2000

Shamanism and the state: A conflict theory perspective

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*The University of Montana*

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SHAMANISM AND THE STATE: A CONFLICT THEORY PERSPECTIVE

By

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M.A. The University of Montana, 2000

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree of

Master of Arts

The University of Montana

2000

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7-18-2000
Throughout history, relationships between shamanic traditions and centralized state authorities have been varied and often complex. At times, shamanisms have been able to prosper within the contexts of specific states, such as in Korea prior to the process of Confucianization commenced in the 15th century by the Yi Dynasty. More often, however, relationships between shamanic traditions and state authorities have been less than cordial. This paper seeks to examine the various, complex, and often paradoxical relations and outcomes that have characterized shaman-state conflict. These will be examined from the perspective of conflict theory, as expounded chiefly by Lewis Coser and Max Gluckman. Topics discussed shall include the following: the complex and often paradoxical relations between shamans and state authorities; the emergence of millenarian movements; the emergence of new religious movements among Native American societies; shamanism and the state in Korea; and the resurgence of old identities and traditions and emergence of new practices through shamanic revival.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

According to Joachim Wach, the relationship between a centralized state authority and a given religious tradition can assume one of three forms. The relationship may be one of mutual cooperation and confirmation, in which the state authority may adopt and assume control of the religious tradition. Or the relationship may be one of indifference, in which neither state nor religious tradition interacts with one another. On the other hand, the state may actively oppose and attempt to suppress the religious tradition, and the latter may resist the policies of the former in order to protect its survival and integrity. (Chang 1982) Often, though not always, the relationship between the centralized state and shamanism has through history been one of antagonism and mutual hostility.

In recent decades, there has developed a trend in shamanic studies that seeks to examine shamanisms from a political and historical perspective. This trend represents a departure from the tradition of Mircea Eliade, which merely concerned itself with the study of shamanic traditions in and of themselves, without emphasis on the historical or political contexts in which such traditions exist. According to Michael Taussig, shamanism was often a factor acting against colonialism and missionary activity, and that shamans concern themselves with political, social and economic affairs. Furthermore, shamanism is a component of a society’s political structure and historical experience, and is not simply a separate phenomenon that merely exists in and of itself (Atkinson 1992:314-316). Anthropologists who examine shamanisms should also concern themselves with distinct traditions and social contexts, and with how specific shamanic traditions interact with and adapt to state intervention, colonial expansion and missionary
activity. For example, one must ask how certain shamanic traditions act as factors of resistance against colonial authority or state suppression and against assimilation; how interaction with the state can help lead to new phenomena such as millenarian movements; how shamanism can either aid in or serve as an obstacle to state formation and so on. Also, there has been interest on how missionary activity has been used as an instrument of states to suppress shamanic traditions and to aid in the assimilation of conquered societies, as well as how this has led to processes of syncretism, in which new religions emerge which blend elements of indigenous beliefs with Judeo-Christian teachings (Thomas & Humphrey 1994:2-5).

METHODOLOGY AND OUTLINE OF THESIS

Methodology

Unfortunately, current circumstances prevent the author from conducting anthropological research in the field. Therefore, information collected for this thesis is based exclusively on library research. A number of book items and journal articles were employed while gathering data regarding relationships between shamanisms and centralized state authorities. These articles were located with the help of the Infotrac and Anthropological Index computer programs, as well as publications such as Annual Review of Anthropology and Review of Anthropological Literature. The paper seeks to utilize the information gathered from the literature to explore the numerous complex relationships between shamanism and the state. Geographic areas of interest include Siberia, Korea, Native North America, and the Amazon region. The shamanism-state relationships will be examined from the perspective of conflict theory as expounded by
Lewis A. Coser (1956) and Max Gluckman (1968). A discussion of this theory is presented later in chapter.

**Outline of Thesis**

This thesis seeks to explore the numerous, complex sets of relationships that have existed between shamanic praxes and centralized government authorities. These relationships have resulted in a variety of developments. Chapter two discusses shaman-state interaction, and takes into account both cooperative and non-cooperative relationships. The history of shamanism in China with regard to the Chinese state is examined. Subsequently, the chapter examine how different types of shamans interact with the state. Two societies, the Buryat Mongols of Siberia and late-colonial Ecuador, are examined. Each region featured two types of shamans who reacted to state authority in different ways. The chapter examines why this was so, and also examines Christian religious elements that were incorporated into these movements. Chapter three deals with a variety of millenarian movements that have emerged from contexts such as colonialism, adverse government policies, and processes of assimilation. Four such movements are discussed in this chapter; one movement occurred in Siberia, two emerged in Native America, and the fourth movement emerged in the Amazon region. Chapter four examines the emergence of two new religions from the context of conflict between government authority and societies with shamanic traditions. These religious movements are the Peyote religion and the movement founded by Kenekuk, a Native American shaman-prophet. The chapter also deals with the influence of Christian missionary activity on the development of these religions. Chapter five deals with the relationship between shamanism and the state in Korea. The chapter begins with a historical overview.
of this relationship, and continues with a discussion of recent developments within the
Korean shamanic tradition. Chapter six discusses the issue of reassertion of ethnic
identity and resurgence of traditional beliefs and practices among a number of indigenous
societies, and how shamanic revival has aided in this process. First, the chapter discusses
the case of the Paraguayan Enxet, who have laid claim to their ancestral homeland, and
have expressed this claim through traditional shamanic rituals. Afterward, the chapter
discusses, how two groups, the Inupiaq Inuit and Siberian Sakha, have reasserted their
cultural identities and resisted assimilation, and the roles that their respective shamanic
traditions have played in this process. Chapter seven includes a summary of the paper, as
well as what contributions it may offer to the anthropological literature.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Lewis A. Coser was influenced by the ideas of Georg Simmel. His publication,
*The Functions of Social Conflict* (1956) provides a good overview of the roles filled by
conflict within and between human groups, as well as the results of such conflict. Other
materials dealing with the roles of conflict in human society include Max Gluckman’s
work *Custom and Conflict and Africa* and one of his articles, entitled “The Difficulties,
Achievements, and Limitations of Social Anthropology” (1968). The ideas of Coser and
Gluckman posed a challenge to structural functionalism, then a dominant paradigm in
cultural anthropology. Instead of presenting conflict as a rare anomolie in human society
that disturbs social equalibrium, Coser and Gluckman present conflict as a social norm
that paradoxically may lead to maintenance of equalibrium both within and between
groups.
The numerous and diverse relationships between shamanisms and state authorities are explored by a large number of works. Gary Seaman’s article “The Dark Emperor: Central Asian Origins In Chinese Shamanism” (1994) provides a historical account of the sometimes cooperative, sometimes antagonistic, relationship between Chinese shamanism and the Chinese state. Lauren Kendall (1985) discusses the feminization of Korean shamanism and the relegation of the Korean shamanic tradition to the margins of Korean society due to the policies to the Yi Dynasty, which adopted Confucian philosophy in the 15th century. Also, Kendall’s article “Korean Shamans and the Spirit of Capitalism” (1996) discusses the recent development of the chesu kut, or good fortune ritual, promoted in part by the Korean government’s economic policies. Roberte M. Hamayon’s article “Shamanism In Siberia” (1994) discusses the different types of shamanic traditions that exist in Siberia, and how each type of shamanism reacted to colonialism and to the efforts at assimilation by the Russian government. Stephen Hugh-Jones examines this issue in the context of different types of shamanism existing in the Amazon region, in his article “Shamans, Priests, and Pastors”. (1994) William Taussig likewise deals with the relationship between Amazonian shamanism and colonial authority in Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man. Stephen W. Kidd’s article “Land, Politics, and Benevolent Shamanism” (1995) explores how the Enxet Indians of Paraguay have reasserted their cultural traditions and laid claim to their original lands, and the role that Enxet shamanism has had in this process. This has allowed the Enxet to interact with Paraguayan society at large, and to take part in the country’s political process.
Anthony F.C. Wallace, in his article “Revitalization Movements” (1956) offers a discussion of the structure and role of millenarian movements, and how such movements often emerge within societies at risk of losing their sovereignty and integrity. The Ghost Dance movement of the late 19th century was arguably the most important Native American millenarian movement. The greatest and most comprehensive work on this phenomenon is *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*, by James Mooney (1896). This particular work is the result of twenty-two months of fieldwork, interviews and observations among several Native American societies. Lawrence Crader’s article “A Nativistic Movement in West Siberia” (1956) offers a detailed account of the Burkhanist movement of the early 1900s, and Stephen Hugh-Jones (1994) discusses the emergence of millennialism in the Amazon region. Mooney, Krader and Hugh-Jones also discuss the incorporation of Christian religious elements into the movements they discuss, as well as the influence of Christian missionary activity on the emergence and development of these movements. Alice Kehoe conducted further research on the Native American Ghost Dance movement.

The emergence of new religions among Native Americans was at times a result of conflict relationships between Native Americans and the United States government, and with government-sponsored Christian missionaries. Omer C. Stewart provides a good account on the emergence and development of Peyotism in his article “Peyote Religion” (1994) James A. Clifton (1994) discusses the religious movement founded by Kenekuk, a Shawano shaman-prophet. This particular religious movement, which still claims a relative handful of disciples, was intended to be a Christian denomination, and is based on the Amish of Pennsylvania. Also, relationships between states and groups with
shamanic traditions have at times led to modifications in certain traditions. Edith Turner, in her article "From Shamans to Healers" (1989), shows how an Inupiaq Inuit healing ceremony was eventually modified, incorporating Christian symbolisms into its structure. Turner also discusses how Christianity has been infused with Inupiaq spiritual elements. For example, God is referred to as Raven-Man, and an Assemblies of God church in the region is used as a center for spirit possession (Turner 1989:40). Marjorie M. Balzer’s article, “Soviet Superpowers”, (1997) deals with the revival of shamanism among the Sakha of Siberia. The relationship between the Sakha and the outside world has led to the emergence of shaman troupes, who travel throughout Sakha land and offer medical services that blend traditional healing with modern medical procedures. Also, the traditional Sakha shamanic festival Ysyakh was recently declared a regional holiday (Balzer 1997:39). Sergei Kan examines, in his article “Shamanism and Christianity” (1991), examines the role of government-sponsored missionary activity in the emergence of ambivalence of how contemporary Tlingit Indians view shamanism. On the one hand, many Tlingit elders recognize a "good" shamanism that stresses healing. However, some elders also recognize a "bad" side to shamanism, which they associate with worship of Satan.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

Structural functionalism was, until the early 1960s, one of the dominant paradigms of anthropology. This particular paradigm is concerned with social equalibrium and argues that the components of a culture all act together to maintain the integrity of that culture. Structural functionalism assumes conflict, both within and
between societies, to be abnormal and detrimental to cultural equilibrium, and fails to address cultural change. Structural functionalism encountered a great deal of criticism beginning in the early 1960s, particularly due to its assumptions regarding conflict and its failure to take into account culture change. Conflict theory is one of several theories that arose from this critique. According to conflict theory, conflict is not abnormal, but is rather a norm in all human societies. Conflict can help to create solidarity in a group faced with an external threat; people who are faced with a common external threat tend to unite and work together to meet the threat. Also, there exist in human societies shifting loyalties and multiple identities that tend to counter one another and help to foster social equilibrium. Through multiple loyalties and identities, new traditions can emerge and old ones can be preserved in the face of external opposition (Barrett 1998:92-93).

Two important proponents of conflict theory are Max Gluckman and Lewis Coser. Gluckman, who was influenced in part by Emile Durkheim and Bronislaw Malinowski, noticed certain flaws within the structural functionalist paradigm and sought to resolve them. He argued in favor of the commonality of social conflict, and its role in creating solidarity among besieged groups, and renewed social equilibrium by way of multiple identities and loyalties. Gluckman also argued that different groups express conflicts in the contexts of their respective beliefs and practices, and that the worldview of a certain group helps to determine how its members view a conflict with another group (Gluckman 1968:38-39).

Lewis Coser likewise argued that conflict is a common and natural social phenomenon, and that conflict could offer positive results such as group solidarity and renewed social equilibrium, as well as the emergence of new traditions. Conflict is a
transaction between or within groups, resulting from antagonism. At times, the factor of legitimacy may prevent the emergence of hostile feelings and of conflict. Coser cites the example of the Hindu caste system, in which religious doctrine helps to alleviate feelings of resentment and to justify caste distinctions. However, there are cases in which legitimacy is not an option. Thus, conflict may emerge when one group becomes aware of “being stuck with the short end of the stick” in relation to another group. For this to occur, the former group must have its rights, entitlements and/or sovereignty impinged upon by the latter group, and an unequal power relationship must arise between the two groups. If this unequal relationship remains unjustified, and if the superior influence of the more powerful group remains delegitimized, there may emerge a common interest within the weaker group, and a common sense that the weaker group is being shortchanged. This sense of a common threat or interference leads to greater cohesion and solidarity within the weaker group. The boundaries of the group become increasingly solidified, and there emerges a common recognition of the need for action. Within societies, conflict can lead to the emergence of boundaries between groups, and, through mutual antagonism, can help maintain a balance in a systemic whole. (Coser 1956:36-38)

A group under siege by a larger group, whether through assimilation, imperial expansion or warfare, often becomes more unified, and internal conflicts that may have existed before must be suppressed if the society is to maintain its integrity. The group’s boundaries become more defined, and group solidarity increases. Increasing numbers of individuals in the group contribute their services on behalf of the group’s survival. Increased solidarity and cohesion may lead to strengthening of the social structure, and a renewal and affirmation of the group’s values and traditions. Revitalization of group
traditions, which may otherwise be taken for granted, leads to further group cohesion. Conflict between the group under siege and the interfering group may be peaceful or violent, and may lead to the emergence of centralized authority and subordinate roles in the former, though this does not always occur (ibid 87-90). Conflict between the in-group and the out-group can also promote a degree of exclusiveness in the former, and this occurs when relations between the two are particularly antagonistic. This could promote still further cohesion and solidarity among the in-group in relation to the outside. Also, a common sense of danger from without could serve to unite elements within the in-group which might previously been antagonistic toward one another. However, Coser recognized that conflict between groups does not always foster increased unity in a besieged group. This is the case especially if, during the pre-conflict period, internal solidarity within the group is weak, or if there exists a high degree of individualism. In such cases, there is a possibility that outside interference may result in the in-group’s dissolution or assimilation into a more powerful out-group. Furthermore, too much divisiveness as to how to go about dealing with an outside threat could help further undermine in-group unity and lead to factionalism (ibid 90-94).

According to Simmel and Coser, in-groups encountering outside interference may acquire a rigid character, tolerating little or no internal dissent. Or, they may be large and more flexible, and allow for a greater degree of dissent and compromise with out-groups. A larger the in-group encompasses more points of view, and this necessitates a higher degree of tolerance for diversities of action and opinion (ibid 98-99). A smaller in-group, particularly if the group is experiencing a highly antagonistic conflict with an out-group, cannot afford such tolerance, and must maintain unity of action and opinion if its
integrity is to be maintained. Small in-groups in conflict with the outside tend to be characterized by a lack of tolerance for internal dissent, and by massive involvement of their members in the protection of their groups. Dissenters may be expelled from the group, or may be coerced into desisting from their dissent. However, if the conflict between an in-group and the outside is not highly antagonistic, or if the in-group is very large, dissent may be afforded a greater degree of toleration, and not every member of the in-group need by intensely devoted to maintaining its integrity. This flexibility allows for the in-group to better maintain its traditions in values in the face of outside interference, although these may become modified over time due to relations between the group and the outside (ibid 103-104). There are risks involved, however. Smaller, more rigid in-groups encounter the risk of factionalization and of defections by disaffected members. These could lead to the final dissolution or assimilation of such groups. More flexible and larger in-groups, on the other hand, risk having their distinctiveness blurred in the event of extensive contact with more powerful out-groups. Another risk is the assimilation of the weaker in-group into the more powerful out-group (ibid 96-97).

Conflict between an in-group and an out-group can lead to the establishment of relations between the two, where such relations may not have existed before. These relations may lead to situations of mutual influence, and both groups may adopt ideas and practices from one another. This often leads to modifications in an in-group’s traditional practices. An example of this is the Christianization of a traditional Inupiaq Inuit healing ceremony, discussed later. Over time, the antagonistic groups may become allies. Conflict could ironically lead to friendlier relations between an in-group and an out-group. Likewise, two allied groups could become antagonistic toward one another. Also,
conflict between the two groups sometimes leads to the spread of norms and rules of behavior. An example of this is the concept of property ownership. A conflict over land can lead both parties to adopt the concept of land rights and ownership, though each party may express its respective claims differently. A case in point, discussed later in the paper, involves the claims of the Paraguayan Enxet to their ancestral lands. Conflict relations could lead to the emergence of new institutions, such as new religious movements. Examples of this are the emergence of the Ghost Dance movement and the Peyote religion (ibid 121-128).

Conflict can also promote alliances between two or more in-groups that could otherwise be totally unrelated or even antagonistic toward one another. This occurs when a number of in-groups face a common threat such as colonial imperialism or military aggression. "Antagonistic cooperation" emerges between these groups, which unite to transcend earlier antagonisms and respond to outside challenges. These alliances may be either permanent or temporary in nature, and involve the unity of diverse, and often conflicting, loyalties, values and traditional practices. Coalitions comprise a form of temporary multiple in-group alliance. Since coalitions encompass a variety of values and loyalties, it is necessary that common goals be kept in mind, lest they undergo dissolution. Coalitions, by their very nature, usually do not develop into more permanent unions. Also, factions can develop within coalitions, and can assume militant outlooks (ibid 140-147).

Wovoka's Ghost Dance movement led to a brief coalition of a spiritual nature among numerous Native American societies, whereas some of these societies previously had engaged in violent conflict with one another. This spiritual coalition was brought
about by the common experience of colonization and by United States government
policies toward Native Americans at the time. However, different groups interpreted the
doctrine of Wovoka in their own ways, and factions emerged. The most militant of these
was the version of the Ghost Dance created by the Lakota.
CHAPTER 2

SHAMAN-STATE INTERACTION: CONFLICT AND COOPERATION

Introduction

The relationships that take place between shamans and state authorities is often complex, and could be either confrontational, cooperative or both. Shamanic practices may exist in centralized societies, but they are often marginalized, suppressed, or altered. On the other hand, shamanism can be revived and reinstated by a state authority whenever it can be used to legitimize state authority (Hamayon 1994:76). This chapter first deals with the relationship between China's shamanic tradition and the Chinese state throughout Chinese history from the Shang Period (approximately 1766-1027 B.C.) until the onset of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). As the chapter shows, shamans enjoyed the patronage of the Chinese court prior to the adoption of Confucian philosophy by the state. After this time, shamanism declined in official status, and this had interesting repercussions during subsequent periods in Chinese history. The chapter then examines two regions, and how different shamanisms react to the actions and policies of the state. First, the Burayt Mongols of Siberia will be discussed. Two Buryat groups, the Khorii and the Ekhirit, were characterized by different shamanic practices and outlooks, and this had ramifications for Russian imperial government attempts to centralize and assimilate the two groups. Secondly, the chapter discusses a number of cases in colonial Ecuador, in which shamans interacted with the colonial state through participation in the colonial legal system. Two shamans, Buesaquillo and Andres Arevalo, lost out in their dealings with the colonial state, and eventually lost their former status. However, a shaman named
Sebastian Gavino was able to use his spiritual powers and knowledge of the colonial legal system to his advantage and eventually acquired a local government post.

**Shamanism and the State In China**

At various periods in China’s history, shamanism was both adopted and suppressed by the imperial court. Belief in ancestral spirits and supernatural realms has existed in China throughout its history, and there has existed a comprehensive shamanic tradition. The Chinese character “wu” refers to a spirit medium, an individual who becomes possessed by a supernatural being and performs such tasks as the prediction of future events and the curing of illnesses. The term also means “to dance” or “to jump”.

The *Shu Ching*, or Book of Documents, an old Chinese text, mentions a shaman, Wu Xien, who lived during the Shang period and provided shamanic services for the ruling elite. Wu Xien and other Shang period shamans are mentioned by the *Shu Ching* as playing important roles in government affairs. During the subsequent Chou Dynasty (12th and 13th centuries B.C.) the shamanic tradition was institutionalized, and shamans were commissioned by the imperial court. These official shamans exorcized malevolent spirits, conducted sacrifices, predicted future events, and underwent possession by spirits and deities. For many centuries, shamans played an integral role in Chinese religious life and politics. A text dating to the fourth century B.C., the Nine Songs, includes transcriptions of chants sung by the wu to invoke supernatural beings. Also contained in the text are descriptions of rituals and beliefs associated with the shamanic religious structure. Many shamans were women, and some chants embodied sexual overtones (Seaman 1994:229-231).
During the course of the later Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 C.E.), the Chinese court formally adopted Confucian philosophy, and thus Confucianism became the official state religion. Eventually, the court shamans lost their former social status, and shamanism became relegated to the margins of Chinese religious life. As Confucianism became the official doctrine, the Chinese shamanic tradition was increasingly regarded as unorthodox, and thus a challenge to the authority of the state. In 472 C.E., shamans were forbidden to perform openly at the Chinese court, and thirteen years later they were barred from the imperial court altogether (ibid:232).

Under assault from Confucian orthodoxy and from Buddhist missionaries, many would-be shamans found solace in Chinese Taoism. Several shamanic rituals were incorporated into Taoism, and led to the establishment of new Taoist ceremonies and the emergence of a body of sacred literature, particularly the *I Ching*. Taoist spirit mediums conducted rituals in medieval and early modern times. On the one hand, the Taoist movement attracted many individuals who were disillusioned with the dry legalism of Confucian philosophy. On the other hand, Taoist mediums wrote canons that were eventually incorporated into the state religion. Thus, through Taoism, a more charismatic, ecstatic spirituality was able to reclaim some of the favor of the imperial court. Taoist sanctuaries could now receive financial endowments from the government. At these sanctuaries, spirit mediums became endowed with knowledge and spiritual power conferred to them by supernatural beings. These spirit mediums carried out shamanic activities once conducted by the shamans of old. Taoist spirit mediums and ministers enjoyed a high degree of favor from the rulers of the later Ming Dynasty, and the deities and spirits summoned by these shamans became the focus of a number of imperial cults.
An example is the *Wu Tang Shan* sect, whose patron deity was believed by the founder of the Ming Dynasty to be responsible for his success in attaining political power and expelling the Mongol Yuan Dynasty. Thus, one can discern a situation in which a shamanic tradition once patronized by the Chinese court was eventually marginalized by a partnership between the state and the new Confucian establishment. Later, as shamanism was increasingly marginalized, many Chinese commoners became attracted to Taoism, and this led to an infusion of shamanic and Taoist elements. As this new movement became more ritualized and canonized, it gained increased favor with the centralized state. The founder of the Ming Dynasty defeated the highly Confucian Yuan emperor and adopted a Taoist patron deity, and shamanic practices could once again be performed openly in the presence of the ruling elite, much to the dismay of the Confucian establishment (*ibid* 233-238).

**How Different Types of Shamanisms Interact With the State**

According to Roberte Hamayon, a culture may contain different types of shamans who interact with state authorities in different ways. Also, a shamanic tradition may remain stronger within one subdivision of a society, but become weakened in another subdivision. This could have very important ramifications for how different members of a culture interact with centralized state authorities (Hamayon 1994:76).

Hamayon discusses a type of Siberian shamanism referred to as pastoral shamanism. This type of shamanism is associated with patrilocal and patrilineal pastoral groups in which solidarity is based on clan membership, such as the Buryats and Yakuts. Shamans establish contact with patron deities and spirit beings in order to beseech them for plentiful pasture and the good health of their flocks. Here, death and disease are not
considered to be compensation for successful hunting but rather due to infractions against social norms. Supernatural beings are presented with offerings, and the relationship between humans and spirits is one of worship of the latter by the former. There is also the concept of animal-ancestors. The founder of a clan is believed to have once assumed a human form and an animal essence. After death, this ancestor assumes the form of his animal essence. As such, this animal-ancestor bestows fertility to a herd of animals and supplies his descendants with fertile pasture and adequate rainfall.

A task of the shaman is to contact the animal-ancestor of his or her clan, receive the ancestor’s good fortune, and promote the well being of the society. In Siberian pastoral societies, shamanic status is patrilineal; supernatural powers and spirit helpers are inherited at birth by prospective shamans. Shamanism is more formalized, existing as an institution of the social structure. On the other hand, shamanism is not completely centralized, since the relationships involved are between humans and supernatural beings, rather than exclusively between humans. Furthermore, there are social status differences within Siberian pastoral cultures. Old age is associated with high social status and respect, whereas youth is associated with lower status, but also with heroism and strength of resolve. These qualities often conflict with one another. This is reflected, for example, in Buryat cosmology, which recognizes two tengeri, or “skies”, which are in constant conflict with one another. One “sky” is associated with youth and vitality, whereas the other is associated with old age and wisdom. Thus, while there exist social inequality and vertical relationships within Siberian pastoral groups, age-based conflicts help to retard any processes of centralization and state formation within these groups (ibid 81-86).
After incorporating the Buryats into the Russian Empire, Russian government authorities attempted to organize the Buryats of the Baikal region into centralized units governed by indigenous officials. This policy of centralization and assimilation was highly successful among the Khori Buryats east of Baikal, but not among the Ekhirits to the west. The tradition of shamanism among the Ekhirits remained strong and virtually indispensable for maintaining social integrity. Furthermore, the structure of shamanism among the Ekhirit clan helped to preserve a social structure antithetical to the rise of centralized authority. This led to conflict between the Ekhirit Buryats and the Russian government, and to increased solidarity among the former as they strove to maintain their cultural traditions. However, among the Khor clan to the west, the institution of shamanism had experienced a marked decline in importance in favor of increased acceptance of Tibetan Buddhism with its priesthood, centralized spiritual authorities, and orderly rituals. White Old Man, the patron deity of the Khor clan, was stripped of his animal essence and remained a human both in form and in essence. Buddhist deities were adopted, as was the belief that the elder and younger tengeri, or "skies," need not conflict with one another. Acceptance of Tibetan Buddhism had exposed the Khor Buryats to religious centralization, and therefore facilitated the process of sociopolitical centralization and assimilation into the Russian Empire. Shamanism among the Khor Buryats had already become marginalized, and shamans were increasingly viewed as antisocial and opposed to the new status quo. A strong, well-maintained shamanism offered among the Ekhirits a locus of resistance against colonial interference and assimilation by Russian government authorities and a sense of community solidarity. Among the Khor, the threat to social integrity was more internal, emerging from a
marginalized shamanism increasingly viewed as antisocial. This factor, in addition to centralization the Khor clan structure, helped foster generally more cordial relations between the Khor Buryats and the Russian government, and to more rapid integration into the Russian Empire (ibid 86-87).

In Colonial Ecuador, native societies experienced the imposition of government authority at local levels, beginning in the early 18th century. Both colonial authorities and local peoples viewed shamans as imbued with supernatural powers. This belief led to an interesting situation. On the one hand, colonial government authorities often sought to suppress local shamanic traditions, and local authorities suggested that people in their respective areas of jurisdiction avoid contact with shamans. On the other hand, some shamans, by virtue of their alleged spiritual powers, were often able to use their influence to work within the system, and occasionally attained local government posts. Indigenous individuals endowed with government authority were referred to as caciques, an Inca term, and served both as officials within their respective communities and as intermediaries between native peoples and Ecuadorian colonists. Another local government office filled by native officials was the cabildo, or community council. Officials who served in cabildos were appointed for a period of one year, and served as tribute collectors and enforcers of government policies. Occasionally, there emerged incidents of resistance both against the colonial government and against local caciques, especially within societies lacking traditions of centralized authority and hereditary posts (Salamon 1983:413-415).

A manuscript dating to the early 1700s mentions a case in the village of Pasto, in which a local shaman named Buesaquillo was brought before a government court.
Buesaquillo was accused by a number of native informants of the deaths of four individuals, which he brought about through malevolent shamanic activity. Two other victims had been successfully cured by a rival shaman, who happened to be one of the accusers. Buesaquillo was subsequently interrogated and tortured on the order of a Spanish judge appointed to the case. The shaman consistently denied the accusations, despite continued interrogation and torture. The Malleus Maleficarum, a treatise on witchcraft written in the 16th century, was consulted, and Buesaquillo was eventually accused of witchcraft (ibid 415-416).

Another case occurred in the village of Paccha in the year 1707, and involved a local shaman named Andres Arevalo. Arevalo, who opposed the spread of the cattle ranching industry into his homeland, became involved in a dispute with a group of Indians who herded cattle into his land, and who behaved, as he claimed, “like estate owners”. He became angry, and threatened the Indians with illness and death. Subsequently, eighteen people died, and several more became seriously ill. The group of Indian cattle ranchers brought the case to a local cabildo, which in turn notified the Spanish magistrate of Zaruma. Some of the accusers testified that Arevalo conducted a number of shamanic curses, including the burning of effigies, the manufacture of disease bundles, the theft of property and its use to bestow curses, and contact with malevolent spirits in an effort to gain their help for his plot. Arevalo was found guilty of sorcery by the magistrate, exiled, and forced into labor in a highland village. He appealed the sentence, but lost his appeal and was eventually forced to leave Paccha. Here, a new cattle ranching economy was initiated by colonial settlers and subsequently taught to local indigenous communities at the behest of the government. This led to an invasion of
the space occupied by Arevalo and his people. Arevalo's revenge tactics served to alienate most of the local natives and to incur the wrath of the colonial state. The malevolent shaman unwittingly promoted an alliance between the government and the local Indians, and this proved to be his undoing (*ibid* 417-419).

There occurred a somewhat different case in the parish of Punta Santa Elena, where the post of *cabildo* became the focus of competition between indigenous individuals. An Indian shaman named Sebastian Carlos Gavino was offered the *cabildo* post of *alcalde ordinario*, or justice of the peace. However, he was disliked by many people for his extravagant lifestyle, loose morals and alleged anti-church activity. He was subsequently accused of sorcery, and was blocked from assuming the post. Gavino was then imprisoned on the advice of a local parish priest and eventually exiled to the city of Quito. However, Gavino returned to the parish, and sought to repeal his sentence. White officials tried to block the repeal and prevent Gavino from assuming his post, claiming that he would use his post for purposes of sorcery. During the appeal process, Gavino was accused of cursing a former lover when she ended the affair. The accuser, a rival shaman named Francisco Barzola, claimed to have healed the woman. However, due to the efforts of a faction of people loyal to Gavino, and also due to the death of the local parish priest, Gavino was eventually able to repeal his sentence and assume the post offered to him. Of course, Gavino relied on a combination of flattery and threats to convince some of his supporters to help him achieve this end. Thus, Gavino, by virtue of his spiritual knowledge, network of supporters and ability to deal with white authorities was able to operate within the system and achieve political power. Colonial efforts to
assimilate the local indigenous peoples of the region helped to create a shaman-bureaucrat (*ibid* 420-422).

Shamanhood could therefore be both a liability and an asset in what Frank Salamon refers to as the "Indian Republic". Malevolent shamans often engaged in conflict with benevolent shamans, and these conflicts sometimes involved the centralized state. In many cases, so-called benevolent shamans gained local support from both natives and whites, and achieved a fairly high degree of social and political status. But malevolent shamans occasionally, though somewhat less frequently, won out, as is indicated by the Gavino case. Government policies of assimilation led both to the suppression of shamanic traditions and to the emergence of shaman bureaucrats (*ibid* 424-425).
CHAPTER 3
NATIVISTIC AND MILLENIAN MOVEMENTS

Introduction

Often, interactions between colonial authorities and conquered peoples, and the suppression of shamanic traditions, may promote the emergence of nativistic and millenarian movements, or what Anthony Wallace referred to as “revitalization movements”. This chapter first discusses the nature of millenarian movements, and processes involved in their emergence and development. The chapter then proceeds to discuss several millenarian movements. The first movement to be discussed has been referred to as the Burkhanist movement, and was led by a Siberian shaman-prophet named Chot Chelpan. This movement was aimed at protecting the traditions and sovereignty of the Siberian Altay people, and resisting Russian colonial interference and assimilation. The second millenarian phenomenon to be discussed is the Ghost Dance movement. This section draws upon the work of James Mooney (1890), who conducted a number of interviews with Wovoka, founder of the movement, and examined variations of the dance as practiced by different Native American groups. Two other Native American millenarian movements, the Dream Dance movement of the Lakota shaman Wananikwe, and the movement led by the Shawnee shaman-prophet Tenskwatawa, are subsequently examined. Finally, the chapter deals with the emergence of millenarianism in the Amazon region. The paper will also examine the influence of Christianity on the Burkhanist, Ghost Dance and Amazonian millenarian movements, and the assimilation by these movements of Christian religious symbolisms and dogmas.
The Nature and Emergence of Millenarianism

Wallace defines a revitalization movement as "a deliberate, organized and conscious effort by...a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (Wallace 1956:265). A cultural system becomes inadequate, and through innovation is transformed, or replaced by a new system with new practices and social relationships. Culture change therefore must be sudden and deliberate if it is to be classified as a revitalization. Revitalization movements encompass nativistic movements, cargo cults, millenarian and messianic movements. The emergence of such movements often leads to the establishment of new religious traditions. Wallace employs an "organismic analogy" model for culture. The body of an organism functions well and equilibrium is maintained as long as no external or internal factors upset the balance. The body, in times of stress, may undergo significant activity and alteration. Such is the case with cultural systems, according to Wallace; if one aspect of a culture is affected, then others will be affected as well (ibid 264-267).

According to Wallace, revitalization movements are characterized by five separate stages of development. The first stage is referred to as the steady state. Here, a cultural system is in a state of equilibrium, and if there is any stress present, that stress exists at a socially tolerable level and does not disturb the equilibrium. The second stage is referred to as the period of increased individual stress. At this point, an increasing number of members of a culture or segment of a culture are unable, through the existing cultural system, to satisfy their social, emotional and physical needs, and thus experience increased stress. This stress could result from a variety of factors, including conquest,
assimilation, epidemics, internal conflicts, and ecological changes. In order to relieve 
stress, more individuals consider alternatives to existing cultural practices.

The third stage is referred to as the period of cultural distortion. A crisis of culture 
and anxiety over the effectiveness of alternative practices cause people to respond in 
different ways. Some individuals may attempt to adjust to the increased social pressure, 
whereas others may adapt foreign practices. Negative consequences may arise, such as 
alcoholism or drug abuse, as desperate individuals try to cope with the increased social 
stress. Eventually, the culture loses its integrity, and this produces more stress. This leads 
to the fourth stage, referred to as the period of revitalization. At this point, a culture is in 
danger of assimilation, dispersal, suppression or extinction. A movement of revitalization 
emerges to prevent such outcomes.

A revitalization movement that is spiritual in nature must, according to Wallace, 
perform six functions. First, it must foster a vision of the reformulation of the culture in 
crisis. A visionary individual must be imbued with a vision of the restoration of the 
culture, as well as a program for bringing about the restoration. Second, the visionary 
must share his or her vision of cultural restoration with the society at large and gain 
converts. The converts must become convinced that they shall receive supernatural favor 
and material benefits in return for their support. Third, the movement must become 
highly organized. Often, a cadre of committed supporters forms a visionary’s inner circle, 
and this inner circle in turn directs the outer bulk of the followers. The movement may 
become a campaign of sorts, and may become imbued with a political character. The 
supernatural sanction enjoyed by the visionary may translate into authority over his or her 
followers; thus, the visionary becomes a leader in a sociopolitical as well as a spiritual
sense. Fourth, the movement must overcome any opposition that may emerge. Responses to opposition may be persuasive, and the movement may be modified to appease skeptics. Or responses may be more coercive in nature, and may include political maneuvering or enforced membership. Fifth, the movement must result in some culture change, and more individuals must adopt the program and its various injunctions. A successful revitalization movement results first in culture change, and then in cultural revitalization, and thence a decrease in social stress. Sixth, if the movement is successful and does not become extinct, it must become routine. The various injunctions commanded by the visionary may become newly established economic, social and political institutions if the movement is all-embracing in nature. Otherwise, a new religious tradition may emerge, with its own rituals and creeds (*ibid* 268-275).

Finally, the fifth stage is referred to as the new steady state. Cultural transformation leads to decreased social stress and a new social equilibrium, so long as the revitalization movement is successful. But this is not always the case, and many such movements have in fact failed, snuffed out at various stages in their development (*ibid* 275). Two factors determine the success or failure of revitalization movements. The first is the amount of internal and external opposition levied against a movement. Opposition may come from skepticism on the part of would-be converts, or it may arise in the form of suppression by an external source such as a colonial government. The second factor is the realism, or lack thereof, of the program of revitalization presented by the visionary. If the program fails to solve social problems, or if the visionary is erroneous in some of his or her assumptions, then the program lacks sufficient realism. A high degree of opposition coupled with a low degree of realism may doom a movement to failure.
Conversely, low opposition and high realism may result in a movement’s success (ibid 278-279).

Chot Chelpan: A Siberian Shaman-Prophet

Such an experience occurred at the beginning of the 20th century among the Altays of southern Siberia. The Altays were experiencing assimilation and Christianization by Russian government authorities, and their shamanic traditions were undergoing suppression. Conquered by the Russians in the 18th century, the Altays were stripped of much of their land, which was used for farming and for settlement by Russian migrants. About 1904, a shaman named Chot Chelpan received a vision of a white horse and rider. The spirit rider instructed Chelpan about what he must do in order to restore the independence and prestige of the Altays and end Russian imperial domination. Chelpan was able to convince many of his fellow Altays to subscribe to his new vision, and the group retreated to the Chuya Valley, a region located between southern Russia and northern Mongolia. This was the beginning of a nativistic movement aimed at restoring the “old ways”. Lawrence Krader refers to Chelpan’s movement as Burkhanism. The Burkhanists resisted assimilation and Russian government interference and sought to restore Altay cultural traditions, including shamanism (Krader 1956:282-283).

The movement contained several Buddhist elements, due to earlier domination by the Manchu Dynasty of China. The term “Burkhan” is a Mongolian rendering of the name “Buddha”. Mongol Buddhist missionaries preached the eventual rise of a figure named Oirot Khan, a great chief who would unite the peoples of the steppes and end foreign hegemony. Buddhist and Russian Orthodox Christian missionaries competed for
influence among the Altays, and this led to the introduction of both Christian and Buddhist elements within the Burkhanist movement (ibid 283-284).

A series of visions appeared to Chelpan after the arrival of the mystical horse and rider. Twin maidens appeared before him and his daughter, ordering the two to offer supplications and prepare their people for a future Altay khanate. The deity Burkhan was to be worshipped and offered prayers, and Chelpan began proselytizing among his community. Subsequently, Chelpan received another shamanic vision, in which he was visited by three horses and riders. One of the riders gave Chelpan a list of eighteen commandments for the new religious movement. These commandments included abstainance from tobacco and alcohol, the offering of incense and horse milk, the killing of cats, and avoidance of contact with Russians. Some of the commandments were anti-Russian in nature, and Russian costumes and language became forbidden, whereas others were clearly aimed at admonishing those shamans who were more willing to compromise with the Russian authorities. Such status quo shamans eventually became portrayed as servants of Erlik, the evil adversary of Burkhan. The commandments are indicative of Christian influence, as is the Burkhan-Erlik dichotomy, which in a sense resembles the rivalry between God and Satan (ibid 285-287).

The interference of a state authority with the spiritual traditions of a conquered group led to increased social stress, and a loss of cultural equalibrium. A visionary leader emerged, and presented a program of social revitalization aimed at reviving Altay independence and an end to Russian domination. The messianic aspect of the movement involved the promised appearance of Oirot Khan, a Christ-like figure who would redeem his people and bring about a glorious state of affairs. Chelpan expounded his new
religion, and idealized the Altay past in the process. Paradoxically, Altay society experienced some change due to the establishment of the new religion, which helped to relieve some of the social stress being experienced at the time. The Russian government took action against the Burkhanist movement, accusing its members of collaborating with the Japanese during the 1904 Russo-Japanese War. Also, the government became increasingly uneasy over the militancy of the movement. Government authorities arrested Chelpan and ordered his followers to disband. Most of the converts emigrated to Mongolia, where they continued to practice the new religion. Those who remained in Russia encountered further repression from the Soviets, who accused them of collaborating with the Japanese both during the 1904 Russo-Japanese war and during the Second World War. Eventually, the movement failed due to suppression by the Russian and Soviet Governments (ibid 288-290).

The Ghost Dance Movement

Contact with colonial authorities and missionaries promoted a number of new spiritual developments among numerous Native American societies. Christian missionary activity had contrasting effects on Native American spiritual development. Some Christian practices were readily adopted into indigenous spiritual traditions, and religious figures such as Mary and Jesus were incorporated into native pantheons. However, many Native Americans failed to understand doctrines such as original sin and rejected certain rituals. Often, Christian doctrines and practices that were accepted were often fused together with shamanic practices, particularly vision quests. This led to the emergence of a number of Native American prophets. As with the case with the Burkhanist movement,
some Native American vision seekers were granted visions during which they were taught new religions aimed at promoting social revitalization.

In the Autumn of 1890, James Mooney was originally sent by the Bureau of Ethnology on an assignment to the Cherokee. However, interest increased in the Ghost Dance movement being adopted by numerous Native American societies at the time, and Mooney was given a new assignment to study and assess the movement. In the winter of 1890, Mooney began fieldwork in Oklahoma Territory among the Cheyenne and Arapahoe, as well as other Plains societies. This session lasted until the spring of the following year, and was succeeded by another session among the Cheyenne and Arapahoe. Mooney subsequently conducted fieldwork among the Lakota and the Paiute, eventually conducting a total of twenty-two months of fieldwork between 1890 and 1893. Mooney’s interest involved Wovoka, the founder of the Ghost Dance movement, and his theology. Also, Mooney observed variations in the Ghost Dance as practiced by several different Native American societies on the Plains, and in the west and southwest (Mooney 1991 [1896]:653-654).

Mooney went to Wovoka, eventually gaining his trust and acquiring information on the doctrines and practices of his Ghost Dance. Wovoka, a Nevada Paiute, was born about 1870, and was adopted into the Wilson family. He was given the name of Jack Wilson, and worked as a ranch worker for a number of ranch owners. During his time with the Wilsons, Wovoka gained knowledge of Christianity, and of white customs and the English language. At the age of eighteen, according to an interview between Wovoka and Mooney, Wovoka received a vision from the spirit world. He underwent a spirit journey to the Paiute otherworld during a partial solar eclipse. There, Wovoka claimed to
have encountered God, as well as all members of his people who have ever died. God proceeded to show Wovoka a vision of a land of plenty, and was instructed by God to preach the vision to his people. After the vision, Wovoka preached to his fellow Paiutes to behave honorably and to work hard, and to maintain friendly relations with each other and with whites. Lying and stealing were condemned, and violent behavior was to be forbidden. In return for obedience to these new commandments, converts would be reunited with deceased loved ones, who would be brought back from the dead, and war and pestilence would disappear from the earth. During his vision, Wovoka was taught a special dance which, if conducted in five-day intervals, would help bring these events to bear (ibid 767-772).

Wovoka’s Ghost Dance religion was a classic millenarian spiritual movement. According to Wovoka’s doctrine, all Native Americans living and dead would eventually emerge onto a new earth, and would live a glorious eternal life free of the shortcomings of this life, with its wars, famine, drought and pestilence. Whites would cease to exist, as would what Wovoka referred to as “all other temporary things”. The Native American resurrection would occur in spring, and a specific date of Spring 1891 was originally set for the event. When this remained unfulfilled, the movement was modified to accommodate the doctrine of an eventual resurrection, without any specific date. Ceremonies of the new religion included ritual bathing and feasting, in order to purify converts. Every six weeks, a dancing session was held that lasted in duration for four consecutive nights, since the number four held sacred connotations in Paiute mythology. Upon the day following the fourth night of dancing, ceremonial bathing was conducted. Commandments of Wovoka’s religious movement included refraining from harming
another person except in self-defense, and from being dishonest. Wovoka instructed his followers not to mourn deceased relatives, and disciples from Plains societies were to avoid destroying the property and horses of the deceased, as well as cutting their hair and bodies in mourning, as was customary at the time. Also, Wovoka instructed his followers to respect the authority of their elders, and to avoid hostile relations with whites. These provisions were aimed at curbing intergroup warfare and uniting the various Native American groups of the Plains and the west, as well as preventing costly conflicts with white authorities. Some of the items used in Wovoka’s Ghost Dance included rabbit skin robes, magpie feathers, and a special red paint used in bodily and clothing decorations. The paint was meant to cure sickness, aid in longevity, and increase a participant’s powers of reception during dance sessions, and was distributed to delegates from other tribes, who used it in their own variations of the dance (ibid 777-783).

During an interview with Mooney, Wovoka denied that his religion preached active hostility toward whites, and disavowed himself of the militant nature of some variations of the Ghost Dance as practiced by certain Plains societies. Also, he claimed that his movement did not require that converts don the white sheet shirts worn by the Lakota at the time (ibid 772). However, Native American delegates who visited Wovoka interpreted his doctrines in their own ways and taught their own versions to their respective peoples. Trance sessions were involved in several versions of the Ghost Dance. Among the Arapahoe and Cheyenne, Mooney collected testimonies of trances during which participants experienced spiritual death and journeys to the spirit realm. At this realm, informants claimed to have encountered deceased relatives and to have received visions of future events. By employing various hypnotic techniques, a
participant could “see” deceased relatives. For example, Paul Boynton, an Arapahoe, wished to contact his brother, who had died some time previously. At a dance session directed by Chief Sitting Bull, Boynton presented his request, and was hypnotized by a technique using an eagle feather and moving hand. He entered a trance and was able to contact his brother, before exiting his trance (ibid 922-923). The Ghost Dance movement eventually assumed hostile elements among those Plains societies that were experiencing poor relations with white government authorities and military personnel. The Cheyenne, Arapahoe and Kiowa, then reeling from loss of their land and confinement to reservations by the United States government, interpreted the movement’s end-time doctrine as follows. At some future time, all deceased Native Americans and all game animals would reappear in the west, and would subsequently move eastward. A new earth would emerge out of the old world, which would be smothered by the emergent new world. Special eagle feathers worn by the Cheyenne, Arapahoe and Kiowa would transport them to this new earth, and they would enter a four-day slumber. Following the slumber, the people would find themselves in the company of the deceased, and would live a glorious eternal life. Among some Arapahoe, it was believed that, prior to the emergence of the new world, a worldwide wall of flame would drive the whites out of Indian land. Hurricanes, lightning, and a twelve-day flood would result in the final destruction of the white race. The Walapai of Arizona adopted this version of end-time events, and added that Native American unbelievers would be eliminated along with whites (ibid 786).

The Lakota interpreted the doctrines of Wovoka in an especially militant manner. A Lakota delegation was sent to Wovoka in the Fall of 1889, and returned to preach the new religion to the people. The doctrine of Indian renewal and the eventual elimination
of the white race spread like wildfire among the Lakota. Starvation from reduced
government rations, loss of tribal land, confinement to reservations and other government
and military interference led to a situation of desperation and anger among many Lakota.
The Lakota readily adopted the Ghost Dance, adding some of their own innovations to
the religion. According to the Lakota version of the end-time events, whites were sent to
the people in order to punish them for wrongdoing. However, since the time of
repentance had past, all Native Americans, living and dead, would unite, and drive the
white race out of the continent. The resurrection of the dead would be accompanied by
the arrival of bison herds and supplies of ponies the likes of which no mortal had ever
seen before. White weapons would be rendered useless, and the white race would be
annihilated in a worldwide landslide. This landslide would be accompanied by floods and
high winds. The Native Americans would transcend this world and emerge in a new
realm, accompanied by the bison and pony herds. By conducting Ghost Dance sessions,
many Lakota believed they could help quicken the arrival of the end-time (ibid 786-787).

Lakota disciples abandoned white customs and dress, and held dance sessions
without any metal ornaments of any kind, especially silver items. This avoidance of white
customs was aimed at strengthening ethnic solidarity. The Lakota version of the dance
included the symbolism of creating a sacred circle around a tree festooned with a Lakota
bow and arrow. Also included was a special white sheet shirt made of buckskin. The shirt
was worn as an outer garment during Ghost Dance sessions by men, women and children,
and as an undergarment at other times. The shirts were decorated with eagle feathers and
with a variety of patterns made with red paint. These patterns varied, and included the
sun and moon, eagles, bison, mythic beings, and representations of visions received
during mass trance sessions. These special shirts were intended to render ineffective the weapons used by the United States military. They also served as a vehicle for ethnic solidarity, assertion of cultural values and traditions, and symbolic resistance against government interference and white political and cultural imperialism. Mooney argued that the shirts were not indigenous to the Lakota but spread to them from other Native American societies. Lakota warriors traditionally entered combat bare-chested, with small protective trinkets attached to their shields or braided into their hair. The Lakota may have adopted the shirt from groups to the west, who had established contact with Mormon missionaries. Mormon initiates often wore white “endowment robes”, both as a symbol of their faith and for protection against harm. These robes were composed of white muslin, and decorated, in red paint, with Mormon religious symbols. These Mormon missionaries proselytized to several western Native American groups, and received several converts. These Native American converts were then issued endowment robes (ibid 788-791). The Lakota Ghost Dance was in essence a mass shamanic ritual, often lasting for days, during which participants entered trances and encountered the souls of deceased relatives and received visions of renewed glory and social revitalization.

Eventually, the United States government became wary of the militant nature of the movement, and took measures to suppress it. Army troops were deployed in Lakota territory to enforce government policy. This led to mutual hostility, and a number of skirmishes were fought between United States soldiers and Lakota militants. Hostility between whites and Indians eventually culminated in the 1890 Wounded Knee Massacre, and the ultimate demise of the Lakota version of the Ghost Dance (Underhill 1965:261).
The movement also went into eventual decline among several other Native American societies. The Paiute and Shoshone eventually ceased conducting dance sessions on account of unfulfilled prophecies such as the resurrection of the dead and the emergence of the new world. The Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Pawnee and other Plains tribes likewise became increasingly disappointed in unfulfilled prophecies, and thus the movement experienced a decline in these societies. Wovoka himself lost much of his influence, and slipped back into obscurity (Mooney 1991 [1896]:927).

Other Native American Millenarian Movements

The Dream Dance movement is another outcome of mutual hostility between shamans and state authority. In 1876, a Lakota shamaness named Wananikwe received a vision of two Christ-like figures, one good and the other evil. After deciding upon heeding the former, Wananikwe was given a magical drum and other ritual items and was taught a number of chants and rituals. Eventually, she was taught a new religion and was instructed to proselytize among her people. The original aim of the new religion was to empower its adherents against the United States military and to make them immune to firearms, something that could not be brought about without supernatural assistance. However, this goal proved to be unattainable, and the movement was modified in favor of a new goal: the preservation of native languages and cultural traditions. This latter goal was more successfully achieved, and for several decades, the adherents of the Dream Dance cult were able to resist complete integration into American society (Clifton 1994:200-201).

Tenskwatawa, a Shawnee shaman-prophet, was the spiritual leader of a revolt led by the renowned Shawnee chief Tecumsah from 1806 until 1814. Tenskwatawa led a
spiritual reform movement aimed at revitalizing Shawnee society after undergoing a process of shamanic death and rebirth. He claimed to have been endowed with supernatural power and knowledge and received a revelation that would help the Shawnee to reclaim their independence from colonial domination. The movement also sought to preserve Shawnee cultural traditions and language. Tenskwatawa was able to gather a sizable following, and had a very charismatic personality. However, he became increasingly authoritarian, and bitterly opposed the traditional Shawnee religious establishment. He proved to be a monumentally incompetent prophet, failing to produce positive results and to fulfill expectations he inspired in his followers. His incompetence, authoritarianism, self righteousness and opposition to traditional spiritual traditions eventually cost him followers, and prevented him from convincing a majority of Shawnee. The final defeat of Tecumsah at Tippecanoc helped to bring about the end of Tenskwatawa’s movement (ibid 197-198).

Millennialism In the Amazon Region

Millenarian shamanic movements have arisen in the Amazon region as well, and have had more far-reaching consequences in this region than previously realized. According to Stephen Hugh-Jones(1994), Amazonian shamanism is characterized by two distinct traditions, vertical shamanism and horizontal shamanism. Traditions of vertical shamanism involve elite groups of individuals who supervise spiritual ceremonies and control access to sacred knowledge, whereas horizontal shamanic traditions display a more democratic nature, and allow a greater number and variety of individuals to become shamans. Those societies in which horizontal shamanic traditions predominated tend to be socially and economically egalitarian, and to put a high premium on individual
initiative. Here, all men, and often all women, may conduct shamanic rituals and openly share their experiences with others. Horizontal shamans are therefore not endowed with any particularly high social status here.

Vertical shamanisms exist in less egalitarian, more ranked societies in which sacred knowledge is controlled by groups of individuals imbued with high social status. In some Amazonian societies, vertical and horizontal shamans may coexist, and this may lead to interesting consequences. Interaction between native Amazonians and Catholic missionaries have, in the past, led to situations in which vertical shamans acted to suppress the activities of horizontal shamans, especially in the Vaupes region of Columbia. On the other hand, regions in which natives interacted with Protestant missionaries have led to greater cooperation between vertical and horizontal shamans, and a greater degree of coexistence between the two. Hugh-Jones speculates that the Catholicism of the missionaries, with its hierarchies, tended to favor vertical shamans at the expense of horizontal shamans. Protestant Christianity lacks any such spiritual hierarchies, and thus may have led to greater coexistence between vertical and horizontal shamans in regions visited by Protestant missionaries (Hugh-Jones 1994:32-34).

Among the Tukanoans and Wakuenai of the northwest Amazon, there are grades of shamans corresponding to the vertical shaman-horizontal shaman dichotomy. On the one hand, there are so-called “real shamans” who correspond to the category of horizontal shamans, the most powerful of which are the Jaguar Owners. These shamans undergo trances and spirit journeys. On the other hand, there are vertical shamans known as “chant owners”. These shamans do not experience trances or spirit journeys. However, they do conduct curing rituals, predict future events, and act as repositories of sacred
knowledge and traditions. They also conduct community events and ancestor veneration ceremonies, and serve as community leaders. These shamans are exclusively elderly men, and initiate younger men into the shamanic profession. The “real shamans” thus correspond to the label of horizontal shamans, and are referred to as paye. The “chant owners” are vertical shamans, and are known as kubu. The paye are more oriented toward achievement and individual initiative than the kubu, and their social structure is more egalitarian and democratic. Paye can also be quite competitive, and often accuse each other of sorcery. Kubu, on the other hand, enjoy a measure of prestige and political influence usually denied to paye (ibid 42-46).

During the 19th century, a number of millennial movements emerged in the region, and several paye emerged as millenarian leaders. These millennial movements were similar to one another politically and spiritually, and their leaders assumed a Christ-like persona. Venancio A. Kamiko “Christu”, Alexandre Christo and Aniseto were among several well-known paye who claimed to have contacted the Christian God, as well as numerous Catholic saints and local deities. These individuals often claimed to be incarnations of Christ, and to have returned from Heaven to help their peoples resist colonial authority and white domination. Common themes involved the curing of epidemic diseases, the end of exploitation and of colonial government interference, the destruction of the world in a great conflagration or flood, and restoration of native lands to their original occupants. The various rituals of these millenarian movements blended Catholic and indigenous rituals. Christian baptisms and marriages were conducted, and masses were held in special houses of worship. Also, Christian symbolism was employed and supplications were offered to God and the various Catholic saints. Often, messianic
shamans assumed some of the roles of Catholic missionaries. However, these shamans also conducted indigenous curing ceremonies. They also underwent trances and spirit journeys, interacting with native spirits and deities as they did so. Horizontal shamanic traditions were thus transformed into vehicles for resistance against government interference and colonial expansion. The collapse of the earlier plantation economy of the region led to a new mercantile economy. The labor of this new economy was often coerced, and native peoples in the area were often exploited by both whites and Indians. This helped to broaden the appeal of the millennial movements (ibid 48-56).

The relationship between the peoples of the northwest Amazon and Catholic missionaries sent into the region was complex. At times, missionaries, especially those not commissioned by government authorities, tried to protect their native clients from economic and social exploitation. On the other hand, certain missionaries attempted to eradicate shamanism. This attempt to suppress shamanism helped to facilitate white control of native lands as well as forced settlement and suppression of native cultural traditions. This led to a situation in which Catholic missionaries were seen as rivals to local shamans for possession of spiritual power. The missionaries began to be regarded as shamans by native peoples acquainted with Catholicism. This caused a great deal of tension between missionaries and natives, and in one documented case, a Fransiscan missionary named Padre Coppi was driven out of a local village after attempting to discredit a shaman. The relationship between natives and missionaries both served to reaffirm indigenous beliefs and helped to foster the development of a modified Catholic sect.
Eventually, the messianic activities taking place in the region declined in frequency. Messianic shamans encountered opposition from natives themselves, especially vertical shamans who saw such movements as a threat to their social status. Some community leaders urged their people to submit to white authority and to attempt to integrate into the dominant society. Those who continued to urge resistance to white authority were both suppressed by government authorities and opposed by other natives. Over time, Catholic missionaries regained their control over Catholic religious ceremonies. These developments led to a sharp decline in the horizontal shamanic traditions of the region. The *paye* had become associated with millenarian activity, and consequently lost much of their influence as the indigenous peoples of the region became more integrated into state society. For awhile, these developments favored the *kubu*, or vertical shamans, who lacked the charisma of the *paye* and were more willing to compromise with missionaries and government authorities. The *kubu* were able to retain much of their influence and status for a time, though they eventually experienced a decline as well (*ibid* 69-72).
CHAPTER 4
THE EMERGENCE OF NEW RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS IN NATIVE AMERICA

Introduction

Earlier, the conversion of Native Americans to Christianity was usually a slow and hesitant process involving a considerable degree of picking and choosing by prospective converts. However, with the passage of time, and due in part to the efforts of U.S. government-commissioned missionaries, Christianity gained an ever-increasing number of adherents among all Native American societies. Often, new social, political and economic realities fostered by colonization and by U.S. government policies led to disillusionment with traditional spiritual traditions. In addition to conversion to Christianity, there emerged a number of new religions incorporating Christian and indigenous elements (Clifton 1994:194-195). Relationships between centralized state authority and shamanic traditions have at times led to the establishment of new religious traditions. This chapter deals with two such religions. The first to be discussed is the Peyote religion, which emerged in the 19th century to satisfy spiritual needs by providing a creed featuring both Christian and shamanic elements. Peyotism was eventually officially established under the name of the Native American Church, and subsequently received the official recognition of the United States Federal government. The second new religion discussed in the chapter is the movement founded by Kenekuk, a Kickapoo shaman-prophet. This religious movement preached a Christian worldview, and was modeled after the Amish movement of Pennsylvania.
The Emergence of the Peyote Religion

An example of a new religion is the emergence of the Peyote Cult. The use of peyote experienced an increase during the Spanish conquest of Mexico, and became a widespread tradition in the 19th century. The societies of the North American Plains became acquainted with peyote use while conducting trade with, and carrying out raids against, Mexicans, both natives and white settlers. The curative qualities and object-finding potential of peyote made it a popular item among the Plains societies.

Beginning in the late 1880s, Plains Indians were confined to reservations, and became increasingly dependant on U.S. government agencies for survival. The government also commissioned Christian missionaries and established boarding schools in an effort to suppress indigenous cultural traditions and to integrate the Plains peoples into American society. Also, the state of Texas became officially off-limits to Native Americans during the late 19th century. This greatly increased the difficulties involved in growing, harvesting and distributing peyote. However, by the end of the 1890s, the sanction against the presence of Native Americans in Texas was lifted, and the harvesting and distribution of peyote was resumed. The presence of the railroad system greatly facilitated the distribution of the substance to reservations throughout the Plains, and the peyote trade thus experienced a boom. Native Americans interred in U.S. government-controlled indoctrination camps learned of this new peyote trade from both Native and white sources. Some individuals interred at these camps, and individuals consigned to reservations, became the leaders of new peyote ceremonies, resulting in the emergence of Peyotism. This new Peyotism, along with the Ghost Dance cult, often helped to foster a sense of inter-tribal unity contra the United States government and white society at large,
especially among the societies of the Plains. Oklahoma Territory became a locus of the emergent Peyotism, and Native societies consigned to Oklahoma became involved in the movement (Stewart 1994:179-181).

Individuals from different Native American societies learned how to conduct peyote-based ceremonies, and subsequently taught the ceremonies to their respective tribes on their return. Ceremony leaders were often former attendants of government boarding schools or indoctrination camps, and most were Christianized to one extent or another. Peyote ceremony leaders became missionaries in their own right, traveling to different reservations throughout the Plains and teaching prospective converts about the new religion and the magical qualities of peyote. These missionaries, instead of spreading the Gospel of Jesus, worked to spread the “good news” of Peyotism. One well-known peyote missionary was Quannah Parker, a Commanche, and another missionary, a Delaware named John Wilson, incorporated Christian symbolism into his ceremonies. From Oklahoma Territory, Peyotism eventually spread westward, and numerous Southwestern Indians converted to the new religion. Young people were particularly attracted to Peyotism, with its emphasis on curing and visionary quests. Peyotism evolved into a Christian sect of a kind, though one imbued with shamanic elements and Native American symbolism and ritual. Its emphasis on spiritual and social healing is reminiscent of the Christian concept of salvation (ibid 181-183).

The new peyote movement encountered a fair amount of opposition from government agents, Christian missionaries and Native American conformists. In 1897, opponents of Peyotism attempted, and failed, to have the anti-alcohol Prohibition Act applied to the use of peyote. In 1907, opponents again lobbied the federal government to
outlaw the use of peyote, employing an 1899 government ruling against the cultivation
and distribution of mescale beans. This appeal also resulted in failure, although
suppression of peyote use did continue at a more local level. Peyotists were imprisoned,
fined and harassed by local authorities. In 1918 and 1937, anti-peyotists tried again
brought their case to federal court, and tried to secure a law that would enforce, at the
federal level, fines and/or imprisonment for the use of peyote. Both times, the proposal
was accepted by U.S. House of Representatives but rejected by the Senate. Often, Native
American supporters of the peyote movement debated with white opponents of the
movement, drawing on knowledge of law and government acquired in boarding schools
and indoctrination camps. They argued that Peyotism constituted a “church”, such as the
Mormon, Catholic or Baptist Churches. This required that the movement be organized as
such, that it formulate rules and dogmas, and that it assume an official name. Thus, in
1918, the Native American Church of Oklahoma was founded, and was officially
recognized by the United States government. State laws prohibiting the use of peyote had
little effect in curbing use of the substance. On the contrary, devout adherents of
Peyotism became increasingly rooted in their faith, and more churches were established
that were incorporated into the Native American Church. Finally in 1932, there was a
shift in the policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs regarding Native American
spirituality, courtesy of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and BIA superintendent John
Collier. Eventually, emphasis on assimilation of Native Americans into American society
was replaced by a greater accommodation of Native American cultural and spiritual
traditions. The first amendment of the United States Constitution was invoked to help
justify this policy change. Currently, Peyotism is still legal, and peyote ceremonies are
still conducted on Saturday nights and Sunday mornings on several Native American reservations throughout the west (*ibid* 183-185).

The Peyote ceremony takes place among a group of adherents circled around a fire and half-moon altar. Special songs are sung, accompanied by drums and rattles, and prayers are offered to the Christian God. The ceremony incorporates the use of peyote buttons grown and cultivated in the Rio Grande area, which are dried and eaten. The peyote buttons produce a euphoric state and a variety of colorful visions, and help to foster comraderie among the members of the congregation. The ceremony incorporates preaching of the Bible as well. The Native American Church conducts Christian weddings and funerals as well as peyote ceremonies, and preaches a largely Christian morality. (*Ibid* 186) Thus, a complex set of relationships between a government authority and a number of societies with shamanic traditions eventually led to the establishment of a federally recognized religion.

**Kenekuk: A Kickapoo Shaman and Religious Leader**

Another example of the emergence of a new religion involves Kenekuk, a Kickapoo shaman-prophet. In the late 18th century, the Kickapoo began to experience social and political pressures resulting from colonization of their homeland and pressure from the U.S. government to relocate westward. Like the Shawnee prophet Tenskwatawa, Kenekek experienced a shamanic death and rebirth, during which he was granted the spiritual knowledge to found a new religious movement. Unlike, Tenskwatawa’s movement, however, Kenekuk’s religious movement lacked any militant character. Membership was voluntary, and little emphasis was placed on proselytizing. The movement was based on a synthesis of Christian dogma and morality and indigenous
elements, with most of the emphasis on the Christian aspect. Kenekuk and his followers established a "church" and adopted a communal, agricultural lifestyle based on the Amish. Furthermore, Kenekuk exhorted his followers to maintain cordial relations with one another and with outsiders. The new religion founded by Kenekuk has endured, and at present there are a few communities of adherents residing in the midwest (Clifton 1994:199).
CHAPTER 5
SHAMANISM IN KOREA

Introduction

This chapter offers an examination of the relations between the Korean shamanic tradition vis-à-vis the Korean state. The Korean case is important, because it offers an example of long-term relations between a centralized state and a shamanic tradition. The Korean state has existed for many centuries, whereas other states that have had contact with societies with shamanic traditions have existed for at most a handful of centuries. First, a history of these relations are discussed, as are the consequences of such relations as they existed both prior to and following the adoption of Confucianism by the Korean court. As Korea became increasingly Confucianized, shamans gradually lost much of their prior social status, and their activities were confined to the margins of Korean society. Also, as Korean society was increasingly patriarchal, the occupation of shamanism became increasingly occupied by women. The chapter then discusses some recent developments within the Korean shamanic tradition. One recent development is the chesu kut, or good fortune ritual directed by shamans sponsored by small business owners.

Korean Shamans Prior to and Following the Process of Confucianization

Shamans enjoyed a high degree of social and political status in pre-Confucian Korea, serving as intermediaries between divine authority and the imperial court. In the third century, Buddhism became the official state religion, replacing indigenous shamanic practices in this regard. Shamans could no longer serve as court religious officials, although local deities were eventually incorporated into the local Buddhist pantheon.
However, shamans retained a measure of spiritual authority at more local levels. The region was unified into a single state, and Buddhism remained the state religion until the adoption of Confucian philosophy by the Yi Dynasty in the 15th century. Confucianism is supremely suited to highly centralized and bureaucratized state societies. In spiritual matters, the relationships between human beings and supernatural authority became more increasingly organized and bureaucratized. Shamanism was suppressed by government officials, and even local ceremonies such as ancestor veneration became more Confucianized. Shamans thus lost more and more of their former social status in Korea (Chang 1982:25-26).

The imposition of Confucian morals on Korean society had an adverse effect on the status of Korean women. Confucian philosophy displays a characteristic distrust of women as moral beings. This was reflected through accusations by Confucian officials that the mudang, or hereditary priestesses, of earlier times were scheming, lewd, divisive and immoral. Confucianism also offers a male-dominant worldview in which men serve the state and women serve men. In more ancient times, newly married men lived in the vicinity of the parents of their wives. Also, women inherited property and took active roles in ancestor veneration cults. However, male dominance led to the emergence of a tradition of partilocal residence, in which a newly married woman lives in the vicinity of her husband’s parents. Also, descent was patrilineal, being determined through male descent lines. These cultural patterns emerged in part as a result of the Confucianization of Korean society. This also led to a dichotomy in men’s rituals and women’s rituals. Men were expected to participate in more sober and solemn ceremonies such as ancestor veneration, whereas women were expected to participate in more ecstatic, less formal
rituals such as spirit possession and shamanic *kut* ceremonies. Men who engaged in ancestor worship were expected to do so in the orderly manner prescribed by Confucian orthodoxy as interpreted by Yi officials. Chesa, a pre-Confucian ritual in which wine and food are offered to household spirits, is also conducted by men, though in a Confucianized form. In time, there emerged a dichotomy in which men's rituals were associated with orthodoxy whereas rituals conducted by women were considered to be heterodox. The Korean shamanic tradition became marginalized (Harvey & Kendall 1985: 25-30).

Shamanism became a female-dominated activity, and *mansin*, or shamans, are almost exclusively women. *Mansin* experience spirit possession, predict future events, lead pilgrimages to sacred sites, and perform *kut* rituals at special shrines. Prospective *mansin* initiates experience a characteristic spiritual death and rebirth, and subsequently undergo training under experienced *mansin*. Women often consult *mansin* for advice and for visions of future events. Also, *mansin* may help certain members of a household to facilitate relations between themselves and the patron deities of the household (*ibid* 23-24). Stereotypes exist in Korea that regard *mansin* as backward, superstitious peasants, however these assumptions are often incorrect. Many *mansin* are in fact highly educated, as are many of their clients. Youngsook Harvey once conducted fieldwork at the homes of six Korean *mansin*, conducting many interviews and recording observations of *kut* rituals. Each *mansin* displayed different levels of educational achievement, marriage and youth experiences, class backgrounds, and levels of exposure to both modern influences and traditional folkways. All *mansin* were highly intelligent and observant, and were eloquent in their speech. The six *mansin* all made the conscious choice to enter the
paradox in Korean society. On one hand, there exist new opportunities for education and employment in Korea. On the other hand, there exists the persistence of restrictions on opportunities for women from both their families and from society at large. Faced with restrictions placed on their options, women, at least in more conservative areas, may gain a measure of status and influence through an institution that has, ironically, been marginalized by the state (Kendall 37-38).

Another irony is that throughout the history of Korea, clients from all strata of Korean society have sought the advice of mansin and mudang, despite official disapproval. Local government officials have themselves hired the service of shamans to carry out exorcisms, ritual sacrifices and other community rituals. Since the Second World War, and especially after industrialization and modernization of the Korean economy, several previously held assumptions have been put to question. Confucian sensibilities and some traditional ceremonial practices have experienced a sharp decline. Furthermore, the Korean shamanic tradition has, in recent times, been touted as a Korean spiritual experience by nationalists, student protestors and academics alike. There is some pressure to help salvage and preserve indigenous customs (ibid 35).

**Modern Developments In Korean Shamanism**

Shamanism has experienced resurgence in recent years, and there has emerged a new type of shamanic ceremony known as the chesu kut, or good fortune ritual. This new ritual is conducted by mansin on the behalf of clients who are concerned with their financial well-being. Mansin who perform chesu kut are sought primarily by clients who run small businesses. Credit for starting a business is difficult to obtain in Korea, due to restrictions on capital. Also, of the numerous business that fail each year, most are small
or medium-sized businesses. Therefore, there is great concern among small business owners for avoiding business failure, or for facilitating the consequences of such failure. Laurel Kendall mentions Mrs. Pok, the owner of a small flower shop in downtown Seoul. At first, business was good. However, the shop began to experience a slump in sales. Mrs. Pok consulted a shaman to help determine the reason for the poor business performance. The shaman conducted a *chesu kut*, and discovered that Mrs. Pok failed to placate her household deity. According to the shaman, Mrs. Pok's competitors were thriving at her expense because they remembered to offer sacrifices to their respective deities. The shaman then prescribed a series of rituals for Mrs. Pok in order to increase sales and protect her business from bankruptcy. In 1994, Kendall observed eighteen *chesu kut* in South Korea. Fifteen of these were sponsored by small business owners with little economic certainty. Absent were civil servants and employees of large corporations, who enjoyed more stable salaries and greater job security. The ritual is therefore a means by which small business owners attempt to influence or control certain aspects of the national economy, and to compensate for uncertainties promoted by the economic policies of the Korean government (Kendall 1996:512-528).

A kind of neo-shamanism has emerged among intellectuals and students in recent years. This neo-shamanism serves as a platform of resistance against certain government policies and protest against corrupt and out-of-touch government officials. Thus, shamanism now serves as a challenge to the political and economic status quo promoted by a centralized state that once sought to relegate shamanism to the margins of society (Atkinson 1992:314).
CHAPTER 6
ETHNIC RESURGENCE AND NEW TRADITIONS THROUGH SHAMANIC REVIVAL

Introduction

This chapter deals with the reassertion of ethnic identity and the resurgence of traditional cultural and spiritual traditions among three indigenous societies, and the role of shamanic practices in these developments. First, the chapter deals with the Enxet of Paraguay, who lost their land due to colonial expansion and development and whose shamanic traditions were suppressed by Christian missionaries. Recently, the Enxet have claimed to their homeland and expressed their claim in part by conducting shamanic ceremonies. The reassertion of their spiritual traditions and the acquisition of knowledge about Paraguayan society have increased the social self-esteem of the Enxet, and have allowed them to participate in the Paraguayan electoral process. The chapter then discusses the survival of an Inupiaq healing ceremony. This ceremony became modified due to Christian missionary influence, and now incorporates Christian symbolisms and figures. Christian missionary activity led to the Christianization of the Inupiaq of Point Hope in northern Alaska. However, reassertion of cultural values and traditions has also led to the “Inupiaqization” of Christianity in the region. God is referred to as Raven-Man, and the Biblical story of creation has been interpreted in an indigenous manner. Finally, the chapter examines the resurgence of shamanism among the Siberian Sakha. This, plus relations with the outside world, led to the emergence of shaman troupes, which travel through Sakha land to administer healing services to patients.
The Case of the Enxet of Paraguay

There is a process among numerous indigenous societies in which ethnic identity and cultural traditions are being reasserted. Native shamanic traditions have been revived, and have often served as vehicles for resistance against assimilation and cultural imperialism. The Enxet Indians of Paraguay have recently staked claims to their traditional homelands, but have historically encountered resistance to their demands from the Paraguayan government and from white settlers. Enxet territory was first visited by white settlers in the 18th century. In 1885, the government of Paraguay took possession of what it referred to as “fiscal land”, and sold this land in an effort to repay foreign debts. This land was purchased by British clients, and this led to the creation of an “Anglican Zone”. Colonization and land prospecting were relatively peaceful affairs, due in part to the efforts of the British South American Missionary Society. The Society began missionary activity among the Enxet in 1888, at the requests of British landowners and of the government of Paraguay. The Society sought to civilize and Christianize the Enxet, and to convince them to cede their homeland. Initially, progress was slow, and little success was made in stripping the Enxet of their sovereignty. However, the Chaco War of the 1930s, which pitted Paraguay against Bolivia, led to the full-scale colonization and development of Enxet land. By the middle 1940s, the homeland of the Enxet Indians was in the hands of non-Indian colonists (Kidd 1995:43-49).

The Enxet economy was based on a food-foraging subsistence strategy. This economy was decimated by the process of land appropriation, and by the advent of a new ranching industry. Epidemic diseases decimated the Enxet population. The Enxet were eventually forced by necessity to perform work for white colonists, and ended up losing
their sovereignty and independence. Epidemic diseases and loss of independence conspired to compromise the status and legitimacy of Enxet shamans, who found themselves unable to stem the crisis. Desperate measures were taken by shamans to produce results in reversing the tide of colonization and combating the diseases ravaging the Enxet, but to no avail. Currently, much of the land once occupied by the Enxet is reserved for ranching, and the Enxet are confined to a 3739-hectare reservation. However, some independent missionaries have recently purchased additional land for use by the Enxet (ibid 49-53).

Recently, stories of past exploits have become increasingly popular among the Enxet. These stories include tales of Enxet shamans successfully combating colonization of their land and loss of their sovereignty. According to one story, a group of Paraguayan soldiers once raided Enxet land, and were subsequently driven off by a swarm of wasps summoned by a shaman. Such stories serve as loci for renewed pride among the Enxet in their ethnic identity and cultural traditions, and serve as a catalyst for a new Enxet-Paraguayan discourse. Christian values once preached by government-sponsored missionaries have recently lost influence in favor of a renewed belief in the power of shamans. Also, an increasing number of Enxet are acquiring knowledge of Spanish and of Paraguayan national culture. These factors have resulted in renewed social self-confidence. In 1993, an Enxet delegation was sent to Asuncion, and demanded that more of their traditional homeland be returned to them. Members of the delegation conducted traditional Enxet dances and spiritual chants. The resurgence of Enxet shamanic tradition and acquisition of knowledge of Paraguayan society have enabled the Enxet to become
active participants in Paraguayan politics, and have helped them to regain a sense of ethnic solidarity contra Paraguayan national culture (ibid 59-62).

By the early 1990s, more Paraguayan Indians were registered to vote, and politicians realized the value of the Indian vote. At the local level, especially in the Chaco region, the Indian vote has considerable clout, which various politicians have used for personal gain (ibid 62). However, most political parties in the country have contributed little to the Enxet cause. Therefore, the Enxet are required to create a new political discourse vis-à-vis Paraguayan society at large. This new discourse must be comprehensible to the average Paraguayan citizen. The Enxet are also campaigning for more of the international support they were able to secure in recent years (ibid 74-75).

Old Traditions Resurrected, New Traditions Emergent

The Inupiaq Inuit of Point Hope in Northern Alaska are predominantly Christian, although they have retained much of their symbolic and ritual culture. The Inupiaq were originally animists, and Inupiaq shamans conducted trances and spirit journeys, cured people of illness, predicted future events, located lost objects, and communed with animal spirits in order to convince animals to sacrifice themselves for the good of the community. Contact with white explorers was established in 1820, and trade relations were established. Christian missionary activity began around 1890, beginning with the efforts of a clergyman and medical doctor named John Briggs. Briggs established the Episcopal Mission of Saint Thomas in the village of Tigara. Another missionary, Reginald Hoare, arrived in 1908. Both missionaries were quite adamant about convincing the local population to accept Christianity, and to adopt “modern” innovations. Most of the Inuit of the area assumed cordial relations with the missionaries, and enthusiastically
accepted the creed taught to them. The missionaries acquainted the local population to modern medicine, and protected them from economic exploitation by whalers and traders who abused them. The modern medicine was especially welcome by the Inupiaq, who were suffering from epidemic diseases and undergoing a marked population decline at the time (Turner 1989:3-7).

But there was a price for the services of the missionaries. The spiritual traditions of the Inupiaq were condemned by the missionaries. The activities of local shamans were repressed. Eventually, boarding schools were established in which the English language and white colonial culture were taught. Native cultural and linguistic traditions were suppressed. This led to the development of a new Episcopal culture among the Inupiaq. This promoted the modification of the traditional Inupiaq healing tradition, though not its abolition. The supernatural beings of the Inupiaq pantheon were supplanted by the Judeo-Christian God. Modern medical procedures were employed along with traditional herbal and bloodletting techniques. Inupiaq midwives endowed with spiritual healing powers were still sought by clients for their services. Two well-known midwives were Beatrice Vincent and Daisy Umittuk. These modified healing services resembled Catholic exorcisms in some respects. So-called “tribal doctors” emerged. These doctors employed both modern medical techniques and traditional curing ceremonies, and were sought by clients on a contract basis. There is now a degree of ambivalence about shamanism in the opinions of many Inupiaq elders. On the one hand, these elders take pride in what they refer to as “good shamanism”, with its emphasis on healing. This tradition has survived by way of the emergent healing system employed by “tribal doctors”. However, there exists a concept of “bad shamanism” associated with devil worship. Also, it is the Holy
Spirit that endows individuals with shamanic powers, rather than the spirit beings of old (ibid 8-11).

In recent years, there has been renewed interest, among the Inupiaq Inuit in their cultural and spiritual traditions. Subsistence hunting, the Inupiaq language, community festivals and religious traditions have all experienced a revival in recent times. The Point Hope Episcopal mission church has been “Inuitized” to a certain degree, with Reverend Donald Oktollik becoming its first Inupiaq pastor. Later, an Assemblies of God church was established in the area. This church, with its emphasis on speaking in tongues and possession by the Holy Spirit, attracted a large Inupiaq congregation. With renewed interest in spirit possession and magical flight, the Assemblies of God church became a very popular institution. Christianity in the area assumed an Inupiaq flavor, and people began to call God by the name Tulungigraq, or Raven Man. A number of Christian teachings were interpreted into Inupiaq contexts. The fall of man was explained by the emergence of evil shamans, and the separation of the land from the waters was attributed to Raven Man drawing the land out of the primordial sea with a harpoon (ibid 11-12).

Modern Inupiaq healers deal with a variety of ailments, including bone fractures, headaches, stomach ailments, skin sores and problems associated with pregnancy. Herbs and sea oils are employed in rituals that involve invocations and “drawing out of spirits”. Nine Inupiaq shaman-healers currently live in Point Hope, and two more individuals are training to become healers. Anthropologist Edith Turner observed forty-six modern healing rituals while conducting fieldwork in the region. Most of the ailments were injury-related, while others involved liver and stomach problems, skin rashes, and gynecological conditions. Forty-one of these curing rituals were successful, according to
Turner's account. This new shaman-healing tradition displays six characteristics. First, there is a measure of clairvoyance. Second, a helping spirit is invoked to aid in the recovery of a patient. In this case, supernatural helpers include Jesus and the Holy Spirit. Third, the healing ceremony involves the drawing out of an offending agent, a characteristic of older Inupiaq shaman-curing rituals. Fourth, spiritual energy is channeled through the hands of the healer. Fifth, there exists a sense of rapport between healer, patient and supernatural agent. Finally, proper positioning and manipulation are essential for a successful ceremony. This was also the case among pre-contact healers (*ibid* 13-16). In this case, a group of Christian missionaries attempted to modernize an indigenous people by converting them to Christianity. This process involved the suppression of local cultural and spiritual traditions. However, the natives were able to retain some of their symbolic culture by creating a new healing tradition that blends Christian and indigenous spiritual elements. More recently, the Inupiaq became interested in their cultural and spiritual traditions, and began reasserting these traditions. This helped to create a sense of social solidarity. Furthermore, Christianity in the area has become to a certain extent "Inuitized", and indigenous spiritual traditions have likewise become Christianized.

There has also been renewed interest in shamanism among the Sakha of Siberia. During the Soviet period, shamans were blacklisted by the central government and accused of exploiting local superstitions for personal gain. Shamanic outfits and equipment were confiscated by government authorities, and were either publicly destroyed or transferred to museums throughout the country. Many shamans were arrested and sent to labor camps. Others were executed or interred in psychiatric wards.
where they were forcefully administered a variety of mind-altering medications. Still, the Sakha continued holding shamanic ceremonies, albeit underground, and out of sight of local officials. Also, a number of stories circulated among the Sakha during the Soviet period, and involve the exploits of famous shamans. Anthropologist Marjorie M. Balzer collected a number of these stories while conducting fieldwork in Siberia during the early 1990s. One story involves Nikon, a shaman who once transformed himself into a tree branch while in the process of being arrested by local officials. Another story concerns Alykhardaakh, a local shaman who once invited a group of government officials to a séance. While in a trance, the shaman summoned water, and the officials found themselves standing ankle-deep in a puddle of water. The shaman then reached into the water and pulled out a fish. According to the informant, this incident convinced the officials never to bother the shaman again. These stories served as catalysts for resistance to assimilation and Sovietization during the communist period, and subsequently served to promote a greater awareness of Sakha identity and culture.

After the dissolution of the Soviet state, there emerged a revival of Sakha spiritual traditions and a renewed interest in shamanism, especially among the young. As among the Inupiaq discussed earlier, the reemergence of Sakha traditions spawned a number of new ceremonies. A new shamanic curing ceremony has emerged, which blends traditional curing techniques with modern medical procedures. In the Abyi region of eastern Siberia, there is a program known as the Association of Folk Medicine. This organization organizes groups of shamans who travel to different areas to administer services. There has also been a revival of Ysyakh, an annual communal event involving the blessings of domestic deer herds and the sacrifice of large quantities of mare’s milk.
The *Ysyakh* ceremony, overseen by a group of senior shamans, has been declared a regional holiday. During a recent *Ysyakh* ceremony, some participants are quoted as having shouted the following: “I am Sakha! I am here in and with this land!” (Balzer 1997:38-39).
CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSION

This paper has sought, utilizing a diverse collection of case studies, to explore the numerous and complex relationships that have arisen between shamanism and the state. The case studies were selected because of their diversity and because they serve to illustrate the many outcomes that are possible when shamans and states interact. Different types of shamans react to state intervention in different manners, and specific social and political conditions and official worldviews can help determine whether states either accommodate or attempt to suppress shamanism. For example, the adoption of the Confucian worldview by the Chinese and Korean courts and the subsequent emergence of male-dominant social relationships have led to the suppression of shamanism in those societies, except at local levels. On the other hand, increased emphasis by United States policy toward Native Americans on accommodation of traditional spiritual and cultural values, rather than the earlier assimilation, has facilitated the resurgence of older spiritual traditions, including shamanism.

At times, relations between the two have been relatively cordial, and thus shamanism was at times able to exist within the context of the centralized state. For example, shamans enjoyed a high degree of social and political status in Korea and China prior to the adoption of Confucian doctrines by the two states. Shamans provided a number of services to the ruling elites, including the divination of future events, the exorcizing of illness-causing agents, and the maintenance of relations between humans and the supernatural. In return for their services, official shamans enjoyed the favor of the Chinese and Korean courts. However, relations between shamans and centralized states
have also been antagonistic. The adoption of Confucianism by the Chinese state in the 5th century, and by the Korean Yi Dynasty in the 15th century, led to the suppression of official shamans and a decline in the status of shamanism in the two countries. In China, this process led many would-be shamans to align themselves with the Taoist movement. The development of a Taoist canon led to the official recognition of Taoism by the Chinese ruling elite. Korean society became increasingly patriarchal under the new Confucian aegis, and the institution of shamanism became dominated by women. Shamans were able to practice their profession openly in villages and towns, but shamanic rituals sponsored by social and political elites had to be carried out in secret.

Antagonistic relations between states and shamans often resulted in the emergence of millenarian movements. Confinement to reservations, appropriation of indigenous homelands, and suppression of indigenous cultural and spiritual traditions promoted the popularity of Wovokas’ Ghost Dance movement among numerous Native American societies. Especially desperate conditions caused by government policies and military force led to the emergence of a particularly militant version of the Ghost Dance among the Lakota. Likewise, Russian colonialism and attempts at assimilation aided in the development of Chot Chelpan’s Burkhanist movement. Furthermore, the influence of missionary activity led to the absorption of Judeo-Christian dogmas and symbolisms into the structures of some millenarian movements. Christian influence likewise led to the emergence of Peyotism, a religion which combines Christian and Native American spiritual elements, as well as the emergence of the movement founded by Kenekuk, the Kickapoo shaman-prophet.
In some cases, shamans have been able to function quite well in state societies, despite official antagonism toward their vocations. This is possible especially when shamans are knowledgeable of the social, legal and political structures of surrounding state societies and enjoy support networks both among their own communities and on the outside. For example, the Ecuadorian shaman Sebastian Carlos Gavino was able to use his spiritual influence and knowledge of the colonial judicial system to attain a local political office. This occurred despite protests from both whites and Indians. Likewise, the Enxet Indians of Paraguay have regained a measure of social pride through recourse to their shamanic traditions and stories. This has enabled the Enxet to participate in Paraguayan politics, and to stake claims to their ancestral homeland. Another example of this can be seen in the emergence of Peyotism. Native American proponents of the new religion were able to use their knowledge of the United States legal system to secure federal recognition for the new faith. Also, proponents of Peyotism enjoyed the support of a sympathetic Congress, which sought to accommodate the new religion by invoking the first amendment of the U.S. Constitution, despite protests from both Christian missionaries and a House of Representatives hostile to the new religion.

Attempts at assimilation by both states and Christian missionaries led to modifications in traditional shamanic practices, as well as the emergence of new ones. The Inupiaq Inuit of northern Alaska engaged in relations with missionaries who tried to suppress their spiritual and cultural traditions. However, shamanic elements were able to survive the process of Christianization. An Inupiaq curing ceremony incorporated Christian symbolism, and thus survived the scrutiny by Christian missionaries. Also, the establishment of an Assemblies of God Church, with its emphasis on speaking in tongues
and communion with the Holy Spirit, offered the Inupiaq an institution in which they could engage in spirit possessions and journeys to spiritual realms. Not only have the Inupiaq been Christianized, but Christianity in the region has adopted an Inupiaq spiritual element as well. Furthermore, changes in United States government policies with regard to indigenous cultural and spiritual traditions have allowed the Inupiaq to reclaim their language, religion and culture. During the Soviet era, the Siberian Sakha were able to maintain their spiritual traditions through the circulation of stories of the exploits of famous Sakha shamans. Government suppression of shamanism forced shamans to practice their trade underground. However, with the collapse of the Soviet state and the easing of restrictions on religious traditions, shamanism was able to mount a comeback in Siberia. New shamanic traditions emerged out of this process. For example, groups of shamans travel through Sakha land in groups and offer curing services that blend shamanic practices and modern medicine. Also, the traditional Ysyakh festival was recently declared a regional holiday.

Interaction between shamanisms and state societies encompasses a wide variety of complex and often paradoxical relationships between the two. Depending on given circumstances, these relationships can result in a variety of outcomes. Shamanisms may be suppressed or modified, or they may be able to operate within state societies openly. The case studies discussed above help to illustrate the principle that conflict between and within social groups can both promote intragroup solidarity, as is the case with the Enxet and with the nativistic movements discussed earlier, and promote cultural change, as was discussed in the Inupiaq, Sakha and modern Korean cases. Coser (1956) and Gluckman (1968) both maintain that conflict in human societies is not a rarity, but is quite common,
and need not necessarily lead exclusively to negative consequences. Shaman-state relations have produced much conflict, and this has had positive as well as negative consequences for individuals and societies that practice shamanism.

This thesis has attempted to discuss shamanism from a sociopolitical point of view, and to examine shaman-state relationships from a new perspective utilizing the conflict theory expounded by Coser and Gluckman. The case studies discussed above illustrate that shamanism and the state writ large interact with one another in a variety of ways, depending on specific political and social circumstances. It is the desire of the author to contribute to an understanding of the relationships between states and shamanisms, and to help promote further research in this area. A further aim of the author is to help promote the examination of specific shamanic traditions within their respective social and political contexts, to determine and study the characteristics shared by these traditions, and how they govern shamanism in general.
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