

## **Trends in Contemporary Research on Shamanism**

Thomas A. DuBois, University of Wisconsin-Madison

*Not for citation without permission*

Nearly two decades ago, Jane Atkinson (1992) could express surprise and certain satisfaction at the reinvigorated research on shamanism that she noted in her review of the field. Scholars like Atkinson herself had breathed new life in a term that many scholars had considered a relic of the history of the discipline alone, finding new communities and contexts in which to explore the intricacies and nuances of localized shamanic traditions. Today, at the outset of 2010, one can see that the trends Atkinson noted have only continued to grow in importance, with valuable research ongoing within a number of different theoretical frameworks and a marked increase in scholarly and popular publication venues, including new presses and journals and a burgeoning internet presence for shamanic topics. The field has witnessed an unabated ethnographic exploration of “shamanisms” (a term intended to reflect the particularizing ethnographic trends Atkinson noted), with new and fascinating research on various aspects of shamanic healing, music, material culture, gender, revitalization, and relations with the state, and increasing research that attempts to reconstruct past shamanisms through historical, ethnographic and/or archaeological evidence. New trends which were only nascent at the time of Atkinson’s review have now blossomed into full-fledged scholarly enterprises, such as the vein of research I shall term below the “rhetorical approach,” i.e., the scholarly examination of the development of *shamanism* itself as a scholarly term and academic construct, particularly as a reflection of broader trends within the academic study of religion and anthropology. The scholarly study of the cognitive science of religion, novel and appealing in Atkinson’s early 1990s, has steadily grown in influence and acceptance in the academic examination of shamanism. Finally, an area which Atkinson covered literally as a postscript to her review—the study of neoshamanism as a religious movement and as a reflection of the role of ethnographic literature in the Western romantic engagement with the “primitive”—has become a major area of scholarly inquiry, with insightful studies by scholars both critical of neoshamanic phenomena and (increasingly) by scholars sympathetic to its goals or motivations. In the last decade particularly, scholars of religion have begun to explore neoshamanism’s use of ethnographic data, its underlying philosophical premises, and the practices and communities constituted or drawn together by neoshamanic activities. The present paper surveys various trends in shamanic research since the publication of Atkinson’s review and highlights some of the productive directions scholars are moving in their investigation of past or present shamanisms, neoshamanisms, and the relation of such phenomena to state and intellectual institutions.

It should be noted that part of what I shall discuss below is drawn from my recent overview of past and present studies of shamanism *An Introduction to Shamanism* (DuBois 2009). Whereas that volume, however, presents the field as it developed from the medieval period to the present, with a strong focus on the evolution of scholarly understandings of shamanic traditions over time, the current review focuses only on the most recent developments, some of which were too new or provisional for inclusion in a volume designed to serve as an introduction to the field.

### *Particularized ethnographic approaches*

By adopting Holmberg's (1983) use of the term "shamanisms" in her review, Atkinson sought to underscore a key component of the renewed anthropological interest in shamanic traditions in the 1990s: a turning away from broader examinations of shamanism as an overarching, superorganic phenomenon (Eliade's "archaic technique" or various other atemporal and culture-transcendent approaches) in favor of close ethnographic examinations of the experiences and perceptions of particular shamans in particular cultural settings. By pluralizing the term, Atkinson reminded readers of this more delimited ethnographic focus and the theoretical and disciplinary dispositions it reflected. Such research was to be regarded as a "corrective" to earlier synthetic theories.

An impressive number of culture-specific ethnographies have thus emerged in the last two decades, aimed at describing shamanism within particular cultural settings. Many of these have focused on Asian communities (Her 2005, Lardinois 2007, Nicoletti 2004, Omar 2006, Ortner 1995, Peters 2004, Purev and Purvee 2004, Riboli 2000, Smyers 1999); Chilson and Knecht's anthology *Shamans in Asia* (2003) is a particularly fine presentation of specific historically-inflected ethnographic case studies in this area. Laura Kendall's (1995) case study of a single Korean woman's initiation into a shamanic role provides a fascinating glimpse of the individual experiences and social dynamics too often obscured in broader studies. The work *Shamans and Elders: Experience, Knowledge and Power among the Daur Mongols* (1996), written by Caroline Humphrey with her Daur Mongol collaborator Urgunge Onon represents a model for engaged, complex examination of shamanic traditions within a given cultural milieu. It also serves as a useful illustration of the ways in which scholars from outside a shamanic tradition can work with native authorities from within to produce works rich in ethnographic detail and historical nuance. Together, these various works depict traditional shamanisms gripped in processes of change, as Asian societies negotiate a balance between traditional modes of spirituality and healing and the allures or pressures of an increasingly globalized, technologically advanced world.

Specific or comparative ethnographies of shamanism in North and South America have also continued to appear in the last two decades as well, although these are often more focused on a single research question (e.g., Cayon 2008,

Crepeau 2007, Furst 2006, Lenaerts 2006). Ana Mariella Bacigalupo's various works (1998, 2001, 2004) explore Mapuche *machi* shamans in Chile, attending to similar questions of cultural change and its effects on shamanic traditions. Her 2004 study of gender transgression represents a useful and evocative contribution to the discussion of shamanic gender discussed below. Schaefer and Furst's (1996) volume on Huichol culture provides a fine-grained overview of Huichol peyote rituals and the role of the *mara'akáme* in past and present Mexico. Neil Whitehead's (2002) ethnography of *kanaimà* and Whitehead and Wright's (2004) anthology of works on Amazonian assault sorcery explore shamanic aggression in specific cultural traditions, tying such ritual assault to the complexities of Amazonia's colonial and postcolonial history. A number of other excellent ethnographies of North and South American shamanisms are discussed below.

Given the plethora of specific examinations, a number of scholars have sought to create overarching works that help readers access the burgeoning scholarship in the field. Graham Harvey's *Indigenous Religions: A Companion* (2000), Harvey's *Shamanism: A Reader* (2002), Norman Bancroft Hunt's *Shamanism in North America* (2002), and Namba and Fridman's *Shamanism: An Encyclopedia of World Beliefs, Practices, and Culture* all seek to help the reader negotiate the bewildering array of studies that have appeared in recent years. Naturally, such overarching texts can seldom convey the full richness of the particularist research described above; nonetheless, they can serve as valuable works of first resort to researchers and generalists interested in exploring a new topic.

### *Particularist subfields*

In connection with the ethnographic shift toward situated specific case studies has come a focus on particular topics within shamanism, such as healing, narrative, music, material culture, gender, and ethnobotany. While such studies may be published in journals of religion or anthropology, they may also appear in the journals of other disciplines, and reflect the widened scholarly discussion of shamanism today.

Some of the most exciting research in the particularist vein in the last two decades has occurred in the ethnography of healing. Although scholars of shamanism have long recognized the importance of healing as a context and purpose of shamanic rituals, earlier research was often tinged by scholarly skepticism regarding the efficacy of shamanic rituals and sometimes an open hostility toward practitioners as charlatans or self-deluded neurotics. A shift toward the exploration of shamanic healing as a socially-negotiated process within a shaman's wider community was well underway at the time of Atkinson's 1992 review, finding expression in studies of shamanic rituals as therapeutic acts or, in the cognitive science vein, exploring the possible psychological or physiological mechanisms of such events as instances of symbolic healing, social bonding, endorphin release, or catharsis (for summary, see DuBois 2009, 133-150). In the

last two decades, the exploration of shamanic healing as therapy has continued to attract researchers, with many new studies appearing in the field of medical anthropology and related disciplines (e.g., Sasamori 1997, Scherberger 2005, Sidky 2009). Particularly enlightening are Laderman and Roseman's anthology *The Performance of Healing* (1995) and Connor and Samuel's (2001) *Healing Powers and Modernity*, both of which can serve as excellent introductions into the ethnographic complexities of (shamanic) healing events.

The area of narrative has attracted a number of excellent studies in recent years, including Gregory Maskarinec's (1995) study of Nepalese shamanic oratory, Malotki and Gary's (2001) anthology of Hopi narratives, and Cesarino's (2006) study of poetic parallelism in South American shamanic utterances. Kira Van Deusen's (1999, 2004) collections of contemporary shamanic narratives within post-Soviet Siberia are also noteworthy and tie in with wider discussions of shamanic revitalizations and neoshamanism discussed below, particularly with reference to the post-socialist world.

Methodologically distinct from these studies of narrative are ethnomusicological examinations of shamanic music and musical equipment (e.g., Aubert 2006, During 2006, Lecomte 2006, Lee 2004, Potapov 1999, Walraven 1994, Williams 1995). Particularly noteworthy as examinations of shamanic music in a context of massive cultural change are Marina Roseman's various studies of Malaysian Temiar music-making (1995, 2001), extensions and refinements of her earlier *Healing Sounds from the Malaysian Rainforest* (1991). While all of these studies focus on particular shamanic traditions and their associated musical performances, various scholars have examined the psychological or neurophysiological effects of music more generally (e.g., Becker 2001, Jourdain 2006, Levitin 2006). The study of music's emotional and physical effects parallels the wider cognitive scientific examinations of shamanism described below.

Likewise, material culture has attracted a number of recent particularist studies, including Barbara Liff's excellent examinations of Tlingit shamanic kits (1994, 1997) and Peter Furst's (2007) examination of Huichol shamanic yarn paintings. A team of scholars led by Juha Pentikäinen assembled a fascinating and diverse array of Siberian shamanic items for museum display; the catalogue from the exhibition is a good source for the study of shamanic art (Pentikäinen et al. 1998). Barre Toelken (2003) offers insights on the ethics of displaying Native American shamanic art. Robin Ridington and Dennis Hastings (In'aska) (1997) explore the issues of repatriation in connection with particular sacred objects belonging to the Omaha people of Nebraska.

While material culture has received greater attention in recent years than ever before, the scholarly examination of entheogens—psychoactive or hallucinogenic substances consumed for sacred purposes—remains of perennial interest, both among scholars and among popular readers. Overview works abound, both in print and on the Internet (e.g., Erowid 2007, Ott 1993, Pinchback 2002, Rättsch 2005, Schultes *et al.* 2001). While attention to long familiar entheogens such

as opium and tobacco continues (e.g., Booth 1998, Von Gernet 2000, Westmeyer 2004), ayahuasca has attracted considerable interest as an element of traditional Amazonian shamanisms (e.g., Bennett 1992), and as cross-over entheogens for neoshamanic movements (Grob 1999, Luna and White 2000, Metzner 1999, Shanon 2002). The contrasts between traditional shamanic uses of entheogens is illustrated nicely in Stacey Schaefer's (1996) examination of Huichol peyote rituals, while the edited volume *Dangerous Harvest: Drug Plants and the Transformation of Indigenous Landscapes* (Steinberg *et al.* 2004) explores the sometimes devastating economic effects that can accompany the shift of an entheogen from ritual object to lucrative cash crop. More so than virtually any other aspect of contemporary shamanism, the study of entheogens ties shamanic traditions closely to wider discussions of community-state relations, globalization, and economic networks.

A final long-standing element of earlier scholarship on shamanism—the examination of gender and sexuality in relation to shamanic callings—has received much needed reevaluation in the last two decades. Especially noteworthy is the longstanding collaborative work of Françoise Morin and Bernard Saladin d'Anglure, who have compared two disparate shamanic cultures over time, combining the particularist tendency of modern ethnographic research with the comparative and generalizing aims of earlier scholarship. Their comparisons of Peruvian Shipibo shamans and counterparts among Canadian Inuit explore a range of topics related to spiritual marriage, gender change, and sexualized relations with spirit helpers (Morin and Saladin d'Anglure 1998, 2003; Morin 2007). Examination of gender performance among Native American peoples has also received valuable reappraisals (e.g., Hollimon 2001, Jacobs *et al.* 1997, Roscoe 1998, Lang 1998). In a related but slightly different vein, Barbara Tedlock (2004) has examined the gender biases of past ethnographers to suggest that scholarly descriptions of past shamanisms have tended to trivialize or marginalize female practitioners, obscuring the roles of women as shamans in various traditions around the world.

While particularizing scholars have succeeded in adding tremendous nuance and refinement to the universalizing pronouncements of earlier scholarship, they have not succeeded in rendering inductive approaches obsolete, at either the scholarly or the popular level. In fact, given that many of the specific ethnographic case studies generated in the last two decades confirm in one way or another some details of earlier universalizing models, new ethnographies can sometimes buttress rather than undermine superorganic characterizations. Further, a focus on specific elements of a culture's shamanic tradition (e.g., its healing methods, music, material culture, or gender performances) can reinforce the assumption that there exist specific therapeutic, musical, material, or gender aspects of shamanism that operate cross-culturally, perhaps deriving from a single past tradition or from a neurologically constituted primal source. In practice, then, the particularist enterprise within ethnographic studies of shamanism has not put an end to the concept of shamanism as an element of both scholarly and popular discourse.

*Historicized and Politicized approaches*

The particularist approach has also spawned a wealth of research on past shamanisms, case studies reconstructed on the basis of ethnographic, historical, or even archaeological evidence. Particularly in the field of archaeology, as we shall note, these reconstructions have sometimes spurred heated debate. From the perspective of the historical examination of colonialism, many accounts of past shamanic traditions provide important insights into the ways in which indigenous cultures were altered and refigured by invading regimes. Studies of the fate of shamans within particular historical settings have been examined particularly in connection with Native America, past and present Siberia, and post-war Korea. These histories have also sometimes served as backdrops for examinations of indigenous efforts to revitalize discontinued shamanic traditions. And in a series of studies which I label the “rhetorical approach,” scholars have turned their historical scrutiny upon themselves, examining the development, spread, and intellectual implications of the very study of shamanism as a topic of research.

### *Historical Reconstructions*

The last two decades have seen a tremendous increase in the number of examinations of past shamanic traditions. Previously, such studies were relatively rare, as ethnographic research focused primarily on the synchronic description of fast-disappearing indigenous cultures, and scholars of other fields—e.g., Classics, history, and philology—were often unaware of, or uninterested in, the notion of shamanism as a widespread cultural practice. Thus, for example, where scholars prior to the 1960s produced only a handful of studies examining possible shamanic traditions among Viking Age Scandinavians, the last two decades has seen numerous lengthy and detailed examinations of the topic (e.g., DuBois 1999; Jolly, Raudvere and Peters 2002; Price 2002; Solli 2002; Tolley 2009). Part of this increase stems from the rise in prominence and accessibility of ethnographic research on shamanism, leading to its application to historical contexts studied by scholars that formerly had no familiarity with the theories or findings of ethnographers. Part of the increase also lies, however, in the particularist ethnographic interest in uncovering and documenting as many unique past religions as possible, even ones buried in the remote past and reflected by cryptic or misleading ancient texts. Thus, examinations of ancient Greek (Athanasakis 2001), Sámi (Mebius 2003, Rydving 1995), Finnish (Siikala 2002), and various other past European traditions have appeared, sometimes spurring ethno-neoshamanic revivals (see below). Harvey and Wallis’s *Historical Dictionary of Shamanism* (2007) serves as a reference work for the study of such scholarly reconstructions.

### *Archaeological Reconstructions*

Closely linked to the interest in reconstructing past shamanisms is a movement within archaeology to examine possible traces of past shamanisms in the archaeological record, particularly in rock art depictions that might be interpreted as representing shamanic practitioners, spirit helpers, or even trance state perceptions. Although suggestions of this kind were made occasionally by earlier scholars (e.g. Lommel 1967) the enterprise received new impetus with the work of

David Lewis-Williams (2001, 2002), who used present ethnographic details of San shamanic rituals and conceptualizations as a basis for reading and interpreting past San rock art. The wider implications of this theory for archaeology were explored in a further study co-authored with Jean Clottes (Clottes and Lewis-Williams 2001), pushing the time-frame deep into the past. Although a number of other scholars both within and outside of the field of archaeology have embraced these ideas enthusiastically (e.g., Aldhouse-Green 2005, Brady 1994, Coe *et al.* 1996, Freidel *et al.* 1995, Pearson 2002), others have voiced strong criticisms of the methodology or validity of such investigations (Francfort and Hamayon 2001, see especially Bahn 2001, Francfort 2001; Klein *et al.* 2002). A careful weighing of the potential and perils of such research is presented in an anthology edited by Neil Price (2001), particularly the included articles by Devlet (2001) and Rozwadowski (2001). See also the various printed responses to Klein *et al.* (2002) that accompany the article in publication. The vigorous debate (and occasional invective) surrounding this topic in archaeological literature over the past two decades stems in part from the strongly materialist approach of earlier archaeologists and their skepticism concerning attribution of religious significance to recovered artifacts or art. As archaeologists of recent decades have begun to interpret various, often cryptic, objects or depictions as evidence of possible past cultic activities, it is natural that other scholars would respond with caution or even alarm. The coming decade is likely to see a good deal more discussion of archaeological shamanisms and perhaps the development of a scholarly consensus regarding meaningful and accurate ways of recognizing past shamanic activities in archaeological evidence. As with the historical reconstructions described above, these archaeological forays have proven of great interest to generalist readers and have sometimes found enthusiastic response in various neoshamanic movements.

### *State Relations*

The historical predilection in much recent research on shamanism has led to a valuable and far-ranging exploration of the relations of past shamans with larger institutions, particularly states. Shamans often became symbols of indigenous resistance to colonial powers and worldviews, and their authority was often directly challenged and undermined by incoming religious authorities as well as the social disintegration and occasional epidemic disease that often accompanied colonization. Rebecca Kugel's (1994) fine study of an Ojibwe community, for instance, employs a missionary's diary and other historical documents from the nineteenth century to explore the reasons behind initial Ojibwe resistance to missionization, and the cultural factors that combined to stigmatize a particular Anglo-American missionary. Similar topics are explored variously in an edited volume by Nicholas Thomas and Caroline Humphrey (1994), with examinations that range from antiquity to the near-present. Humphrey's (1994) model of the relations of shamanism to broader state-supported cults in Northern Asia is of particular interest and value. Other recent examinations explore further shaman-state relations in Asian contexts (e.g., Buyandelgeriyn 2007, Ortner 1995), and particularly in Korea, where the attitudes of state regimes to shamanic traditions

have varied widely over the course of the last century (Kendall 2001, Tangherlini 1998, Yun 2008). Particular scholarly attention has been paid to the case of Siberia, from the era of the pre-revolutionary Russian empire (Glavatskaya 2001) through the development and eventual breakdown of the Soviet state (Balzer 1997, 1999, Basilov 1997), to the revitalizations and neoshamanic experiments of the present (Grusman 2006, Hoppál 1992, Hutton 2001, Miller 1999, Reid 2002, Vitebsky 2005). In the American context, studies of state cooption and control of indigenous sacred spaces (Burton 2002) as well as various examinations of shamanic traditions vis-à-vis the law (e.g., O'Brien 2004) examine the difficulties of maintaining indigenous traditions in a postcolonial situation. All such research contributes integrally to the particularist approach to shamanic traditions described above, and reveals the complex relations between shamanic (or broader religious) traditions and state or societal politics as described by Fitzgerald (2000).

### *Revitalizations*

Given the rapid and sometimes violent suppression of shamanisms in past colonial encounters, it is not surprising that indigenous communities today have occasionally sought to revive lapsed or moribund shamanic traditions. Scholars have examined these revitalization movements variously in the past two decades, with many fine insights into the role of shamanism as a symbol or device of cultural identity. Particularly valuable in the North American context has been the work of Robin Ridington (Ridington 1997, Ridington and Hastings 1997) on attempts to repatriate and revitalize shamanic cult objects among Omaha people as well as Robert Sullivan's (2002) journalistic account of the revival of Makaw whaling. Post-Soviet Siberian revitalizations are explored in a number of the works described above, while Mongush Kenin-Lopsan (1997) presents the materials and justification for Tuvan revitalization as a leader of the movement in his country. A fascinating ethnography by Virlana Tkacz *et al.* (2002) presents Buryat shamanic revitalization through the lens of a close ethnography of a single ritual event, examining the complexities of training, ritual performance, and interpretation in a revived tradition.

### *Rhetorical Approach*

As Atkinson made clear in her 1992 review, the particularist interest in close examination of specific shamanic traditions went hand-in-hand with an anthropological critique of the very notion of "shamanism" as an overly generalized, empirically flawed relic of earlier anthropological theorizing. Atkinson was able to cite Gloria Flaherty's (1992) then-newly published examination of the intellectual development of the concept of shamanism in eighteenth-century letters and science as a useful history of the construct. Flaherty's seminal work paved the way for a great many subsequent examinations of shamanism as a product of Western theorizing, often framed in terms of a Foucauldian notion of discourse and referring to shamanism as a "construct," "idea," "notion," or "metaphor"—terms that assert the existence of shamanism primarily or even solely in the imagination of Western scholars (e.g., Hamayon 1993, 2001; Hultkrantz 1998, 2001; Hutton 2001; Jones



2006; Leete 1999; Narby and Huxley 2001; von Schnurbein 2003; Schröder 2007; Svanberg 2003; Znamenski 2004). At its most strident (e.g., Kehoe 2000, Noel 1997), this critique of the term *shamanism* and the scholarly enterprise that has long employed it represents the construct as an unconscious expression of Western racism, a willful denial of the complexity of “primitive” religions and the reduction of their diversity to a simplistic unity that can be effectively contrasted with more favored constructs like “Christianity.” As such, critiques of this sort can be viewed as part of a larger critical deconstruction of the study of anthropology (Clifford and Marcus 1986, Clifford 1988) as well as religion (Fitzgerald 2000, Gold 2003, Jensen and Rothstein 2000, Kippenberg 2002, McCutcheon 1997) in Western academe. Within the rhetorical approach to shamanism, however, other scholars (e.g., von Stuckrad 2002, 2003; Znamenski 2007) have adopted a more benign interpretation of scholars’ imaginings, one which they apply as well to the phenomenon of neoshamanism (see below), regarding it as a direct outgrowth of Western scholarly imaginings of primitive religion, nature, and spirituality.

The critique of scholarly generalizations regarding shamans and shamanism has received interesting examinations aimed at teasing out some of the underlying cultural or political assumptions at work in past or recent scholarship (e.g., von Schnurbein 1992, 2003). The viewpoints and blinders of Mircea Eliade have been meticulously examined (e.g., Allen 1998, Berger 1994, Tedlock 2004, Znamenski 2007). Lyle Dick (1995) deconstructs the popular academic construct of “arctic hysteria” in connection with Inuit people, while Antonia Mills and Richard Slobodin (1994) reveal the ways in which scholars’ unfamiliarity with concepts of incarnation led them to underreport it as an element of many Native American indigenous religions. Both Tedlock (2001) and Winkelmann and Peek (2004) have sought to raise scholarly respect for divination, an element of shamanic traditions again often marginalized in theoretical syntheses after Eliade. The combined weight of such studies reveals the degree to which seemingly objective past scholarship was actually often laced with political, cultural, and social agendas, ones which scholars were reticent about acknowledging in their work or in the writings of their colleagues.

### *Transcendent and Cognitive Approaches*

While the particularist investigation of specific shamanisms continued at an unprecedented rate over the past two decades, a certain number of scholars working within the history of religions paradigm continued to examine shamanism as a transcendent phenomenon (e.g., Hoppál and Pentikäinen 1992; Pentikäinen *et al.* 1998, 2001; Ripinsky-Naxon 1993, Siikala and Hoppál 1992, Vitebsky 1995). I label this vein of research “transcendent” not because the authors in any way portray shamanism as atemporal; in fact, many of the scholars lay stress on the fact that shamanism as characterized in their works resulted from specific historical processes occurring in particular locales over the centuries. Rather, by “transcendent” I mean to suggest that scholars focus on aspects of shamanism recoverable at a level of abstraction beyond the close ethnographic details of

particularist research. By comparing different shamanisms as they are found in various, sometimes quite disparate, locales, it becomes possible to arrive at inductive syntheses that can be regarded as indicative of a source shamanic tradition that has diffused or migrated over time to different populations and environments. Scholars have sought to test and refine the models of earlier researchers, examining commonalities that occur with frequency cross-culturally. Although many particularist scholars criticize such research as conjectural or abstract, it remains a fact that many particularist studies rely in their basic conceptualizations and terminology on past transcendent syntheses. Scholars who employ the terms *shaman* or *shamanism* at all in their research bear witness to the utility of such formulations as convenient and useful means of describing the stable as well as the variable elements of various indigenous religions.

Whereas such transcendent approaches to shamanism have been greatly overshadowed within anthropology and other ethnographic sciences by particularist scholarship, scholars working in the burgeoning field of the cognitive science of religion (e.g., Austin 2006, Hubbard 2002, McKinney 1994, Newberg *et al.* 2001, Ramachandran and Blakeslee 1998, Rossano 2007, Tremlin 2006, Walsh 1997, Whitehouse 2004, Whitehouse and McCauley 2005, Winkelman 1992, 2000) are often quite comfortable with approaching shamanism through an inductively derived cross-cultural model. Regarding shamanic altered state experiences and other elements of shamanic traditions identified within past inductive scholarship as products of brain function and neural architecture, such scholars can posit techniques or experiences that could recur in various cultures or locales over time without needing to assume historical diffusion or transfer. Because shamanism as theoretically defined centers on particular altered states of consciousness, it offers a seemingly ideal test case for the examination of the relation of spiritual experiences and brain function. Further, because of its apparent antiquity as inductively reconstructed, shamanism has been examined as a stage in the overall evolution of human religious consciousness (e.g., Hayden 2003, McClenon 2002). Whereas many of the researchers listed above write about religious experiences in general, Michael Winkelman (e.g., 1992, 2000; Winkelman and Baker 2008) focuses on shamanism in particular, and is regarded as the leading authority in this area. The insights of cognitive research have been met with interest in many scholarly circles, although, as Bulkeley (2008) notes, the “explanatory gap” between the processes under focus in cognitive scientific investigation of the “brain-mind” and the nuanced complexities of lived spiritual experience remains formidable.

### *Neoshamanism*

Transcendent views of shamanism are also fundamental to most or many of the practices and writings produced in the neoshamanic movement. The term *neoshamanism* (or alternatives like “modern Western shamanism”—von Stuckrad 2002) has arisen in scholarly literature to describe various attempts to revive or recreate shamanic traditions in the lives of contemporary Westerners. The term

implies a distinction between traditional shamanisms that have been passed down from generation to generation within specific cultural traditions (as described in the works of particularist ethnographers) and more improvised, provisional shamanic rituals and experiences often born within workshop settings and informed by past (or recent) ethnographic literature. Although many of the leading exponents of neoshamanism, such as Michael Harner (1990) received advanced degrees in anthropology, scholarly views of neoshamanic adaptations were initially quite dismissive (e.g., Johansen 2001 and various of the other contributions to Francfort and Hamayon 2001). As the above discussion of post-Soviet shamanic revitalizations shows, of course, the line between “traditional shamanism” and “neoshamanism” is not always clear, either in the experience of neoshamanist practitioners or in the analysis of observers. More recent scholarly literature concerning neoshamanism has tended to adopt a more neutral tone when describing the topic, or even displayed marked sympathy for the movement or its practitioners.

A good portion of the scholarly production concerning neoshamanism grows out of the rhetorical approach described above (e.g., Hamayon 1993, 2001; Hoppál 1992; Hulkrantz 2001; Hutton 2001; Jakobsen 1999; Jenkins 2005; Johansen 2001; Jones 2006; Leete 1999; Noel 1997; Schröder 2007; Svanberg 2003, von Schnurbein 1992, 2003). Particularly illuminating is Andrei A. Znamenski’s *The Beauty of the Primitive* (2007), which carefully traces the ideas that become important in neoshamanic ideology and examines their further development or transformation within neoshamanic writing and activities. Also of great value are Kocku von Stuckrad’s (2002, 2003) as well as Robert Wallis’s (1991, 2001, 2003) investigations of neoshamanic ideologies from a perspective that includes both American and European examples. In general, scholars trace neoshamanism’s philosophical roots to the romanticizing or nostalgic sensibilities of nineteenth- and twentieth-century ethnographers concerning spiritual belief, imagistic or mystical religious experience, idealism, materialism, nature, hunter-gatherer societies, and the appeal of improvised, personalized rituals as powerful enabling documents for the eventual development of neoshamanic practices. In neoshamanism, these scholars suggest, the musings of disaffected Western theorists are transformed into concrete actions for incorporating shamanic practices and understandings into personal ritual repertoires as alternatives to Western cultural categories and values deemed insufficient or misguided.

Certainly in the works of figures like Michael Harner (1980, reprinted 1990)—an anthropologist who began to teach neoshamanic workshops and eventually created the Foundation for Shamanic Studies (Harner 2008)—such intellectual continuity is amply evident and explicitly stated. Other writers vary in the degree to which they follow a purely “technique”-based interpretation of neoshamanism or incorporate more elements of belief or worldview into their adaptations. Shamanism as part of a wider self-help or personal realization framework is increasingly common in North America as well as Europe, as illustrated by the range of recent works by neoshamanic authors (e.g., Cowan 1996;

Ingerman 1991, 1993; Scott 2002; Weatherup 2006). Hillary S. Webb's (2004) collection of interviews with neoshamanic writers provides a useful starting place for researchers wanting to chronicle the varying and evolving ideas of leading neoshamanic practitioners today, and Petitmengin and Bitbol's (2009) discussion of introspective experience and processes of validation or appraisal within movements can serve as a valuable theoretical basis for approaching such issues ethnographically.

Rich ethnographic potential resides in investigating shamanic tourism and the development of various ayahuasca-related tourist packages (see, for example Salak 2006, Souther, and the advertising of the World Shamanic Institute). Much ethnographic work is needed as well on the ever-expanding Internet presence of neoshamanic resources and communication, evidenced by sites such as the *World Shamanic Institute*, Amazon.com's *The Shamanic Community*, the wide-ranging *Shaman Portal*, and *Shamanic Circles* and the various self-realization products and programs offered by neoshamanic writer Marti Spiegelman through the site *Shaman's Light* (Spiegelman). The insights of Paolo Apolito's important *The Internet and the Madonna* (2002; English translation 2005) or various works by Robert G. Howard (e.g., Howard 2009a, 2009b) offer useful models that can be adapted to the study of neoshamanic uses of Internet media.

While many scholars have thus examined the intellectual moorings of neoshamanic leaders, the conscious motivations of ordinary neoshamanic practitioners have also begun to attract research attention. Scholars such as Stjepan Meštrović (1997), Robert J. Wallis (2001, 2003), and Joan Townsend (2005) have offered a variety of theories regarding the motivations of participants in various New Age activities, but close ethnographic examinations of particular neoshamanic communities are still relatively rare (e.g., Lindquist 1997, Blain 2001).

Andrei A. Znamenski (2007: 273ff.) explores perceptively the occasional conflicts between neoshamanic practitioners and Native Americans, particularly when neoshamanic writers adopt or highlight personal Native American heritage as a justification or enhancement of their viewpoints. Andy Smith's (1993) wry response to Anglo-American cooption of indigenous religious traditions is a good encapsulation of the Native critique that eventually developed into the label "plastic shamans" for various neoshamanic practitioners. Perhaps in response to such critiques, but also as an expression of practitioners' desire to relate on a personal level with the shamanic techniques and traditions they embrace, various "ethno-neoshamanisms" have developed. Such movements focus on recovering a past shamanism on the basis of specific historical evidence, sometimes closely related to the reconstruction of past shamanisms discussed above. Examples include revivals of Celtic shamanism (Cowan 1993, Trevarthen 2007), Sámi shamanism (Gaup 2005), Jewish shamanism (Winkler 2003, 2008), and Germanic shamanism (Blain 2000; Wallis 2001, 2003; von Schnurbein 1992, 2003). Von Schnurbein in particular explores not only the development of such movements, but also their cultural and social underpinnings. Such movements illustrate the importance of expanded

ethnographic examinations of neoshamanisms, studies which will create a particularist perspective on neoshamanic activities to match the last two decades' admirable production of particularist studies of traditional shamanisms.

In the last two decades, then, scholars have sought to describe with accuracy and insight the specific spiritual experiences of individuals within communities in relation to prior traditions, state institutions, and complex processes of economic and cultural exchange. The role of scholars as observers, purveyors, and shapers of culture has been perceptively examined, while the boundary between purportedly objective observers and subjective participants has been productively problematized and blurred. In this respect, scholarly trends in the study of shamanism(s) can be seen as symptomatic of broader shifts in the study of religion as a whole.

### **Bibliography**

Aldhouse-Green, Miranda and Stephen. 2005. *The Quest for the Shaman*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Allen, Douglas. 1998. *Myth and Religion in Mircea Eliade*. New York and London: Routledge.

Amazon.com. *The Shamanic Community*  
[http://www.amazon.com/tag/shamanism/ref=tag\\_dpp\\_ct\\_itdp](http://www.amazon.com/tag/shamanism/ref=tag_dpp_ct_itdp), accessed December 18, 2009.

Apolito, Paolo. 2002. *Internet e la Madonna: Religious Visionary Experience on the Web*. Milano: Giangiacomo Feltrinelli Editore.

\_\_\_\_\_. 2005. *The Internet and the Madonna*. Trans. Anthony Shugaar. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Athanassakis, Apostolos N. 2001. "Shamanism and Amber in Greece: The Northern Connection." In: *Shamanhood, Symbolism and Epic*. Ed. Juha Pentikäinen, Lasse Saressalo and Chuner Taksami. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 207-220.

Atkinson, Jane. 1992. "Shamanisms Today." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21: 307-330.

Aubert, Laurent. 2006. "Chamanisme, possession et musique: quelques réflexions préliminaires" *Cahiers de Musiques Traditionnelles* 19: 11-20.

Austin, James H. 2006. *Zen-Brain Reflections: Reviewing Recent Developments in Meditation and States of Consciousness*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Bacigalupo, Ana Mariella. 1998. "The Exorcizing Sounds of Warfare: The Performance of Shamanic Healing and the Struggle to Remain Mapuche" *Anthropology of Consciousness* 9/2 (1998): 1-16.

- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001. *La Voz del Kultrun en la Modernidad: Tradición, Cambio en la Terapeutica de Siete Machi Mapuche*. Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2004. "The Mapuche Man Who Became a Woman: Selfhood, Gender Transgression, and Competing Cultural Norms." *American Ethnologist* 31(3): 440-457.
- Bahn, Paul C. 2001. "Save the Last Trance for Me: An Assessment of the Misuse of Shamanism in Rock Art Studies." In: *The Concept of Shamanism: Uses and Abuses*. Ed. Henri-Paul Francfort and Roberte N. Hamayon. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 51-94.
- Balzer, Marjorie Mandelstaum (ed.) 1997. *Shamanic Worlds: Rituals and Lore of Siberia and Central Asia*. Armonk, NY and London: New Castle Books.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1999. *The Tenacity of Ethnicity: A Siberian Saga in Global Perspective*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Basilov, Vladimir N. 1997. "Chosen by the Spirits." In: *Shamanic Worlds: Rituals and Lore of Siberia and Central Asia*. Ed. Marjorie Mandelstaum Balzer. Armonk, NY and London: New Castle Books. 3-45.
- Becker, Judith. 2001. "Anthropological Perspectives on Music and Emotion." In: *Music and Emotion: Theory and Research*. Ed. Patrick N. Juslin and John A. Sloboda. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 135-160.
- Bennett, Bradley C. 1992. "Hallucinogenic Plants of the Shuar and Relation Indigenous Groups in Amazonian Ecuador and Peru" *Brittonia* 44: 483-93.
- Berger, Adriana. 1994. "Mircea Eliade: Romanian Fascism and the History of Religions in the United States" In *Tainted Greatness: Antisemitism and Cultural Heroes*. Ed. Nancy Hurrowitz. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Blain, Jenny. 2001. *Nine Worlds of Seid-Magic: Ecstasy and Neo-Shamanism in North European Paganism*. London: Routledge.
- Booth, Martin. 1998 *Opium: A History*. London: Simon and Schuster.
- Brady, James E. and Wendy Ashmore. 1994. "Mountains, Caves, Water: Ideational Landscapes of the Ancient Maya." In: *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*. Ed. Wendy Ashmore and A. Bernard Knapp. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. 124-148.
- Bulkeley, Kelly. 2008. "The Impact of Cognitive Science on Religious Studies: A Revolution in the Making" *Religious Studies Review* 34/4 (2008): 239-46.
- Burton, Lloyd. 2002. *Worship and Wilderness: Culture, Religion and Law in Public Lands Management*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

- Buyandelgeriyn, Manduhai. 2007. "Dealing with Uncertainty: Shamans, Marginal Capitalism, and the Remaking of History in Post-Socialist Mongolia" *American Ethnologist* 34/1 (2007): 127-47.
- Cayon, Luis. 2008. "Ide Ma: Water Path: Space, Shamanism, and Personhood among the Makuna" *Antipoda, Revista de Antropología y Arqueología* 7 (2008): 141-73.
- Cesarino, Pedro de Niemeyer. 2006. "De duplos e estereoscópios: paralelismo e personificação nos cantos xamanísticos ameríndios" *Mana* 12/1 (2006): 105-34.
- Chilson, Clark and Peter Knecht (eds.) 2003. *Shamans in Asia*. New York: Rutledge Curzon.
- Clifford, James. 1988. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature and Art*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Clifford, James and George E. Marcus (eds.) 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Clottes, Jean, and J. David Lewis-Williams. 2001. *Les chamanes de la préhistoire: transe et magie dans les grottes ornées*. Paris: Maison des Roches.
- Coe, Michael, Linda Schele, Carolyn E. Tate, Richard A. Diehl, Karl A. Taube. *Olmec World*. Princeton, NJ: The Art Museum of Princeton University.
- Connor, Linda H. and Geoffrey Samuel. 2001. *Healing Powers and Modernity: Traditional Medicine, Shamanism, and Science in Asian Societies*. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.
- Cowan, Thomas Dale. 1993. *Fire in the Head: Shamanism and the Celtic Spirit*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1996. *Shamanism as a Spiritual Practice for Daily Life*. Freedom CA: The Crossing Press.
- Crepeau, Robert R. 2007. "The Substances of Shamanism: South Amerindians' Perspectives" *Anthropologie et Sociétés* 31/3 (2007): 107-125.
- Devlet, Ekaterina. 2001. "Rock Art and the Material Culture of Siberian and Central Asian Shamanism." In: *The Archaeology of Shamanism*. Ed. Neil Price. London and New York: Routledge. 43-55.
- Dick, Lyle. 1995. "Pibloktoq (Arctic Hysteria): A Construction of European-Inuit Relations?" *Arctic Anthropology* 32(2): 1-42.
- DuBois, Thomas A. 1999. *Nordic Religions in the Viking Age*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

- \_\_\_\_\_. 2009. *An Introduction to Shamanism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- During, Jean. 2006. "Du *samá'* soufi aux pratiques chamaniques: nature et valeur d'une expérience" *Cahiers de Musiques Traditionnelles* 19: 79-92.
- Erowid. 2007. *The Vaults of Erowid*. <http://www.erowid.org/>, accessed online September 27, 2007.
- Fedorova, Natalia. 2001. "Shamans, Heroes and Ancestors in the Bronze Castings of Western Siberia." In: *The Archaeology of Shamanism*. Ed. Neil Price. London and New York: Routledge. 56-64.
- Fitzgerald, Timothy. 2000. *The Ideology of Religious Studies*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Flaherty, Gloria. 1992. *Shamanism and the Eighteenth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Francfort, Henri-Paul. 2001. "Prehistoric Section: An Introduction." In: *The Concept of Shamanism: Uses and Abuses*. Ed. Henri-Paul Francfort and Roberte N. Hamayon. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 31-50.
- Francfort, Henri-Paul and Roberte N. Hamayon (eds.) 2001. *The Concept of Shamanism: Uses and Abuses*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Freidel, David, Linda Schele, and Joy Parker. 1995. *Maya Cosmos: Three Thousand Years on the Shaman's Path*. New York: Harper Paperbacks.
- Furst, Peter. 2006. *Rock Crystals and Peyote Dreams: Explorations in the Huichol Universe*. Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2007. *Visions of a Huichol Shaman*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Gaup, Ailo. 2005. *Sjamansonen*. Oslo: Tre bjørner forlag.
- Glavatskaya, Elena. 2001. "The Russian State and Shamanhood: The Brief History of Confrontation." In: *Shamanhood, Symbolism and Epic*. Ed. Juha Pentikäinen, Lasse Saressalo and Chuner Taksami. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 237-248.
- Gold, Daniel. 2003. *Aesthetics and Analysis in Writing on Religion: Modern Fascinations*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Grob, Charles S. 1999. "The Psychology of Ayahuasca." In: *Ayahuasca: Human Consciousness and the Spirits of Nature*. Ed. Ralph Metzner. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press. 214-249.
- Grusman, Vladimir, Alexei Konovalov, and Valentina Gorbacheva. 2006. *Between Worlds: Shamanism and the Peoples of Siberia*. Moscow: Khudozhnik i Kniga.



- Hamayon, Roberte N. 1993. "Are 'Trance,' 'Ecstasy' and Similar Concepts Appropriate in the Study of Shamanism?" *Shaman* 1(2): 3-25.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001. "Shamanism, Symbolic System, Human Capability and Western Ideology" *In: The Concept of Shamanism: Uses and Abuses*. Eds. Henri-Paul Francfort and Roberte N Hamayon. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1-30.
- Harner, Michael. 1990. *The Way of the Shaman*. San Francisco: Harper San Francisco.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2008. "The Foundation for Shamanic Studies" <http://www.shamanism.org>, accessed December 18, 2009.
- Harvey, Graham (ed.) 2000. *Indigenous Religions: A Companion*. London and New York: Cassell.
- \_\_\_\_ (ed.) 2002. *Shamanism: A Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Harvey, Graham and Robert J. Wallis (eds.) 2007. *Historical Dictionary of Shamanism*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press.
- Hayden, Brian. 2003. *Shamans, Sorcerers, and Saints: A Prehistory of Religion*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books.
- Her, Vincent K. 2005. "Hmong Cosmology: Proposed Model, Preliminary Insights." *Hmong Studies Journal* 6: 1-25.
- Hollimon, Sandra E. 2001. "The Gendered Peopling of North America: Addressing the Antiquity of Systems of Multiple Genders." *In: The Archaeology of Shamanism*. Ed. Neil Price. London and New York: Routledge. 123-145.
- Holmberg, D. 1983. "Shamanic Soundings: Femaleness in the Temang Ritual Structure" *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 9/1 (1983): 40-58.
- Hoppál, Mihály. 1992. "Urban Shamans: A Cultural Revival" *In Studies on Shamanism*. Ed. Anna-Leena Siikala and Mihály Hoppál. Helsinki: Finnish Anthropological Society.
- Hoppál, Mihály and Juha Pentikäinen. 1992. *Northern Religions and Shamanism*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Howard, Robert G. 2009a. "Enacting a Virtual 'Ekklesia': Online Christian Fundamentalism as Vernacular Religion" *New Media & Society* 11/8 (2009): 1-19.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2009b. "The Vernacular Ideology of Christian Fundamentalism on the World Wide Web" *In Fundamentalisms and the Media*. Ed. Stewart M. Hoover and Nadia Kaneva. New York: Continuum Publishing. Pp. 126-41.

- Hubbard, Timothy L. 2002. "Some Correspondences and Similarities of Shamanism and Cognitive Sciences: Interconnectedness, Extension of Meaning, and Attribution of Mental States" *Anthropology of Consciousness* 13/2 (2002): 26-45.
- Hultkrantz, Åke. 1998. "On the History of Research in Shamanism." In: *Shamans*. Ed. Juha Pentikäinen, Toimi Jaatanen, Ildikó Lehtinen, and Marjo-Riitta Saloniemi. Tampere Museums' Publications 45. Tampere: Tampere Museums. 50-58.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001. "Shamanism: Some Recent Findings from a Comparative Perspective." In: *Shamanhood, Symbolism and Epic*. Ed. Juha Pentikäinen, Hanna Sarresalo, and Chuner M. Taksami. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1-10.
- Humphrey, Caroline. 1994. "Shamanic Practices and the State in Northern Asia: Views from the Center and Periphery" In: *Shamanism, History & the State*. Eds. Nicholas Thomas and Caroline Humphrey. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 191-228.
- Humphrey, Caroline, and Urgunge Onon (eds.). 1996. *Shamans and Elders: Experience, Knowledge, and Power among the Daur Mongols*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hunt, Norman Bancroft. 2002. *Shamanism in North America*. Toronto: Key Porter Books.
- Hutton, Ronald. 2001. *Shamans: Siberian Spirituality and the Western Imagination*. London and New York: Hambledon and London.
- Iloff, Barbara. 1994. "Spirits Like the Sound of the Rattle and Drum: George Thornton Emmons' Collection of Tlingit Shamans' Kits." Seattle: Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1997. "Tlingit Shamans' Art." *Northwest Folklore* 12(1): 35-63.
- Ingerman, Sandra. 1991. *Soul Retrieval: Mending the Fragmented Self*. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1993. *Welcome Home: Life After Healing. Following Your Soul's Journey Home*. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco.
- Jacobs, Sue Ellen, William Thomas, and Susan Lang (eds.). 1997. *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Jakobsen, Merete Demant. 1999. *Shamanism: Traditional and Contemporary Approaches to the Mastery of Spirits and Healing*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.

- Jenkins, Philip. 2005. *Dream Catchers: How Mainstream America Discovered Native Spirituality*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jensen, Tim and Mikael Rothstein (eds.) 2000. *Secular Theories on Religion: Current Perspectives*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- Jolly, Karen, Catharina Raudvere, and Edward Peters. 2002. *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe. The Middle Ages*. Ed. Bengt Ankarloo and Stuart Clark. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Johansen, Ulla. 2001. "Shamanism and Neoshamanism: What is the Difference?" In: *The Concept of Shamanism: Uses and Abuses*. Ed. Henri-Paul Francfort and Roberte N. Hamayon. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 297-303.
- Jones, Peter N. 2006. "Shamanism: An Inquiry into the History of the Scholarly Use of the Term in English-speaking North America" *Anthropology of Consciousness* 17/2 (2006): 4-32.
- Jourdain, Robert. 1997. *Music, the Brain, and Ecstasy*. New York: Avon Books.
- Kehoe, Alice. 2000. *Shamans and Religion: An Anthropological Exploration in Critical Thinking*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Kendall, Laurel. 1995. "Initiating Performance: The Story of Chini, a Korean Shaman." In: *The Performance of Healing*. Ed. Carol Laderman and Marina Roseman. New York: Routledge. 17-58.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001. "The Cultural Politics of 'Superstition' in the Korean Shaman World: Modernity Constructs Its Other." In: *Healing Powers and Modernity: Traditional Medicine, Shamanism, and Science in Asian Societies*. Ed. Linda H. Connor and Geoffrey Samuel. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey. 25-41.
- Kenin-Lopsan, Mongush B. 1997. *Shamanic Songs and Myths of Tuva*. Selected and edited by Mihály Hoppál with the assistance of Christiana Buckbee. Budapest: ISTOR.
- Kippenberg, Hans G. 2002. *Discovering Religious History in the Modern Age*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Klein, Cecelia F., Eulogio Guzmán, Elisa C. Mandell, and Maya Stanfield-Mazzi. 2002. "The Role of Shamanism in Mesoamerican Art: A Reassessment." *Current Anthropology* 43/3 (2002): 383-419.
- Kugel, Rebecca. 1994. "Of Missionaries and Their Cattle: Ojibwa Perceptions of a Missionary as Evil Shaman." *Ethnohistory* 41(2): 227-244.
- Laderman, Carol, and Marina Roseman (eds.) 1995. *The Performance of Healing*. New York: Routledge.

- Lang, Sabine. 1998. *Men as Women, Women as Men: Changing Gender in Native American Cultures*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Lardinois, Olivier S. J. 2007. "Theological and Pastoral Reflections on the Practice of Shamanism Still Found in the Catholic Indigenous Communities of Taiwan" *eRenlai Magazine*. Online journal article, <http://www.erenlai.com/index.php?aid=763&Jan=3>, accessed July 14, 2007.
- Lecomte, Henri. 2006. "Approches autochtones du chamanisme sibérien au début de XXe siècle" *Cahiers de Musiques Traditionnelles* 19: 37-52.
- Lee, Yong-Shik. 2004. *Shaman Ritual Music in Korea*. Korean Studies Dissertation Series no 5. Edison, NJ and Seoul: Jimoondang International.
- Leete, Art. 1999. "Ways of Describing Nenets and Khanty 'Character' in Nineteenth Century Russian Ethnographic Literature." *Folklore* 12. Online journal article, <http://www.folklore.ee/folklore/vol12/charactr.htm>, accessed January 1, 2007.
- Lenaerts, Marc. 2006. "'Le jour où Pawa, notre Père à tous, a abandonné la Terre': le bricolage religieux chez les Ashéninka de l'Ucayali" *Anthropos* 101/2 (2006): 541-58.
- Levitin, Daniel J. 2006. *This Is Your Brain on Music: The Science of a Human Obsession*. New York: Plume (Penguin Group).
- Lewis-Williams, J. David. 2001. "Southern African Shamanistic Rock Art in its Social and Cognitive Contexts." In: *The Archaeology of Shamanism*. Ed. Neil Price. New York and London: Routledge Press. 17-42.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2002. *A Cosmos in Stone: Interpreting Religion and Society through Rock Art*. Walnut Creek, Lanham, New York, Oxford: AltaMira Press.
- Lindquist, Galina. 1997. *Shamanic Performances on the Urban Scene: Neo-Shamanism in Contemporary Sweden*. Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology 39. Stockholm: Department of Social Anthropology.
- Lommel, Andreas. 1967. *Shamanism: The Beginnings of Art*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Luna, Luis Eduardo and Steven F. White (eds.) 2000. *Ayahuasca Reader: Encounters with the Amazon's Sacred Vine*. Santa Fe, NM: Synergetic.
- Malotki, Ekkehart and Ken Gary. 2001. *Hopi Stories of Witchcraft, Shamanism, and Magic*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Maskarinec, Gregory C. 1995. *The Rulings of the Night: An Ethnography of Nepalese Shaman Oral Texts*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

- McClenon, James. 2002. *Wondrous Healing Shamanism: Human Evolution and the Origin of Religion*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press.
- McCutcheon, Russell. 1997. *Manufacturing Religion: The Discourse on Sui Generis Religion and the Politics of Nostalgia*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- McKinney, Lawrence O. 1994. *Neurotheology: Virtual Religion in the 21st Century*. Cambridge, MA: American Institute for Mindfulness.
- Mebius, Hans. 2003. *Bissie: Studier i samisk religionshistoria*. Östersund: Förlaget för Jemtlandica.
- Meštrović, Stjepan. 1997. *Postemotional Society*. London: Sage.
- Metzner, Ralph (ed.) 1999. *Ayahuasca: Human Consciousness and the Spirits of Nature*. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press.
- Miller, Thomas R. 1999. "Mannequins and Spirits: Representation and Resistance of Siberian Shamans." *Anthropology of Consciousness* 10(4): 69-80.
- Mills, Antonia and Richard Slobodin. 1994. *Amerindian Rebirth: Reincarnation Belief among North American Indians and Inuit*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Morin, Françoise and Bernard Saladin d'Anglure. 1998. "Mariage mystique et pouvoir chamanique chez les Shipibo d'Amazonie péruvienne et les Inuit du Nunavut canadien" *Anthropologie et Sociétés* 22/2 (1998): 49-79.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2003. "Enfants d'esprits et conjoints invisibles ou la double vie sociale des chamanes Inuit et Shipibo" *Parcours anthropologiques* 3(2003): 39-45.
- Morin, Françoise. 2007. "Genre, alliance, et filiation dans les relations chamanes-esprits chez les Shipibo-Conibo" *Anthropologie et Sociétés* 31/3 (2007): 87-106.
- Naoko, Takiguchi. 2003. "Miyako Theology: Shamans' Interpretations of Traditional Beliefs" *In: Shamans in Asia*. Eds. Clark Chilson and Peter Knecht. New York: Routledge Curzon. 120-52.
- Narby, Jeremy, and Francis Huxley. 2001. *Shamans through Time: 500 Years on the Path to Knowledge*. New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Putnam.
- Newberg, Andrew, Eugene D'Aquili, and Vince Rause. 2001. *Why God Won't Go Away: Brain Science and the Biology of Belief*. New York: Ballantine.
- Nicoletti, Martino. 2004. *Shamanic Solitudes: Ecstasy, Madness and Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalayas*. Kathmandu: Vajra Publications.
- Noel, Daniel C. 1997. *The Sould of Shamanism: Western Fantasies, Imagined Realities*. New York: Continuum.

- O'Brien, David. 2004. *Animal Sacrifice and Religious Freedom: Church of the Lukumi Babalu Aye v. City of Hialeah*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.
- Omar, Dilmurat. 2006. "Survival of Shamanism in Chinese Central Asia: Examples of Modern Syncretism as a Research Problem in the Anthropology of Religion" *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 131/2 (2006): 263-76.
- Ortner, Sherry B. 1995. "The Case of the Disappearing Shamans, or No Individualism, No Relationism." *Ethos* 23(3): 355-390.
- Ott, Jonathan. 1993. *Pharmacotheon: Entheogenic Drugs, their Plant Sources and History*. Kennewick, WA: Natural Products Co.
- Pearson, James L. 2002. *Shamanism and the Ancient Mind: A Cognitive Approach to Archaeology*. Walnut Creek: Altamira Press.
- Pentikäinen, Juha, Toimi Jaatinen, Ildikó Lehtinen, Marjo-Riitta Saloniemi (eds.) 1998. *Shamans*. Tampere Museums' Publications 45. Tampere: Tampere Museums.
- Pentikäinen, Juha, Hanna Sarresalo, Chuner M. Taksami, eds. 2001. *Shamanhood, Symbolism and Epic*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Peters, Larry G. 2004. *Trance, Initiation & Psychotherapy in Nepalese Shamanism: Essays on Tamang and Tibetan Shamanism*. Delhi: Nirala Publications.
- Petitmengin, Claire and Michel Bitbol. 2009. "The Validity of First-Person Descriptions as Authenticity and Coherence" *Journal of Consciousness Studies* 16/10-12 (2009): 363-404.
- Pinchback, Daniel. 2002. *Breaking Open the Head: A Psychedelic Journey into the Heart of Contemporary Shamanism*. New York: Broadway.
- Potapov, Leonid P. 1999. "Shaman's Drum: A Unique Monument of Spiritual Culture of the Altai Turk Peoples." *Anthropology of Consciousness* 10(4): 24-35.
- Price, Neil (ed.) 2001. *The Archaeology of Shamanism*. London and New York: Routledge.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2002. *The Viking Way: Religion and War in Late Iron Age Scandinavia*. Uppsala: Uppsala University Press.
- Purev, Otgony, and Gurbadaryrn Purvee. 2004. *Mongolian Shamanism*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Ulaanbator: Admon Publishing.
- Ramachandran, V. S. and Sandra Blakeslee. 1998. *Phantoms in the Brain*. New York: Quill.
- Rätsch, Christian. 2005. *The Encyclopedia of Psychoactive Plants: Ethnopharmacology and Its Applications*. Rochester, VT: Park Street Books.

- Reid, Anna. 2003. *The Shaman's Coat: A Native History of Siberia*. New York: Walker & Company.
- Riboli, Diana. 2000. *Tunsuriban: Shamanism in the Chepang of Southern and Central Nepal*. Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point.
- Ridington, Robin. 1997. "All the Old Spirits Have Come Back to Greet Him: Realizing the Sacred Pole of the Omaha Tribe." In: *Present is Past: Some Uses of Tradition in Native Societies*. Ed. Marie Mauzé. Lanham: University Press of America. 159-174.
- \_\_\_\_ and Dennis Hastings (In'aska). 1997. *Blessing for a Long Time: The Sacred Pole of the Omaha Tribe*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Ripinsky-Naxon, Michael. 1993. *The Nature of Shamanism: Substance and Function of a Religious Metaphor*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Roscoe, Will. 1998. *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Gender in Native America*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Roseman, Marina. 1991. *Healing Sounds from the Malaysian Rainforest: Temiar Music and Medicine*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- \_\_\_\_. 1995. *Dream Songs and Healing Sounds: In the Rainforests of Malaysia*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings. SF CD 40417. CD plus descriptive notes.
- \_\_\_\_. 2001. "Engaging the Spirits of Modernity: The Temiars." In: *Healing Powers and Modernity: Traditional Medicine, Shamanism, and Science in Asian Societies*. Ed. Linda H. Connor and Geoffrey Samuel. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey. 109-129.
- Rossano, Matt J. 2007. "Supernaturalizing Social Life: Religion and the Evolution of Human Cooperation" *Human Nature* 18/3 (2007): 272-94.
- Rozwadowski, Andrzej. 2001. "Sun Gods or Shamans? Interpreting the Solar-Headed Petroglyphs of Western Siberia." In: *The Archaeology of Shamanism*. Ed. Neil S. Price. London and New York: Routledge. 65-86.
- Rydving, Håkon. 1995. *The End of Drum-Time: Religious Change among the Lule Saami, 1670s-1740s*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Historia Religionum 12. Uppsala: Alqvist & Wiksell.
- Salak, Kira. 2006. "Hell and Back." *National Geographic Adventure* (March 2006): 54-58, 88-92.
- Sasamori, Takefusa. 1997. "Therapeutic Rituals Performed by *Itako* (Japanese Blind Female Shamans)." *The World of Music* 39(2): 85-96.

- Schaefer, Stacy B. 1996. "The Crossing of the Souls: Peyote, Perception, and Meaning among the Huichol Indians." *In People of the Peyote: Huichol Indian History, Religion, and Survival*. Ed. Stacey B. Schaefer and Peter R. Furst. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 136-168.
- Schaefer, Stacy B. and Peter T. Furst (eds.) 1996. *People of the Peyote: Huichol Indian History, Religion, and Survival*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Scherberger, Laura. 2005. "The Janus-Faced Shaman: The Role of Laughter in Sickness and Healing among the Makushi" *Anthropology and Humanism* 30/1 (2005): 55-69.
- von Schnurbein, Stefanie. 1992. *Religion als Kulturkritik. Neugermanisches Heidentum im 20. Jahrhundert*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Shamanism in the Old Norse Tradition: A Theory between Ideological Camps" *History of Religions* 43/2 (2003): 116-38.
- Schröder, Philipp. 2007. "Schauspiel, Ideologie, und Selbstdarstellung. Beschreibungen zum sibirischen Schamanismus zwischen dem 18. Und 21. Jahrhundert im Kontext der Writing Culture Debatte" *Anthropos* 102/1 (2007): 135-56.
- Schultes, Richard Evans, Albert Hofmann, and Christian Rätsch. 2001. *Plants of the Gods: Their Sacred, Healing and Hallucinogenic Powers*. Rochester, VT: Healing Arts Press.
- Scott, Gini Graham. 2002. *The Complete Idiot's Guide to Shamanism*. Indianapolis, IN: Alpha Books.
- Shaman Portal <http://www.shamanportal.org/>, accessed December 18, 2009.
- Shamanic Circles <http://www.shamaniccircles.org/>, accessed December 18, 2009.
- Shanon, Benny. 2002. *The Antipodes of the Mind: Charting the Phenomenology of the Ayahuasca Experience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sidky, H. 2009. "A Shaman's Cure: The Relationship between Altered States of Consciousness and Shamanic Healing" *Anthropology of Consciousness* 20/2 (2009): 171-97.
- Siikala, Anna-Leena. 2002. *Mythic Images and Shamanism: A Perspective on Kalevala Poetry*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
- Siikala, Anna-Leena, and Mihály Hoppál. 1992. *Studies on Shamanism*. Helsinki: Finnish Anthropological Society.



- Smith, Andy. 1993. "For All Those Who Were Indian In a Former Life" In: *Ecofeminism and the Sacred*. Ed. C. Adams. New York: Continuum. 168-71.
- Smyers, Karen A. 1999. *The Fox and the Jewel: Shared and Private Meanings in Contemporary Japanese Inari Worship*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Solli, Britt. 2002. *Seid: Myther, sjamanisme og kjønn i vikingenes tid*. Oslo: Pax Forlag.
- Souther, Hamilton. "Blue Morpho Center for Shamanic Studies and Workshops." <http://www.bluemorphotours.com/>, accessed December 18, 2009.
- Spiegelman, Marti. *Shaman's Light* <http://www.martispiegelman.org/home.html>, accessed December 18, 2009.
- Steinberg, Michael K., Joseph J. Hobbs, and Kent Mathewson (eds.) 2004. *Dangerous Harvest: Drug Plants and the Transformation of Indigenous Landscapes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- von Stuckrad, Kocku. 2002. "Reenchanting Nature: Modern Western Shamanism and Nineteenth-Century Thought" *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 70/4 (2002): 771-99.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2003. *Schamanismus und Esoterik: Kultur- und wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Betrachtungen*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Sullivan, Robert. 2002. *A Whale Hunt: How a Native American Village Did What No One Thought It Could*. New York: Scribner.
- Svanberg, Jan. 2003. *Schamantropologi i gränslandet mellan forskning och praktik. En studie av förhållandet mellan schamanism-forskning och neoschamanism*. Turku: Åbo Akademis förlag.
- Tangherlini, Timothy. 1998. "Shamans, Students, and the State" In: *Nationalism and the Construction of Korean Identity*. Eds. Hyung Il Pail and Timothy R. Tangherlini. Korea Research Monograph 26. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies. 126-47.
- Tedlock, Barbara. 2001. "Divination as a Way of Knowing: Embodiment, Visualisation, Narrative, and Interpretation." *Folklore* 112: 189-197.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2004. *The Woman in the Shaman's Body: Reclaiming the Feminine in Religion and Medicine*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Thomas, Nicholas and Caroline Humphrey (eds.) 1994. *Shamanism, History, & the State*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Tkacz, Virlana, Sayan Zhambalov, and Wanda Phipps. 2002. *Shanar: Dedication Ritual of a Buryat Shaman in Siberia as conducted by Bayir Rinchinov*. New York: Parabola Books.

- Toelken, Barre. 2003. *The Anguish of Snails: Native American Folklore in the West*. Logan, UT: Utah State University Press.
- Tolley, Clive. *Shamanism in Norse Myth and Magic*. 2 Vols. FF Communications 296-297. Helsinki: Academia Scientarum Fennica, 2009.
- Townsend, Joan B. 2005. "Individualist Religious Movements: Core and Neo-Shamanism." *Anthropology of Consciousness* 15(1): 1-9.
- Tremlin, Todd. 2006. *Minds and Gods: The Cognitive Foundations of Religion*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Trevarthen, Geo Athena. 2007. *Celtic Shamanism*.  
<http://www.celticshamanism.com>, accessed online December 16, 2007.
- Van Deusen, Kira. 1999. *Raven and the Rock: Storytelling in Chukotka*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press; Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2004. *Singing Story, Healing Drum: Shamans and Storytellers of Turkic Siberia*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Vitebsky, Piers. 1995. *The Shaman*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2005. *The Reindeer People. Living with Animals and Spirits in Siberia*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Von Gernet, Alexander. 2000. "North American Indigenous Nicotiana Use and Tobacco Shamanism: The Early Documentary Record, 1520-1660." In: *Tobacco Use by Native Americans: Sacred Smoke and Silent Killer*. Ed. Joseph C. Winter. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 59-80.
- Walking Stick Foundation. 2008. <http://www.walkingstick.org>, accessed online December 18, 2009.
- Wallis, Robert J. 1999. "Altered States, Conflicting Cultures: Shamans, Neo-Shamans, and Academics" *Anthropology of Consciousness* 10/2 (1999): 41-9.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001. "Waking Ancestor Spirits: Neo-Shamanic Engagements with Archaeology." In: *The Archaeology of Shamanism*. Ed. Neil Price. London and New York: Routledge Press. 213-230.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2003. *Shamans/Neo-Shamans: Ecstasy, Alternative Archaeologies and Contemporary Pagans*. London: Routledge.
- Walraven, Boudewijn. 1994. *Songs of the Shaman: The Ritual Chants of the Korean Mudang*. London and New York: Kegan Paul International.
- Walsh, Roger. 1997. "The Psychological Health of Shamans: A Reevaluation" *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 65/1: 101-24.

- Walter, Mariko Namba and Eva Jane Neumann Fridman (eds.) *Shamanism: An Encyclopedia of World Beliefs, Practices, and Culture*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004.
- Weatherup, Katie. 2006. *Practical Shamanism: A Guide for Walking in Both Worlds*. USA: Hands over Heart Publishing.
- Webb, Hillary S. 2004. *Traveling between the Worlds: Conversations with Contemporary Shamans*. Charlottesville, VA: Hampton Roads Publishing.
- Westmeyer, Joseph. 2004. "Opium and the People of Laos." In: *Dangerous Harvest: Drug Plants and the Transformation of Indigenous Landscapes*. Ed. Michael K. Steinberg, Joseph J. Hobbs, and Kent Mathewson. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 115-132.
- Whitehead, Neil. 2002. *Dark Shamans: Kanaimà and the Poetics of Violent Death*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- \_\_\_\_ and Robin Wright (eds.) 2004. *In Darkness and Secrecy: The Anthropology of Assault Sorcery and Witchcraft in Amazonia*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Whitehouse, Harvey. 2004. *Modes of Religiosity: A Cognitive Theory of Religious Transmission*. Lanham, MD: Alta Mira Press.
- Whitehouse, Harvey and Robert N. McCauley. 2005. *Mind and Religion: Psychological and Cognitive Foundations of Religiosity*. Cognitive Science of Religion Series. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.
- Williams, Maria P. 1995. "The Wolf and the Man/Bear: Public and Personal Symbols in a Tlingit Drum." *Pacific Review of Ethnomusicology* 7: 79-92.
- Winkelman, Michael. 1992. *Shamans, Priests and Witches. A Cross-Cultural Study of Magico-Religious Practitioners*. Anthropology Research Papers no. 44. Tempe AZ: Arizona State University Press.
- \_\_\_\_. 2000. *Shamanism: The Neural Ecology of Consciousness and Healing*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey. Building on works already published in 1980s and 90s.
- Winkelman, Michael and Philip M. Peek. 2004. *Divination and Healing: Potent Vision*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Winkelman, Michael and John Baker. 2008. *Supernatural as Natural: A Biological Theory of Religion*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Winkler, Gershon. 2003. *Magic of the Ordinary: Recovering the Shamanic in Judaism*. Berkeley: North Atlantic Books.
- \_\_\_\_. Walking Stick Foundation, [www.walkingstick.org/](http://www.walkingstick.org/), accessed December 18, 2009.

World Shamanic Institute. <http://www.WorldShamanicInstitute.com>, accessed December 18, 2009.

Yun, Kyoim. 2008. "Performing the Sacred: Political Economy and Shamanic Ritual on Cheju Island, South Korea." Bloomington, IN: Unpub. Dissert. Indiana University.

Znamenski, Andrei. 2004. *Shamanism: Critical Concepts in Sociology*. London: Routledge.

\_\_\_\_\_. 2007. *The Beauty of the Primitive: Shamanism and the Western Imagination*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.