently evoking reactions of ambiguity.

B. THE BALANCE BETWEEN EXPANSION AND DIFFERENTIATION

OF AWARENESS

It is important that the spiritual work of the shaman in A.S.C.s, which

involves an expansion of consciousness, should be balanced with the mundane

and the particular. Jaffé (1983) points out that

> The more insistent the spiritual quality of the self becomes, the
> more our consciousness is expanded through the integration of
> psychic contents, the deeper we must strike our roots in reality, in
> our own earth, the body and the more responsibly we must be
> bound to our nearest and dearest and to the environment...
> (Jaffé, 1983:82-83).

She proposes that there are two opposite tendencies in human

development that must be addressed in the individuation process. The first is

a lack of awareness of wholeness, which in shamanic societies is defined as an

understanding of the cosmic interrelatedness of all things. Individual

awareness is "undifferentiated" and work must be done to expand

consciousness. The second is where the instinctual has been lost so that, "...it

is a matter of accepting reality and working on it of re-establishing a

connection with nature and our fellows (83)."

Although these Jungian concepts arose in western industrialized

societies and were applied to them, I propose that they can also be applied to

shamanic societies which are not generally urban and industrialized, and which

vary greatly, especially in this century. The need for the expansion of

consciousness has already been defined in terms of bringing the individual to

the realization stage in a cycle of meaning. It can also be applied to the need

to go beyond a "traditional" cycle of meaning in situations of rapid acculturation, and to transcend that cycle if one's internal vision of life and experience necessitates it. The "loss of instinct", or limited understanding of the importance of the spiritual and relationships with others, is also possible in shamanic societies whether they are urban, or not. Although many people in shamanic societies lived closer to "nature" than the average urban dweller of the late twentieth century, participation in "nature" was an important part of enculturation in puberty rituals. In some societies it was, or still is important, for shamans whose healing practises and tasks of locating game etc. require them to have specialized knowledge. Shamanic societies provide for such enculturation, but difficulties may arise which prevent full enculturation. For example, ritual training is not always perfectly performed, a particular family may not be as interested in it, or able to make required payment for ritual services, or an individual may not take full advantage of it, and may not benefit. For example, the Ojibway shaman, Sky Woman, was raised in a violent unhappy household, and was not encouraged to seek a personal vision at an age when others in her community would do so (Grim, 1983:122). As a result of her unhappiness she ran away from home, became lost in the woods, was rescued. When she did become a shaman later in life she considered her early wanderings part of her gradual initiation as a shaman (Grim, 1983·121-122). In societies which have visions quests at puberty it is well known that not everyone has a vision (Grim, 1983). In many indigenous societies today the

need for this re-establishment of connection between the spiritual, nature, and relationships with others, happens because social breakdown and has resulted in the revival of shamanistic practises (Jilek, 1982). So it is possible that the connection with nature can be limited, if not entirely absent, in shamanic communities, as well as in urban ones.

Evidence from a number of shamanic societies also suggests that there has traditionally existed a cultural identification of the importance of bringing shamanic candidates even closer to the natural and the spiritual than most other members of their communities (Elkin, 1980:3; Sharon, 1978:34-39). Through learning shamanic lore and through experiences with animal and plant spirit helpers the novice shaman learned to relate to what we consider to be "supernatural" and natural manifestations of nature.

The connectedness of shamans with others in their communities comes through their mutual experience of communitas[29] during ritual (Turner, 1988:503ff.) and through the establishment of shaman-patient relationships, which will be discussed in a subsequent section.

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[29] Communitas is Victor Turner's (1988) term for the, "modality of social interrelatedness (503)", especially as it is experienced during ritual, drama, pilgrimage, artistic production, etc.. It is, "...almost always thought of or portrayed by actors as a timeless condition, an eternal now, as `a moment in and out of time', or as a state to which the structural view of time is not applicable (508)." These experiences, which often occur during ritual seclusion and ceremony (509), and involve A.S.C.s, are central features of shamanic practise and initiation. Through the shaman's leadership in ritual practises and "shamanizing" of others in shamanic societies, experiences of the "sacred" are shared in socially and personally meaningful ways.

C. THE PERSONA

Jung (1977) argued that as a human being matures a public mask, or persona is constructed by the individual which, "...is a compromise between the individual and society as to what a man should appear to be (106)." It is, "...a mask that feigns individuality, making others and oneself believe that one is individual, whereas one is simply acting a role through which the collective psyche speaks (Jung, 1977:105)." If the conscious ego identifies too strongly with the persona then a situation arises where the individual, "...has an exaggerated sense of self importance which derives from playing the role so successfully (Hall and Nordby, 1973:45)." Alternatively, the person may have feelings of alienation and inferiority from fears of not being able to live up to the demands of his public mask (44-45).

I would propose that fears of not being able to fulfil the shamanic role are part of the "normal" experience of novice shamans, but that someone who was not empowered by initiatory experiences to the degree that he, or she, could transcend these feelings would not likely receive the sanction of the community to practise as a recognized shaman. For example, some ethnopsychiatric accounts of Apache shamans deal with this issue under the aegis of their concept of imposture (e.g., Boyer, 1961b). An impostor is defined as, "...an individual who identifies with and assumes the professional status which he is not qualified to, in order to fulfil the requirements of his magnificent ego (Deutsch, 1955:497)." She identifies "normal imposture" as the

experience of individuals of not being able to fulfil ego ideals of how a social

role is to be performed perfectly (503). I believe would include most shamans.

Boyer et al. (1963) also identify what they call pseudo-shamans (173), those

who are not recognized as having shamanic status by the community, but act as

if they do. These individuals are considered to exhibit "imposture". For

example, Boyer (1961a) cites the case of the Apache, Black Eyes, who was

suspected of witchcraft, accused of antisocial behaviour, and claimed the

"ownership" of a particular ceremonial, although this was denied by his family.

He tried to convince Boyer that he was "widely sought" for his curing ability

(18-19). Thus, the "normal imposture" of shamans correlates with Jung's

observation of common fears of individuals that they will not adequately

execute the demands of their social role (live up to the expectations of their

persona). For shamans it is particularly important to have the community's

confidence and those who illegitimately identify with the role are not likely to

be taken seriously in a shamanic society.

D. THE SHADOW

Jung (1977) calls the unconscious tendencies of the ego-personality

which are not socially acceptable the "shadow" (145). The qualities of the

shadow were repressed while the ego was being built up during enculturation

(Jacobi, 1967:38). Other aspects of repression may be found where an

individual, "...suppresses the animal side of his nature [to] become civilized, but

he does so at the expense of decreasing the motive power for spontaneity, creativity, strong emotions, and deep insights (Hall and Nordby, 1973:49)." Von Franz (1975) explains that, "The shadow usually contains values that are needed by consciousness, but that exist in a form that makes it difficult to integrate them into one's life (Von Franz, 1975:178)." The challenge of dealing with the shadow comes from the necessity of, "...recognizing the dark aspects of the personality as present and real (Jung, 1977:145)."

In order to allow the "dark aspects" of personality to become conscious the individual must establish a relationship with that aspect of the unconscious. Von Franz (1975) describes the relationship with the shadow as:

> ... exactly like any human being with whom one has to get along,
> sometimes by giving in, some resisting, sometimes by giving love -
> whatever the situation requires. The shadow becomes hostile
> only when he is ignored or misunderstood (Von Franz, 1975:182).

She points out that a dialogue with the unconscious can bring forth "helpful symbolic images, though sometimes, "...it first offers a series of painful realizations of what is wrong with oneself and one's conscious attitudes (Von Franz, 1975:170-171)." This dialogue with the shadow often seems to find its expression in shamanic experience in the relationships between shamans and their spirit helpers. The relationships of shamans and their helpers in Siberia which resemble that of spouses who get angry with each other and have fights (Eliade, 1974). Another example recounts the story of the Eskimo shaman, Arnaquaq, who learned from one of his helping spirits that he had to get over his bad temper (Rasmussen in Larsen 1988). 'The spirit first appeared to him

in a threatening way, but disappeared when he moved to defend himself, when the spirit reappeared it was calm and told Arnaquaq its name. Arnaquauq realized that if he was not bad tempered then the spirit would not be and he would not have to fear it (76).' He had received the feedback that he needed about his behaviour and changed his conscious attitude from one of fear and anger to calm and acceptance.

As I have already discussed an attitude of sincere intentionality is essential to shamanic work. Similarly, my experience in dreamwork and meditation has shown me that any insincere attempt to do the work, such as putting out paper and pencil and telling myself that I wanted to do dreamwork on a day when I did not really want to, but thought I should, resulted in remembering only fragments of the dream, or nothing at all. It left me with a vague sense of discomfort at having gone through the motions without having any true intent to value the experience.

Johnson (1986) proposes that it is important for people doing dreamwork to "honour the dream" by doing something physical and external in acknowledgement of the dream (97-101), especially if any specific instructions are present in the dream itself. He suggests that personal and external rituals can have a powerful affect on both the conscious ego and the unconscious (100). This can be seen in shaman's accounts of transpersonal experiences. For example, the re-enactment of Black Elk's childhood vision of his people is an example of the participation of others in the external validation of inner

vision (Neihardt, 1988:20-47,159-176). Although the initial vision came to Black Elk at the age of nine it was re-enacted when he finally spoke of it at the age of seventeen. After his childhood vision he had been concerned that people would think he was crazy, or that he would go crazy so he had not told anybody about it. At the age of seventeen he had begun to be troubled by it again, but after the re-enactment, he experienced no further fear about it and had further visions during his life.

E. RESTRICTING THE EGO

The maintenance of "power" in shamanic practise often involves the observance of taboos. I propose that the observance of taboos represents the opportunity for the ego to bow to experiences of the "sacred" that reveal something that is larger than itself and to overcome its tendencies towards self-gratification. At the social level we often find a correlation between the frequency of taboos and areas of social anxiety and physical danger arise. Shamanic practise, with its relationship with the "supernatural" its proximity with death and illness certainly fulfils these criteria, but for the individual, the observation of taboos represents a chance to release the constraints of ego desires. For example, we have seen that the difficulties of some shamanic taboos contributes to the reluctance of some to embark on the shamanic path at the outset of their journeys. Other taboos which allow the shaman the chance to focus on shamanizing, or become more physically sensitive, such as

fasting, also demand special discipline and choice. Taboo then challenges the ego, and sets the parameters of individual "power" and practise.

An interesting situation arises when taboos are not observed by shamans. All of the shamanizing societies which I have researched have taboos which, if broken, will result in a shaman losing his, or her "power" (e.g., Halifax, 1979:162). I would suggest that at times the loss of "power" due to taboo infringement may arise from an unconscious desire to be freed from the shamanic role.

F. THE SHAMAN-PATIENT RELATIONSHIP: BONDS OF SERVICE

There are a number of lessons in attitude and understanding about the "interconnectedness of all things" that shamans integrate from experiences of healing over many years. Successes and failures teach shamans to balance confidence and humility, and to understand their relationship to the human community and the cosmos. Healing involves not only the manifestation of the individual shaman's "power" and skills, but requires an acknowledgement of the metaphysical connection between the shaman and "supernatural" forces that allow the shaman to work. This understanding of how "spiritual power" is believed to work in shamanic worldviews is conveyed in the statement of the Apache shaman, Fools Crow, about how he practises healing. He states:

> We can never heal a patient and say, 'I did that, and you can
> thank me for it.'2 It is the Higher Powers and their Helpers who
> do this in and through us. We are helpers too, but only as hollow
> bones they work through (Fools Crow in Mails, 1991:44).

The value of shaman-patient relationship for shamans's potential individuation is also found in the "sacrifice" the shaman makes. Maslow (1968) has suggested that people whom he calls "self-actualizers"[30], are characteristically involved in "a cause outside their own skin" and that "there may be psychological and physical benefits from service" (158). Likewise, service constitutes the essential part of shamanic practise and shamans too may derive personal benefits from it.

G. THE DANGERS OF THE SHAMANIC PATH

The dangers that shamans face in their practise are physical, intrapersonal. and social. It is likely that within shamanic belief systems these distinctions are not that important, or even recognized, since what we call intrapersonal (A.S.C. experiences and conscious attitudes and perceptions) would be coded as "supernatural" phenomena in shamanic societies. Physical dangers have already been discussed in relation to initiation and probably are less serious with experience of shamanic practise. What I identify as social dangers are instances where action is taken against an individual by the community, or part of the community, because it is believed that a practitioner is a "witch" and is behaving socially undesirable ways (e.g., Downs, 1972).

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[30] Maslow (1968) argues that Jung's concept of individuation is "crudely synonymous" with his concept of self-actualization (24).

The intrapersonal dangers which a shaman faces, are defined in shamanic worldviews as the dangers of "journeying" to other planes (e.g., Rasmussen 1976b:126). These dangers are illustrated in the following description of shamanic "journeying". MacDonald (1989) observes that

> In order to become a competent shaman, it was crucial to be able to identify dangers involved in portalling [journeying] and to protect oneself against them (Eliade 1964). In many groups the dangers included some form of natural threat such as a mountain pass that might collapse or snap together upon the unwary. Or the danger might be mythological as throughout the New World with the appearance of double-headed animals that looked both ways through the portal (see Lommel 1977,227) and opposed the entry of anyone who did not control the right formula (MacDonald et al. 1989:46).

Although the cultural metaphor speaks of having the "right formula" it is not just the content of the experience that can be interpreted as dangerous. The danger lies in the ability of the shaman to control A.S.C.s.. The shaman must be able to alter consciousness to "journey" and to shift consciousness back from A.S.C.s to baseline consciousness afterward. The shaman cannot function if overwhelmed by the experience.

The most compelling intrapersonal danger that is faced by shamans, from the perspective of psychic growth, is found in the experience that Jung (1980) identifies as psychic inflation. He describes this as a "great psychic danger" in which there is "... the identification of ego-consciousness with the self, "...[which] produces an inflation which threatens consciousness with dissolution (Jung. 1980:145-146)." For shamans the experience of psychic inflation can occur if they experience in ego identification with awesome

"supernatural" entities. Grim's (1983) account of Ojibway shamanism seems to

bear this out. Grim noted that the Ojibway were very concerned with the

possibility that shamans may be overwhelmed by transpersonal experiences of

the manitou and that they must therefore learn to practise restraint in their

dealings with the "supernatural" (140). He observed that

> The egotistical temptations of shamans are constantly condemned
> by the Ojibway as sorcery. Ojibway mythology even warns of the
> Windigo sickness that may overtake such a self-aggrandizing
> shaman. Often the contact with the spirits overwhelms the
> shaman's psyche and results in destructive, egotistical behaviour.
> Such aberrations are not infrequent, but they are discouraged by
> tribal traditions that guard against sorcery (Grim, 1983:119-123).

Grim notes that the cultural beliefs about shamanism and the encouragement

of individualism in a hunting and gathering society which existed in a marginal

environment may contribute to this danger for their shamans (119).

I would argue that harmful practises which are culturally coded as

sorcery generally correspond with Jung's concept of psychic inflation. As

discussed in chapter two, the fear of sorcery is comm_n in shamanic cultures

and I feel that it is reasonable to assume that the possibility of psychic

inflation is part of shamanic experience everywhere due to the "power" which is

believed to accrue to shamans and to feelings of empowerment which are

generated in A.S.C.s. Even where an inexperienced shaman's identification

with experiences of "power" does not constitute psychic inflation, it is

important in shamanic worldviews, and in the process of individuating, that

shamans come understand their reciprocal role in relationship to "the larger".

A.S.C. experiences should not become objects of conscious fixation or attachment. As Von Franz (1975) observes:

> Only if I remain an ordinary human being, conscious of my incompleteness can I become receptive to the significant contents and processes of the unconscious. But how can a human being stand the tension of feeling himself at one with the whole universe, while at the same time he is only a miserable earthly human creature ? ...It is very difficult indeed to keep these inner opposites united within one self without toppling over into one extreme or the other (Von Franz, 1975:236).

(IV) COMMON TYPES OF "EXTRAORDINARY" EXPERIENCES

The experiences described here are found in accounts of shamans throughout their careers. The categories which I will describe are not meant to be absolute. As a cross-cultural phenomena, it is difficult to ascertain how similar the experiences being compared are. Buddhism has made an extensive mapping of the phenomenological experiences of meditators and their states of consciousness (Laughlin et al. 1990:80-81), but as a series of oral traditions, shamanism has provided no such convenient model. Therefore, I have drawn upon the mapping of transpersonal experiences by Jung (CW, 1959), Laughlin et al. (1990), Maslow (1968, 1972), Grof (1988), my own experience, and the documentation of shamanism in anthropology and ethnopsychiatry, to explore conceptions which seem to have corollaries in shamanic experience. This exploration is not meant to be an exhaustive mapping of the transpersonal experiences of shamans but covers some of the major types. They include: experience of inner guides and inner teaching. numinous experience,

experiences of "psychic energy", receiving knowledge, experiencing the "wisdom of the body", union with the natural world (absorption), psi phenomena, dangers in transpersonal "journeying", experiencing the Self, and peak experiences. It will be argued here that some of these experiences are empowering to shamans, may have global and permanent effects on perception, and contribute to individuation.

A. EXPERIENCES OF INNER GUIDES AND INNER TEACHINGS

A number of eastern and western psychologies have asserted that having an "inner" guide (or guides) is a universally available experience for humans[31]. In shamanic societies inner guides who are coded as "spirits", or "divinities" fulfil that role (e.g., Harner, 1986:74-83). Knowledge which comes from inner learning is often considered to be superior to that which comes from outer teachers, although there is no universal agreement on the subject of whether the outer teacher is also necessary, even within the same culture (Rasmussen, 1976a:115).

The development of the capacity to experience and accept inner teachings requires both personal responsibility, and in shamanic traditions, many periods of isolation (e.g., Halifax, 1979:250). Whether a lot of time, or

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[31] "Western examples include: the 'higher Self', the transpersonal witness, the Jungian Self, which is the center of the psyche; and the inner self helper, which is a helpful and apparently transcendent personality that occurs in multiple personalities (Walsh, 1990:131-132)." The C.F. concept of the "Godself" is another example.

little time, is spent with the outer teacher, shamans have stated, "Shamanizing,

you will find your way, by yourself (Sereptie in Halifax, 1979:45)." Similarly,

Maslow observes:

> ...frequently the problems and the conflicts of the growth-motivated
> person are solved by himself turning inwards in a meditative way, i.e.,
> self-searching, rather than seeking help from someone...many of the
> tasks of self-actualization are largely intrapersonal, such as the making
> of plans, the discovery of self, the selection of potentialities to develop,
> the construction of a life-outlook (Maslow, 1968:38).

Receiving "inner" teachings also implies the necessity of cultivating an

attitude and practise of "openness". As Maslow (1968) observes, "The most

efficient way to perceive the intrinsic nature of the world is to be more

receptive than active, determined as much as possible by intrinsic organization

and as little as possible by the nature of the perceiver (41)." Receiving "inner"

teachings occurs in forms other than just "encounters" with spirit helpers.

Those forms that are examined in this chapter and chapter six include:

somaesthetic experiences of "energy", dreams, visions, psychic phenomena,

synchronicity, experiences in "journeying", and intuitive knowing.

Experiences of receiving knowledge may not all be of equal quality.

The quality of the knowledge which a shaman receives reflects his, or her, state

of awareness and technical mastery of A.S.C.s.. Elkin (1980) points out that,

"Training in his craft is necessary for the medicine-man but his training only

teaches him how to prepare to receive and how to use the power to which

time, space, matter and death are subject (32)." In my meditative practise,

even after practising for over two year., I often find it difficult to listen to and

act on. inner knowledge and often experience periods of being "in" or "out" of a state of willingness to do this. This willingness to "receive" is where the quality of inner teaching becomes part of a holistic experience of joining personal choice, awareness, and technical mastery. When the capacity for receiving knowledge from inner learning corresponds with what the Buddhists call the "guru within", or 'learning from every life situation as guru (Trungpa, 1987:31-50)', then the student has internalized the ability to learn and see in all situations (50), and all experience in any state of consciousness becomes known conscious and the inner and outer teachings can become one. In shamanism this possibility is reflected in the statement of the Hawaiian shaman, David Bray, who says that, "Everyone you meet is a teacher (Bray in Heinze, 1991:49)."

B. PEAKS AND PLATEAUS: JOY IN TRANSPERSONAL EXPERIENCE

Despite the emphasis on the hardship of the shamanic path in much of the writing about shamanism, there is also evidence of the rewards and pleasure that it brings shamans. I propose that some of these rewards may be found in peak and plateau experiences (Maslow, 1968, 1972), and some altered states involving "journeying" (e.g., Rasmussen, 1969:34), and that they contribute to the individuation process as much as experiences of hardship.

We have already identified that presence of peak experiences in the initiatory phase of shamanism and there is evidence that they can appear

anytime in the life of shamans. What Maslow (1968) calls "plateau" experiences are described as "...foothill-experiences little glimpses of absolute, self-validative delight, little moments of Being (154)." Examples of the joyful experiences of shamans were made by Rasmussen (1969) who observed that Inuit shamans discussed "journeying" up to Udlormiut (a place like heaven that lies in the direction of dawn) for pleasure (28ff.).

The relationship between "peak and plateau experiences" and potential individuation may not be that easy to discern. Jungian researchers have indicated that although 'individuation involves a series of transformations, not every instance of transformation implies individuation (Jacobi, 1967:61)', so a peak experience would have to have a long-lasting effect on the individual to effect the individuation process. Maslow (1968) argues that peak experiences do have an acute effect on an individual's sense of _identity_ because they are characterized by feelings of integration, being fully functioning, spontaneous, and unrestrained (104-107). He also suggests that in peak experiences people may be "most idiosyncratic and most integrated" (103-104), the least vulnerable to what Jung calls the shadow, and the fears and desires of the ego, which Maslow calls "deficiency-cognition" (1968:21-43). Likewise, he proposes that plateau experiences, though less dramatic, contribute to growth (104). The opportunity to be less vulnerable to "deficiency needs" it can be argued is not only important to personal integration, but would help shamans to provide a "vision" of reality and hidden realities which is comforting to others.

Maslow (1968) suggests that peak experiences are not limited to any particular group of people, although some people seem to have a greater predisposition toward them than others (124). Although it is difficult to judge from the anthropological literature on shamans, I propose that shamans may fall into this category, either from an innate predisposition, or as a result of integration from their experiences in A.S.C.s. Since shamans have experienced shifts in consciousness and learned not to be afraid of them, and because of the tendency of shamanic practises to lead to integration, they may experience more peak and plateau experiences than others in their communities.

My own first clear peak experience came after a year doing meditation and inner exploration which I believe is significant to having had the experience. I feel that the inner explorations of shamans would similarly contribute to the transcendence of deficiency motivations and interpretations of life and therefore may facilitate having peak experiences. Likewise, that the nature of the experiences, themselves, lead one to an altered perception of the world and being more opened to aspects of the individuation process which are less likely to be defined as pleasurable from the standpoint of the ego.

The social duties of shamans, their orientation towards service, and social disapproval of sorcery, may also protect them from what Maslow (1970) sees as the danger in peak experiences. He observes that an individual may be "reduced" to 'using any triggers to seek them and value them so exclusively that other standards of behaviour become lost and selfishness or even evil comes

into the attachment to repeating the experience (viii-ix).' Therefore, it is reasonable to propose that the peak and plateau experiences of shamans are conducive to their potential individuation.

C. NUMINOUS EXPERIENCES

Experiences of the numinous "attune the individual to a sacred mode of consciousness and experiencing (Rank in Larsen, 1988:30)", where, "...The universe, in this state may be experienced in as a living, intensely meaningful, yet at the same time mysterious entity (30)." Numinous experiences occur in some dreams and visions. Hall (1983) observes that they "..seem capable, if assimilated, of producing deep and lasting alterations in the personality structure, an effect parallel to some religious conversions and to some peak experiences in waking life (21)." Even more rarely, they can have a global healing effect (Marjasch, 1966:157). One case of sudden transformation recorded about shamans is that of an Iglulik Eskimo woman who experienced a spontaneous inner initiation which she described as 'a comet which came out of the sky and entered her (Rasmussen, 1976b:122; 1969:34).' Numinous experiences are often experienced in shamanic societies as encounters with spirits and entities which are known within a particular cycle of meaning. As Grim (1983) observes, "Spirits are needed as intermediaries between the cosmic power and the human beings receiving that power...Spirits provide human beings with a means of drawing on a sustaining energy as they face

their own human inadequacy (7)." Grim (1983) notes that both a "personal experience of the sacred" and overpowering feelings of awe can be combined in numinous experiences (6).

D. EXPERIENCES OF THE SELF

What is examined here are representations of the Self as they appear in the A.S.C. experiences of shamans and as the basis for their production of ritual paraphernalia and other symbolic and mythopoeic productions. Jung (1971) argues that such appearances are found in empirical symbols in cultural and personal products such as myths, dreams, fairytales, in representations of "supraordinate personalities", such as kings prophets, saviours and heroes, and in "totality symbols" which represent a union of opposites, such as, a circle, square, cross, (460). He describes experiences of the Self as having an "a priori emotional value" (461) for the individual experiencing them. He also suggests that shamanic experiences, such as the encounter of the Naskapi with their "Great Man" who advises them, are representations of the Self (Von Franz, 1975:161). Individuals who pay attention to dreams among the Naskapi, and who are honest, are understood to be favoured with "better" dreams (162). Artistic productions are often made of dream images. Thus the shaman who cultivates "supernatural" experiences may experience the "centre" in a numinous encounter with the "Great Man".

E. EXPERIENCES OF PSYCHIC ENERGY

Laughlin et al. (1990) observe that, "Mystical traditions from many cultures describe extraordinary experiences that involve a sense of movement within the body (297)", which are characterized as numinous and sacred and typically result from having entered A.S.C.s.. Following Laughlin et al. they are described here as experiences of "psychic energy". Specifically, they are described as experiences of flow (299-300), centredness (300) and circulation (301). These definitions are applied to accounts of shamanic experiences with the proviso that cultural interpretations of experiences may differ, and that the evidence of transpersonal experiences in shamanic traditions is limited at this time. It is suggested, however, that some of these experiences of A.S.C.s to be invariant in shamanic traditions cross-culturally.

F. EXPERIENCES OF FLOW

Laughlin et al.'s (1990) concept of flow refers to 'holistic sensations of energy in the body which occur when there is sustained and focused concentration on a mental or physical activity which involves the loss of ego awareness and mental and physical tension (299-300).' It may be experienced as "bliss", "ecstasy", "floating" etc. (300), and is encountered in religious ritual, artistic performance, sports, (Turner, 1979) etc. The application of this concept in shamanic experience is found in the shaman's A.S.C. experiences in ritual "magical flight", in shamanic ecstasies, such as the initiatory experiences

already described, and in shamanizing on behalf of clients. The focus, or centring of attention in shamanic ritual, is generally accomplished through the use of "portalling devices" as described by MacDonald et al. (1989).

G. EXPERIENCES OF CENTREDNESS

Centredness is defined as 'a more refined form of "flow" which is characterized by a feeling of the movement of energy which is coming into, or going away from the central axis of the body and may be accompanied by mental imagery (Laughlin et al. 1990:300). Probably the best known account of this type of experience is Katz's account of "boiling energy" among the !Kung (1982). The !Kung describe a ritually induced experience of n/um (spiritual energy), which leads healing dancers ultimately a state of kia, an "enhancement of consciousness" (Katz, 1982:34). The experience of kia which is felt to rise from the base of the spine up to the base of the skull is painful and is "said to boil fiercely within the person" (Katz, 1982:41). From the experiences of kia dancers, especially those who are "masters" or owners of n/um, are able to gain knowledge needed to impart healing to others and the community (42-43).

During a C.F. seminar, I had a particular experience which I believe corresponds with this category. During this episode I had a somaesthetic feeling of strong "energy" running through my body towards the ground which gave me a feeling of great strength. I experienced this "energy" and state of

consciousness as the opposite of abstraction, and of the kind of mental awareness which is easily distracted or scattered. I feel that it was an integrative experience and that it has had a lasting effect on me, but I have difficulty describing it beyond to say that it was a profound experience of strength and "groundedness". This experience has lead me to understand that the integrative capacity of A.S.C. experiences is such that they do not always have to have conceptual interpretations, or take have a visual form, in order to be effective. I feel that my experience was holistic in the sense that it was a physical sensation which I feel has integrated mental and emotional processing, in a lasting way. While it is difficult to document such holistic experiences from the existing literature on shamanism, where most accounts are of spirit helpers and specific information shamans obtain in altered states, we can speculate that shamans also have these kinds of experiences of "energy".

II. EXPERIENCES OF ENERGY CIRCULATION

Energy circulation is experienced as 'energy which circulates around the body sometimes concentrating at particular places along the body axis (Laughlin et al. 1990:301). Laughlin et al. describe some varieties this type of experience as "heat, bliss, or movement at a particular locus (1990:301)", which may be moving away from, or toward the centre of the body. They add that symbolic images of these somaesthetic experiences may be represented as, 'circulation of light, ball of fire, a flower, or sphere, a sun radiating out light,

or etc. (301)." A number of descriptions of shamanic experiences seem to correspond with this category. For example, the particular locus of "energy" is found in the experience of the Ojibway shaman Hole-in-the-Sky. He described his interaction with his "power" as being with snakes which "lived" in his abdomen and were experienced as physical sensations which he used to evoke his manitou patron (Grim, 1983:104). Experiences of light are also common forms of energy circulation and include balls of fire which are perceived by shamans to be enter the head and the body (Kalweit, 1988:201; Rasmussen, 1976b:112; Walsh, 1991:56-58).

I. EXPERIENCING THE WISDOM OF THE BODY[32]

We have seen that shamans experience somaesthetic sensations in the body, such as <u>kia</u>, which result from altered states induced through ritual. There is also some indication in the accounts of shamanic experience that shamans may use the body as a <u>feedback system</u> in ways which are similar to my experience in C.F. practise. Specifically, that once an individual has learned through ritual experience to identify certain bodily sensations as meaningful, they may be consciously experienced outside of ritual states as signals or meaningful communication with unconscious ("supernatural"). Practitioners of C.F. experience these sensations after having practised private

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[32] The expression "the wisdom of the body" is borrowed from Maslow's book <u>Toward as Psychology of Being</u> (1968:150), but is broadened to refer to a range of physical sensations and the perception of the intuitive awareness of the body.

and group meditation for a time, although most indicated to me that they had not done so previously. Their experiences seem to correlate with the experiences of Hole-in-the-Sky, which he interpreted as being snakes in his stomach (Grim, 1983:104). Similarly, bodily sensations that indicate the beginning of a "possession state" can be seen as "messages" that arrive via the body to tell the shaman that he, or she, needs to enter into a dialogue with the "supernatural" (e.g., Heinze, 1991).

The practise of "head lifting" (krilaq) by the Netsilik Eskimos of the North West Territories also makes use the body as a feedback system. In this technique the practitioners's head, or leg, is placed in a thong which is pulled on to see whether there is a strong or weak answering pull. This result is taken to indicate a yes or no answer from the helping spirits as to whether a particular taboo has been broken by a patient. It was believed to provide the practitioner, with information on the state of a patient (Balikci 1967:196). Netsilik shamans did not use the technique, it was practised by krilasoktoq (who had weaker spirit helpers than shamans and did not use A.S.Cs), however, in other northern cultures both shamans and others used it (Rasmussen, 1976f:32).

> Other indicators of the instrumental use of the body by shamans comes from Goodman's (1983) discovery of the use of trance postures to "structure" particular A.S.C. states. She cites a case, ...in the 1970s [of] an Indian shaman of Peru made a sketch for a Swiss anthropologist of three postures known the world over: the healing posture of the Bear spirit, the posture of the singing shaman, and an especially precious posture leading to the experience of death and rebirth (Goodman, 1988:58).

She also did experiments with university students in which she was able to produce a specific range of experiences in her subjects by having them practise various postures. While this data is tentative, it points to the possibility of pan-human capacities for use of the body to evoke A.S.C.s and their use for obtaining knowledge from unconscious processes or what shamanic societies code as "hidden realities".

Obtaining knowledge by other than rational mental processes is difficult to accommodate in the western paradigm and I would argue that this may have contributed to "gaps" in our understanding of shamanism. Accounts of shamans emphasize their use of mental or visual imagery and sometimes allude to auditory imagery. They focus their discussion of the body on its manipulation to produce A.S.C. states which allow imagery to become conscious for the shaman. For example, on how physical sensations coming from sound etc. have been commonly used methods of triggering A.S.C.s in ritual ceremonies (e.g., MacDonald et al. 1989:47). They do not consider whether the body itself might function as a feedback system[33] and how shamanic cultures "conceptualize" the body. I propose that it is reasonable to speculate whether the body is used in ways other than those which have been documented by Europeans. For example, Grof (1988) observed an unusual

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[33] Several scholars have discussed the tendency of different cultures and epochs to give priority to different senses (Ong in Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Howes (n.d.), and the tendency of Euro-American cultures to focus on the visual may have created many gaps in our knowledge of shamans's experiences.

3

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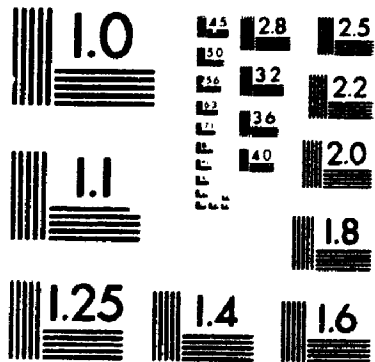
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PRECISION℠ RESOLUTION TARGETS

account of the use of the body as a means of gaining insight in the example of

Einstein. He wrote:

> Albert Einstein discovered the basic principles of his theory of
> relativity in an unusual state of consciousness; according to his
> description, most of the insights came to him in the form of
> kinaesthetic sensations in his body (Grof, 1988:142).

The "clues" in the accounts of shamans which I have mentioned above point to

the possibility of a sophisticated awareness in shamanic traditions of the

holistic interaction of the body as a tool of human awareness. The body seems

to serve shamanic practises in several ways. There is the manipulation of the

nervous system to produce A.S.C.s through ritual, the attention paid to

sensations experienced outside of ritual, which are coded as signals from

"supernatural" sources, and there is some evidence for the use of feedback

systems involving somaesthetic signs. In examining shamanic practises we can

agree with the assessment of Jungian analyst Robert Johnson (1986) that,

"Although we can understand the meaning of symbols with our minds, our

understanding is made immeasurably deeper and more concrete when we feel

the symbols in our bodies and our feelings (103)".

J. ABSORPTION: UNION WITH THE NATURAL WORLD

Several types of transpersonal experiences which are described as

involving union with the natural world appear to be common to the shamanic

experience cross-culturally and have been mapped by Grof (1988) in people

from industrial societies. Experiences of union, or absorption, are

characterized by the transcendence of spatial boundaries and ego boundaries (45). They include: experiences of union with plants, animals, botanical processes, inanimate matter and inorganic processes, (vii-viii). Some of these experiences can clearly be shown to result from enculturation withi: particular cosmology and as a result of ritual evocation (e.g., Webber, 1980:72-80; Winstedt, 1982:57), such as when the individual "becomes" an animal in a ritual which is culturally designated as important to that ritual. Others experiences may be more like the experiences of Grof's (1988) patients, who identified with, or became a part of, phenomena not given any special place within their society, nor to which any previous expectations were attached. I propose that experiences of this nature by shamans may have originated the importance of certain "objects" in the cosmology at some later point.   Union with animals and plants is particularly common in shamanic societies. Anthropologist Serge King describes, "From M'Bala, my shaman mentor in Africa, I learned to merge with the animals of the jungle after going into a deep trance state (King, 1988:43)." According to Halifax (1979), in the North American native traditions the interrelationship with animals is "the realm of wisdom (1979:203)", significant because it is "the realm where thought does not interfere (203)". Both of these aspects, experiencing A.S.C.s that transcend thought, and experiencing connections that transcend the human, have been associated with healing and integration of the personality (Grof, 1988), and so are pertinent to the development of shamans.

K. SHAMANIC EXPERIENCES OF PSI PHENOMENA

The assertion of the manifestation of psi phenomena in shamanic practise is something which is common in the anecdotal accounts (Caldwell, 1984; Walsh, 1990:196) of anthropologists, and of the explorers, missionaries, and traders, who reached indigenous cultures before anthropologists (Inglis, 1977:51). What is significant to the focus of this thesis is not whether categorical proof, or disproof, of the psi abilities of shamans can be offered, but that causal explanations in shamanic cultures, reported psi experiences of shamans, and the descriptions of the duties of shamans, indicate the importance that psi abilities are believed to have in shamanic cultures. For this reason, psi experiences, or perceptions of them, can be said to have a considerable impact on the individuation process and daily lives of shamans.

The difficulty in ascertaining exactly what this impact is found in the lack of interest in psi phenomena (Reichbart, 1980:220) and documentation of it by anthropologists. There has been no formal attempt to address the subject comprehensively, or to consider the epistemological claims of shamanic cultures, despite the fact that parapsychology provides a large body of literature about psi phenomena (Reichbart, 1980:220) which could be compared to the experiential reports of shamanic cultures. Reichbart observes that 'anthropologists typically use a wide variety of theories to explain cultural institutions that are seen as resulting from psi phenomena in traditional

worldviews without considering that these interpretations may result from the appearance of genuine psi phenomena (221)'.

It is important to note that references to psi phenomena and to causality from psi systems are found in scholarly reports on shamanism in diverse cultures (e.g., Murphy, 1964). Despite anthropology's passing references to the subject, it is impossible not to see the common, if not universal, descriptions of shamans practises which include psi phenomena. Reports of the use of psi capabilities correspond with the following duties of shamans: clairvoyance (Harner, 1986:55), divining the future (Harner, 1986:55; Ray, 1967:8), divining sources of illness (Handelman, 1967:451; Harner, 1986:153-154) and lost objects (Sharon, 1978:2), and healing (Harner, 1986:141). There are many accounts of the exhibition of psi abilities among shamans and others[34] when taking hallucinogenic substances in shamanic practise (Harner, 1986; Sharon, 1978:2).

We may still ask, What are the consequences for individuation of such beliefs and teaching ? Certainly psi abilities are essential in explanations of healing and basic shamanic work, and therefore, the ability to make use of

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[34] Inglis (1977) argues from the evidence of early contacts between Europeans and indigenous cultures that the use of psi abilities by members of these cultures was common before acculturation and that it was lost as traditional cultural patterns were interrupted (51-58). He cites Laurens Van der Post's assertion that until very recently the Kalahari bushmen had extra-sensory abilities (1977:51) and provides examples that indicate that not only shamans, but many people in indigenous pre-industrial societies, may have used some psi abilities (51-52).

such capacities is essential to the fulfilment of shamanic vocation. Other transpersonal traditions, such as the Yoga traditions, consider psi abilities to be byproducts of meditation and work in A.S.C.s (Inglis 1977:60; Le Shan, 1974:47; Mishlove, 1983:269; Radha, 1978:173). They are not considered to be the goal of spiritual development and should not distract the student from that focus (Inglis, 1977:60; Radha, 1978:10-11, 174). For shamans, psi practises appear to be a <u>central</u> part of their practise, inasmuch as they are asked to perform social duties which draw upon them. The use of psi abilities by shamans also relates to the previous discussion of psychic inflation. Radha (1978) relates the recognition in yoga traditions that the desire for such abilities can lead the individual to pursue personal power, or gain, or experiences of excitement, at the expense of spiritual development (10-11). I would argue that while shamans are also at risk of using such abilities for self-glorification, the nature of their work as service for others also involves, indeed encourages, the possibility that such abilities can be used for "good" causes which the yoga traditions acknowledge also happen (Radha, 1978:11). Thus, the use of "power" when it is manifest in shamanic practises becomes part of

the social process, a personal spiritual process[35], and I would argue the individuation process.

L. OTHER TRANSPERSONAL EXPERIENCES

Other extraordinary experiences which are found in descriptions of shamans include: lucid dreaming (Taylor, 1992; Walsh, 1990)[36]; the production of spirals or mandalas (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1972:111, 1975:174; Sharon, 1978:118-122), and what Eliade (1974) describes as "mastery of fire". Experiences of heat in the body and of shaman's abilities to "master fire" without damage to themselves are common cross-culturally in shamanic societies (Eliade, 1974:412,474). The most common examples of mastery over fire are fire walking and handling fire (315, 54). The significance of mastery

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[35] Mishlove (1983) lists a number of systems of personal development that claim to teach students how to develop psi capacities as part of an overall goal of achieving wholeness, enlightenment, or a high level of spirituality. For example, in the higher levels of practise in Theosophy (281), in Tantric yoga traditions (280), and in an advanced programme in Transcendental Meditation (281).

[36] Lucid dreaming refers to the experience in which an individual who is dreaming is conscious of the fact that he, or she, is dreaming while still in a dream state. LaBerge (1985) describes it as being both asleep and awake at the same time (7). Taylor (1992) documents the cultivation of lucid dreaming in Tibetan Buddhism as a technique for healing. He suggests that, if a dreamer confronts fear in a dream by being aware that it is a dream and not running away, then problems in waking consciousness may be overcome. Taylor points out the similarity between lucid dreaming and shamans' experiences in "journeying", and suggests that the same benefits may be derived from "journeying" that have been attributed to lucid dreamers. He also suggests that shamanic training in M.I.C. is analogous to the training that Tibetan Buddhist practitioners receive in lucid dreaming. See Noll (1985) on M.I.C..

over fire is not only that it impresses shamans's clients, but because it has been

documented in the west as an empowering experience for those who undertake

it (Vilenskyaya in Jamal, 1988:83ff). Similarly, Taylor (1992) and LaBerge

(1985) have demonstrated the empowering and integrative effects of lucid

dreaming, which Walsh compares to the control of A.S.C. experiences in

shamanic "journeying".

M. THE INTEGRATION OF TRANSPERSONAL EXPERIENCE AND
THE EVERYDAY

Jaffé (1983) observed that, "Individuation pursues its course in a

meaningful way only in our everyday existence (82)." For the maturing shaman

one of the difficulties of practise is integrating the demands of daily life and

transpersonal experiences. Some of the difficulties already discussed include

fulfilling the practical demands of life while experiencing A.S.C.s. Shamans

often employ assistants during ritual work who help them to enter, exit, and

maintain altered states, through drumming, handling ritual objects, etc. (e.g.,

Sharon, 1978:13; Endicott, 1981:20). They may also receive help during visions

quests and early stages of practise as was the case in the account of Isaac Tens

in the last chapter. The integration of A.S.C.s into everyday life demands that

shamans continue shamanizing, while operating in the local economy in other

capacities. This is accomplished through the mastery of A.S.C. techniques and

ritual practise; through the integration of unusual A.S.C. experiences with

previous perceptions of the world; and, by retaining an understanding of one's own "power" in the connection with the "supernatural", so that psychic inflation is avoided (Jung, 1980:145-146).

Prem Dass (1979), a westerner who apprenticed with a Huichol shaman for five years, recalled that after a particularly impressive visionary sequence experienced in response to the chanting of his shaman-teacher, the teacher cut him off when he was about to describe how incredible the experience was and suggested that they eat supper (in Halifax, 1979:240). In my practise of C.F. it was suggested that we consider such experiences to be, "No big deal", while at the same time learning to recognize whether there was something we needed to learn from them.

An important aspect of integrating transpersonal experience is in discerning what it means, especially in relation to what action in the everyday world needs to be taken on account of its messages. For example, a Conibo shaman told Harner (1986) that his fears of creatures he encountered in a hallucinogen-induced vision was not necessary because what Harner remembered the creatures telling him about being "Masters of the universe" was not true. The shaman told Harner that they were merely "Masters of the Outer Darkness" (3-9) and indicated that he should not be afraid of them (9). This shaman's advice is echoed in Jung's warning that people should not blindly follow the injunctions of dreams without considering their ethical implications (Johnson, 1986:109). A dream or vision is not the basis for acting

irresponsibly in relation to the community. The difficulties of having

extraordinary experiences which expand conscious awareness and remaining

rooted in the "human" world of the particular is summed up by Von Franz

(1975) who comments:

> Trying to give the living reality of the Self a constant amount of daily
> attention is like trying to live simultaneously on two levels or in two
> different worlds. One gives one's mind, as before, to outer duties, but at
> the same time one remains alert for hints and signs, both in dreams and
> in external events, that the Self uses to symbolize its intentions - the
> direction in which the life-stream is moving (Von Franz, 1975:228).

Further discussion of the integration of shaman's experiences of A.S.C.s with

everyday life is found in chapter six. The degree to which mature practitioners

are able to establish integration is examined and identified as a attribute of the

mastery of shamanic practise.

N. EXPERIENCING THE TRANSPERSONAL HOLISTICALLY

An important aspect of shamanic experience lies in the capacity of

shaman to operate holistically, to bring to conscious awareness, and to

integrate, knowledge which is obtained in a variety of transpersonal

experiences and forms. I would argue that the intentionality of addressing the

unconscious, or in shamanic cultures, the "supernatural", provides the focus for

a dialogue with the unconscious which may be established in any form which

does not impede the communication. Evidence for the holistic nature of this

communication in shamanic experience is supported by the fact that many

shamanic cultures do not differentiate between dreams and visions (Harner, 1986).

Storr (1988) argues that, "the parallel with the scanning or sorting process which occurs spontaneously in dreams, or which is deliberately encouraged by prayer or meditation is striking (Storr, 1988:50). From my own experience I would argue that for people involved in transformative practises that focus on the content of A.S.C.s there is a tendency to "receive" information from the unconscious in more than one form. When I was practising meditation in a serious way, twice daily, and occasionally doing dreamwork, I found that my dreams imparted much clearer "messages" than previously. I also experienced more spontaneous insights, creativity, and feelings of connection with the unconscious. Subsequently, endeavours, such as doing "symbol paintings", writing poetry, etc. have also provided me with similar experiences of knowing what is going on in the unconscious, and multiple means to obtain and integrate unconscious knowledge. These kinds of experiences all allow 'time for the integration and regrouping of emerging awareness which Storr (1988) argues provides for creative insight and the promotion of mental health (28).' It appears that for shamans, and others who use cultivate transpersonal practises that cultivate a dialogue with the unconscious, achieving a dialogue through one form of practise, may facilitate "openings" in other forms.

(V) SUMMARY

This chapter has discussed several aspects of shamanic experience in the apprenticeship period after initiation and in the subsequent practise of shamans. In section two the social provisions for evoking internal transformations in the individual through apprenticeship, ritual training in a cycle of meaning, and specifically, through the effects of symbolic penetration, are seen to be common elements in the systematic training of shamans which shapes their experiences at this point. Section three examined the experiences which are necessary for the psychic growth of the shaman and which occur in the web of social and "cosmic" relationships which characterize shamanic practise. They include: facing danger, relationships with patients and teachers, the necessity of integrating transpersonal experience with the everyday consensus reality, and with the social demands, and the discipline of observing taboos. These experiences represent the possibility for transformation through developing an awareness which comes from facing the intrapersonal demands of psychic growth, the recognition of personal patterns, and areas of shadow. It has been shown that the shaman must obtain self-knowledge in the areas of resistance, projections, the existence of dangers (real and imagined), and in dealing with the danger of psychic inflation. Part of the process of discrimination and recognition that occurs in individuating is evident in the identification of unconscious shadow elements in the psyche, in experiencing "insightful" self-perception, in contrast with self-alienation or selfishness, in

entering into a continuing dialogue with the unconscious, and finally, in developing a _respectful relationship_ with the unconscious, or "supernatural" forces. The fourth group of common experiences which were examined in this chapter were shown to have the potential to evoke permanent changes in the perception of self and life. These "extraordinary" experiences included, numinous dreams and visions, peak experiences, etc..

Despite the important which I have attributed to some "extraordinary" experiences it is important to note that the presence of "extraordinary" experiences alone, does not make a mature shaman. Insights about particular experiences must be developed and integrated in the individual's consciousness so that his, or her, repertoire of conscious acts becomes greatly expanded, and a higher, more integrated, level of functioning is possible. As the Mazatec shaman, María Sabina, commented, "Some can travel and with the use of some hallucinogen, experience visions, but have it make no difference in that person's life (Halifax, 1979:133)." She likens the taking of sacred mushrooms with the soul, "many people of the sierra have taken it and are taking it, but not everybody enters into the world where everything is known (Halifax, 1979:133)." During their phase of apprenticeship and early period of practise shamans must enter into these worlds (or the "world" of the unconscious), and learn to operate effectively in order to help themselves and others. It is also important to note that although the experiences which are discussed in this chapter appear to be common in accounts of shamanic experience the

individual shaman may not experience them all equally, or in quite the same way.

I propose that the experiences discussed in this chapter are significant for the potential individuation of shamans because they exemplify and contribute to the _unification_ and _differentiation_ that Jung (1977) considers to be essential to growth and potential individuation. For example, a shaman may experience a dramatic unification in a numinous experience, or a more gradual one by examining fears, resistance, and other aspects of personality and self-perception that are revealed in relationships with spirit helpers and shaman-teachers. Differentiation can be accomplished through the development of the shaman's repertoire of spirit helpers, personally designed rituals, songs, and dances, and through making numerous choices to live authentically by continuing to follow vocation, while meeting all of the myriad and idiosyncratic demands and experiences that both the social role and the inner "voice" make.

There is a continuity to the process of differentiation and unification that goes beyond this phase of practise, as those of choice and commitment to shamanic practise have continued from the initiatory phase. The shaman is potentially becoming more of an individual and at the same time a more integrated person. Maslow (1968) observes that there is a dialectic that occurs between the "need to know" and the "fear of knowing" in the growth of the individual (65), and that, "All those psychological and social factors that

increase fear will cut our impulse to know; all factors that permit courage, freedom and boldness will thereby also free our need to know (67)." As we have seen in this chapter, the demands of the shaman's role and the opportunities of his training and practise provide an abundance of both, and allow for either fear or courage to be drawn forth.

CHAPTER SIX: ACHIEVING BALANCE AND MASTERY

This chapter will examine the experiences of maturing shamans to show how the shaman develops personal models of reality (Ec) over time and how this is articulated in the examples of master shamans. Several areas are examined which contribute to this development. They include: the maintenance of power, the recognition of meaning in patterns and process, the elaboration and articulation of meaning, the limitations of shamanic practise and other common aspects of shamanic experience during maturation. The issue of the fraud in shamanic practise is also addressed. A definition of mastery in shamanic practise will be proposed and used to link the concepts of empowerment and individuation. Transpersonal experiences of master shamans are examined to ascertain what kinds of "ultimate states" can be reached in shamanic practise. The chapter is divided into three sections; the first examines the maturing shaman's elaboration of his, or her, Ec; the second explores the attributes of master shamans; and the third provides a summary.

(I) THE MATURING SHAMAN: PRACTISE AND ARTICULATION

This section will consider, how shamans construct a personal repertoire of behaviour, cosmological expertise, and ritual paraphernalia, which reflects their Ec and how this facilitates their interaction with cosmologically-defined forces in a cycle of meaning. It will be shown that the processes of differentiation and unification, discussed in the last chapter, continue in this phase where shamans are practising independently, have completed

phase where shamans are practising independently, have completed apprenticeship, and have acquired shamanic techniques and spirit helpers. This is the longest period of shamanic practise and I will argue that it is significant for individuation because overall failure as a practising shaman would nullify the benefits which have previously accrued to the shaman from doing shamanic work. It will be shown that the articulation of the shaman's Ec is accomplished through coming to recognize, and interpret "cosmic" patterns which are defined as meaningful by shamanic cultures. These patterns may appear in nature, in cultural interpretations of "energy systems", in transpersonal experiences, in social and personal interaction, in illness, etc..

A. THE MAINTENANCE OF POWER

The maintenance of "power", as it is conceived in shamanic worldviews, is primarily about building and renewing relationships with "supernatural" forces (the unconscious) on behalf of others and for the shaman's own integration. A number of shamans have emphasized the importance of continued practise to their anthropologist apprentices (e.g., Sharon, 1978:16; Harner, 1986). Commenting about the early stages of shamanic practise Kalweit (1988) observed that, "despite the struggle and pain of shamanic initiation these pains have to be tamed and this can be accomplished through rigorous training and continual practise (225)." The issue of the discipline and the focus of attention on "supernatural" relationships is key to the maintenance

of that connection. Elkin (1980) describes the lives of Australian shamans as, "..one of self-discipline, preceded by training. of social responsibility, and of contact with powerful forces or spiritual beings (1980:14)." It is important to note, however, that the discipline of a shaman as a single practitioner must become a discipline that stems from "inner listening" and not just from an internalization of external authority. A maturing shaman has left his, or her, teacher and must choose independently to maintain contact with the "supernatural". At later stages of shamanic practise the maintenance of "power" is characterized not just by a struggle to avoid the desires of the ego, the infringement of taboo, to sustain discipline, to surrender from the grasp of ever more subtle temptations, or to gain experience in A.S.C.s.. Through repeated returns to the connective experience and the reciprocal relationship with other dimensions, the shaman has come to perceive the "illusion" of the ego's pain and to understand his, or her, personal situation within the cosmos from broader perspective. The maintenance of "power" is not a preservation of the status quo, but a dynamic process of continuing renewal and transformation.

When there is a willingness to maintain the connection with "energy systems" (the unconscious) change is the key characteristic of the experience. This willingness is manifest on observing taboos, entering A.S.C.s and performing rituals to appease spirit helpers. For example, Harner (1986) saw

that Conibo shamans drank tobacco water every few hours to feed their tscntsak when performing healing rituals (23).

I would argue that the recognition of phenomenological changes in shamans in shamanic worldviews can be seen in the beliefs of some cultures about shamans's relationships with spirit helpers. For example, Jivaro shamans report that no matter how much they cultivate the connection with their spirit helpers they generally stay for only a few years and subsequently are replaced by others (Harner, 1986:87). Harner says that "dancing your animal" is necessary to keep it as long 'as you can (86). Shamans in some cultures do retain their original helpers, but may also add more to their "collection" over time (e.g., Eliade, 1974:105; Handelman 1967). There is often a correlation made between the number of helpers a shaman has and how powerful he, or her, is considered to be. For example, among the Alaskan Eskimos (Eliade, 1974:90).

Similarly, through their experiences of "power songs" (Harner, 1986:93-98), which emerge spontaneously, or in ritual ceremonies or dreams (Halifax, 1979:31), shamans are seen by their communities to demonstrate their ability to maintain "power" through returning from other planes (A.S.C.) with knowledge which is valuable and was not previously known. Harner (1986) notes that songs are often used to "wake up" a shaman's spirit helper when entering A.S.Cs to work (92). Likewise, Kalweit (1988) commented that, "The shaman's song is capable of reuniting him with this higher realm of

consciousness and, at the same time, gives him the "power" to heal and prophesy (156)." The culturally meaningful nature of shamans's receptive connection with "power" is exemplified in their comments about using "power songs". For example, the Netsilik Eskimo shaman, Orpingalik, explained, "All my being is song. I sing as I draw my breath (Rasmussen, 1969:164)."

Halifax (1979) observed that, "The shaman who desires a song does not fix his or her mind on particular words nor sing a known tune. In dreams or other dreamlike states, the song comes through the barrier that separates the human being from the spirit world (32)." In other words, when the connection is established in the ritually correct way, and the constraints of ego consciousness are relaxed, it is both possible and essentially effortless, to maintain and cultivate "power" (a connection with the unconscious).

Another aspect of the maintenance of "power" is found in re-enactment. Many shamanic cultures describe the public rituals of shamans as re-enactments of their initiatory experiences (e.g., Grim, 1983:120, 136; Halifax, 1979:31), and may also interpret them as being related to the primordial events of original shamans of the culture (e.g., Eliade, 1974:71). By making contact with these sources of "power" shamans continually reinforce the validity of their personal vision and source of empowerment.

There are several implications for individuation in the shaman's need to maintain "power". First, it serves collectively defined needs in providing a meaningful discourse about existential questions and fears (illness, mishap,

death, etc.) for the shaman and the community. Second, maintaining "power" is the basis of the shaman's practise and social role. Third, it provides feedback for the shaman as an individual in his, or her, own "psychic growth" as discussed in the last chapter. For example, the individual shaman experiences a differentiation of personality through the process of producing specific "power songs", or other personal manifestations of "power", and comes to have a more subtle understanding of culturally coded cosmologies and cosmic relationships. The shaman also experiences unification with the transcendent function of the psyche through the joining of opposing trends in conscious awareness and the unconscious. For example, through the tendency to relax the struggle with discipline and to choose more easily to continue the practises involved in maintaining "power". Ultimately, for the shaman who has experienced shamanic practise as a vocation, maintaining "power" gives life its essential meaning.

B. THE RECOGNITION OF MEANING IN PATTERNS AND PROCESS

Perhaps the most important use to which the techniques and experiences of shamans are put is in the recognition of meaning in life experiences[37]. The

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[37] Ferguson (1987) points out that researchers testing preschoolers learning to read from words rather than individual letters, "...remarked on what a powerful factor [contextualized] meaning is and what a relatively minor influence visual complexity has if meaning is part of the equation (304)." This has some interesting implications for M.I.C. learning by shamans. Since shamans are learning to control mental images in the context of the cosmology of a specific culture, that process can be considered to be learning in context. The idea of the primacy

recognition of meaning comes from accessing what is believed to be the intrinsic meaning that exists in the universe in multiple reality cosmologies. Recognition takes the form of apprehending, or gaining insight into, the patterns and processes of the natural world, and those of the social and "supernatural" domains. The basis for this understanding comes from the recognition that seeing as a shaman means seeing the symbolic connections between things. This understanding is based on a metaphorical perception and description of the world (see Laughlin, 1990:77). It requires going beyond the level of limited consciousness and attitude, and occurs in both A.S.C. experiences and in understanding in baseline consciousness. It implies the recognition of the processes and patterns in the world that contain meaning that may not be immediately evident in ordinary baseline consciousness, or in the commonplace, interpretations of others. For example, a shaman may see in the behaviour of natural phenomena, something which is unusual and therefore interpret the meaning of the event as having "supernatural" significance. Dossey (1988) observed that, "The legacy of shamanic methods...has always included the importance of meanings, processes, patterns in illness (97)." The recognition of meaning in these patterns and processes extends to all aspects of shamans's functions: divining, making hunting forecasts, understanding and controlling weather, seeing the synchronicity of events, seeing patterns in the natural world, in the behaviour of people and

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component of shamans' ASC experiences.

forecasts, understanding and controlling weather, seeing the synchronicity of events, seeing patterns in the natural world, in the behaviour of people and spirits, and perhaps most importantly developing a self-reflexive perspective. The shaman gains greater knowledge of the patterns of what is conceived of as a meaningful universe, and thereby has a better understanding of his, or her, personal place as mediator between the different "planes" of the cosmos. Through recognizing the underlying meaning in a given situation shamans come to have a more precise and detailed understanding of "the objective". For instance when they are produce (according to cultural ethos) explanations, or diagnoses of patterns, occurring in the lives of their clients.

1. SYNCHRONICITY AND MEANING

Another aspect of understanding and interpreting patterns and process in shamanic worldviews lies in the concept which Jung called synchronicity [38]. Jung (1977) defined synchronicity as, " a concept of a meaningful co-incidence to two or more events, where something other than chance is involved (505)." He considered synchronicity to occur where, "...the inner and outer events are connected with one another not casually but by the equivalence of their content, by the element of meaning (Jaffé, 1983:159-151)." Synchronistic

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[38] For Jung, synchronistic phenomena include: "extrasensory perceptions: dreams that come true, verifiable premonitions, genuine foreknowledge, etc. All such phenomena are characterised by the fact that an inner psychic image (dream, vision, precognition) mirrors a future or distant external event accessible to the senses (Jaffé, 1983:150)."

events are subjectively experienced as a meaningful, "collaboration between

person and events that seems to enlist the cooperation of fate (Jung, 1977:

512)." Von Franz (1975) asserts that "Synchronistic events, moreover, almost

invariably accompany the crucial phases of the process of individuation (Von

Franz, 1975:227)" and Jung considered them to be important when they relate

meaningfully to the symbolism of produced in an individual's dreams (Von

Franz, 1975:227). In western societies this type of perception is often

unnoticed, or considered coincidental, but in shamanic societies and others

with "traditional" epistemologies[39], there is a perception that certain kinds of

events are meaningfully and indicate the "hand of fate". Harner (1986)

observes that in shamanic practise positive synchronicities are, "the signals that

power is working to produce effects far beyond the normal bounds of

probability (Harner, 1986:114)" and their frequency indicates the correct use of

shamanic procedures (114). They provide feedback in which "hidden" and

manifest realities seem to come together.

Another kind of synchronicity that occurs in shamanic work is when

more than one person experiences the same meaningful phenomena

simultaneously. For example, when a patient in a curing ritual, "experienced

some of the same details of the journey as the shaman, although no verbal

communication took place (Harner, 1986:114)." Harner observed that, "this

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[39] Jung explained the use of synchronicity in divining, such as, in the Chinese system of I Ching (Von Franz, 1975:357-358).

kind of experience is even more dramatic when a large group of persons undertake the shamanic journey together as the crew of the spirit canoe (114)." 'Not uncommonly, several people in the crew discover that they have encountered the same animal repeatedly on the journey and can verify particular details of its appearance with the animal's appearance to other crew members (114)'. The importance of the apprehension of synchronicities for shamanic individuation is that it indicates an ability to open ego consciousness to experiences which Jung argued represent transcendental meaning (Jaffé, 1983:151). In shamanic worldviews this corresponds with "hidden realities" and the shaman's success in dealing with them. The presence and recognition of synchronicities indicates a mature capacity in the shaman to bring together his, or her, inner experience of connection with a meaningful universe with the exigencies of shamanic practise.

C. THE REFLEXIVE-OBJECTIVE CAPACITY OF THE SHAMAN

Another important aspect of identifying meaning in the patterns and processes of the cosmos lies in the ability to make interpretations from the perspective of self-reference, and to interpret "reality" with respect to oneself, and others, with clarity. The maturing shaman must realize that self-reference is sometimes implied in the symbolic patterns of internal phenomenology, and in interpretations of patterns in the external world, and other times it is not.

Most of all, that "inner experiences" require interpretation and that experience

alone is not sufficient to produce understanding. As Campbell (1988) argues:

> When your mind is simply trapped by the image out there so that
> you never make the reference to yourself, you have misread the
> image. The inner world is the world of your requirements and
> energies and your structures your possibilities that meets the
> outer world. And the outer world is the field of your
> incarnation....You've got to keep both going (Campbell, 1988:57).

This self-reflexive perspective is not an egotistical one, but one that indicates

that a shaman is not only developing a relationship with the "supernatural", but

can apply what is learned in a self-critical and objective way. We have already

discussed this in relation to the shadow qualities of the individual. Other

aspects of this critical capacity are found in the shaman's ability to discern how

he, or she, should interpret the instructions of "supernatural" entities. For

example, a number of accounts of initiatory experiences tell of the

"mischievous", or "evil" nature of some spirits who converse with shamans and

attempt to fool them (Halifax, 1979:46; Eliade, 1974:508). A critical sense of

self-reference in this context demands that the shaman not just blindly follow

the dictates of the spirits, or succumb to any fear engendered in the

experience, but that he, or she, should judge and interpret the validity of the

"message". In a similar vein, Jung advised that we should not blindly follow the

"instructions" of dreams that seem to point to the necessity to take drastic

action in the "outer world", without reflection and discrimination (Johnson,

1986:67-71). Transpersonal experiences "entrap" the individual only when they

are accepted uncritically. My experience with dream interpretation has shown me that a critical and self-reflexive interpretation of a series of dreams over time is more effective in conveying meaning than a single dream, however compelling[40]. The understanding that arises by establishing a context for interpreting a series of dreams has its corollaries in shamanic practises where a shaman may undertake a curing ceremony involving the production of a number of dreams or visions for diagnosis over the course of several days (Harner, 1986:91).

The development of this objective capacity implies that the shaman is able to interpret the patterns of the "supernatural" based on a sense of personal capacity to deal with the "supernatural" from a position of strength. The shaman demands on the practising shaman and training to be able to fulfil those demands have ensured that the shaman is no longer "trapped and terrified by the images" as during initiatory experiences. Ultimately the development of these relationships allows new interpretations to emerge from old cultural forms in shamanic relationships with the "supernatural". "The transformed self has new tools, gifts, sensibilities. Like an artist, it spies pattern; it finds meaning and its own inescapable originality (Ferguson, 1987:116)."

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[40] The examination of a series of dreams is recommended by Jung as a means of avoiding the tendency to apply preconceived assumptions to the interpretation of the dream (1977:327; 1980:52-53).

Likewise, the maturing shaman after his, or her, initiatory experiences, experiences of "shamanic flight" etc., has gained access to new tools and understandings, for himself and others. Shamans learn to make the "fine discriminations" (Hall and Nordby, 1979:82) and objective perceptions. They can see the patterns involving others, and external occurrences, without letting their own ego reactions get in the way. They also must have considerable empathic ability to recognize patterns in others that may contribute to illness. The objectivity, and discrimination and self-critical capacities of the shaman are all aspects of the shaman's "cosmic relationships".

> These [skills] hinge on the awareness of the shaman of essential meanings which are contained in the entire cosmic surround, and on the meanings of these patterns as they are perceived by the patient. This requires that he know what the illness means to the patient- what the illness is 'saying'; what occurred in the life of the patient prior to the onset of illness; how the patterns of many elements of the world (sun, moon, planets, stars, weather, plants, animals, other humans) correlate with happenings in the patient's life (Dossey, 1988:94).

Through the understanding of patterns and process in the world the maturing shaman brings together personal and social recognitions of meaning.

C. THE ELABORATION AND ARTICULATION OF MEANING

Jung observed that man pursues "better symbols" (Hall and Nordby, 1973:84). For shamans the pursuit of "better symbols" occurs in the changes they make in their ritual practises and personal phenomenology over the course of their careers. In order to expand their technical abilities, and to

reflect the broadening of their own knowledge of "hidden realities", shamans elaborate upon, discard, and create new ways of practise. They provide new "visions" for their societies. This development encapsulates the observation of Laughlin et al. (1990) that a healthy Ec is always "in flux" (88). It is an organic and creative development which manifests a process of self-growth as inner and outer dynamics become more differentiated and integrated.

Jungian psychology points out that maintaining contact with the unconscious is facilitated by recording its "communications" in some form, "in writing, painting, sculpture, musical composition, or dancing (Von Franz 1975:195)". The articulation and elaboration of meaning by shamans represents a unification of conscious and previously held symbols and models of reality and new insights and interpretations which become conscious. Shamans represent their models of reality based on communication with the "supernatural" in ways which are similar to those advocated by Jungian psychology. The forms of these expressions are often dynamic and variable, for example, dancing, singing, making music, and creating ritual paraphernalia [41]

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[41] Pasztory (1982) demonstrates that shamanic "art" tends to be aural rather than visual in keeping with the dynamic nature of shamanism (9) and that while some shamanic cultures produce visual forms of "art", such as on the Northwest Coast (10), this has to do with the cultural valuing of these objects to gain social status, and is not specifically an expression of shamanic values. These products are also sometimes destroyed even in these cultures after their ritual use is complete (9). Among the Salish crude "houses" and other ritual objects are made to represent "spirit canoes" in which the shaman travels to the spirit world in order to cure people. Afterward these objects are destroyed since they contain the sick and evil spirits that the shaman has fought (10). Pasztory shows that shamanism is not

(Pasztory, 1982). Pasztory (1982) points out that shamanic ritual often takes on a "mixed-media" form (9).

Shamans also need great personal inventiveness to adapt their communications to their particular life situations. Heinze (1991) observed that because of their spontaneity and inventiveness, shamanic rituals are usually less standardized and less traditional than the rituals carried out by priests (Heinze 1991:10). What is important for the development and articulation of meaning over the course of a shaman's life, is when a shaman's "artistic expressions" and creative solutions to the problems of shamanic practise illustrate his, or her growing dialogue and integration with the unconscious. For example, a story of the origin of masking-feasts among the Alaskan Eskimos of Port Hope illustrates the process of elaboration of meaning and vision of life by shamans. This story, told to Rasmussen, says that a shaman

> ...made a journey to the land of the spirits, and returned with many impressions of the many strange and new faces he had seen, and the supernatural experiences he had taken part in. Not only did he relate about it in a seance, but tried to imitate all he had seen with masks and mystical feasts...(Rasmussen, 1976c:60).

Shamans in this culture also, "learned new songs, new texts, and new dances, and all of these were added to the feasts (1976c:60)."

The contribution to the individuation process of the increasing ability of the individual to articulate meaning about the world, and human experience in

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always associated with the plastic arts and elaborate ritual
paraphernalia, although in a few cultures shamans may be the most
important artists of their society (9).

it, lies in the differentiation in self-definition, and self-other definition that occurs and as the basis of inner transformation through differentiation and integration[42]. From the elaboration of meaning in his own understanding the shaman can make a contribution to the society. As Halifax (1979) observes

> Human existence, suffering, and death are rendered by shamans into a system of philosophical, psychological, spiritual and sociological symbols institutes a moral order by resolving the ontological paradoxes and dissolving existential barriers, thus eliminating the most painful and unpleasant aspects of human life. The perfection of the timeless past, the paradise of a mythological era, is an existential potential in the present. And the shaman, through sacred action, communicates this potential to all (Halifax, 1979:34).

D. THE CONTINUING INTEGRATION OF "SACRED" EXPERIENCES

Integration is the mark that the apprentice shaman has received and is able to make adjustments between former experiences and new experiences of the "supernatural". It represents a realization that the struggle between old perceptions (Ec) and new experiences is not necessary. Specifically, that opening to "the larger", is not an experience of loss, as it is often perceived in early phases of global alteration in phenomenology. My own experience of this was of wondering what I would have to "give up" in acquiring a new worldview. The impetus toward integration comes from willingness to accept the expanded

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[42] My experiences of creativity arising from doing "inner work" in C.F. took the form of writing stories and poetry. I consider them to be the most "shamanic" part of the work and that which gave me the clearest dialogue with the unconscious and the greatest satisfaction.

vision, the "wisdom that lives beyond the ego". This requires an attitude of humility and willingness to align oneself with the "sacred" and the A.S.C. experiences ("supernatural journeys") which must be tolerated to do so. It is based on the recognition of the numinous forces which exist and the necessity of having a balanced relationship with them. Integration results from the sacred intentionality of the ego, to continually release ego constraints to "sacred" experience and shifts in consciousness. Integration occurs as new meaning, especially about difficult existential questions sought and received. Specifically, "The shaman learns to integrate the experiences of sickness, dying, and death, as well as to share the special knowledge of those powerful events with those who face disease or death for the first time (Halifax, 1979:5)." As Eliade (1974) observes, It is the ability of shaman to "see" into other realms and describe in detail his, or her, journeys there, that has "[contributed] decisively to the knowledge of death" and made the perception of death knowable (509-510).

The process of integrating the "sacred" into personal models of life is inevitably tied to interpreting and experiencing life holistically. The experience of visions, intuitive awareness, and everyday life, must be lived with sincerity and the knowledge of humanity's relationship with the "supernatural". This is crucial to a manifestation of "shamanic awareness" which promotes and represents the maturation of the individual within the cosmology and apprehension of the culturally defined sacredness of all life (Neihardt, 1988;

Ortiz et al. 1991). It must come from the personal experience of this "sacredness", honesty felt, and acted upon in the world. It is from the commitment to having a relationship with the "sacred", often on behalf of others, that the shaman plays his, or her, most important social role.

E. INDEPENDENCE AND THE MATURING SHAMAN

"In the later stages of growth the person's essentially alone and can rely only upon himself (Maslow, 1968:38)." In shamanism this is true to a considerable degree throughout the careers of shamans. The effectiveness of solitude as a technique has already been discussed, but there are also other formalized aspects of secrecy and isolation in shamanic practise. Some societies, such as the Ojibway, prohibit the public discussion of the source of a shaman's "power", such as revealing a dream or vision[43], because of the possible loss of "power" (Grim, 1983:103,127). If it is necessary for a shaman to verbally evoke that "power", he or she will recount it very quickly so that others cannot understand it (127). The importance of the ability to act alone and the significance of keeping secrets is emphasized by Jung in his discussion of taking on inner responsibility and thus becoming differentiated from the

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[43] Landes notes that while the discussion of ordinary dreams is acceptable in Ojibwa society dreams involving the individual's connection with the manitou are not spoken of and that part of the reason for the separation of the neophyte shaman from the community is so that his, or her, behaviour will not reveal anything about the nature of that relationship (Landes in Grim, 1983:103).

social collective (1965/1973:342-345). Certainly the vocation and practise of the Ojibway shaman with its demands of privacy and personal responsibility for independently maintaining connections with "hidden realities" provides an example of the operation of these forces in shamanic practise.

F. THE LIMITS OF SHAMANIC PRACTISE

Although the focus of this thesis so far has been largely on those aspects of shamanic practise that can be shown to contribute to empowerment and individuation directly, it is also important to see where shamanism has its limits, and how failure contributes to individuation. There are several ways in which failure enters into shamanic experience. For example, in the failure to produce desired results in shamanic practise, such as, curing a patient; in the failure to function in political or economic terms; or, in getting "stuck" in any problem of growth previously discussed.

There are some accounts of shamans in which particular shamans are shown to be inept, frauds, or simply to have not yet reached the maturity and ability of the master shaman. For example, Rasmussen's (1976b) account of the Iglulik Eskimos tells the story of Inernerunashuaq, who though he was considered to be a satisfactory shaman, was known as the worst hunter in his community and one whose family often had to rely on the help of others (35). This example is the opposite of the assertion of Harner (1986) and others have made that shamans are often more competent even in activities which are not

specifically shamanic functions, than other members of their communities (Noll, 1985:453; Rogers, 1982:14).

Another type of failure which I propose would be likely to preclude any chance for individuation is found in an example provided by of a Kwakiutl shaman who ceased to practise and "went crazy" after he was made a "laughing stock" by another shaman in the eyes of his community (Boas in Levi-Strauss, 1963:177-178). This is similar to previously mentioned examples of shamans who lose their "power". Likewise, Borgoras cites an example of a Siberian shaman who could only function as a shaman in A.S.C. states and had to be physically restrained the rest of the time and who could not function as a member of society (Borgoras in Murphy, 1964:76). This shaman showed a level of incompetence in everyday functioning that I believe indicates that she was not moving towards an integration of personality, A.S.C. capacity and social role, which would facilitate individuation.

I would argue that the failures that are important to the individuation process are those which do not permanently harm the individual. Those that are likely to contribute to the individuation process are made in the course of learning A.S.C. techniques and in the failure to cure patients in the ordinary run of events. Shamans must learn the limits of their "powers" in dealings with "hidden realities" and that their "power" is only "channelled" through them, despite the high esteem that they are held in some cultures. As Rasmussen noted,

"They may intervene and change ill fortune to good, alleviate
disaster, but they cannot directly support the destiny of the
individual, still less be omnipresent when an evil fate reaches out
towards its victim (Rasmussen, 1976 :151)."

G. THE TRANSFORMATION OF EXPERIENCE INTO A PERSONAL Ec

Jacobi (1967) has described the individuation process as, "...stadial,

consisting of progress and regress, flux and stagnation in alternating sequence

(34)". The maturing shaman has experienced all of these fluctuations. If the

shaman has achieved enough balance, has a 'healthy Ec, then life has meant a

continuous revisions of personal models (Laughlin et al. 1990:88).'

There are several differences between the models of competent

maturing shamans and the models they held during the initiatory period. For

example, maturing shamans have greater quality and control of A.S.C.

experiences, their ability to understand the meaning of these experiences and

provide an interpretation suitable for clients demonstrates integration a

capacity to work with "power" in an effective way. They also have an increased

awareness of "hidden realities", have an expression of life that is vigourous,

possess clarity of thought, and power of expression. They live in a way which

is "authentic", where inner determinants, rather than external ones,

predominantly influence their actions (Maslow, 1968:35). Their perception of

themselves as shamans is within the "normal" bounds of imposture and has

stabilized in acceptance of the social role of shaman. For the maturing

shaman, as any consciously individuating being, "...life appears as a task of the

highest order, and therein lies the possibility of interpreting its meaning, which does not exclude the possibility of defeat (Jung in Jaffé, 1983:84)."

H. SHAMANS AS FRAUDS

The issue of shamans as frauds, in the sense that they have been accused of making fraudulent use of techniques of trickery, or that their practise is itself false, has been raised since the first accounts were written about shamanism (Walsh, 1990:101). This issue is significant to the discussion of the potential of the shaman for individuation, because as Jung (1977) argues that, "Only what is really oneself has the power to heal (117)." The issue of fraud however, must be considered in the context of culturally specific definitions of the "supernatural" and criteria for authentic manifestations of shamanic "power".

It is common to hear that shamans have hidden a bit of something away, which they later reveal as a diseased part of the patient, or as something which had intruded into the patient causing illness (e.g., Rasmussen, 1976b:147). Shamans have told investigators that this occurs in their profession (Rasmussen, 1976b; Rogers, 1982). It does appear, however, that there may be more to this issue than the suggestion that what the shaman is really doing is providing a "symbolic" representation of illness to reassure, or fool, a client into thinking that the shaman has removed the illness. For example, Cove notes that the use of "tricks" in Northwest Coast secret societies and shamanic

rituals is not considered to be fraudulent because what happens at the ritual level, through "tricks", is believed to effect the cosmic level and has "cosmic significance". He notes that in some secret societies if a dancer makes a mistake during a ritual (the ritual level), it has consequences at the cosmic level, and members of the society will commit suicide as a result of the failure (personal communication). This model of the connections between cosmic levels, would also provide a means of explaining why shamans seek out the help of other shamans, knowing the techniques that they will use (Heinze, 1991).

Thus, culturally sanctioned explanations for the use of "tricks" would support accounts of shamanism which indicate that shamans believe in the efficacy of their practises. For example, Heinze (1991) argues that it is apparent to those who have witnessed the practises of shamans that they generally have a sincere belief in their "powers", their stated experiences in A.S.C. travelling, hea.ing, vocation, etc. (Heinze, 1991). Similarly, Rasmussen states that, "...the shamans were never humbugs or persons who did not believe in their own "powers"; and it was also extremely rare to meet with any scepticism among the listeners (1976d:132)." Thus while a shaman in some instances might behave in a way that he, or she, would consider illicit, generally speaking, it would appear that most do not, and that the interpretations of outsiders that intentional fraud is being perpetrated is generally unfounded.

This is not to say that doubts about the "powers" of shamans have not occasionally been expressed to anthropologists and outsiders. Rasmussen (1976c) encountered a Caribou Eskimo named Oqûtaq who had begun shamanic training and then "changed his mind" after failing to see the helping spirits his teacher had provided for him (59). He told Rasmussen that he believed it was all lies, "intended for people who were either born timid or were easily fooled (59)." Rasmussen did allow, however, that despite the scepticism of some Caribou Eskimos that most Caribou shamans did believe in their capacity to work through the guidance of spirits (60).

Explanations advanced recently in western research which propose that there can be efficacy in the symbolic manifestations of healing, may also contribute to the exoneration of shamans and their practises. For example, Walsh (1990) suggests that the use of "tricks" represents the conscious or unconscious use of the "placebo effect", and is not intentional fraud (103). Another proposal, by Laughlin et al. (1990:193-194), suggests, in a process which they call homeomorphogenisis, that external symbols (such as something shown to the patient by the shaman) interact with other systems of the body to effect the body's own healing mechanisms.

I would argue that a useful perspective to the issue of whether shamans make use of fraudulent practises and are themselves, frauds, is proposed by Cove (1987) who states in his account of Tsimshian practises that, "Although how one becomes a shaman involves a number of physical and psychological

manifestations which could be faked, as healers or seers [shamans] had to have been successful (230)", in terms that are defined within shamanic cultures.

(II) THE MASTER SHAMAN: SOCIAL RECOGNITION AND WHOLENESS

The meaning of the terms "master" and "mastery" in the Concise Oxford dictionary (1976) point to, 'the capacities of having control, being independent and free to do as one wishes, being skilled at a technique, or acquiring knowledge, being one who is "in business of his own account", a "player of proved ability at an international level" and, as having sway, or dominion over something (671-672).' Each of these senses of mastery can be used in the development of the concept "master shaman".

General usage of the term master shaman in the literature[44] and my own assessment of the descriptions of shamans points to a number of attributes which seem to be common cross-culturally, and correspond with the definition of mastery provided above. These traits include: having significant control in the use of shamanic techniques and idiosyncratic abilities that contribute to shamanic practise; and, developing, living, and practising shamanically, according to an independent personal vision (Ec). Master shamans have established a professional practise and have gained social recognition from the community for their example of personal empowerment.

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[44] The term master shaman is often used rather ambiguously without much definition.

This synopsis is not exhaustive, and does not represent the reduction of the qualities and abilities of shamans to an exclusive list of attributes, but it illustrates those which appear to be common. It is evident that there is a mixture of many qualities which contribute to mastery in shamans.

A. SHAMANIC BALANCE

Shamanic balance is a term used by Meyerhoff (1976) to refer the outer manifestations of integration in the behaviour of some shamans which seems to indicate a personal and holistic experience of reality. I would argue that this outward manifestation reflects an understanding of the interconnectedness of multiple realities in which all patterns that are encountered have meaning and connection. Kalweit (1988) observes that the kind of balance shaman's achieve through their transpersonal journeys and struggles is achieved by an individual who has reached beyond the stage where, "...I is continuously caught up in projects to ensure its survival and reinforcement as well as in all kinds of longings and desires (230)". He adds that, 'transcending ego-bound motivations by seeing one's personal drama higher perspective leads to harmonizing these tendencies and motivations (230)'.

Meyerhoff's (1976) account of the Huichol mara'akame Ramón Medina Silva contains a description of how this practitioner in an act of demonstrating "shamanic equilibrium" leapt across the rocks of a fast running waterfall which plunged down over a thousand feet. Silva explained his actions to the visitors

present (1976:7-8) by saying, "The mara'akame must have superb equilibrium

...One crosses over. It is very narrow and without balance, one is eaten by

those animals below (1976:7-8)." I interpret this act as a physical metaphor for

capacities that this shaman exhibited in all aspects of his life. Meyerhoff

(1976) recounts that the balance of Ramón in the physical and cosmological

realms was also accompanied by his ability to cross over into, and deal with,

the social and political complex of urban Mexican society, where he functioned

as an intermediary (9). The shaman's balance Meyerhoff explains is not the

equivalent of the Western Golden Mean, the shaman's "dialectical task is

continually to move between these opposites without resolving them (1976:10)."
In his journeys

> He enters non-form, the underlying chaos of the unconceptualized
> domain which has not yet been made a part of the cosmos by the
> cultural activity of naming and defining....Such contacts with the
> boundaries of conceptualization are sources of power, as well as
> danger (Meyerhoff, 1976:12).

Thus by reaching a state of shamanic balance the shaman must give up the

ego's desire for certainty, while moving in and out of multiple realities,

intrapersonal explorations, and interpersonal situations, in an effective way.

Shamans must develop different internal capacities and balance them all in a

holistic way which reflects and creates a balance between humanity and other

planes (Halifax, 1979:13).

B. THE USE OF A.S.C. TECHNIQUES BY THE MASTER SHAMAN

In shamanic practises technical mastery refers to mastery of A.S.C. techniques, displaying what Eliade described as an "unusual capacity for ecstatic experience (1974:65) and "control of ecstatic movements (30)". Likewise, Noll (1985) cites a special capacity for mental imagery cultivation (446). Knowledge of significant traditional lore, of ritual practises in healing or other social duties, of the subordination of the ego to the needs of shamanic practises, of the interpretation of symbols, mastery over spirit heipers (Eliade, 1974:85; Noll, 1985:448), the demonstration of "power", and a level of "self-control and mental effort beyond most (Furot in Spencer, 1982:8)", are necessary to master the extensive bodies of knowledge found in many traditions (e.g., Beigman, 1973:663). Control, or in the case of invoking many A.S.C. experiences, involves a release of rigid ego control of consciousness. The dominion which the shaman has control over is both personal ego demands, and his, or her connection with the 'powers" that influence human life and the social and political relations in the human sphere.

Many accounts of shamans also indicate that individuals have mastered particular idiosyncratic skills which augment, or are a part of, the repertoire of shamanic skills of a particular culture. For example, the shaman Igjugárjuk was known as a master initiator (Rasmussen, 1976c:57-58), and many shamans, like the Greenland Eskimo, Autdaruta, are known as outstanding story tellers (e.g., Halifax. 1979:107; Kendall, 1988:1; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1975:107), are the

best singers in a community (Rasmussen, 1976b:232-233), the greatest

visionaries (Neihardt, 1988), the best hunters (Rasmussen, 1976a:146), or

farmers, or have other personal traits which are considered to be above the

norm. In shamanic societies these abilities and talents are considered within

the context of having "power", as previously discussed (Harner, 1986:83).

The identification of qualities of outstanding shamans are used to make

an argument that shamans have generally superior skills and abilities compared

to others in their communities (e.g., Rogers, 1982:14), to counter the shaman-

psychopath discourse in the literature. While such an assertion is difficult to

assess, it does appear that many shamans who have been written about have

had a number of talents and abilities considered to be important by their

communities.

C. HIGHER CONSCIOUSNESS IN MASTER SHAMANS

The question has been raised as to whether shamans attain higher states

of consciousness such as the samadhi state of yoga practitioners or the highest

states experienced in Buddhist insight meditation (e.g., Walsh, 1990:227ff);

what Laughlin et al. (1990) call Void consciousness (331ff). Void

consciousness is described as 'ineffable, either positive or neutral, and

therefore best expressed using metaphor (Laughlin et al., 1990:332).'

Specifically, the loss of ego-centredness, the loss of experiencing the world as a

concrete objective reality, and a sense of "recognition of knowledge" that is not

"empirical or intellectual" knowing (333) are characteristics of this experience. Such a description may correlate with shamanic states that Heinze (1991) documents. She describes a phase in mediumistic-shamanic A.S.C.s that she calls "mind expanding". She states that shaman's,

> ...possession states may move from full possession to more and more monitored possession, eventually reaching states where possession is not used that frequently any more, and the mind begins to 'expand' (Heinze, 1991:159).

She goes on to say that shamans experience, "increasingly mind-expanding states that they learn to control to the point of 'intuitive knowledge' or just 'being' (Heinze, 1991:160)."

Walsh (1990) makes a good case for the divergence of "ultimate states" in shamanism (shamanic flight), from ultimate states in Buddhist and yoga meditative practises. He contrasts the 'one-pointed focus of yoga, with the fluid attention on objects and movement in "journeying" and Buddhist awareness practises.' He also notes that all three traditions cultivate self-control, but that yogis have considerably more control during A.S.C.s.. Experiences of awareness of the environment are also divergent. Shamans have some contact with the environment during "shamanic flight" (by making signs recognized by others) and Buddhist meditators show increased sensitivity to the environment, while yogis experience no break in their intense concentration (227-232).' Walsh goes on to illustrate divergence in arousal levels, and the individual's sense of identity during transpersonal experiences in these traditions. Such divergence, however, does not mean that shamans do

not experience some form of "ultimate states(s)", just that they may not be the same as those experienced in other traditions. All of these traditions represent a range of A.S.C. states. It seems likely that there is much more to be learned about "ultimate" states in shamanic traditions.

D. THE INTEGRATION OF A.S.C. TRAITS INTO EVERYDAY LIFE

Another aspect of shamanic mastery may result from the integration of the qualities of "being" which a shaman experiences in A.S.C.s. into the shaman's behaviour in everyday life. Walsh (1990) notes, that mastery of particular qualities of A.S.C.s (for example states of extreme calm) in mediation, or ritual, can lead to the ability to embody those qualities in baseline consciousness (164). The idea of the integration of A.S.C. qualities so that the need to use ritual means to evoke them is transcended, is eloquently described by the Buddhist teacher Chogyam Trungpa (1973) who states that

> Technique is necessary to start with, but it : also necessary at
> some stage for the technique to fall away. From the ultimate
> point of view the whole process of learning and practise is quite
> unnecessary. We could perceive the absence of ego at a single
> glance (Trungpa 1973:197).

Walsh (1990) proposed that the "power" of the spiritual visions of shamans, "...may become more sensitive and accessible in an ordinary state (164)", and notes Eliade's assertion that the purpose of shamanic training is to effect such a continual state of ecstasy (164). Walsh (1990) argues that experience of an ongoing sense of "awareness" without the aid of ritual evocation of A.S.C.

states is suggested in the possibility that some shamans are able to see their spirit helpers in baseline consciousness after having first learned to see them in A.S.C.s (120). I have found some evidence for this assertion. For example, Harner (1986) notes that a few master shamans among the Coast Salish are capable of entering A.S.C.s without the use of drumming (91) which implies considerable ability and control in manipulating consciousness. And King (1988) recounts that after he had learned to "merge with animals" from a deep trance state, he thought that the trance was the means to facilitate the change, until he realized that his teacher, "was able to do the same thing in the blink of an eye without going into trance at all (43)." Thus it appears that some shamans are able to bring some of the "benefits" of A.S.C.. states into their non-ritual functioning. As we have seen the integration of the qualities and attitudes which originate in A.S.C.s into everyday life can also occur as a result of peak experiences, the confrontation with death and other empowering experiences.

E. QUALITIES OF PERSONALITY AND RELATIONSHIP IN MASTER SHAMANS

A number of characteristics of personality contribute to the ability of shamans to perform their duties with credibility and may be developed by shamanic practise. Some qualities which are cited by anthropologists and others include: an authentic expression of the individual shaman's vision, and

the personal qualities of humility and confidence, love, humour, balance, and respect for spiritual forces that affect human life. I would argue that the humility and confidence of a master shaman comes from a personal understanding of the immensity of things and a sense of respect for his, or her, own limitations in understanding the cosmos, while having the ability to engage with those "powers" on behalf of others. For example, Harner (1986) asserts that a master shaman, "does not challenge the validity of anybody else's experiences (57)" and "will try to integrate even the most unusual experiences into his total cosmology (57)." Part of learning what SSC states[45] offer is, "...a deep respect for all forms of life, with a humble awareness of our dependence on the plants, animals, and even inorganic matter of our planet (1986:68)." Mehl (1988) also observes that within shamanic worldviews there is an, "...aspect of humility necessary in healing - the constant recognition that forces and energies larger than us are at work creating and managing our destiny (134)." Other accounts of shamans refer to their humility in the face of the effects cosmic and mysterious "powers" in the everyday experiences of human life (e.g., Rasmussen, 1976:32; Halifax, 1979:173). With this attitude of respect and humility, "The shaman is forever trying to articulate his personal revelatory experiences as though they were pieces of a great cosmic jigsaw puzzle,...and

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[45] Harner (1986) refers to A.S.C.s in which shamans leave baseline consciousness and enter altered states as shamanic states of consciousness (SSCs). Entering SSCs involves not only altering consciousness, but reflects a "learned awareness of shamanic methods and assumptions while in an altered state (25)."

even a master shaman does not expect to complete the puzzle in a mortal lifetime (Harner, 1986:57)."

Despite the humility of master shamans's they are often seen to combine humility with confidence and a realistic assessment of personal ability (e.g., Bernay in Heinze, 1991:49). In the practises of healing shamans, it is especially important that the shaman's sense of personal empowerment and professional competence is conveyed to the patient (Heinze, 1991). For example, the Yakut of Siberia consider that the perfect shaman

> ... must be serious, posses tact, be able to convince his neighbours; above all, he must not be presumptuous, proud, ill-tempered. One must feel an inner force in him that does not offend yet is conscious of its power (Eliade, 1974:29).

Another aspect of the master shaman that is often mentioned is the love of the shaman for the community, and the shaman's empathic connection with all aspects of creation. I believe that this love is at the basis of the true workings of a master shaman. Not all shamans of some technical ability will have it, but those that do are known by their personal expression of wholeness. This can be seen in Huichol shaman, Matsúwa, who spoke of "chanting with his heart" (Halifax, 1979:251), and of ritual ceremonies in which, "...we [the people] come together as one (251)." Matsúwa's love extended beyond his own village to a deep concern for those North Americans he had heard of and met, and who, he perceived as having a lack of balance in their lives (250). Also, to the gods of his people (251), and to the connection between all things. According to those who met him (Halifax, 1979), Matsúwa embodied love, and

had an attitude of thanksgiving toward the gods that was based on an

understanding of love as an "energy force" that connects human and celestial

planes in the contemporary age. He reminded his interviewers:

> I see that many people here are so caught up in their own little
> lives that they are not getting their love up to the sun, out to the
> ocean, and into the earth. When you do ceremonies, sending out
> your love in five directions - the north, the south, the east, the
> west, and the center - brings life force into you (in Halifax,
> 1979:251).

Likewise, the contemporary physician, shamanic healer, and Cherokee Indian,

Lewis Mehl, acknowledged that "Love is the source that moves and guides the

effective healer (Mehl, 1988:132-133)."

An important aspect of the shaman's connection with all is expressed in

the focus on the collective rather than the merely egocentric. Jung (1977)

observes that at the later stages of individuation

> The complications arising...are no longer egoistic wish-conflicts,
> but difficulties that concern others as much as oneself....it is
> fundamentally a question of collective problems, which have
> activated the collective unconscious. They require collective
> rather than personal compensation. We can see that the
> unconscious produces contents which are valid not only for the
> person concerned, but for the others as well, in fact for a great
> many people and possibly all (Jung, 1977:127).

Certainly the social duties and training of shamans have encouraged this focus

throughout their careers, however, it is clear in the statements of shamans like

Matsúwa that the collective focus and idea of service is the central part of

their practise of shamanism. Likewise the attention paid to the "big dreams"[46] of shamans demands such a focus and ability.

Torrey's (1969) investigation of the common features of effective healers in indigenous traditions (shamans and others) proposes that such a type as the therapeutic personality exists, and that, "...the personal qualities of the healer including accurate empathy, nonpossessive warmth, and genuineness are factors influencing their efficacy as healers (367)." It can be argued that in mature shamans the embodiment of the qualities of therapeutic personality and those mentioned above fall into the category observed by Maslow as behaviour which is "radiated". Maslow (1968) states that

> To the extent that growth consists in peeling away inhibitions 'and constraints and then permitting the person to "be himself," to emit behaviour - "radiantly," as it were rather than to repeat it, to allow his inner nature to express itself, to this extent the behaviour of self-actualizers is unlearned, created and released rather than acquired, expressive rather than coping (Maslow, 1968:39).

It also implies the quality of discernment and objectivity already discussed. A number of descriptions of shamans like María Sabina (Halifax, 1979:129), David Bray (Bernay in Heinze, 1991:49), Ramón Medina Silva (Meyerhoff,

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[46] Jung (1980) describes a big dream as, 'a colloquial term used to describe archetypal dreams which have a peculiar numinosity for the dreamer (306).' Jung derived this concept from his meeting with the Elgonyis in Africa whose ritual practitioners had big dreams which were significant to the community prior to colonial administration of the area (1980:306; 1973:264ff).

1976), Matsúwa (Halifax, 1979:249-252) and others indicate this type of feeling is perceived by others in their presence.

Other aspects of personality and "power" that appear in the lives of master shamans are in his, or her, political influence and use of personal stature in that sphere. Many shamans have "charisma" and inspire considerable belief in their personal "power" which no doubt facilitates the performance of shamanic duties. Examples of the political astuteness of master shamans show clear links between the shaman's "powers" of awareness and his ability to function in a superior way (e.g., Halifax, 1979:21-22: Meyerhoff, 1976). For example, part of the political power of shamans lies in their expertise in manipulating the symbol system (cosmology-ideology) of the society (Firth in Laughlin et al. 1990:173). As a "sacred politicians" (Halifax, 1979:21-22) shamans must ensure that the community has confidence in their "power" to manipulate or affect at least some of the forces at play in the cosmology. For example, in his observations of Iglulik culture, Rasmussen (1976b) noted:

> ...every great shaman must, when asked, and when a number of
> people are present, exercise his art in miraculous fashion on
> order to astonish the people, and convince them of the sacred and
> inexplicable powers of the shaman (Rasmussen, 1976b:109).

The question of the shaman's influence in a community and the means of engendering that influence is a complicated one. It is evident that some shamans have influence on the basis of their perceived authenticity as healers and protectors of their people, and others on the basis of fear and awe that the

community has of them, or their perceived "powers" (e.g., Balikci, 1967:206).
Sometimes the fear is justified. Balikci reports that among the Netsilik
Eskimos good and evil shamanic acts are distinguished from each other (206),
and that while most shamans are considered to be "good", many at some point
in their careers have behaved aggressively towards others in the community.
Shamans who serve the common good as defined by a society, may also inspire
fear of their "powers". Certainly these shamans are masters of technique, and
of the social aspects of their role. But are those shamans who embody
"authenticity" and love greater masters of shamanic practise than those who
inspire awe through fear ? I regard both as masters, in terms of the definition
of mastery provided at the beginning of this section, but consider those who
embody love to be further along on the path of individuation.

F. INDIVIDUATION AND THE MASTER SHAMAN

It has been illustrated that many shamans articulate new and changing
forms of practise and perceptions of reality within their symbolic and technical
repertoire and that this brings about an increasing differentiation of worldview,
personal empowerment, and knowledge. Examples of fine discrimination
among perceptions and relationships among ideas can be seen in master
shamans in their models of reality which have greater acuity than is commonly
encountered in other members of that culture. For example, Rasmussen's
account of the worldview of the Iglulik shaman, Aua, reflects just such a

example of complex articulation. Rasmussen saw that, Aua was always, "clear in his line of thought, and with a remarkable power of expressing what he meant (Rasmussen, 1976b:56)." And Halifax (1979) writes of this account,

> [Aua's] ideas concerning the nature of death, the existence of
> reincarnation, the description of the soul, and the origin of the
> cosmos were recondite. His knowledge of mythology, cosmology,
> and eschatology was vast. His gift of poetic metaphor was
> particularly beautiful (Halifax, 1979:114).

Likewise, the extensive velada (night vigil) of María Sabina recorded in verse (Halifax, 1979:196-213) the complex synthesis of Eduardo Calderón (Sharon, 1978) and the re-visioning of the Washo cosmology by Henry Rupert (Handelman, 1967) (see chapter seven), represent the personal, and not always "strictly traditional", expressions of knowledge that master shamans have constructed.

The aspect of probing deeper into _objective phenomena_ can be seen in several areas, the necessity of performing shamanic duties, and in the intrinsic interest in shamans of knowing more. Reichel-Dolmatoff provides an example of this with the _payes_ (shamans) of the Tukano of the Columbian Amazon (1975:76-107). Dolmatoff describes the _paye_ as an "intellectual" in his culture (107).

> But he is immensely curious; he is always interested in animals
> and plants, the weather, the stars, diseases - anything that, to
> others, is unpredictable. He is a humanist, in the sense that he is
> interested in the "pagan" antiquities of his own cultural tradition:
> in myths of origin, in archaeological sites, in long-forgotten place
> names and in stories of legendary migrations....When a few
> friends gather he will talk and sing all night long. He will recall

past events, speak of some special "cases" in his practice, and will be a great raconteur (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1975:107).

Likewise, Eduardo Calderón, the Peruvian curandero, demonstrated a personal will to know throughout his life in the many areas directly related to, and outside of, his shamanic practise (Sharon, 1978).

There are also qualities in master shamans that indicate that differentiation and unification are taking place. These movements in the psyche are understood in a cosmological context, as experiences of spirits etc., and the development and mastery of related skills. Especially those which are considered to be creative endeavours in our culture (not necessarily the same ones for every shaman within the same culture), special capacities for working in the individual's particular shamanic specialty (for example healing), considerable breadth of life experience (e.g., Erdoes, 1976; Handelman, 1967; Sharon, 1978),

(III) SUMMARY

This chapter has examined a number of issues which illustrate important common features of the experiences of maturing shamans and those whom I have defined as mature practitioners. There is no absolute demarcation between maturing shamans and "master" shamans, however, the qualities of personality, technical ability and the development of an elaborated worldview mark the master shaman. Maturing shamans are particularly focused on developing discernment about, and interpretations of, patterns and process in

the world around them, and within, them. Although these abilities continue to be important in the practise of mature shamans, the latter have mastered the capacities of being self-reflexive and making fine discriminations about objective phenomena. This is true both in their judgments about A.S.C. experiences (the "supernatural") and "waking consciousness". There is evidence to suggest that at least some master shamans have integrated the qualities of A.S.C.s into their everyday functioning. This is metaphorically described as "shamanic balance". Master shamans have learned to work independently, they have experienced both failure and success, and understand their limits. They have elaborated upon, and discarded their "models" of earlier practise, and they have contributed new "vision" to their communities. Their focus tends to be on the collective, in considerable contrast with the chaotic feelings and egocentric focus (even if the content is understood to be "supernatural") of the shamanic candidate. In the course of their maturation the challenges of the social role and those in A.S.C. experiences, have provided the opportunity for the shaman to master personal weaknesses and achieve a higher degree of differentiation and unification of personality than he, or she, had at the point of initiation. Their personal expression is often interpreted as one which embodies confidence, humility, and loving concern for others. While it is all too easy to "canonize" the shaman, it seems that some master shamans have come to embody qualities of personality have greatly impressed anthropologists and others who have met them.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE CREATIVE VISION OF HENRY RUPERT

In this chapter I use Briggs's (1988) synopsis of creativity theory to explore the creative capacity and vision of the Washo shaman, Henry Rupert (see Appendix A for a chronology of his life). I will argue that some shamans, like Henry Rupert, can be considered to be high level creators, in the same sense that highly creative people in western cultures[47] have been, by identifying some of Briggs's (1988) common attributes of creators in his vision, achievements, and life history. I will also show, that the creative solutions in situations of acculturation[48] exemplified by shamans like Henry Rupert do much to further their own individuation process.

(I) INDIVIDUATION AND CREATIVITY THEORY

The relationship between the concept of individuation and artistic creativity was interpreted by Jung (1977) to be based on a divergence between becoming individuated and being an artist. Jung argued that the artist

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[47] I will use the term <u>creators</u> to describe the highly creative individuals who are of interest to Briggs (1988) and creativity theorists and commonly referred to as having genius. Briggs does not provide a precise definition of genius, but proposes that geniuses are people, "who have altered in some significant way our perception of a major field of human endeavour (12)." He specifies that in the arts, "significantly altering a field means leaving an indelible <u>impression of vision</u> (12)."

[48] <u>Acculturation</u> refers to, "a process in which contacts between different cultural groups lead to the acquisition of new cultural patterns by one, or perhaps both, group(s), with the adoption of all or parts of the other's culture (Jary and Jary, 1991:3)."

becoming individuated and being an artist. Jung argued that the artist "creates" at the expense of personal individuation, that the individuating of the artist is expressed in his, or her work, rather than in the personality and life. While this may be true in some cases, I believe that this perspective on creativity is limited in its applicability to the life of Henry Rupert. For these reasons I will use Briggs's (1988) mapping of creativity which synthesizes a large body of interdisciplinary data on creativity which Jung did not have. I will argue that Henry Rupert's life and achievements exhibit a number of the criteria which Briggs has identified as contributing to, or having a correlation with, high level creating. I have grouped these criteria into several categories which correspond with the sections of this chapter. The sections include: (III) common features in the life histories of creator's; (IV) common attributes of personality and life orientation; (V) experiences inherent in the creative process; and (VI) the common strategies of creators. These categories are defined within each section.

(II) THE LIFE AND VISION OF HENRY RUPERT

'Henry Rupert was born in Nevada in 1885 into a Washo community experiencing a difficult process of acculturation (Handelman, 1967:445). He lived on the fringes of White society with his mother and extended family, until the age of eight, when he went away to a residential school. His mother worked as a "domestic" for a White family (Handelman, 1967:445-447).'

Henry showed signs of shamanic potential during childhood

(Handelman, 1967:445), and received a "power dream" at the age of seventeen

when he sought training (450). His earliest spirit helpers and dreams generally

corresponded with traditional Washo patterns of initiatory experiences. His

"power dream" was confirmed by a physical sign, a nose bleed (448). The

source of "power" which he acquired was water (446), he also gained "power"

over the weather, and gradually became a healing shaman. Handelman points

out that having water, and not "water-babies", as a helper was unusual for the

Washo, as was weather control (448), although the latter was more common

with their neighbours, and that Henry's individuality was evident here. Henry

acquired his last spirit helper at the age of seventy (459). His spirit helpers

included: two Indian women, the spirit of a "Hindu" man, and a Hawaiian spirit

acquired from a Hawaiian practitioner (459). I will argue that Henry's vision

was about transforming the Washo worldview to accommodate his personal

philosophy and vision of life and healing. This evolving vision of life had such

facets as, a transcultural perspective on practise and learning, the development

of an "ethic of healing" and an attendant "philosophy of life" which lead to

transforming Washo ideas about the causality of illness and the nature of

"energy". It included: having non-Washo spirit helpers; using "White power"

and non-Washo shamanistic practises; and integrating his radical new

techniques with his old ones and conceiving of the capacity of "anyone" to use

"power". At its basis was a fundamental moral sensitivity which became the

injunction to, "be honest, faithful, and discreet, and live a pure life (Handelman, 1967:458)." I will describe the details of these facets of Henry's creative developments and relate them to Briggs's mapping of creativity in the section on experiences inherent in the creative process.

(III) COMMON FEATURES IN THE LIFE HISTORIES OF CREATORS

Briggs (1988) demonstrates that there are a number of common features in the life histories of creators. He includes: family themes (213), the loss of a parent at an early age (212), being an eldest child, or an only child (211ff), and the co-incidence between socio-historical factors and talents of the creator (220), as significant features. I will show that the life history of Henry Rupert corresponds with all of these criteria and will also discuss the issue of child prodigies in this section.

The first feature of Rupert's life history that corresponds with those of high level creators is the presence of a family theme, in the form of shamanic practise (healing). Briggs (1988) cites McGoldrick's finding that, "creators sometimes become absorbed by 'family themes' (212-213)." In Henry's case there were two shamans in his extended family, an uncle by marriage, and his brother-in-law. The uncle (Welewkushkush) was in his sixties or seventies when Henry was born, and lived near Henry's family. Henry lived with his mother, elder sister, and brother-in-law (Charley Rube). Both of the shamans in Henry's family spent much time with the growing boy, who continued to

have great respect for them all his life (Handelman, 1967:445).' The example

of healing shamans in this family was characterized by their 'kind and caring

manner towards others, in a society where there was a considerable fear and

negative expectation about the behaviour of shamans (444)[49].' I propose that

the nature of their practise is also part of the family theme.

A second feature of Henry Rupert's childhood which correlates with the

life experiences of many creators is the loss of a parent at an early age (Briggs,

1988:212). Briggs (1988) notes that, "One study found that fully one-third of

geniuses had lost at least one parent by age ten, a much higher percentage

than normal (212)." Henry's father left when he was two or three years old

(Handelman, 1967:455) and Henry did not see him again until he was twenty

and then only briefly (Handelman, 1967:445). The absence of Henry's father,

was not as a result of death, but conceivably would have had the same effect

on a young child. In Briggs's (1988) explanation of the impact of the loss of a

parent on creativity he surmises that, "Orphanhood may immerse the future

genius in an intense uncertainty, which creative absorption could both

compensate for and express (212)." The importance of the capacity for

absorption in creativity will be discussed in section (III).

Another significant feature of Henry's family circumstance was that he

was "in effect" an only child in the household in which he grew up. Briggs

(1988) points to several studies showing that eldest children, especially eldest

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[49]   In the Washo society all shamans were suspected as
possible sorcerers (Downs, 1966:57; Handelman, 1967:444).

sons have been historically more likely to exhibit genius, as have only children

(211)[50]. In Henry's home his elder married sister (an adult) ran the

household because his mother was often working and there is no mention of

other children in the home (Handelman 1967:445).

An issue related to creativity and its correlates in childhood experience

is that of child prodigies[51]. Prodigy is an early display of amazing talent in a

specific area, or more rarely, in several areas (Briggs, 1988:144-145). Several

points about prodigy are pertinent to the discussion of shamanic experience.

Briggs quotes Feldman's assessment that, "...prodigies seem only to occur in

fields where there are well-defined steps for achieving mastery (1988:149)" and

not in fields like literature where, no-one has produced a major literary work

before ten years of age (148)." I would argue that shamanism is a field like

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[50] Briggs (1988) notes that the reasons for the greater frequency of genius amongst eldest children and only children, especially sons, may be, "social, cultural, and psychological" (1988:211). The tradition of providing eldest sons with "more education and attention", the greater time spent alone, or the tendency of eldest and only children to experience absorption may be factors which contribute to genius. The capacity for absorption, a noted feature of both genius and child prodigies, may be increased in the life situations of eldest and only children since they do not have to compromise the way their younger siblings do (211). None of these possible influences have been categorically shown to create genius, but there is a significant correlation between their occurrence and genius.

[51] Briggs (1988) argues that child prodigy differs from the creative genius of adults. He demonstrates that many prodigies do not necessarily become "great creators" in adulthood and many adult geniuses were not child prodigies (142-146). He distinguishes "genius", or "high level creativity", from prodigy, by using Feldman's idea that genius is displayed when an individual has, "fundamentally reorganized a highly demanding domain of knowledge or skill (in Briggs, 1988:144)", something which prodigies do not do.

literature and that there are no "shaman prodigies". I have shown that shamanic mastery is a holistic process and requires a broad vision of life, time to develop, and insight that goes beyond the exercise of specific talents. There may be particular areas of "talent" which shamans exhibit at an early age, such as capacity for visions etc., and they may ultimately contribute to the individual becoming a shaman, but no single characteristic guarantees this. We have seen that the techniques learned by shamans have some systematic aspects, however, the holistic quality of shamanism involves the "intangibles" of psychic growth, joined with qualities of personality, insight, and idiosyncratic life experience. It clearly "transcends" the well-defined steps of learning a subject like chess, or mathematics, which Feldman (in Briggs, 1988:149) cites as areas of prodigy.

Henry Rupert's life history seems to illustrate this interpretation of shamanism. While he had early psychic and visionary experiences and they were noticed by his family, the family did not actually pay too much attention to them (Handelman, 1967:445). It was not until after a "power" dream at the age of seventeen that Henry was advised by his uncle to seek shamanic training (450), and he did not function as a shaman during childhood or adolescence. Despite the common experience of signs in the childhood and adolescent periods of shamans, or the display of an early interest in shamanism, the attainment of mastery in shamanism is not preceded by a prodigious display of "shamanic ability" as a specific talent in young children.

The final attribute common to the life histories of creators (and also of prodigies) is co-incidence. In creativity theory this term refers to the fit between culture and the specific talent of the individual which must exist for the potential of the individual to be supported (Briggs, 1988:145-146). An individual with a talent for which there is no use in a society is not likely to develop it. For example, "A computer prodigy born into a culture where there are no computers or a musical prodigy born into born into a family where music is forbidden, would be like sparks falling into a desert (Briggs, 1988:145-146)."

Henry's abilities to function as a shaman fell well within the bounds of the socially and traditionally defined needs of the Washo. I would argue that the situation of the acculturation of Washo society during Henry's life provided a "fit" with his capacity and vision, and indeed contributed to his expanded vision of shamanic practise. As we established in chapter three, the contributions of shamans during periods of acculturation can be significant. The transcultural nature of Henry's practise, and the transcultural elements of his techniques and vision, all reflect the "fit" between Henry's desire to be a shaman and the needs of the community which was no longer defined as being strictly Washo. Henry attended a residential school with Native Americans of many "nations" and extended his "community" by later living in "White" communities.

Closely related to co-incidence is the importance of the <u>social and historical context</u> into which the creator brings his, or her, vision. Briggs (1988) notes that great creators in any field often have ideas and perceptions that are at variance (what he refers to as <u>dissonance</u>) with the consensus reality of the times (223), or with a particular field of endeavour. Briggs cites Gardner's observation that dissonance may be necessary to creative people (223). Briggs observes that, "...creators stretch their talents to fit the field and the field to fit their talents (223)". This dissonance can also be seen in Henry's life situation. For example, in his experience of White and Washo worldviews. Also in his own desire to find his own way despite the influence of traditional shamanism around him. His uncle, specifically warned him against cultivating "White power" (451). Although Henry's brand of shamanism was interpreted by the Washo as not being traditional (Handelman, 1967:461), he was highly thought of as a shaman (444). Thus Henry's life history shows that he blended both the elements of co-incidence and dissonance and I believe that they contributed to his creativity.

(IV) PERSONALITY AND CREATING

A number of characteristics of personality have been identified as common in the lives of high level creators. They include: 'having a sense of being "chosen" (Briggs, 1988:77); the desire to articulate the individual-universal equation in one's creativity (81ff); expressing, through behaviour and

self-image, the paradoxical coalescence of confidence and humility (76-81); simultaneous restlessness and focus (216); the willingness to take risks (25); and, feeling compelled to create from the same visions again and again (Briggs, 1988:32ff).'

The perception of oneself as being chosen, or of having a special connection with, or desire to be, "at the centre of things", at "the place where the above and below coalesce", is a common attribute of creators (Briggs, 1988:76-78) which Henry shares. Briggs (1988) connects these feelings of being chosen with a "creative ambition", which "focuses not so much on the attainment of money or fame as on achieving the 'cosmical' task (77)." I propose that evidence of such an "ambition" or focus, is illustrated in the record of Henry's life. Throughout his life Henry remembered, and listened to, the unusual ("extraordinary") experiences of his childhood (Handelman, 1967:445). 'As a child Henry had dreams which he considered to be important (a mark of shamanic potential), suffered from fainting and dizziness, and had a precognitive dream at seven which came true (Handelman, 1967:445-446).' He was given a lot of freedom before he went to school (445) and Handelman describes Henry's wanderings, when he often went without food for a time and lived off the land, as experiences which, "almost take on the attributes of a rudimentary vision quest (446)". Handelman observes that, "even at this early age his dreams, visions, and fantasy world were beginning to coalesce around the conception that he might have unusual abilities (447)."

Another common trait of creators is referred to by Briggs (1988) as the "desire to formulate the individual-universal equation" (121). This is a desire to "share the omnivalent experience by creating works that will - to use Einstein's word -'awaken' a mystical feeling in others (121)." Certainly the shaman as "cosmic mediator" and an embodiment of humanity's relationship with the macrocosm (Eliade, 1974; Halifax, 1979), exemplifies this creator's trait par excellence. I believe that this desire can be seen not only in Henry's social role as a shaman, but as an extension of his sharing his discoveries about healing, and the nature of "energy" and how it works, with his patients. Dealing with "universal forces" for the purpose of healing was at the core of Henry's purpose as a shaman.

Both confidence and humility are other common traits of creators (Briggs, 1988:78-81) and many shamans. Handelman tells us that Henry appears to have had both 'confidence in his healing ability, and a certain amount of doubt, even in old age (Handelman, 1967:460-461)'. Handelman (1967) says that, "He was acutely aware that 'reality' in healing and living is a matter of relative perception, psychological set and situation (457)." From this perspective, Henry told Handelman, "What I know is real for me, but it isn't real for anybody else (457)." His humility was expressed in his understanding the varied perceptions of "truth" by others. I feel that this seeming contradiction between humility and confidence, springs from the empowerment that comes from shamanic work, as already outlined, and the inadequacy of the

individual in the face of his, or her, relationship with the unknown, which is

the task of the shaman. For Henry it is expressed in the fact that he put the

importance of healing above everything else. He always considered the

purpose of healing to be to "help nature do her work (Rupert in Handelman,

967:458)." Other traits of creators which Henry shared are:

> The need for idleness, the traits of restlessness and intense focus,
> long patience, play, creative courage, all seem related to what
> Keats called the capacity to "exist in doubts and
> uncertainties...(Briggs, 1988:216)."

Briggs observes that from the outside, the creator may appear restless, but in

fact the creator's movement among different enterprises is a manifestation of

the ongoing activity of creative absorption (1988:206)." In Henry's life his

different jobs, his moving around and lack of satisfaction with the existing

Washo worldview, his changing of healing methods, his taking time for solitude

and his persistent engagement with these issues over the course of his life all

indicate this basis in his character (Handelman, 1967).

Probably the most important set of traits used to describe high level

creators refers to their willingness to take risks (Briggs, 1988:216), to endure

the daily demands of the creative process, and to avoid succumbing to the

"...seductions and disappointments of success, flattery, aspersion and neglect

(Briggs, 1988:216). Gardner writes:

> [The creator] must feel compelled to express [his] vision over and
> over again, within the symbolic medium of his choice. He must
> be willing to live with uncertainty, to risk failure and opprobrium,
> to return time and again to his project until he satisfies his own

exacting standards, while speaking with potency to others
(Gardner in Briggs, 1988:19) (emphasis Briggs).

These qualities we will see in the development of Henry's creative vision in the

next section.

(V) EXPERIENCES OF CREATIVITY

The common experiences of the creative process which will be discussed

here include: creative vision (Briggs, 1988:18) and the penetration of hidden

realities (17-19), crystallizing and (253-258) refining moments (257),

apprenticeship (264), nuances (36ff,76), omnivalence (110ff,126-128), themata

(112), absorption (200ff) and the evolution of vision (269). I will illustrate

where these characteristics were present in the life of Henry Rupert.

Creative vision, "...makes it possible for the creator to see things freshly

and more deeply, not just by some clever permutation of the previous way of

looking, but by coming up with a new way of looking (Briggs, 1988:17)." It is

"metaphor for seeing" (18). Briggs describes vision as the feeling that many

creators have of penetrating hidden realities (17-18), it is not just the creator's

belief system (129). I have indicated that I believe that Henry's creative vision

was a new statement about what life was about and how the cosmos operates;

a transformation of traditional Washo worldviews. It was expressed through

his approaches to healing and a restructuring of the cosmology-ideology that

stemmed from his own evolving sense of what is "true". Henry's conceptions

often ran counter to the traditional ways of Washo shamans, which corresponds

with Briggs's observation that the courage of creators to depart from societal norms is defined as, "the result of a simple imperative imposed by absorption in vision (215)". Henry seems to have pursued the same vision all of his life, as will be illustrated in the elaboration of his work in the discussion that follows of the common attributes of creativity.

First, Henry's "power dream" corresponds with what creativity theory calls a crystallizing moment. These are times in the life of a creator where, "...events that activate or bring into play one of the creator's intelligences (Briggs,1988:254)" are experienced. There are seven semiautonomous intelligences defined by Gardner (Briggs, 1988:157), "...each with its own separate capacities and development trajectory (157)." They include: mathematical-logical, linguistic, musical, spatial, bodily-kinaesthetic, interpersonal, and intrapersonal intelligences (157). Briggs notes that Gardner hints that many more intelligences may be identified (157). I would argue that Henry's "power vision" provided the basis for his subsequent worldview and manifestation of "power", involving intrapersonal and interpersonal intelligences. Briggs notes that, "Whatever the crystallizing inspiration is, it reveals to creators that there is a direction to go in which they can express their deep sense of truth about life...(256)." For Henry the development of his vision represented such a sense of truth. Henry's intrapersonal expression was found in his "power dream", in the seeds of this distinctive envisioning of his sources of "power" and his experiences of the "supernatural". His discovery of

his vocation as a healing shaman, with a transcultural orientation, brought the interpersonal intelligence into play. Both of these intelligences were subsequently developed.

Like the crystallizing experiences of other creators, and shamans, Henry Rupert's "power vision" had the feeling of the "oracular" (Briggs, 1988:254) and was followed over a lifetime with refining moments (254). These refining moments are found in the development of his interpretation of the nature of the cosmos and its functioning. Specifically, in his acquisition of addition spirit helpers, who gave him new "instructions" about how to heal, and in his subtle blending of White and non-White elements in his vision of the nature and use of "power". For example, with the arrival of his second spirit helper, Henry learned about the "law of nature", as he called it. He acquired this spirit from a visit to a school in Carson city where a skeleton of a Hindu man was kept. On this visit the spirit "got on Henry" (Handelman, 1967:451). The "law of nature" which this spirit taught Henry, 'was a injunction about how he should behave in the world, to act with kindness, discretion, honesty, faith, and to do no harm (Handelman, 1967:452).' Handelman points out that these directions were frequently contrary to the behaviour of Washo shamans, although they were compatible with the ways of Henry's teacher, uncle, and brother-in-law (452). Handelman also observes that this new helper caused a conflict in Henry's life because it was perceived as a "White power". Henry had a dream in which his two Indian helpers told him that they were there first and that he

should follow their instructions about healing, and not those of the Hindu.

The resolution to his conflict appeared in a dream in which Henry tells the three that, "we all do the same work let's help each other and be partners (Rupert in Handelman, 1967:452)." Thus Henry shows the discrimination of the master shamans already discussed, and the resolution of this problem can be considered to be part of Henry's refinement of vision.

Another "refining moment" came to Henry when he acquired his Hawaiian spirit helper, who gave him new instructions about healing. In 1956, at the age of 70, Henry undertook to cure George Robinson, a Hawaiian practitioner (Handelman, 1967). In payment for curing him Robinson gave Henry, "a gift of some of his power, in the form of a Hawaiian spirit helper named George (459)." The instruction which came from the "spirit helper", George, included the admonition that, "Everything comes quick and goes away quick 459)." From this advice Henry changed his approach to healing from more lengthy Washo practises, generally held at night and over the course of several days, to working in daylight usually for only a few hours, or even a few minutes, depending on the nature of the ailment. Henry also no longer needed visions of diagnosis or prognosis, and he was able to eliminate chants, the blowing of smoke and water on the patient, the use of the whistle to capture the disease objects (460)' and other previously used methods. During this period of learning to deal with George, Henry also came to believe through his dreams that he may have the "power" to restore life to the dead, as Robinson

also claimed (460)." The influence of Robinson in Henry's creative development corresponds with Briggs's (1988) proposal that creators often work collaboratively and that the image of the "lone creator" is a myth (298ff). His observation that "Many artists find germs for pieces in other works of art... (299)", corresponds with Henry's experience. Thereafter, Henry either used his new methods, or combined them with his "old" methods. Thus significant changes emerged from all of Henry's experiences of refining moments.

Citing the findings of Feldman, Gardener, and Walters, Briggs (1988) notes that, "...the 'dramatic nature' of these [refining] moments "focuses the attention of the individual on a special kind of material, experience, or problem," and the creator later, sometimes repeatedly, revisits these moments "to reshape his self-concept (254)." Likewise, Henry repeatedly returned to the ideas expressed in "the law of nature". I believe that one of Henry's "problems" was need to harmonize the different "worlds" ; the Washo with the White, the Washo with other Indian cultures; and that of health with illness. These problems are reflected in the "solutions" that Henry discovered in the evolution of his vision throughout his life. They culminated in the conclusion late in his life that, "We help nature and nature does the rest (Rupert in Handelman, 1988:460)."

Briggs (1988) describes the apprenticeship period of a creator (not understood as a specific length of time) as involving: 'learning about absorption. the use of strategies for creating, developing talents, learning from

past models, understanding self-criticism, establishing personal patterns of working, evolving "networks of enterprises",' etc. (264). Henry's apprenticeship reflects a number of these items. He acquired a teacher five years after his "power dream". Henry's uncle, suggested that he hire a shaman, "to teach him how to extrude and control [his] intrusive spirit-power (450)". Henry hired Beleliwe, a Washo shaman with considerable reputation as a practitioner. Henry learned from his teacher and from his failures (such as his loss of "power" in the manipulation of weather) (449). "Beleliwe, instead of giving Henry specific advice, told him what he could accomplish with his power (450)." Henry's first cure was the depression of the mother of his best friend (in 1907) and he "used techniques similar to those utilized by other Washo shamans (451)." While learning from Beleliwe and other sources (he learned hypnosis from a book), Henry held a number of different jobs which allowed him the time to pursue "shamanizing" (Handelman, 1967:449). His use of absorption can be considered to be a common part of shamanic training in traditional methods, and his development of personal strategies for creating will be discussed below.

Another of creative experience which is found in Henry's life is omnivalence. Briggs (1988) says that the seeds of vision must be distilled from the nuances and omnivalence of creator's perceptions (130). Omnivalence is a kind of feeling or perception that there is "more to it" (111). Briggs notes that, "Koestler calls the 'moreness' aspect of omnivalence in scientists an 'oceanic

sense of wonder' that occurs in the vision of great scientist no matter what their religious persuasion or lack of persuasion (119)." This sense of there being 'more to it' can be seen in Henry Rupert's early childhood experiences (445-446) and in his lifelong pursuit of knowledge about the nature of reality, and curing, which was connected with his interpretation of that reality (Handelman, 1967:462).

A second point about omnivalence that is relevant to its appearance in a shamanic society is Briggs assertion that, 'omnivalence and subtle perceptions of "hidden realities" are routinely accepted by tribal cultures (Briggs, 1988:125).' Certainly omnivalence was a part of Henry's knowledge of "hidden realities" which he was witness to in shamanic rituals. Handelman (1967) describes how Henry was impressed as a small child to see his uncle Welewkushkush, "...dance in a lean-to fire barefoot and emerge unscathed (445)." We have already established the "immanence" of "hidden realities" in, multiple reality cosmologies.

Two other aspects of creative experience which are related to omnivalence and the presence of family themes are the experiences of nuances and the personal themata of the creator. Personal themes, or what Holton describes as themata, refer to, "...clusters of presuppositions and 'gut' assumptions that each scientist has about the world (Holton in Briggs, 1988:26-27)". They are often, "connected to the creator's emotional life (29)." Briggs demonstrates that themata are evident in the creative processes of all kinds of

creators. He explains that, "For the most part themata are aesthetic qualities like the assumption that the universe is basically symmetrical or the opposite assumption that it's asymmetrical (Briggs, 1988:26).", etc. Briggs adds that it appears that scientists whose "clusters of themata" are different from the consensus reality of their society often function in the most creative and innovative ways.

It is possible to see what some of Henry's themata might have been. Throughout his life Henry appears to have had a sense that the world and the unseen "powers" in it are not just the scary and hostile forces represented in Washo cosmology. He saw them as essentially good and believed that "power" had one accessible source (455), which could be used by those who act in accordance with what is good. Handelman (1967) observes that Henry also felt that there were degrees of good rather than good and evil (455). A part of this personal phenomenology is the idea which he developed that "power", or "energy", can be accessed by anyone for healing (455). Aspects of these themes became a part of Henry's "law of nature".

Nuances bear a relationship to themata but the two concepts do not stand for the same experiences. Nuances, "...are part of the hidden reality (Briggs, 1988:39)." Because of their subtlety it is difficult to define nuances. Briggs provides a series of illustrations from the lives of famous creators. Virginia Woolf, for example, spoke of early nursery experiences of light, of hearing the sound and rhythm of waves outside her window, and other sensory

input, which Briggs relates, became part of her collection of nuances and the tone, metaphors, themes, and character development of her writing (36-40).

The nuances of Henry's world can be seen in early life experiences of "hidden realities" and significance which he attached to them. These experiences are found in shamanic signs, or other aspects of "hidden reality", that he experienced as dizziness and fainting while a young boy. Henry felt that there was, "...a world filled with strange forces, and beings; their existence often manifested to him (Handelman, 1967:446)." Perhaps these feelings that "powers" affected him lead to his pursuit of knowledge about the "hidden realities" in which healing is found in multiple reality cosmologies. These nuances became the impetus to concrete work and development as his methods and understanding of "hidden realities" changed.

Henry's early half-conscious sense, "...that he might have unusual abilities (Handelman, 1967:447)", may have emerged from nuances about "power" and "hidden realities". Briggs (1988) observes that, "The creator's immersion in nuances fraught with the contraries and 'moreness' of omnivalence of opposites in mystical experience (120)". The seeming contraries that emerged from the Washo cosmology, which emphasized fear of shamans's use of "power", of ghosts etc., was at odds with the genuine kindness that he received at home as a young child[52].

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[52] Washo ideology discouraged the physical punishment of children for fear that the ghost of a dead relative would punish the parents by causing the child's death (Downs, 1966:60; Handelman, 1967:454).

Another key element in Henry's experiences of shamanizing which he,

and other shamans share with creators, is the capacity for absorption (Briggs,

1988:149-150, 200-217). Describing the experiences of creators

Csikszentmihalyi found that

> "... people enter an almost addicting state when they can
> "concentrate their attention on a limited stimulus field forget
> personal problems, lose their sense of time and themselves, feel
> competent and in control and have a sense of harmony and union
> with their surroundings." Flow occurs when there is a proper
> alignment of skill and challenge. Flow is experience as a loss of
> ego boundaries (in Briggs, 1988:150)."

Furthermore, "Teresa Amabile has shown that creativity itself may depend on

the intrinsic nature of absorption, that is, it depends on being its own reward

(Briggs, 1988:210)"[53]. The nature of this absorption is such that it overcomes

boundaries, "between the self and other, between observer and observed,

consciousness and unconsciousness..." and also, "explores and depends on a full

appreciation of those boundaries in order to construct its inventions, artworks

and scientific discoveries (Briggs, 1988:215)."

The presence of absorption in Henry's experiences is more to be

inferred, than mapped specifically, since Handelman (1967) provides no

extensive description of it, however, I would argue that within the necessity of

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[53] Amabile conducted a series of tests of creativity on, "subjects ranging from elementary school children to undergraduate women, rewarding some of them for creative tasks. Their creative productions were then rated by a panel of judges composed of professional creators (Briggs, 1988:210)." These experiments demonstrated that, "...even the suggestion that external reward should be a part of creativity is enough to dampen creative absorption (210)."

shamans to access A.S.C.s there is an intrinsic demand for the capacity of absorption. For example, traditional Washo healing ceremonies, "required a shaman to work for three consecutive nights from dusk until midnight, and a fourth night until dawn (Handelman, 1967:451)." Learning new techniques also required this kind of focused practise, such as, when Henry practised his technique of hypnosis by "hypnotizing" rocks and stumps, "as if they were human beings" (Rupert in Handelman, 1967:449-450).

Briggs(1988) also argues that what makes the qualities of absorption as well as "...themata, nuance, omnivalence, truth, wholeness, and the individual-universal equation" so intrinsically pleasing and compelling to creators is not the desire to create something new, but to exits within" what Eliade defines as "sacred space" and "sacred time" (Briggs, 1988:126)." These experiences are inherently part of cross-cultural ritual experiences of shamans (Eliade, 1974), and as we have seen the shaman also experiences them as intrinsically pleasing. In this sense the experiential world of the creator is clearly akin to that of shamans.

A final aspect of experiences to be discussed here is Briggs's conclusion that visions must evolve otherwise creating dies (Briggs, 1988:10,269). In the course of Henry's life this evolution can be seen in terms of a restructured worldview. in healing techniques he used, and in an interrelationship between these things. We have seen a number changes in the life vision of Henry Rupert and his willingness to allow his vision to evolve even in old age is a

testament to his evolution. In the next section some of the "mechanics" of creating will be examined to elucidate how this evolution occurred.

(VI) THE STRATEGIES OF CREATORS

Creativity theorists have documented that high level creators use a number of common creative strategies in their work (Briggs, 1988:178). Although not all of them are used by every creator, several usually are. I have identified a number of these strategies that I believe were used by Henry Rupert. They are: selective encoding, selective combination, selective comparison, Janusian thinking, and using "images of wide scope".

Briggs (1988) cites the work of Sternberg (185-190) who outlines the qualities of selective encoding, selective combination, and selective comparison. 'Selective encoding refers to the ability to 'shift the relevant from the irrelevant' in such a way as might have been overlooked by most people (186). I would argue that Henry's choices about becoming a non-traditional shaman in a culture in which other shamans were still practising traditional methods, to make his own choices a student in residential school, and to reject many Washo beliefs about "reality", demonstrates Henry's ability to select in his creation of a life philosophy. Handelman (1967) comments that

> One of Henry's strongest assets was his ability to absorb
> selectively those aspects of White culture which he felt were
> beneficial to him; thus he was able to master academic subjects,
> notably reading and writing, and learn an occupation, while
> resisting Christianity, regimentation, and alcohol (Handelman,
> 1967:448).

Selective combination involves, "...seeing how to blend together the pieces of information once you have detected them (Briggs, 1988:186)." This is seen in Henry's combination of parts of Washo cosmology (ideas about "power" etc.) with those which were his own. Through selective combination Henry developed his own vision of "power" and the use of "energy". He rejected the idea of neutral "power" which could be used for "good" or "evil" and decided that there were only gradations of good and that all "power" had a beneficent source (Handelman, 1967:455). No person or "supernatural" force could be solely "evil". "Consequently, traditional Washo beliefs in malevolent ghosts, witchcraft, and sorcery no longer had a place in Henry's world view (455)." He also rejected the idea that some people had more "power", and traditional ideas of the necessity to have involuntary signs (dreams or visions) in order to become a shaman (458). He concluded that everybody had access to the common pool of "power" for healing if he or she, were, "honest, faithful, and discreet and [lived] a pure life (458)" and he likened spiritual "power" to pulses of electricity (45). Thus Henry selected to keep Washo beliefs in "power" and the "supernatural", however, by seeing how to blend them with his vision of the goodness of life, he transformed them.

Selective comparison is a type of thinking employed when the creator, "realizes that the new information is similar to old in certain ways and uses this observation to illuminate the new information (Sternberg in Briggs, 1988:187)". For example. in the use of analogy to solving problems (187). Henry's use of

analogy is illustrated in the way he solved the problem with his competing

spirit helpers. Through identifying their common purpose and function in

healing he was able to emphasize healing and what he defined as their

common source of "power", rather than White versus Indian "power" sources.

Sternberg points out that people usually emphasize one of these strategies

more than the others in their creating and that there is not always a clear

distinction that can be made between using one strategy or the other (in

Briggs, 1988:188-189). In the case of Henry I believe that he emphasized the

first two.

Another strategy that is common to creators is the use of janusian

thinking and "images of wide scope" (Briggs, 1988:193). Briggs (1988)

'attributes to these strategies much of what has been called metaphorical

insight (189).' Janusian thinking refers to, "the creator's ability to actively

conceive of multiple opposites or antithesis simultaneously (Rothenburg in

Briggs, 1988:179)." The importance of Rothenberg's observations lies in the

identification of the fact that creators often do not just synthesize opposing

elements, but create by using the simultaneity of pairs of elements, or more

(184-185). Janusian thinking may "consist of a paradox that is intrinsically

resolvable, unreconcilable, unsusceptible to synthesis (Rothenburg in Briggs,

1988:184)." For example, Briggs cites the smile of the Mona Lisa as such a

paradox (182). Janusian thinking also depends of context (184). "For example,

in the context of an argument, many people would consider anger and love to be opposites; a psychiatrist would never think they were (Briggs, 1988:184)."

Henry's use of Janusian thinking can be seen in his approach to the serious issues of death and illness. What comes into contrast as opposites are the Washo explanations of illness and death based on the belief that ghosts, various taboo infringements and other "evil" forces, or contact with them, cause people harm (Downs, 1966; Handelman, 1967). Henry developed the idea that there really are no evil manifestations of "power", but he was faced with the problem that people still became ill and died. He resolved this dilemma by "seeing" that particular things can cause illness. For example, he "sees" that human ghosts, do not cause illness as Washo cosmology indicates, but that discovers that "...the spirits of animal life and inanimate objects could and did (Handelman, 1967:455)." In this way he brings together his ideas that there is nothing to fear in ghosts, and that life is basically good and does not have to be lived in great fear, into co-existence with the fact of death and illness. It is not a synthesis, since there can be no synthesis that will eliminate death and illness, it is an example of the use of Janusian thinking.

Another form of "strategy" employed by creators that is pertinent to the expression of Henry's techniques and worldview are called images of wide scope (Briggs, 1988:189). 'Images of wide scope are images (often visual), or metaphors, used by creators to represent some aspect of reality, perception, or an idea, which they have identified as important. The width of the image

partially depends on the emotional value which it has been given and develops as the vision of the creator evolves (Gruber in Briggs, 1988:193-194).' For example, Gruber cites Darwin's use, for over twenty years, of the image of the "irregular branched tree of life", or "branching coral", as a tool used in the conceptualization of his theory of evolution (in Briggs, 1988:190-194). Besides images of wide scope, of which Gruber contends there may be only four of five in the life creator, there may also be "subsidiary images", numbering between fifty and one hundred (Gruber in Briggs, 1988:194)[54].

The _evolution of the vision_ in Henry Rupert's life shows both images of wide scope and subsidiary images. For example, his spirit helpers, both Indian and non-Indian, are metaphors for his changing ideology and the technical changes that were intertwined with that. The idea that images of wide scope usually include only a few in a lifetime, corresponds with Henry's assertion that, "One little thing may come every eight or ten years; you can't grab it in one bunch (Rupert in Handelman, 1988:449)", in reference to his learning about the the use of "power" in healing and the nature of reality as reflected in his healing. Henry begins with images of healing represented by Indians, and traditional metaphors for using "power", and develops his vision by adding other helpers which take him beyond the traditional into his own vision. Not

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[54] For example, `William James investigation of consciousness took him from using the image of a moving stream, to the image of a sculptor selecting a figure out of stone, a herdsman herding sheep, the flight and perching of a bird, and finally to feeling as a fringe of felt relations (Briggs, 1988:195).'

only his ideology, but also his techniques of healing, were developed through these "images".

(VII) SUMMARY: THE CULMINATION OF HENRY RUPERT'S VISION

Through this examination of the life of Henry Rupert we have seen that his vision, strategies for creating, creative experiences, qualities of personality, and of life situation, all correlate with those of high level creators as identified by creativity theory. Henry Rupert developed a vision of life, shamanic practise, and cosmology, which transformed central features of the traditional Washo worldview. I believe that this creative feat fulfils creativity theory's criteria which says that "genius" involves "the alteration of our perception of a major field of human endeavour (Briggs, 1988:12)", or leaving "an indelible impression of vision" (12). Henry certainly accomplished these things in his shamanic practise. Henry was a high level creator. He was also a master shaman by the definitions that I have provided in the last chapter. I would argue that in his creative vision Henry has gone beyond many master shamans, in ways which also contribute to individuation. He has learned to live according to his personal and changing vision, and he has transcended the temptations of succumbing to the difficulties of an acculturating society. He has also displayed compassion and devotion in his practise for not only his own people, but others as well, and he learned to live with his successes and failures. As Handelman observes

> Henry's personality unfolds, through the years, slowly and
> positively with few contradictions. It takes the form of learning,
> testing, and integration, of working for maximal organization of
> all potentials within the framework of sophisticated general
> principles flexible enough to admit defeat in areas where spirit
> helpers are unable to operate (Handelman, 1967:461).

Henry mastered the techniques of the shaman and the strategies of the

creator. Through the example of Henry Rupert we can see that shamans can

be considered among the ranks of great creators.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

(1)   The path of shamanic transformation has been shown to be a complex process which can lead to personal empowerment, realization within a cycle of meaning, individuation, and sometimes reflect the creativity of highly outstanding individuals. The arguments in this thesis have illustrated that shamanic training, and practise, as well as the social sanctioning of the role, can contribute to a candidate's reaching some degree of mastery as a shaman and a human being. Furthermore, that both voluntary and involuntary aspects of A.S.C. experiences can provide a powerful impetus to expand conscious awareness and provide the motivation to live in accord with a dialogue established between the unconscious and conscious awareness, the basis of individuation.

A number of elements play a role in the attainment of shamanic mastery and may contribute to individuation. Some elements are a part of articulated shamanic traditions of training, such as the cultivation and control of A.S.C.s.. Other elements stem from the nature of shamanic practise itself, such as the confrontation with death through treating the ill, or from the relationships that are developed between shamans and the "supernatural" in their role as cosmic mediators. Other factors that contribute to shamanic mastery may come from idiosyncratic life experiences, from "spontaneous" eruptions of the unconscious (such as visions and insights), from personal life traumas, or social trauma in

the form of acculturation. They may also involve a combination of several of these elements. Whatever influences are important in the lives of particular shamans, we have seen that the key to the successful practise of the shaman lies in making an ongoing commitment to the "sacred", despite the fact that the shaman's role is one which often negates the fulfilment of ego desires, and involves personal sacrifice.

The path of the shaman can be considered to be an "articulated" approach to individuation because shamanic societies have provided systems of ritual training and models of behaviour, based on their collective experiences of A.S.C.s., with which to evoke fairly standard responses in members who are trained in them. "They were the first to make systematic use of the discoveries that stress, fatigue, hunger, and rhythm could produce profound and mysterious changes in one's experience (Walsh, 1990:215)." Furthermore, as we have seen, individuals who succeed in becoming shamans take an active role in their own transformative journeys. They actively choose to follow their "call", maintain their shamanic practise, and to "listen" to, and interpret, the communications of ego-transcendent knowledge.

Shamans are people who know how to "see", interpret, and act upon, knowledge which they obtain from what lies beyond conscious awareness. Like all creators they bring back a residue of the ineffable into the world and act upon it in a meaningful, practical, and integrated way. Shamanic practises situate an individual within a framework of social expectation, interpersonal

and intrapersonal relationships, A.S.C. transformations, and changes in perceptions that may ultimately produce wisdom. Briggs (1988) observes that 'great creators work with their talents and techniques in ways which flow into each other as one movement and not as stages and elements, so that ultimately their creating reflects <u>wholeness</u> despite its seeming unclarity and disorder at times (5).' Likewise, the lives of master shamans embody the wholeness which is their creation, and the examination of "common elements" of their experiences has been an exploration which remains incomplete.

(II) LIMITATIONS OF THE EVIDENCE AND RESEARCH

In examining shamanism we are continually confronted with problems inherent in the existing "literature". There has been a lack of attention to the ongoing development of the shaman over a lifetime. Much of what has been written about shamanic experience is concerned with initiatory experiences. There has also been a failure to explore psi phenomena in shamanic experience. Long term studies in parts of the world where shamanism exists today will be important to future investigations of shamanism and I believe that research into the possibility of identifying psi abilities with the types of "intelligences" that have been outlined in creativity theory could expand the understanding and appreciation of shamanic practise. Another common problem in the "literature" on shamanism is the influence of the shaman-psychopath equation. Although the influence of this discourse has abated in

the last decade, its impact on the "literature" which was produced earlier, and which was closer historically to shamanic societies existing in a less acculturated form, has been great. Last, the study of shamanism has been impeded by the lack of ongoing and continuous training of anthropologists in shamanic traditions, which, I believe, must effect current anthropological representations of those we call shamans.

(III) "US" AND "THEM" : THE DIALOGUE CONTINUES

Several important issues currently arise from western society's interest in shamanism which may have positive or negative effects on shamans. Heinze (1991) raises the concern that the media attention to shamanism "...carries the danger that shamanism may become a 'performance art' and 'tourist attraction' outside of its original function of fulfilling specific needs for a community (1991:118)." I would argue, however, that the possible advantages of gaining a broader understanding of shamanism in western cultures will outweigh the possible disadvantages for both shamanic cultures and the west. The present interest in shamanism, among other tradition-based epistemologies, "... seems to be connected with the insight that [our] limited worldview needs to be expanded (Heinze, 1991:7)." I believe that this insight is beginning to evoke changes in the western worldview that may be furthered when enough people experience them.

From the current interest of westerners in shamanism Kalweit (1988) argues that,

> We are witnessing the birth of a new mythos of the shaman. The former savage is seen as an immaculate spiritual guide and elevated to the level of a saint. Discrimination against and sterile admiration of the shaman have always gone hand in hand (255).

There is much evidence for this view in the popular cultural representations of shamanism, but I propose that as we in western societies and anthropology discover the "underground self", as Said (1979) called it, we may be able to withdraw our projections from "others" more easily and loosen the demarcation between "them" and "us", as well as our tendency to project images of "the devil" or "the saint" onto shamans.

Shamanic practises fulfil very real human needs and have shown themselves to be resilient over the millennia. Hopefully, this combination of need and self-discovery in the west will ensure their continued existence. Specifically, shamanic practise provides an example of personal commitment to one's vocation, inner journey, and the development of empowerment in individuals. Many commentators have pointed to other benefits that can come to us from learning from shamanic cultures. Ferguson (1987) observes that, "Pioneering becomes an increasingly psychospiritual venture since our physical frontiers are all but exhausted, short of space exploration (15)." And Drury (1989) proposes that, "At a time when we are becoming increasingly aware of our environment, and the fragility of ecological balance, shamanism has a clear

message - we should respect the sanctity of Nature (x)." It is possible that indigenous peoples all over the world will benefit from sharing their experiences of shamanism and shamanic worldviews with the first world and begin to receive the respect that is their due as fellow inhabitants of the planet.

IV) ANTHROPOLOGISTS AND SHAMANS

It has been noted by anthropologists that, 'the exercise of conducting anthropology lacks closure by definition, and that it is really only possible to write about the present progress of your own understanding of a subject (Darnell, 1991:269).' My journey into the exploration of shamanism and working in Creative Focusing has resulted in a number of perceptual shifts in my worldview and understanding of shamanism. The debate over whether "possession states", as well as the classic technique of "magical flight", can be used as a criteria for defining shamans was particularly challenging. In practising C.F. I came to have an appreciation of the holistic nature of inner journeys and their effects on every part of life. Specifically, I experienced the holistic nature of transformational practises whether they take the form of cultivating dreams, ritual experiences, creative expression, meditation, etc.. I also found it more difficult than anticipated to write about my own experience, despite my conviction that anthropologists need to be more forthcoming about

how their perceptions and transpersonal experiences influence their data and conclusions.

There are a number of things which have become clearer to me about shamanism. First, that the practise and training of shamanism represents an articulated path of individuation which can culminate in balance, within the shaman, who through his, or her, ritual acts embodies and creates a balancing of forces within the community. Second, that balance, accompanied by transformation and relationship represent the essential features of shamanism cross-culturally. Third, that shamanism is a twentieth century practise in many cultures, and, I believe, will be an occupation of the twenty-first century, conceivably undergoing a renaissance in cultures which have lost touch with their shamanic past.

In concluding this journey into the worlds in which "us" and "them" overlap, I am reminded of Hall's observation that, "A successful Jungian analysis leads one to appreciate the ultimately mysterious nature of the psyche, which seems both intimate and transpersonal, both bound by the individual ego and yet freer in time and space than the empirical personality (Hall, 1983:21)." Similarly, the journeys of shamans, anthropologists, and creators, entwine the seemingly limited path of the individual with universal mystery and they become one. Jung (1980) concluded that in this life journey toward individuation, "...nobody has ever been able to tell the story of the whole way, at least not to mortal ears, for it is not the story-teller but death who speaks

the final 'consummatum est' (348)." Anthropologists too, cannot tell the whole story. Shamanic experience has been a vehicle for personal and social transformation earlier than we can document and its final transformations exceed our powers to see into the future. At best we find some temporary points of insight until we are overtaken by doubt and begin again to grasp at the endless transformations of mystery.

APPENDIX A

Outline of the Life of Henry Rupert

1885   Born in Genoa, Nevada.

1893   Henry was sent away to residential school outside of Carson City.

1902   At the age of seventeen received a "Power" Dream.

1906   Henry began shamanizing and exercised his "power" over the weather for the first time.

1907   Henry acquired a shaman teacher, Beleliwe, upon the advice of Welewkushkush. He made his first successful cure of the mother of his best friend.

1907-1908   Henry acquired a second spirit helper, the Hindu.

1908   Henry lost his "power" over the weather, after causing a flood.

1908   Henry began to learn the use of hypnotic techniques.

1909   Henry performed his second cure.

1910   (Oct.) Henry married Lizzie John a Northern Paiute woman that he had known at residential school. Henry works as a handyman and gardener in Reno. Henry and Lizzie subsequently had four children.

1910   Henry received a warning from Welewkushkush about using "White powers" in his practises after complaining of ailments.

1924   Henry and his wife leave Reno for Carson colony, their children are away at school.

1933   Lizzie died of tuberculosis.

1930s   Henry grew strawberries, raised turkeys and goldfish, and continued shamanizing.

1956   At the age of seventy Henry received a Hawaiian Spirit Helper called George, and new instructions about healing.

* Data for this outline was derived from Handelman (1967).

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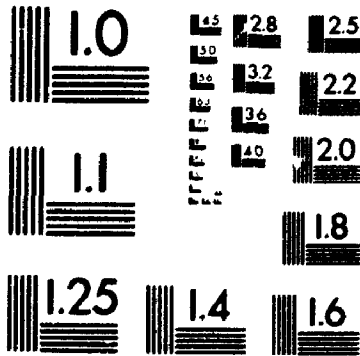
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