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SHAMANIC HEALING, PSYCHOTHERAPY, AND A MULTI-SENSE PERSPECTIVE ON HYPNOTIC-LIKE PROCEDURES

This paper uses the Western psychological concept of "hypnosis" as a bridge to explore some aspects of contemporary psychotherapy and how they relate to indigenous practices. The exploration of historical and cross-cultural issue as well as changes in self construction and narration provide the foundation for understanding differences and similarities in the use of shamanic practices and psychotherapy. I then present a multi-sense model of hypnotic-like procedures and the process of what is oftentimes labeled "trance" or "shamanic state of consciousness." Ceremonial examples from the Diné (Navajo) and Sámi nations are used to illustrate the usefulness of a multi-sense approach to understanding healing processes using hypnotic-like procedures facilitating integrative states of consciousness. Jilek's work on Northwest Coast Indian healing is seen as an exemplar that understands traditional healing approaches in western scientific terms with the conclusion that the native approach is a approach for this population. Winkelman's work suggests a promosing model for understanding the neuroecology of shamanic healing. The fundamental approach of this paper is to consider both indigenous and euro-centered ways of knowing as valid approaches and to deepen the understanding of hypnotic-like phenomena and their potential for serving the needs of indigenous populations. With this comes the assumption that indigenous knowledge has an important role to play not just in aboriginal healing, but also the healing of personal and social ills suffered by non-native individuals in contemporary societies because of their dissociation from human potentials essential for well being.

I want to acknowledge at the outset that this paper is primarily written based on the history of indigenous peoples on the North American continent and their socio-psychological situation.

Historical and Cross-Cultural Issues

Hypnotic-like procedures or so-called "alterations in consciousness" are not only sanctioned as part of healing procedures but are also deliberately fostered by virtually all indigenous groups. For example, Bourguignon and Evascu (1977) read ethnographic descriptions of 488 different societies, finding that 89% were characterized by socially approved "alterations of consciousness," or if you will, "changed patterns of phenomenal properties." The use of different terms throughout this paper is an attempt to prevent the reification of such appellations as "altered states of consciousness."

The ubiquitous nature of hypnotic-like procedures in native healing also demonstrates the ways in which human capacities -- such as the capability to strive toward a goal and the ability to imagine a suggested experience -- can be channeled and shaped, albeit differentially, by social interactions. Concepts of sickness and of healing can be socially constructed and modeled in a number of ways. The models found in indigenous cultures frequently identify such etiological factors in sickness as "soul loss" and "spirit possession," each of which are diagnosed (at least in part) by observable changes in the patient's behavior, mentation, or mood (Frank & Frank, 1991, chap. 5).

For example, there is no Western equivalent for *wagamama*, a Japanese emotional disorder characterized by childish behavior, emotional outbursts, apathy, and negativity. Nor is there a counterpart to *kami*, a condition common in some Japanese communities that is thought to be caused by spirit possession. *Susto* is a malaise common in Peru and several other parts of Latin America and thought to be caused by a shock or fright, often connected with breaking a spiritual taboo. It can lead to dire consequences such as the "loss," "injury," or "wounding" of one's "soul," but there is no equivalent concept in Western psychotherapy manuals.

Cross-cultural studies of native healing have only started to take seriously the importance of understanding indigenous models of sickness and their treatment, perhaps because of the prevalence of behavioral, psychoanalytic, and allopathic medical models. None of these has been overly sympathetic to the explanations offered by indigenous practitioners or to the proposition that Western knowledge is only

one of several viable representations of nature (Gergen, 1985). Kleinman (1980) commented,

The habitual (and frequently unproductive) way researchers try to make sense of healing, especially indigenous healing, is by speculating about psychological and physiological mechanisms of therapeutic action, which then are applied to case material in truly Procrustean fashion that fits the particular instance to putative universal principles. The latter are primarily derived from the concepts of biomedicine and individual psychology....By reducing healing to the language of biology, the human aspects (i.e., psychosocial and cultural significance) are removed, leaving behind something that can be expressed in biomedical terms, but that can hardly be called healing. Even reducing healing to the language of behavior...leaves out the language of experience, which...is a major aspect of healing. (pp. 363-364)

Similarly, Faris (1990) criticized attempts to fit indigenous beliefs and practices "into some variety of universal schema – reducing its own rich logic to but variation and fodder for a truth derived from Western arrogances – even if their motivations are to elevate it" (p. 12). In using the terminology of "hypnotic-like procedures" I have attempted to point to the importance of the local construction of practices and their interpretations and to affirm the knowledge preserved and expressed in indigenous practices.

Most illnesses in a society are socially constructed, at least in part, and alleged alterations of consciousness (or changed patterns of phenomenal properties) also reflect social construction. Because native models of healing generally assume that practitioners, to be effective, must shift their attention (e.g., "journeying to the upper world," "traveling to the lower world," "incorporating spirit guides," "conversing with power animals," "retrieving lost souls"), the hypnosis literature can be instructive in fathoming these concepts.

Historical Changes in Self Construction

In looking at both practitioners and patients we have to take into account historical changes in the construction of self; indigenous and (post)modern understandings of self or individuality or personality are notably different. "Who am I? And who are you?" Responses to these questions have varied across the ages, not just as far as content is concerned, but also as regards the *process*, by which individuals have arrived at their answers, the *qualities and dimensions* of self inquiry. The ancient Hebrew self was committed to partnership with a particular God and the lines between the individual and Yahweh and the tribe are not always clear. The selves of the protagonists in Aeschylus' *Oresteia* are not experiencing inner conflicts in the way modern individuals do, and neither are their selves firmly boundaried. Detienne (1996, p. 135) discusses *The Masters of Truth in Archaic Greece*, and how "in the wake of the magi and ecstatic individuals, the philosophers claimed the ability to attain and reveal a truth that was at once the 'homologue and the antithesis' of religious truth," a reflection of the emergence of a new sense of self as "mythical thought shifted to rational thought." Cushman has argued that "the masterful, bounded self of today, with few allegiances and many subjective 'inner' feelings, is a relatively new player on the historical stage" (1995, p. 357). The boundaries created by the self can also be understood as normative dissociation from aspects of life that indigenous people are connected to as part of their particular self process. The modern self we are so familiar with is of rather recent origin and probably only two hundred or so years old. The term 'autobiography' emerges in the English language at the beginning of the 19th century. As an expression of the modern self it is an equally recent event, the self-conscious telling and creating of who we think we are and how we would like to be seen. Autobiographies provide access to understanding the social constructions of the self and a means of creative revisioning. In postmodern times a new twist has been added to the masterful, bounded self with few allegiances: now "persons exist in a state of continuous construction and reconstruction; it is a world where anything goes that can be negotiated. Each reality of self gives way to reflexive questioning, irony, and ultimately the playful probing of yet another reality. The center fails to hold" (Gergen, 1991, p. 7).

It is easy to see that contemporary identities are challenged as economic globalization, the internet and other forces impact how we see ourselves and others, often leaving the sense of identity threatened,

if not in shambles. We only need to think of the fundamentalist and essentializing solutions that lead to bloody wars or the disorientation caused by the lack of local attachments, the indiscriminate inundation with global information, or experiences of strange-seeming cultures flooding the familiar. Identities, more often than not, are no longer secure and anxiety is one of the consequences. How to fill the voids created in our selves and in our spiritual lives?

What does it mean to conceive of spiritual or transpersonal events not as individualistic, but participatory events that are creative in nature as human potentialities are explored in multifarious ways? Who is the self participating in these events? How should we tell our stories in order to impede imperialistic relationships with spirit(s) and to decolonize the spiritual? Transpersonal psychologists are self-conscious about transpersonal experiences, but should we also be just as self-conscious about the ways in which we narrate the stories of our selves? The beginnings of transpersonal psychology seem conditioned upon the modernist conception of the well-bounded and masterful self that appropriates spiritual and other realities. A participatory understanding of spiritual events challenges not only their conceptualization, but also, and maybe even more profoundly, our notions of self. Ferrer's (2002) reconceptualizations of transpersonal experiences and altered or integrative states of consciousness puts transpersonal psychology back in touch with its pragmatic origins in indigenous traditions.

Narrating the self, telling the stories of our identity, or autobiographies, are as much personal as they are visionary and spiritual as well as political acts; they can also be acts of healing, whether in psychotherapy in front of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa. Today participatory visions of transpersonal theory arise in White minds out of the crisis of modernity and the crisis of transpersonal psychology as modern enterprise, yet they have an ancient imprimatur. Indigenous peoples to this day embody social systems based on a participatory spiritual understanding of reality. Far from vanished and dead, they may provide us with inspirations about decolonizing self stories that need to be told, stories that emancipate us from the colonizing strictures of modernism and its addiction to progress; they may help restore a paradigm of balancing, a notion different from essentializing Edenic phantasies of balance. The participatory visions of indigenous peoples have shown an almost unbelievable capacity to accommodate and dialogue with a wide spectrum of spiritual and religious traditions. The presence of trickster and clown figures seems to be a crucial ingredient in facilitating the process orientation that prevents idolatry and dogmatic closures. Understanding how autobiographical stories are told in indigenous contexts can thus be enlightening, especially since native stories seem to address major contemporary challenges – connection to place, traditional ecological knowledge, connection to community, etc. Not that they necessarily resolve them, but they provide avenues to retell our selves so that they may influence our cognitive functioning in a significant way.

Arnold Krupat, scholar of Native American autobiographies, has observed that

Native American conceptions of the self tend toward integrative rather than oppositional relations with others. Whereas the modern West has tended to define personal identity as involving the successful mediation of an opposition between the individual and society, Native Americans have instead tended to define themselves as persons by successfully integrating themselves into the relevant social groupings – kin, clan, band, etc. – of their respective societies. On the Plains, to be sure, glory and honor were intensely sought out by male warriors who wanted, individually, to be "great men," but even on the Plains, any personal greatness was important primarily for the good of "the people." These conceptions may be viewed as "synecdochic," i.e., based on part-to-whole relations, rather than "metonymic," i.e., as in the part-to-part relations that most frequently dominate Euroamerican autobiography. (Krupat 1994, p. 4)

That egocentric individualism associated with the names of Byron or Rousseau, the cultivation of originality and differentness, was never legitimated by native cultures, to which celebration of the hero-as-solitary would have been incomprehensible. (Krupat 1985, 29)

The emphasis of Native autobiographical stories is thus not merely on interiority and individualism, but just as much on the embeddedness in the whole – community, the stories and histories community carries, places. Krupat's notions have not gone uncontested, Vizenor notes that

natives are not as communal as he might want them to be in theory … The many ceremonies, shamanic visions, practices, and experiences in native communities are so highly individualistic, diverse, and unique, that romantic reductions of tradition and community are difficult to support, even in theory … The vision is a separation and disassociation from ordinary time and space, and from traditions. And the recognition of native visions and nicknames must be earned in communities. That, the recognition of a native presence, is a continuous tease in stories. What is mistaken to be tradition is a visionary sovereignty. (Vizenor & Lee 1999, p. 62)

Notions of 'tradition' have suffered greatly from genocidal onslaughts and the often acquisitive gaze of anthropology, a reification that cannot indulge the self-affirmative, liberative, and emancipatory movements of imaginal presences.

Dorothy Lee, in 1950, used linguistic analyses to explore notions of self in Wintu culture. "When speaking about Wintu culture, we cannot speak of the self *and* society, but rather of the self *in* society" (1959, p. 132). "A study of the grammatical expression of identity, relationship and otherness, shows that the Wintu conceive of the self not as strictly delimited or defined, but as a concentration, at most, which gradually fades and gives place to the other. Most of what is other for us, is for the Wintu completely or partially or upon occasion, identified with the self" (1959, p. 134). Shweder and Bourne (1984, p. 195) have shown that "different peoples not only adopt distinct world views, but that these world views have a decisive influence on their cognitive functioning." The use of a variety of sense modalities as well as the trance or integrative state of consciousness itself is an indicator of a different sense of self in the world that is not easily grasped by Western concepts.

Multi-Sensual Perspectives on Hypnotic-Like Procedures

Observing hypnotic-like procedures closely we find that "induction" and "suggestion" occur in ways notably different from the setting and procedures of hypnosis in clinical settings (in work with modern individual). The following list highlights some of the most obvious dimensions that are part of hypnotic-like ritual endeavors with indigenous individuals (see Kremer, 2002a, for a more lengthy discussion). They can all be seen as indicators of a more open and fluid sense of self.

Cultural Context. The application of hypnotic procedures in Western clinical settings does not occur in the context of a shared cultural mythology or shared stories and ritual practices; it is specific to the individual. By contrast, indigenous ceremonies are enacted in a rich cultural context in which the patient participates. These mythic stories (especially their understanding of the healing process, the origin of symptoms, and the goal of health or balance) provide a rich context that may or may not be verbalized or made present during the ceremony, but is, nonetheless, the operative background of hypnotic-like procedures.

Sacred Geography. Oftentimes healing rituals occur within a geography that is invoked, literally traveled to, or replicated in the place of ceremony (such as the Diné hogan or the Sámi *lavvu*); the macrocosm of the cultural sacred geography is oftentimes mirrored in the sacred layout of the place of ceremony (as in Diné sand paintings).

Storytelling. Stories are frequently used to invoke cultural context, to explain illness, and to guide healing. They may also serve to shift attention, very much like in the practice of Milton Erickson (Erickson, Rossi, & Rossi, 1976) or in the adaptation of indigenous practices in counseling and psychotherapy (see Krippner, Bova, Gray, & Kay, 2007; Krippner Bova, & Gray, 2007).

Verbal Instructions. In most situations specific verbal instructions (e.g., as induction or suggestion) form the smallest part of the proceedings.

Singing or Chanting. Songs or repetitive chanting as part of invocations, affirmations, or suggestions both provide direction, invoke stories, spirits, or cosmologies, and shift the participant's attention.

Percussion and other Musical Instruments. Research (e.g., Neher, 1961) has demonstrated that the repetitive use of a percussion instrument, such as drumming, can lead to alterations in phenomenological awareness. Such isolated use of an induction seems extremely rare in indigenous practices. These powerful ways to shift attention (drumming, rattling, bullroarer, click sticks, whistles, etc.) are usually

only one aspect of a multi-sensory design of healing procedures.

Ritual Implements. These may include feathers, amulets, crystals, wands, among many others, all considered to have special powers or spiritual importance.

Olfaction. The most common event is probably the use of herbs as incense or offering (such as sage) or the smoking of herbs (such as tobacco) as well as the use of fire and its ensuing smoke.

Gustatory Stimulation and Dietary Practices. The ingestion of mind-altering plants or other herbal remedies with specific alleged healing properties, as well as changes in diet (fasting, dry fasting, or other restrictions) are an important aspect of many indigenous healing ceremonies.

Cleansing. This may involve such activities as ingesting emetics, washing (such as with yucca suds), bathing, standing under a waterfall, and sweating (in a sauna, Native American sweat lodge, etc.).

Tactile Stimulation. This may include various forms of massaging, stimulating pressure points, slapping, simple touching, and related procedures.

Movement. Dance, particularly repetitive dance, is probably the most common use of movement; however, there are various stylized postures and interactive movements that fall into this category as well.

Body painting. The patient and/or shamanic practitioner as well as other participants may use temporary or permanent designs evocative of particular presences or various mythological stories.

Drama. Dramatic enactments may be part of the invocation of story, notions of health and balance, or the cosmology within which a hypnotic-like procedure occurs.

Waking-Sleeping Cycles. Many ceremonies occur during the evening, late into the night, or during the entire night. Wakefulness to ritual proceedings at a time when participants usually sleep and dream also facilitates changes in attention.

In some traditions we may find many of these dimensions present during native ceremonies, but in others only a few are effectively employed for the sake of healing. The examples discussed below illustrate the range of multi-dimensionality of hypnotic-like procedures in sample cultures.

Processes of Hypnotic-Like Procedures

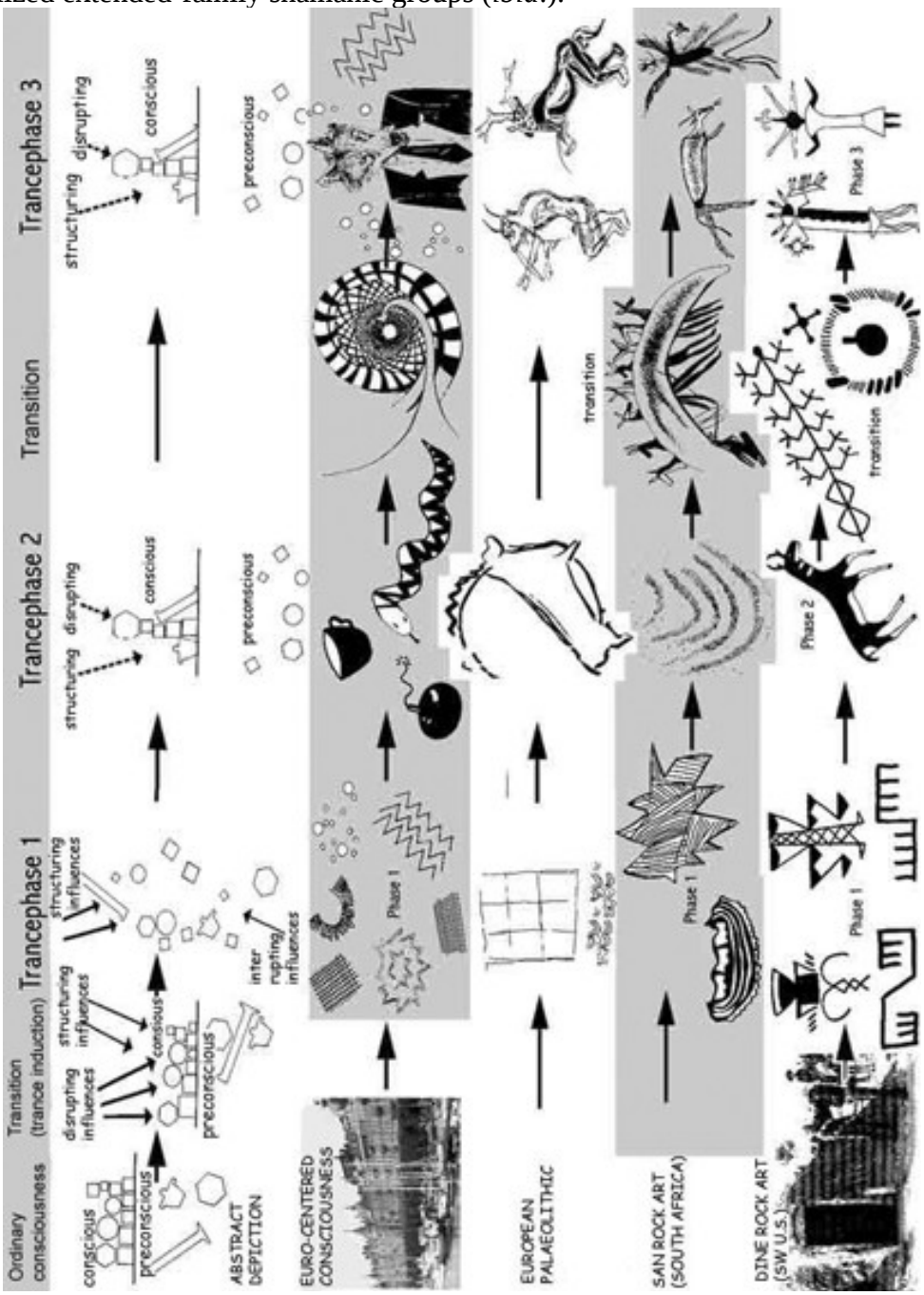
Clottes and Lewis-Williams (1998/1996) have proposed three stages of what they call “shamanic consciousness” (see also Lewis-Williams, 2002). This is consistent with Tart’s (1975) discussion of the process of altered states and Winkelman’s (2000) discussion of the neuropsychological bases of rock art. Figure 1 combines the work of Clottes and Lewis-Williams, Tart, and Kremer (2002b). It illustrates the stages of “shamanic consciousness” during hypnotic-like procedures using an abstract depiction, images from contemporary Western processes, European Paleolithic cave art, San rock art, and Diné rock art. The left column presents images of consensual, everyday reality, while the columns toward the right show in increasing alteration of attention and shifts in one’s pattern of phenomenological properties.

In Stage One, people move from alert consciousness to a "light" alteration, beginning to experience geometric forms, meandering lines, and other "phosphenes" or "form constants," so named because they appear to be hard wired into the central nervous system. For example, the Tukano people of South America use a series of undulating lines of dots to represent the Milky Way (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1971).

In Stage Two, people begin to attribute complex meanings to these "constants." Practitioners enter the next phase in several ways – by crossing a bridge, going through a whirlpool, or entering a hole. In Stage Three, these constants are combined with images of people, animals, spirits, and mythical beings. Experients began to interact with these images, often feeling themselves to be transformed into animals, either completely or partially (e.g., the celebrated prehistoric Les Trois Freres animal/human depiction); shamanic journeys are generally felt to be more feasible in this form (Clottes & Lewis-Williams, 1996/1998, p. 19). Various chambers of Upper Paleolithic caves seem to have been restricted to advanced practitioners; some caves have spacious chambers embellished with large, imposing images while elsewhere there are often small, sparsely decorated diverticules into which only a few people could congregate (p. 20).

From an epistemological perspective, the shaman gained knowledge from his or her journeys into

other realms of existence, and communicated the results to members of the community (Flaherty, 1992, p. 185). Shamans provided information from a database consisting of their dreams, visions, and intuitions, as well as their keen observations of the natural and social world. Sansonese (1994) suggested that there was "a degree of genetic predisposition for falling into trance" and that this ability made a significant contribution to social evolution (p. 30). For example, there was a succession of Indo-European shamans whose traditions included parent-to-child transmissions of shamanic lore that, in turn, institutionalized extended-family shamanic groups (*ibid*.).



Multidimensionality of Diné Chantways

Diné (Navajo) chantways represent a complex system of ceremonies that can, in some sense, be seen as exemplars for the multidimensionality of hypnotic-like procedures in indigenous traditions. *Hatáál* in the Diné language means chant and *hataałii* means medicine person, singer, or chanter.

There are about 60 distinct Diné names for various chantways and chantway branches, many of them now considered extinct (Young & Morgan, 1987). The chants are usually grouped into four basic categories: Blessing Way, Holy Way, Night Way, and Evil Way. The specific names of chants are indicative of a particular mythology, symptom, or intervention, ranging from Red Ant Way, Raven Way, Game Way, and Big Star Way to Hand Trembling Way and Prostitution Way. Ceremonies typically last several days, with the longest of them lasting up to nine days. The performance of a *hatáál* is expected to be carried out following the precise instructions and special procedures in order to counteract any errors that have occurred. This gives them a flavor that is liturgical rather than improvised, inspired, or spontaneous as in other indigenous shamanic practices (although ceremonies connected with the oldest layer of the Navajo traditions, such as those involving crystal gazing and hand trembling, belong into the latter category; see Luckert 1975). Faris (1990), in discussing the Night Way, stresses that these "healing procedures which order, harmonize and re-establish and situate social relations – *are in local knowledge prior to other concerns*. And it is only in careful attention to *local beliefs* and *local knowledge* that Navajo conceptions of order and beauty can be understood" (p. 3; italics in original).

The Coyote Way (*mą'iijí hatáál*) has been documented in great detail, including an extensive photographic record, by Luckert (1979). It is worth exploring this example in some detail to exemplify the intricate multidimensionality of hypnotic-like procedures that exist in certain cultural practices. Coyote Way is a 9-day ceremony that involves Unraveling Ceremonies (so named because during the first four evenings and nights; bundles of herbs and other ingredients are unraveled to loosen the illness) and Fire Ceremonies (occupying the first four mornings and noon) as well as Basket-Drum Ceremonies (occupying the second four evenings and nights) and Sand Painting Ceremonies with one or more god impersonators or *yé'ii* (occurring on the second four mornings and noon), and a final Basket Drum Ceremony on the ninth night. Coyote Way involves 161 chants and prayers (including repetitions) and two different sand paintings (at least in the ceremony documented by Luckert, 1979).

Like other chantways, Coyote Way is "traceable in history, possibly, to a point in time when several formerly shamanic traditions became amalgamated into the conglomerate healing ceremonials of later priestly *hataałii* or singers" (Luckert, 1979, p. 3). Communication with spirits in an altered state is now replaced by learned liturgy of the poetic chantway; discussion of altered states or spirits are not part of the proceedings. In fact, it might be seen as problematic if a participant were to report the sighting of a spirit (Faris, 1988, personal communication). Many of the specific procedures used, based on extant research, can be seen as conducive to changes of various aspects of consciousness (such as rattling or repetitive chanting or the shift in waking cylce) or they can be interpreted as social cues that prompt the patient to engage in appropriate behavior (with no apparent signs of alterations in one's patterns of phenomenal properties).

The origin myth of Coyote Way, however, clearly indicates the inspired or shamanic origins of the now highly structured priestly performance and can be seen as the account of an earlier shamanic visionary experience (see Winkelman 2000 for a differentiation of shamans and priests). The beginning of one version of the story talks about the origin of chantways in dreams. It describes a journey through the sacred landscape of the Diné people. A boy has exhausted his hunting luck and follows coyote tracks in hopes that they might lead him to some game. He arrives at a frozen pond and follows the tracks down a ladder. In this underworld he receives detailed instructions on how to perform Coyote Way and the ceremony is performed over him. He then teaches the Earth People the ceremony before returning to the Coyote People. This myth exemplifies a 4-year long shamanic underworld journey, as the story goes (analogous to the prolonged initiations during "shamanic illness" among Siberian tribes; Vasilevič, 1968) and sets the cultural context for the ritual. It should be noted that the Great Coyote previously had much more positive connotations as a trickster and hunter than it has today.

Coyote illness originates with the Great Coyote beyond the East and is brought to humans via predators from Sun and Moon. The basic symptoms seem to be mania, nervous malfunctions, and rabies, with such symptomatic behavior as twisted mouth, cross-eyed vision, weakened eyesight, loss of

memory, and fainting. Faris (1990) has extensively argued for the importance of situating ceremonial practices and reliance on the authority of practitioners of local knowledge (as opposed to the use of Jungian or other perspectives alien to Diné cultural practices).

The absence of a formal induction does not prevent the client from becoming receptive to a suggestion and motivated to follow it, just as most, if not all, hypnotic phenomena can be evoked without hypnotic induction (Kirsch, 1990, p. 129). Contributing to this procedure is the multi-modal approach that characterizes Navajo chants, as well as their repetitive nature and the mythic content of the words, which are easily deciphered by those clients well-versed in tribal mythology. Sandner (1979) described how the visual images of the sand paintings and the body paintings, the audible recitation of prayers and songs, the touch of the prayer sticks and the hands of the medicine man, the taste of the ceremonial musk and herbal medicines, and the smell of the incense "all combine to convey the power of the chant to the patient" (p. 215). A *hataałii* usually displays a highly developed dramatic sense in carrying out the chant but generally avoids the clever sleight of hand effects used by many other cultural healing practitioners to demonstrate their abilities to the community (p. 241). The following four sections describe the multi-dimensionality of hypnotic-like procedures in the Coyote Way.

Unraveling Ceremony. This involves a number of bundles (made of feathers and plants), a watery mixture to be consumed (made from corn and other plants), a rub-on medicine (made from herbs). At the beginning of the ceremony, cornmeal is sprinkled to represent the world inside the hogan. The patient circles the fire and sits in this microcosm of the world made present through the cornmeal design. Songs evoke the origins of the Coyote Way, “They were given, they were given …He brought it back, he brought it back” (Luckert, 1979, p. 37). The bundle gets pressed against the body of the patient in important places and the bundles are loosened to loosen the knots in the patient’s body. Then the patient drinks the watery mixture and the rub-on medicine is applied to the body while songs commemorate the shamanic initiation of the original practitioner into the Coyote Way. This ceremony concludes, as do all ceremonies that are part of the Coyote Way, with a feather burning rite.

Fire Ceremony. The fire is made with fire sticks while chanting is going on. Reed-prayer stick bundles are prepared (which include various bird feathers, pollen, and tobacco); through this smoke the Holy People are tricked and they burn the arrow, which is smuggled into the bundle, an arrow that has affected the patient negatively; the patient carries these items about half a mile in each of the cardinal directions and deposits them. The chanting recounts the exploits of the first shaman as he walked in the four directions. In addition, plant bundles are also used on the body of the patient. A sweating rite follows and an emetic drink (made from juniper, pine, spruce, algae, berry, and other plant ingredients) is prepared and consumed and rubbed on the body after the sweat. Songs guide in the identification with the Great Coyote and the ceremony literally proceeds inside this cosmic being.

Basket Drum Ceremony. Two large yucca leaves are knitted together into a drumstick for use on an upside down wedding basket. The healing progresses, as indicated by chants like “I am reviving my mind in the presence of the Sun …. The blessing is given, the blessing is given.” Each basket-drum sessions end with a feather burning rite.

Sand Painting Ceremony. During these ceremonies the *yé’ii* or gods or holy people appear. The sand paintings represent the cosmos in a controllable form. The image recounts the emergence of humans as well as the origin of the Coyote Way. The sand painting, depicting Holy People and corn, is an image of balance and the patient is placed on it while the *yé’ii* work on him or her by administering medicines. In this way the patient is literally, physically moved from a place of imbalance and ill health onto a place of balance and healing (by sitting in the balanced cosmos of the sand painting).

Hypnotic-like procedures affect the mentation of both the *hataałii* and the patient during the chant. Sandner (1979) pointed out that the *hataałii’*s performance empowers the client by creating a "mythic reality," an invocation of cosmic balance, through the use of chants, dances, and songs (often accompanied by drums and rattles), masked dancers, purifications (e.g., sweats, purgings, herbal infusions, ritual bathings, sexual abstinence), and sand paintings. Joseph Campbell (1990) described the col-

ors of the typical sand painting as those "associated with each of the four directions" and a dark center -- "the abysmal dark out of which all things come and back to which they go." When appearances emerge in the painting "they break into pairs of opposites" (p. 30).

The Navajo chants were considered by Sandner (1979) to facilitate suggestibility and shifts in attention through repetitive singing and the use of culture-specific mythic themes (p. 245). These activities prepare participants and their community for healing sessions. As we have seen in the above example, these healing sessions may involve symbols and metaphors acted out by performers, enacted in purification rites, or executed in dry paintings (a more accurate term, since other substances are also used) composed of sand, corn meal, charcoal, and flowers -- but destroyed once the healing session is over. Some paintings, such as those used in the Blessing Way chant are crafted from ingredients that have not touched the ground (e.g., corn meal, flower petals, charcoal).

Topper's (1987) study of Navajo *hataałii* indicated that they raise their clients' expectations through the example they set of stability and competence. Politically, they are authoritative and powerful; this embellishes their symbolic value as "transference figures" in the psychoanalytic sense, representing "a nearly omniscient and omnipotent nutritive grandparental object" (p. 221). Frank and Frank (1991) have stated it more directly: "The personal qualities that predispose patients to a favorable therapeutic response are similar to those that heighten susceptibility to methods of healing in non-industrialized societies, religious revivals, experimental manipulations of attitudes, and administration of a placebo" (p. 184).

The hypnotic-like procedures strengthen the support by family and community members as well as the client's identification with figures and activities in Navajo cultural myths, both of which are powerful elements in the attempted healing. But do these procedures deserve a description that indicates a major shift in conscious functioning? Sandner (1979) found that his informants were insulted when it was suggested that Navajo *hataałii* change their state of consciousness to such an extent that their sense of identity is lost; such a shift would distract the practitioners from the attention to detail and the precise memory needed for a successful performance. (This comment supports the utility of such less loaded terms as “attentional shifts” and “changed patterns of phenomenological properties.”) Arguably, the self-concept of indigenous people and modern observers are different (Cushman, 1995; Kremer, 2004); the apparent greater inclusiveness and fluidity (as far as boundaries to everyday consensual reality are concerned) may make shifts in attention on certain occasions less dramatic or less apparent, with the experient judging them to be quite normal (rather than dramatically different). Both of us observed the intertribal Cherokee/Shoshone medicine man Rolling Thunder by all indications fluidly moving in and out of profoundly different states of consciousness while answering questions in conversation.

At best, the *hataałii* appear to modify their attentional states and their patterns of phenomenological properties rather than to "alter" all of their subsystems of consciousness, or their consciousness as a totality. Attention determines what enters someone's awareness. When attention is selective, there is an aroused internal state that makes some stimuli more relevant than others and thus more likely to attract one's attention. A trait that is more characteristic of shamans than a “shamanic state of consciousness” might be the unique attention that shamans give to the relations among human beings, their own bodies, and the natural world -- and their willingness to share the resulting knowledge with others (Krippner, 2002, p. 967).

Contemporary Shamanic Practices in Sápmi

The Sámi traditions are probably best known for their use of elaborately designed shamanic drums. The Sámi people, who speak several distinct languages, live in Sápmi, located in the Scandinavian Fennoscandia region and on the Kola Peninsula. Rydving (1993) published a book entitled *The End of the Drum-Time* that discusses the religious change at the end of the 17th century with the intensification of Christianization; at that time the drums had to be hidden and numerous drums were destroyed or were taken and ended up in museum collections. In recent decades the use of the drum has resumed and some artisans (such as Lars Pirak) make drums and sell them only with the promise of use (but not for show or

as mere museum pieces).

The shaman is called *noaidi* (the one who sees, from *oaidnit*, to see) and he or she works with the drum, *govadas*, meaning "an instrument to develop pictures with" (*govva* means picture) (Kallio, 1997). The drums are instrumental in facilitating attentional shifts and modifications of the *noaidi's* pattern of phenomenological properties.

Valkeapää (1991) has probably provided the most detailed evocation of a contemporary traditional Sámi worldview which poetically celebrates the power of the sun, *beaivi*; the title of the book is *The Sun, My Father*. It is a work of healing which is effected by bringing old pictures taken by anthropologists from museum archives back to the land of the Sámi people, Sápmi. It is a shamanic work of art that utilizes traditional chanting (*yoiking*), sounds of nature, poetry, and imagery to immerse the reader in the Sámi world. Nils-Aslak Valkeapää is usually just known by the honorific Áilu or Áilohaš and his shamanic gifts are apparent in his numerous publications and cds.

Places of offering, *sieddit*, play an important part in Sámi traditional practices; they can be found all over Sápmi. Frequently these are cracks in rocks, and coins and other objects can usually be found in them. A rock carving in Jiepmaluokta (Bay of Seal Cubs, near Alta, Norway) depicts the offering of a reindeer eye to the earth (it dates to approximately 4200-3600 B.C.E.). One of the most interesting offering stones can be found at the center of a spiral. Its name, *Ceavccageađgi* (Fish Oil Stone), identifies a place where offerings of gratitude for a good catch were and are made (it is located on the northernmost fjord, Varangerfjord, opposite the Kola Peninsula). In the Sámi worldview every person has an immortal *fárrosaš*, a journey companion. The shaman or *noaidi* has three "animal helpers": *saivoloddi*, a bird that shows where to go; *saivoguolli*, a fish that helps enter the underworld; and *saivosarva*, a reindeer, which could fight on behalf of the *noaidi* (Kallio, 1997; Siri, 1998). Pirak (1996, personal communication) related a dramatic tale of a shamanic fight that involves several instances of shape shifting, including the transformation of one *noaidi* into a powerful loon. Ultimately, one of the shamans who were standing trial for shamanizing or *noaidivuohta*, is absolved of wrong-doing because the judge acknowledges how beneficial his actions were.

For the Sámi, shamanic traditions are returning in various ways, including dreams that contain shamanic elements such as eagles, sunbeams, and humans "with wings spread" (Siri, 1998, p. 34). Rock carvings showing people with wings have been found in Scandinavia. The Sámi traditions see the sun as the giver of light, warmth, and fertility; sunbeams create soul and spirit that travels to First Father who sends it on to First Mother who creates a body for the soul. Kallio comments: "The first shaman was a woman, the daughter of Sun and Eagle. Today this woman lives in a tree, and that is where the shamans get their education" (in Siri, 1998, p. 34). The design of old drums frequently has the sun at its center; it is understood as the gateway or portal into the spirit world (Kallio, 1996, personal communication); reindeer commonly stand right next to it. White reindeer carry particular shamanic significance.

The drum is used in two distinct ways: 1) To prophesize -- with the help of a ring, reindeer bone, or frog skin that moves across the drumhead during drumming and lands on particular images that then get interpreted (this use of the drum is illustrated in the movie *Pathfinder*, where it is used to determine who is to kill a bear); and, 2) as an instrument for shamanic journeying, where it is often used together with chanting.

I experienced *noaidivuohta* (shamanic activity) on numerous occasions in Sápmi along the river Deatnu. For one such ceremony the setting was a *lavvu*, the traditional Sámi tipi out on the tundra by a lake. The ceremony commenced late in the evening when the midnight sun was low, above the horizon. The drum used by Biret Máret Kallio was contemporary in design and had been given to her by another *noaidi*; the images reflected, as in older designs, the Sámi worldview and "animal helpers" with whom she has a particular relationship. The initial conversation covered a variety of shamanic topics, including how many white reindeer Kremer had encountered during this trip. The birch wood fire with its particular smell, together with the smoke of the local juniper (*reatká*), were at the center. Coffee was offered to Sáráhkká, arguably the most important female spirit in daily life; she lives in the fire and is one of three

daughters of Máttáráhkku (the Tribal Mother or Mother Earth).

Old drums frequently depict the three sister spirits in the center. The offering to the hearth (*árran*) was mandatory before beginning the shamanic journeying work. The drumming was accompanied by chanting, at times overtone chanting, and repeated loud invocations of the bear, *guovža*. The combination of the setting, timing, smells of the fire, drumming, and chanting facilitated a profound alteration of consciousness and intense experiences of visual imagery. At the end the three participants shared their experiences. I noticed profound attentional shifts; some of them hypnotic-like in nature.

By contrast to Diné chantways or other Native American ceremonies, such as those held by the Native American Church, the observations of Sámi *noaidivuohta* were characterized by informality and a spontaneous or inspirational approach. Other settings included work with groups in the *lavvu* and shamanizing using the drum in order to protect threatened prehistoric sites. These procedures are complex performances that are not covered by Division 30's definition of hypnosis, but call for appreciation in their own right.

The Psychophysiology of Shamanic Healing

It is beyond the scope of this paper to give a detailed presentation of the psychophysiological aspects of shamanic healing. Nonetheless, I want to touch upon some central points. As mentioned previously, I prefer the term "integrative states of consciousness" to "altered states of consciousness" or "trance;" this term can be contrasted with states of normative dissociation which emphasize a limited range of our psychophysiological potential within the boundaries of the masterful self of modernity. At this point it seems accurate to say that shamanic practices are effective in their healing endeavors, because they integrate evolutionarily older and younger parts of the brain (or emotional and rational parts) or affective, cognitive, and socio-cultural aspects of a person. Images play a central role in this process. Integrative states of consciousness allow as gain access those parts of ourselves that normative dissociation prevents us from accessing (unconscious aspects of our emotions, habits, etc.). This is routine in shamanic ritual and ceremony and it is also what various psychotherapeutic techniques aim to accomplish (whether by way of dream analysis, art, hypnosis, active imaginative, etc.).

Jilek (1982) is among the early authors to explore the interface between culture, self identity, physiological processes, and psychological suffering. His book *Indian Healing – Shamanic Ceremonialism in the Pacific Northwest* is seminal and an early exemplar of a culturally sensitive integration of Western approaches with indigenous understandings. Jilek, following Wittkower, looks at integrative states of consciousness as a prophylactic for psychological suffering. "An increase in mental illness may have to be expected when as a result of culture change [trance and possession states] have ceased to exist" (p. 30). He is particularly concerned with "experiences of cultural confusion and relative deprivation" resulting in "anomic depression" (p. 52). This term refers to

> acculturation imposed through western education; b) attempt at White identification ("identification with the aggressor" in psychoanalytic terms), or vying for acceptance by Whites; c) subjective experience of rejection and discrimination – awareness of relative deprivation in White society; d) cultural identity confusion; e) moral disorientation, often with acting out behaviour; f) guilt about denial of Indian-ness – depressive and psychophysiologic symptom formation – inefficiency of Western remedies; g) diagnosis as spirit illness permitting reidentification with aboriginal culture via initiation into spirit dancing ("death and rebirth"); h) alternatively, if initiation prevented by outside factors, ongoing symptom formation, often with intrafamily conflict. (p. 56)

The ritualists of the Northwest Coast traditions have recognized the need for a "culture-congenial" therapy in order "to combat the pathogenic effects of cultural confusion, anomie, and relative deprivation among their people" (p. 62).

In Jilek's analysis the spirit dances of the Northwest Coast integrate occupational therapy, group psychotherapy, cathartic abreaction, psychodrama, direct ego-support, and physical exercise as therapeutic elements (p. 86). He notes that social isolation (with prolonged nocturnal vigilance, expectant alertness, and monotony), motor hyperactivity and mental excitation (associated with prolonged fear and

emotional stress, followed by exhaustion and fatigue), and a number of somatopsychological factors (sleep deprivation, hypoglycemia, dehydration, hypoventilation, exposure to extreme temperatures, self-inflicted pain stimuli) are part of the process.

Jilek concludes that "the indigenous and therapeutic procedures of the spirit dance ceremonial are superior to Western methods, as far as Indian clientele is concerned, in the management of two symptom complexes: 1) conditions of ill health in which psychoneurotic and psychophysiologic mechanisms are prominent (…); 2) antisocial and aggressive behaviour usually associated with alcohol or drug abuse, and emotionally or physically destructive to self and kin" (p. 97). Initiation is understood as overcoming "sickness and faulty behaviour contracted by exposure to an alien culture, through rebirth as a true Indian" (p. 104). I will explore the issues of healing from the experience of an alien culture below in greater detail.

Since the publication of *Indian Healing* in 1982 physiological research has made tremendous strides and numerous results are helpful in understanding shamanic healing processes. Winkelman (2000) has attempted to summarize the available research.

Shamanic practices induce extraordinary experiences and healing by producing integrative relationships among brain systems and psychocultural beliefs. (…) Shamanistic healing practices achieve this integration by physically stimulating systematic brain-wave-discharge patterns that activate affects, memories, attachments, and other psychodynamic processes of the paleomammalian brain. This activation forces normally unconscious or preconscious primary information-processing functions and outputs to be integrated into the operations of the frontal cortex. This integrates implicit understandings, socioemotional dynamics, repressed memories, unresolved conflicts, intuitions, and nonverbal … knowledge into self-conscious awareness. (p. xii-xiii)

This broad summary needs to suffice for the purposes of this paper. It suggests a multi-dimensional understanding of what makes both psychotherapy and shamanic rituals effective as healing interventions.

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