SPIRIT POSSESSION AND ALTERED STATES OF CONSCIOUSNESS:
THE EVOLUTION OF AN INQUIRY

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Introduction

The review of the history of one's own research presents an interesting challenge: on the one hand, it provides an opportunity to reflect on what was done and how, and why. Also, in conducting such a review, one may hope to discover some new dimensions of the research problem. On the other hand, it is quite obvious that we can have only a limited, and probably distorted, view of our own intellectual histories in the context of the wider history of our discipline and of the world in which we live.

Some comments on this larger context are in order at the outset of this review. The subject of the research to be discussed involves segments of the field now commonly called "altered states of consciousness" (ASC) as well as reference to beliefs in what is spoken of as "possession" by spirit entities. These subjects seem very timely indeed as this is being written. Yet when the original field research in Haiti was begun in 1947 nothing could have been more exotic. Surely, in modern Western industrial societies people did not believe in such things! That exorcism was still "on the books" as a ritual of the major denominations could only be due to institutional conservatism and cultural lag. As for the "trance" state that supposedly "possessed" persons experienced, that was certainly either mental illness, perhaps hysteria, or at best, a somnambulistic or hypnotic phenomenon, if not outright simulation. I recall that much later, in the early 1960's I mentioned my research interests to a colleague, a political scientist. He was clearly disappointed to learn that I was
spending my time on subjects of such limited antiquarian interest, when so many burning problems of practical importance needed to be attended to.

In the pages that follow I shall attempt to show how my own research interests have grown from more circumscribed beginnings, how they were influenced by developments within anthropology as well as by new questions that arose in pursuit of answers to the first formulations of the problem. At the same time, the research interacted with developments in the wider society. Finally, I wish to show how this apparently "esoteric" research may be said to have bearings on our understanding of a series of what are generally conceded to be "significant concerns."

I. Possession in Haitian Vodoun

In 1947, relatively little anthropological field work had been carried out in Haiti. There were numerous popular accounts, many dating from the period of the American Occupation of that country (1915-34), full of sensational revelations concerning "voodoo." There was, however, one major exception to this. In 1937, M. J. Herskovits published his Life in a Haitian Valley, a study of the village of Mirebalais, placed in the larger setting of Haitian history and society. The importance of this work for later Haitian history, as well as for Afro-American studies, can scarcely be exaggerated. (For a discussion of the significance of Herskovits' work, see Whitten and Szwed, 1970). Having studied Afro-Americans in Suriname both among the Bush Negroes and the city people of Paramaribo, and having carried on field work in West Africa, particularly in Dahomey, Herskovits
(Herskovits and Herskovits 1933, Herskovits 1938) was struck by the continuity Haitian culture showed with ancestral African patterns in family form, economic organization and, in particular, in religion.

He sought to redress the balance against the sensationalists, to show the values of African traditions in the life of the Haitian peasantry. And in doing so, he gained the respect and gratitude of Haitian intellectuals, who were to lay the ground work of their own ideology of cultural identity. He saw Haitian culture, including religion, as the result of acculturation, as a partial amalgam of European and African elements. This was most strikingly true in religion, where Catholic saints were identified with African gods (Herskovits 1937b).

The element in Haitian religion which had attracted most sensational notice was that of spirit possession. During vodoun rituals, some of the faithful impersonate various spirits. That is to say, it is believed that their actions and words are no longer their own but those of spirits (saints, African gods) that take over their bodies. Afterwards, they have no memory of the events. A Haitian psychiatrist, J. C. Dorsainvil (1931), had argued that possession was the result of neurotic strains in Haitian heredity. Herskovits emphatically came down on the side of cultural relativism: "...in terms of the patterns of Haitian religion, possession is not abnormal, but normal; it is set in its cultural mold as are all other phases of conventional living. That it gives release from psychic tensions does not alter the case..." (Herskovits, 1937a:147). The point is forcefully elaborated some years later: "The very definition of what is normal or
abnormal is relative to the cultural frame of reference...when we look beneath behavior to meaning, such conclusions of psychopathology become untenable... The possession behaviors are culturally patterned, and often induced by learning and discipline." (Herskovits 1948:66-67, emphasis in original.)

And again:

The terminology of psychopathology has been readily applied to these states of possession. Such designations as hysteria, autohypnosis, compulsion, have come to rest easily on the tongue. ...the connotation they carry of psychic instability, emotional imbalance, departure from normality recommends the use of other words that do not invite such a distortion of cultural reality. For in these Negro societies the interpretation given behavior under possession - the meaning this experience holds for the people—falls entirely in the realm of understandable, predictable, normal behavior (ibid., emphasis in original.)

As Herskovits points out, the interpretation of possession in terms of psychopathology is rejected by him "in the light of the principles of cultural relativism" (ibid:371).4

In spite of such insistence on cultural normality, Herskovits was aware of the limitations of our understanding of the phenomena in question. In the context of his discussion of possession in Haiti, he commented on the difficulty of dealing with the subject:

Scientifically, the phenomenon of possession in Negro cultures, at least, is as yet unsatisfactorily explained, largely because of the almost complete absence of adequate reports on the background and incidence of specific cases (1937a:147).

As a student at Northwestern, I went to Haiti in 1947 to carry on research within the larger framework of Afro-American studies pursued by Professor Herskovits, his associates and his students. Mine was to be a broad ethnographic study in areas of the country not previously
investigated. However, having worked closely also under the direction of Professor A. I. Hallowell, I wished to bring my training in culture and personality to bear on the problems of spirit possession.

In my thinking about that puzzling phenomenon, I found myself concerned with the cultural patterning of this behavior and with the role of culture in the definitions of the normal and the abnormal. Hallowell (1988) had proposed, on the basis of Ojibwa data, that neurotic anxiety and realistic fear are not different categories, as suggested by the psychoanalytic literature. Rather, he had argued for an interpretation which sees anxiety and fear as the ends of a continuum, along which we may find culturally patterned intermediary terms. What is realistic reaction to danger will depend on the cultural perception of dangers, not on the evaluation of a situation by an outsider. Could giving up one's identity to that of a "possessing" spirit and the acting out of that spirit role also be seen in these terms? If "possession behavior" is cultural behavior rather than idiosyncratic deviancy, then—culture being learned—possession behavior must be learned. How then, is it learned?

What are the features of Haitian modal personality structure which make such learning not only possible but appropriate?

Answers to these and related questions were to be obtained through observations of possession behavior, life history materials, including dreams, the collection of projective test protocols—particularly the
Rorschach—as well as observations and other information on the enculturation of Haitian children. 6

Although I was concerned with these ideas, I should like to stress that the approach to field work emphatically encouraged by Professor Herskovits was not that of problem oriented research, of hypothesis testing. Indeed, such focussed research was said to limit the attention of the ethnographer to selected aspects of culture, and to lead to the neglect of others, not foreseen in the hypothesis. In this sense, ethnographic research was to be totally open-ended and the ordering of data was to be done after the field work had been completed. It should be noted, in this connection, that in his chapter on field work in Man and His Works (1948) there is no reference to hypotheses and their testing, nor is there reference to the work of those who employed such an approach.

Learning a foreign culture through participation in another society is quite another matter than gaining acquaintance with unfamiliar ways of life through the reading of anthropological reports. The anthropologist seeks to put order into his data, if only by devoting different chapters to each of the various aspects of culture, what Clark Wissler called "the universal table of contents" of anthropological monographs: economics, family organization, religion, etc. Furthermore, an attempt is generally made to find some coherence in the observational materials, to look for threads and trends that interrelate given actions and attitudes. It is expected that behavior is not random, that no people lives in a chaotic world and that it behooves the anthropologist to find the underlying order, whether that order be referred to as
patterns, themes, motifs, modal personality structure or social structure.

The actual experience of life in a society, of interaction with individuals, presents cultural data pell mell. Possession, I came to see, had to be understood not only within the specific confines of the ritual settings within which it occurred for the most part, but rather within the larger vodoun world view and, indeed, within the structure of the total society. What, then, was the cultural universe of the lower class Haitian? For one thing, I found Haiti to be a highly stratified society, and even in relatively remote rural areas there was awareness of this stratification and its impact on peoples' lives. However, I began my work in the capital city, and there the evidence of the stratified world was everywhere. Vodoun was denied or belittled by the élite, at least in public. For the lower class vodouists, however, the reality of the stratified society was built into the vodoun universe; it was reflected by the hierarchical arrangement of the spirits, which mirrored even the racial and linguistic distinctions in the population. Secondly, the vodoun world view presented a framework within which all kinds of experiences, all kinds of aspects of the world were given meaning. For example, if I, as a foreigner, wanted to learn about vodoun, it had to be that its rituals were practiced in my country, and that I came to receive training I could put to use on my return.

I soon discovered a number of things concerning possession I had not fully understood from my pre-field work studies. For one thing, the transformations in actions, expressions, attitudes of possessed
individuals were indeed drastic and often dramatic. The learning involved in the acquisition of possession behavior would, I thought, have to be of two kinds: on the one hand, individuals would have to acquire knowledge of the behavior appropriate to possessed persons. Yet this conscious learning alone would not be enough to produce the behavior, for then it would merely be skilled play-acting. On the other hand, since this behavior was so very widespread, there would have to be the development of a special modal personality type, a personality having the capacity of entering into possession states.7

I noted that the concept of possession—in Haitian parlance, being "mounted" by a spirit—had a broader range of applications than expected. And in my field notes I began to distinguish between what I thought of as a supracultural, medical—or psychiatric—definition of "possession" and the way in which the Haitians conceived of the state of being "mounted." I thought in the former sense possession might be defined as temporary loss of consciousness, followed by amnesia, sometimes accompanied by violent convulsive movements and sometimes by complete alteration of the personality, lasting from a few moments, to—reputedly—a week or even ten days. Such behavior might occur at ceremonies and might be considered appropriate there, if the spirits had been invited.
If not, it might be considered ill-mannered on the part of the spirit. Possession might occur spontaneously outside of ritual settings, such as in children's games or in crisis situations. Yet being "mounted" might also refer to speaking in one's sleep. In cultural terms, the two are equivalent—in psychiatric terms they clearly are not. On the other hand, there might be situations in which a break in consciousness occurs, yet either because the individual is alone or the situation or the associated behavior is inappropriate, a break is not referred to as possession. Hallucination would be one such example, as would be drunkenness or certain delusional states. Furthermore, there are a variety of circumstances in which possession states are culturally appropriate, and where the behavior is most likely to be imitative rather than genuine; an example of this is found in the supposed manifestations of the spirits of death (Guéde) in Haitian marketplaces on Halloween. And, finally, there are other types of possessions, illnesses interpreted as due to spirits of the dead "sent on" an individual by sorcerers. Such possessions by the dead are not linked to impersonations or unconsciousness (Bourguignon 1965, 1970a).

Looking at the culture of the Haitian masses as the result of the acculturation of transplanted Africans, I saw much that gave evidence of that African past, many examples of what Herskovits had termed retentions and syncretisms. Among these retentions, on the psychological level, I thought, was the "continued capacity for spirit possession," suggesting a continuity of personality structure with their African ancestors even greater than the continuity of cultural content (Bourguignon 1951). Note that I implied here that spirit possession
behavior represented a "capacity" rather than a type of pathology or a defect, and also, that I thought of this capacity as a feature of personality structure.

Yet, I did not address myself in my analysis directly to the matter of personality structure. Rather, I was preoccupied with questions of cognition, with the structuring of the behavioral environment in which the behavior took place and in terms of which it "made sense." Thus, I noted that ritual possession behavior involved impersonation and disguise, external and internal transformations of a person's essence. These themes play important roles in a variety of areas of Haitian life. Vodoun spirit possession had to be seen, therefore, in a larger context. And so I proceeded to consider this context from a number of vantage points: analyzing informants' talk about dreams (Bourguignon 1954), about the ever-favorite subjects of magic, cannibalism and zombis (Bourguignon 1959), or their responses to unstructured psychological tests, such as the Rorschach (Bourguignon and Nett 1955, Bourguignon 1956, 1969). And so the pieces gradually began to fall into place. For example, disguises appear frequently in the Rorschach protocols of adults and of children, as do a variety of transformed beings: werewolves, demons, zombis, etc. The same appears to be the case in dreams. Many of these themes of transformation are related to anxiety about the dangers of the world in which one lives. A second theme—most clearly expressed in regard to werewolves, zombis, cannibalism as well as the Afro-Catholic spirits—has to do with eating, feeding (the spirits) and being eaten. And a third theme is that of the totally hierarchical universe. The spirits, the political and
economic society, the family, the cult groups all are organized in a hierarchical fashion. There are no equals, only superiors and inferiors. Transformation and instability of personal form and identity, oral anxiety and oral dependence, and the sado-masochism of hierarchical organization appear to be crucial elements in the total Haitian behavioral environment and in the Haitian personality as well. "Fear of witchcraft, magic, evil spirits, etc. is to be understood as displacement of aggression...Whiting and Child [1953] found fear of others correlated with socialization anxiety in aggression training. Both propositions fit the Haitian data" (Bourguignon 1959:43). The aggression is often, perhaps primarily, oral aggression, and Whiting and Child (1953) also find fear of others correlated with oral socialization anxiety. How does all of this help us to understand possession behavior?

To begin with, let us be clear about what it is that we are dealing with. "Possession behavior" is really a culture-bound term, and unless the anthropologist wishes to view the phenomenon only from the perspective of the Haitians (or of others with similar beliefs and behaviors) it is better to use a more neutral term. From a psychological perspective, the behavior is best considered as "dissociation." In M. J. Field's words (1960:19) this is defined as a "mental mechanism whereby a split-off part of the personality temporarily possesses the entire field of consciousness and behavior." The elements of personality that make up the various spirit roles, or "personalities," represent such split-off parts of the personality. These are felt to be alien to the individual's personal identity and often act in ways
not acceptable for that identity. It should be noted, however, that for Field, as for myself, the term dissociation is neutral with regard to any implications of pathology.

A. I. Hallowell, in his important papers on "The Self and its Behavioral Environment" (1955a,b) notes that self-awareness is a generic human trait, which is a cultural and social product, and considers how personal identity is maintained within the context of a culturally constituted behavioral environment. Applying such a framework to my Haitian data brought them sharply into focus (Bourguignon 1965). In the Haitian context, we needed to consider not only continuity of personal identity but also the culturally sanctioned discontinuity of that identity. Ritual dissociation, interpreted as spirit possession, represented such discontinuity. By means of it, the individual may temporarily but repeatedly/his—or more often, her--identity, changing his position in the hierarchical universe. That behavior, that discontinuity, is culturally and ritually sanctioned and rewarded, as well as subject to certain norms. One of the principal rewards consists in the fact that the dissociated individual, playing the role of spirits, has a considerably enlarged scope of action. This may not be used only for immediate impulse gratification and for compensations for the frustrations of everyday life, or to deal with the problems of others. More importantly, this enlarged scope of action provides the individual a means of dealing with his own situation in the real world of everyday life. One of the most striking findings to come from the examination of my data (which I believe to be supported by data since collected by others) concerns
the continuity of motivation of dissociated individuals, in spite of the break in consciousness and the discontinuity of personal identity. Ritual dissociations are notably self-serving and self-enhancing. The very self whose continuity is denied by the cultural dogma embodied in possession belief and by the psychological experience of dissociation is served through this discontinuity. This suggests that the loss of continuity is in fact a valuable asset to the individual in dealing with his life situation, rather than damaging and hence pathological. I have, therefore, suggested that ritual dissociation might best be understood as a "dissociation in the service of the self" whose ends are served. And I concluded by arguing that ritualized dissociation provides the self with an alternate set of roles...in which unfulfilled desires, "unrealistic" in the context of the workaday world, get a second chance at fulfillment, a fulfillment which is surely not merely vicarious because the glory goes to the possessing spirit, rather than to the "horse" [i.e., the possessed person]... In a world of poverty, disease and frustration, ritual possession, rather than destroying the integrity of the self, provides increased scope for fulfillment (Bourguignon 1965:57).

Given the Haitian data, we may admit that ritual dissociation is of practical utility to the individual's adjustment. Yet we shall also have to ask why such a devious means of dealing with problems of living is required of the Haitian. Just what is the world like in which such indirect actions are necessary? The answer appears to be that it is, indeed, a world perceived as hostile in which the individual is anxious and powerless. Only the spirits appear to have the power to effect the required changes. And so the individual—partly in fantasy and partly through the acceptance of a collective fantasy by his peers—may become powerful by impersonating the spirits.
II. The Cross-cultural Study of Dissociational States, 1963-68

During the 1950s a number of things happened that led me, eventually, to undertake a much broader and quite differently conceived study of possession beliefs and associated behaviors. My interests in the general subject were maintained by the publication of a number of significant studies on Haiti and on related Afro-american and African cultures. For example, A. Métraux (1955, 1959) emphasized the importance of the histrionic and theatrical elements in Haitian possession behavior, as M. Leiris (1958) did for the zar cult of Ethiopia. S. Messing (1958), on the other hand, noted the group therapy aspects of the zar cult. This pointed up a major difference between Haitian vodoun, the other Afro-american cults and the West African forms from which they derived and the historically unrelated zar cult: zar possession involved the element of illness and therapy. Where in Haiti, for example, illness might be interpreted as sent by spirits and cult initiation might be one of several possible therapeutic measures, in the zar cult illness, itself, was seen as a form of possession. Inducing dissociation, causing the patient to impersonate the possessing spirit, was a way of coming to terms with it. In spite, then, of some remarkable similarities between zar possession and Afro-american possession, there were important differences to be observed as well. Clearly, we were dealing here with a different type of cultural structuring of the possession trance phenomenon and one needed to be cautious in generalizing from one to the other.
research. The argument that cultures were unique entities, and the consequences for cultural relativism that flowed from it, seemed to encourage a tendency for ad hoc interpretation. The result was that no systematic theory building, at least in the area of interest to me, was possible. For instance, social learning and histrionics might well be complementary interpretations of the same body of data, not competing ones, yet group therapy was surely something different. And just how was brainwashing like possession? And in all of this the question of possible psychobiological, physiological mechanisms in the dissociation process remained unresolved, and, indeed, essentially unattacked, except by Sargant who was little interested in cultural differences. It seemed all very well to say that possession trance is learned, and that reinforcement plays a role in this learning process. But what happens in the organism as part of consciousness is tuned out? We did not even know, it seemed, how much similarity there was on the simple observational level in physiological as well as psychological changes in dissociated individuals. How did cultural factors influence differences in observable behavior? Dissociation was, of course, not limited to societies where it was tied to a belief in possession. But what effect did such a belief have on the behavior? Consequently, it seemed to me that we were dealing with a species-wide capacity, sometimes culturally patterned and interpreted as spirit possession, sometimes treated as pathology. If so, we were in fact concerned with the question of the range of human variability within the limits of a universal human nature. And if indeed that was the case, it seemed surprising that thirty years of culture and personality research
features of a small number of societies. Whiting and Child (1953), however, used a statistical approach to the testing of psychological hypotheses on what seemed then a relatively large sample of societies. And although I, like many others, reacted to this pioneering work with initial scepticism, it increasingly became clear that, whatever the limitations of that first study, and indeed of the whole cross-cultural approach, it did offer some hope of bringing order into the masses of data anthropologists had accumulated in the course of nearly a century of research.

In 1962, as a result of these and related considerations, I undertook, in collaboration with a physical anthropologist, Louanna Pettay, and a psychiatrist, the late Adolf Haas, to submit to the National Institute of Mental Health a proposal for a coordinated cross-cultural research effort dealing with dissociational states and linked beliefs. Although our initial plan was for a two-year, library-based study, we eventually received support for five years of work, including several field investigations.

However, before moving on to a discussion of our project, we must stop for a moment to consider some other matters. In addition to the changing trends in anthropology sketched above, there were several developments in the broader society that came to be relevant to our research. They presaged the drug culture of the '60s, a growing concern with religious experimentation and renewal, as well as the veritable explosion of interest in the occult of the early '70s. Among these was the dramatic growth in the use of psychoactive drugs, tranquilizers and psychic energizers, that revolutionized psychiatric
practice during the 1950s in this country and abroad; this in turn stimulated a great research interest in the relationship between drugs and behavior (e.g., Uhr and Miller 1960). In 1963, the International Federation for Internal Freedom (IFIF) began to publish the *Psychedelic Review* to encourage exploration of what was being termed "consciousness-expansion" through the use of such psychoactive substances as LSD-25, psilocybin and others. The use of these substances was thus tied to an ideology, a conception of mind and consciousness, which may well be termed religious. On the other hand, in about 1958, there were the first beginnings of speaking in tongues (glossolalia) within the Episcopal church. This type of behavior had long been found among Pentecostalists, but was alien to the established denominations.

Bishop Pike, then of the California Diocese of the Episcopal Church, established a commission to investigate the theological and psychological aspects of this behavior (Diocese of California 1963). And although we were then only marginally interested in these developments on the American scene, they clearly came to form a backdrop to our cross-cultural research and to point up its relevancy to an understanding of our own culture.

Aims and problems

In our research proposal we noted that, although dissociational states were generally discussed in a clinical context in Western society, in many other societies such states were both institutionalized and culturally rewarded. And in spite of the existence of many descriptive studies of these behaviors in specific societies, no theory with transcultural implications had as yet been formulated, nor were the
data assembled in a manner that permitted the formulation of such a theory. Yet, we felt, the ethnographic descriptions accumulating in our libraries might be of considerable relevance in the construction of such a theory. Furthermore, they might be useful in the context of a growing interest in the effect of drugs on behavior, in hypnosis and brainwashing. And although we thought it premature to formulate hypotheses for testing, we suggested that the sociocultural correlates of culturally institutionalized dissociational states interpreted as spirit possession could be expected to differ from those of states involving hallucinations. Specifically, we implied that hallucination and so-called possession states—in contrast to much that had been said (and continues to be said)—involved significantly different kinds of behavior. Before we could undertake to formulate hypotheses for testing, however, we needed to know a great deal about the beliefs and behaviors in question. Although we asserted that dissociation represents a widely distributed human phenomenon, we did not know how widespread it was in fact, and we, therefore, proposed to map its worldwide distribution.

In beginning our study with a broad exploratory investigation of the descriptive ethnographic literature we found ourselves confronted with a series of problems typical of such an enterprise. The first of these concerned some aspects of the literature that were linked to the particular nature of our study: some of the difficulties we encountered with the ethnographic sources seemed to have a basis in the culture of the observers (Bourguignon and Pettay 1964).
Dissociational states were often referred to as "trance" or as "spirit possession." Those who spoke of trance might not elaborate on the cultural explanation and those who spoke of spirit possession might not adequately describe the observable behavior. Yet the terms were often used indiscriminately and interchangeably. The fact that concepts of possession have deep roots in the heritage of the Western society, in the Greek tradition no less than in the Judeo-Christian sources, has influenced both the perception and the language of the observer. And this is true of the anthropologist as well as of the missionary and the explorer. However, yet another factor has influenced anthropological reporting of these phenomena. In the late 1800s, under the sway of a unilineal evolutionary theory, Tylor and his contemporaries saw spirit possession beliefs as a primitive trait, characteristic of "savages." Reports of travellers and missionaries were often heavily concerned with exotic materials, with the "backwardness" and "irrationality" of primitives. As modern anthropology came to lay stress on a relativistic view of the peoples it studied as well as on showing the adaptive qualities of diverse cultures, the exotic and sensational was de-emphasized in descriptive ethnographies and in more popular writings as well. Instead, stress was often placed on the more "genuine" or harmonious traditional ways of primitives in contrast to the "spurious" and destructive ways of modern Western societies. Also, for a period of time, studies of religion went into a decline and came to be neglected in anthropological analyses.

In sum, the materials we had to deal with was scattered and unsystematic. The reporting was influenced by at least two kinds of bias, and the data had to be teased out of the descriptive literature. To do
so, we developed systematic outlines to help us in locating relevant information, outlines that went through several revisions over the period of our study. 11 On the whole, we had overestimated the quality of the ethnographic literature as it related to the types of information we sought to extract from the sources. In the course of five years, we inspected more than 2200 ethnographic sources in a number of languages. Yet more than one fourth of these sources turned out not to yield any relevant information. The work of collecting and analyzing data required an extensive effort in bibliographic research, translation, excerpting and coding. It required the development of coding outlines, and of a system of files and records, of ethnographic maps and other research aids. Our statistical studies required sampling procedures. And each activity involved numerous decisions that would affect the direction of our research and thus the nature of our findings. Most importantly, a group of research associates had to be assembled, who came to form a team. Several of its members have gone on to make major contributions of their own.

The Outlines

Consistent with our view that it was necessary to distinguish as carefully as possible between belief and behavior, we developed two outlines. One of these dealt with possession belief, the other with the behaviors we referred to as "trance." This term was found to be most common in the literature, where the descriptions, however, were often such that we could not be quite certain that reference was indeed being made to dissociation. (Today, I prefer ASC as a general term.)
We did not have a preconceived theory to test or a ready made typology to order the data; rather, we wished for a classification and for hypotheses to emerge from the data. Nonetheless, we were aware that the very act of inclusion or exclusion of items in our outlines was an act of theoretical choice which would necessarily affect the building of typologies and the formulation of hypotheses to be tested. We attempted to guard against premature delimitation of our field by including open-ended questions and by revising the outlines several times during the life of the study. We were, in effect; saying, however, that trance behavior and/or possession belief could be isolated from the rest of the culture for purposes of comparative analysis. This caused us to combine a series of native concepts under a common heading of "possession." If these combinations are in fact nonsensical, then the analysis should not be expected to yield meaningful results. We shall return to this point presently.

We defined "belief in possession" to mean that some aspect of an individual's behavior or of his capacities and aptitudes is interpreted by himself and/or by other members of his society as the behavior of another entity—a spirit, a ghost or other personality, or of a "power" having volition. This entity is believed to be in him or to act through him. The individual is its "vehicle"—it rides him as a mount (horse, camel, mule) or as a canoe, or fills him as a sack or a vessel. Such a spirit may transform the behavior and consciousness of the individual for a shorter or longer period of time, or it may be present permanently—or for periods of extended duration—in a latent form and modify consciousness only on specific occasions; or again, it may be present
permanently, without producing modifications in overt behavior and/or consciousness. Rather, the possessing spirit or power may lend capacities of a special kind, for good as in curing, or for evil, as in certain kinds of witchcraft. Or again, the alterations undergone by the individual are those of illness. In the case of behavioral modifications involving changes of consciousness, we speak of possession trance (PT). This may involve impersonation, as in Haitian ritual possession trance, or it may involve primarily mediumistic activity, that is, alterations in verbal behavior. It may even involve changes in language, as in glossolalia. On the other hand, where alterations of capacity are involved, rather than those of consciousness and behavior, we deal with a separate form of possession belief (P). We found that in a given society either, both or neither may exist; we referred to this classification as possession types. Where both P and PT exist, a variety of relations between these two types of belief are possible. For example, the Shilluk king experiences possession trance when he acceds to his position; he is then possessed by the spirit of the first king (Lienhardt 1954). Although the altered state of consciousness (PT) is temporary, he remains possessed (P) by the spirit for the rest of his life. On the other hand, the Ethiopian woman (Leiris 1957, Messing 1958) who is diagnosed as possessed by a zar spirit shows evidence of this possession (P) through illness. She experiences possession trance (PT) only during the initiation rite and at other rites of the group which she joins. In still other cases, P and PT may exist independently of each other in different sectors of a society.
This classification arises entirely from the descriptive ethnographic literature. It could not have been anticipated by any theoretical scheme. However, it should be emphasized that the categories are not -emic, for then we would, in fact, have a different set for each culture. Rather, we constructed categories by grouping reported concepts which seemed to us to be akin in important respects. However, within each category there are a great many possible variations: for example, PT may or may not be intentionally induced, and methods of induction, too, are diverse. PT and P may both be valued either positively or negatively, etc.

We defined "trance" to mean any altered state of consciousness, modifying, in varying degree any of the following: memory, sensory modalities, sense of identity, perception, etc. In the literature, there might be reference to a variety of clinical entities: dissociation, fugue, loss of consciousness, physiological collapse, obsessive ideas, and/or compulsive actions, hallucinations (Bourguignon 1968b, c). Where such alterations are culturally interpreted as due to possession we term this possession trance (PT); where it is not so interpreted, we speak of trance (T). T might be interpreted naturalistically, for example, as due to fever or drugs or in supernaturalistic terms, as due to soul loss or spiritual journeys. In our comparative study we focussed on the fact that such states did not merely exist in a given society but were institutionalized and ritualized in a religious context.

In our outlines we sought to identify the cultural context of the behavior, as well as its personnel. We sought to identify as much as possible of the observable features of physiological change in the
induction of the behavior, in its course and in its termination. We sought to discover methods of induction and termination and the subjective aspects of the experience as well. This involved great quantities of information present only in incomplete form even in the most detailed references. However, the outlines also proved to be invaluable as guides to field research.

As in the case of possession belief, we found that a society might have either PT or T or both or neither. We referred to these as trance types. Since a given society might also have P, our classification of beliefs and behaviors (P, PT, T) leads to a total of eight possible types of societies:

1. T-0-0: Societies that had trance (T), but no possession belief, either linked to it or apart from it.

2. 0-P-0: Societies having a possession belief (P), but no form of trance.

3. 0-0-PT: Societies with a possession belief linked to trance (or, if one prefers, trance behavior interpreted as possession) (PT), but no other trance behavior and no other possession belief.

4. T-P-PT: Societies with two forms of trance behavior: one linked to a possession belief (PT) and one explained in some other manner (T), and also having a possession belief (P) referring to some manifestations other than trance.

5. T-P-0: Societies with T (as in a visionary trance), and P (as an explanation for illness), but no possession trance (PT).

6. 0-P-PT: Societies having possession trance (PT) and a separate possession belief (P), but no other trance behavior.
7. T-0-PT: Societies having both trance (T) and possession trance (PT) but no other possession belief.

8. O-O-O: And finally, there are some societies that, as far as we were able to determine, have no forms of possession belief and have not institutionalized forms of trance (or ASC) in a religious context. We have identified only relatively few such societies for since observers rarely make statements about the absence of beliefs and behaviors, it is usually difficult to decide whether one deals with a true absence or only with a lack of reporting.

Note that this is a typology of societies, not of beliefs, states or institutions. Indeed, a given society might have several forms of T, or several forms of PT. At the level of this classification, we were only concerned with the institutionalized presence or absence of T, P and PT. In other contexts, however, the more detailed information was, of course, of importance. Before, however, considering more of our findings, we need to consider the problem of selecting societies for study.

Selecting societies to be studied

We were keenly aware of the fact that the worldwide distribution of ritualized forms of altered states of consciousness, institutionalized
such as those of Wylie (1957) or Pitt-Rivers (1954) make no reference to the belief in demonic possession and the possibility of exorcism within the Catholic Church. Yet there is other evidence (e.g., Bouteiller 1950, Lhermitte 1963) which would suggest that these and related beliefs and practices may still be found to play a role in European folk life. Islam, as well as Christianity, involved the same kind of difficulty for our attempt to derive codes from ethnographic studies of specific communities. Although general accounts of the area speak of possession illness, brotherhoods seeking ecstatic trance, and possession trance cults with wide distributions throughout the area, authors of community studies often limit themselves to noting that "the religion of the people is Islam."

The ethnographic literature presented two additional problems: acculturation and crisis movements. With regard to the former, we collected data on various levels of acculturation of given groups, as these were available. Some of these were used in intensive studies of single areas (Gussler 1973, Leonard 1973). However, for purposes of our statistical sample, we attempted to use the sources employed as a basis for the codings of the Ethnographic Atlas, or, when these did not prove to provide the information we required, we sought to locate others referring to the same community and date of observation. (Needless to say, this requirement caused us to eliminate a number of societies from the statistical sample.)

With regard to crisis movements (LaBarre 1970, 1971) we proceeded in a similar manner. We collected descriptive materials, but for purposes of the statistical sample, we sought to deal with what might
be considered a "stable" traditional society (and not an "atypical" crisis period) as represented by the date of observation given by the Atlas. (Crisis movements frequently include altered states, visions, etc. I have reviewed some of these materials elsewhere. Bourguignon 1974b.)

Thus the work of the project involved the gathering of data on a statistical sample, as well as information on a sizable number of other societies, cults and movements. Finally, it included the collection of field data.

The broad survey work made it possible to propose to a 1966 Conference on Trance and Possession States a typology of both trance behavior and associated beliefs and of possession beliefs and associated behaviors, as well as to review their distributions (Bourguignon 1968c). Beliefs associated with trance behavior were divided into "naturalistic" and "supernaturalistic" explanations. The latter in turn were classed into two groups: possession beliefs and non-possession beliefs. Both of these included some types evaluated positively and others negatively. The positive ones would be sought intentionally, such as mystic states, in the case of non-possession, or mediumistic states in the case of possession. In the naturalistic context, negative would mean pathological, as for instance in fever deliriums caused by somatic illness, while positive would equal non-pathological, as exemplified by hypnosis. Some categories might be indeterminate and their evaluation would then be situational. For example, in non-possession trance, the concept of soul absence would be positively evaluated when it refers to the shaman's spirit journey and negatively if it referred to illness caused by such
an absence. Here, the shaman's voyage could be part of the therapy. In the case of possession trance, impersonation of a spirit presence might be positive, as in our Haitian example, or negative, as in European (or Indian) possession by evil spirits. In the interesting East African case of the zar spirits, mentioned earlier, a negative illness possession could be transformed into a positive theatrical or therapeutic possession trance, by accommodation with the spirit. Positive and negative here are -emic evaluations, answers to the questions: is possession trance intentionally induced? Is the spirit invited? Driven out? Feared? etc.

A similar division into positive and negative poles is found in the analysis of possession beliefs and associated behaviors. The behavior belongs either into the category of "trance" or "non-trance." Thus, as noted, where possession belief is linked to trance behavior, we may deal with either desired, positive or undesired, negative spirit impersonation, or presence of powers. Where non-trance behavior is involved, there may also be positively-evaluated power acquisition or negatively-evaluated acquisition of a witchcraft agent or of illness.

At a later date, I pursued the matter of classification more intensively for a more limited region, using illness as a criterion for grouping African possession cults into a West African and an East African type (Bourguignon 1974\textsuperscript{ Orig. 1968}).

A different sort of exploration involved a study of the relationship between trance, possession and divination in sub-Saharan Africa (Bourguignon 1968b). This paper explored some structural relationships between mediumistic and other types of divination in Africa and also noted the frequent predominance of women in African possession trance cults. The suggestion is offered that this predominance involves two
The important roles of women in African American society have been variously described during the period of slavery and the Civil War. (Bennet 1975)

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sets of factors: the status of women and the social uses of possession trance cults in particular societies. Three kinds of situations are specifically referred to: predominance of women in possession trance cults represents a balancing element (for example, a situation in which the pronouncements of female mediums are interpreted by male political leaders) or an element of revolt (or, in terms used by Lewis 1966, 1977 reaction to "social deprivation") or, finally, particularly in Islamic societies, an element of conservatism. Yet, in reconsidering these three, it appears to me now that each involves a type of balancing mechanism—a point that will require further consideration.

One final exploratory study may be mentioned here: A review of the relationship of trance and possession trance to dance, ecstatic and curative, and of all of these to social change (Bourguignon 1968d).

Before we move on to consider our statistical studies, reference should be made to the field studies carried out by several members of the project team.

Anne Leonard, a member of our research team, went to Micronesia during 1965-66, where she studied possession trance behavior in Palau (Leonard 1973). The study was largely concerned with the effects of acculturation on traditional beliefs and practices involving altered states, but it had the additional importance for us of testing our outlines in the field.

During the same period of time, Linda Kimball studied an evangelistic tent revival in Columbus. Her interest was particularly drawn to the motor behavior of the evangelist to which she attempted to apply the linguistic approach of generative grammar (Kimball 1966).
In 1966, also, Jeannette Henney conducted a study of the Shakers, or Spiritual Baptists, on the previously unstudied West Indian island of St. Vincent (Henney 1973, 1974). Here two forms of altered states were found to have been institutionalized: (1) possession trance, conceptualized as manifestations of the Holy Spirit, which occurs in public, collective situations. In this context, there is speaking in tongues. The collective possession trance behavior is at times characterized by a "choral" phase, in spite of the considerable individual differentiation of motor behavior. (2) trance, in the form of visionary experiences, which occurs during retreats, termed "mourning." Of particular interest is the detailed similarity drawn by Henney between this ritual and the hallucination-producing sensory deprivation experiments. Henney also collected data on another group, calling itself "Streams of Power," founded by a Dutch evangelist. These people also used dissociation, primarily in the form of glossolalia.

During 1966-67, Esther Pressel conducted a study of the Umbanda cult in São Paulo, Brazil (Pressel 1973, 1974). Umbanda is a highly syncretic religion, appealing largely to the Brazilian middle class, which combines elements of Catholicism, African possession trance cults, spiritism and certain putative American Indian elements. This represented a first anthropological analysis of this growing movement. Pressel's data are rich in materials on the learning of possession trance behavior by individuals. She also reviews the symbolic meaning of the cult ideology within Brazilian culture.
When Henney returned from the field with tape recordings of glossolalia, I suggested to another member of our team, F. D. Goodman, who had been trained as a linguist, that she might develop an approach to their analysis. Goodman found striking common features in intonational patterns in these utterances, as well as in samples of glossolalia from three other cultural settings. She proposed that these features might be due to their being connected with the characteristic neuropsychological features of trance (Goodman 1969). On the basis of these tentative findings, she sought to conduct research among non-Indo-European speakers who practiced glossolalia. She found such people among Maya Pentecostalists; there she has conducted a continuing study from 1969 to the present. Although this field study was not part of the project, it grew directly out of it, and its findings are of considerable interest (Goodman 1972, 1973, 1974). First of all, the Maya study confirmed Goodman in her view of glossolalia as ecstatic vocalization, sharing fundamental patterns regardless of the native language of the subjects. She also noted a characteristic pattern of attenuation over time in the experience of trancers. Secondly, in Goodman's first period in the village a movement she terms "a trance-based upheaval" began in the Pentecostal congregation. This has since run its course, and she was able to observe it at various stages of its growth and decline (Goodman 1974).

Aspects of these focused field studies have been presented together with results of our statistical studies as well as two detailed studies of possession trance in Africa (Bourguignon, ed. 1973). The studies have a good deal of unity in orientation, yet they reflect the difference of the settings and some differences in the interest of the
investigators. Such coordinated research permits the focusing on the relationship between on the one hand altered states of consciousness as institutionalized in a variety of religious settings and on the other, various kinds of social change. These relations are complex, both on the societal and on the individual level. Our review suggests a good many problems for further testing.

Statistical studies:

We began by asking two questions: how widespread are altered states of consciousness, institutionalized in a religious context, among the 488 sample societies? And how widespread are possession beliefs?

The answer to the first of these questions is that they are virtually universal: 90% of our worldwide sample of societies have institutionalized forms of T and/or PT (Bourguignon 1973a, Table 1, p. 10ff). However, there are important differences among the six major world areas, so that the frequencies range from 97% in North America to 80% in the Circum-Mediterranean area. The clear implication seems to be that most societies have found it adaptive to institutionalize one or more forms of the universal human capacity for altered states, to utilize it, or at least, to bring this potentially dangerous force under social control. ASCs are ritualized and as I have noted elsewhere, “the rituals employing ASCs are dramatic two-way communications that make the will and the actions of spirits immediately evident to human participants” (Bourguignon 1974c, p. 47-13).

It is the 10% of non-ASC societies that represent the exception. Indeed, it is likely that better reporting (and further analysis of
the literature) would in fact reduce that percentage.

With regard to possession belief (P and/or PT) the situation is somewhat different. On a worldwide basis, 74% of our sample societies have some form of possession belief. Here the incidence varies from a high of 88% in the Insular Pacific to a low of 52% in the societies of native North America (Bourguignon 1973a, Table 2, pp. 17ff).

The lower incidence of possession belief points to the fact that such beliefs are, indeed, human inventions, cultural artifacts, and as such are not universal. Note that in this respect the Americas differ significantly from the rest of the world: almost half of the societies of North America and more than a third of those of South America do not have a possession belief.

If we consider the distributions of trance types (T, PT, both or neither) and of possession types (P, PT, both or neither) the situation becomes somewhat more complex (Bourguignon 1968, 1973a, 1974d). Of our 488 societies, as we noted earlier, 10% have neither T nor PT. For the other types, we get the following rank order: T 35%, PT 28%, T and PT 24%. Again, the major ethnographic regions vary drastically from this average.

For possession types we find that possession belief is absent in 26% of the societies; the other types are ranked as follows: P and PT 35%, PT 22% and P 16%. Again, the individual regions differ greatly from these averages.

How are we to account for these differences? Clearly diffusion must be considered an important factor here. Yet the question of functional relations needs to be investigated. From preliminary
Interpretations of results:

Why should one expect an association between PT and relative complexity (agriculture, stratification, greater population size, etc.) and between T and relative simplicity (a hunting, gathering and fishing economy, lack of stratification, small population, etc.)?

We may begin by noting that societies of greater complexity are more highly differentiated and offer a larger number of roles. This differentiation of major activities is represented symbolically by major gods (or spirits) (Swanson 1964). Possession trancers reflect this complexity by impersonating the spirits and possession trance rituals thus may be thought of as expressions of a society's model of its own social structure. Furthermore, such rituals often occur within structured cult groups. These groups are themselves a feature of complex societies, including specialized and ranked positions. The structure of these groups, too, is reflected in the possession trance rituals. By playing various spirit roles an individual may find ways of coming to terms with alien or dangerous aspects of his society or of his society's relations with other groups or forces in the environment. As suggested earlier with regard to Haiti, possession trance may increase the individual's range of personal options, a suggestion which is confirmed by several of our field studies. Another suggestion for which we found support is one by I. Lewis (1971) arguing that possession trance is often linked to social deprivation. Such deprivation is, incidentally, itself a feature of more highly differentiated societies. (On the other hand, we did not find support for his claim that possession trance of the socially deprived constitutes a means for utilizing
supernatural sanctions against the powerful. Nor did we find his distinction between "central morality religions" and "amoral peripheral spirit cults" applicable.

Greenbaum (1973a, b), focussing specifically on sub-Saharan Africa, similarly found a high association between fixed status distinctions (stratification, slavery)—a characteristic of complexity—and the presence of PT. To account for this association, she sought an intermediary variable, suggesting that such complex societies are more likely to be rigid than simpler ones, and furthermore that in rigid societies PT, here redefined as mediumistic spirit possession, offered individuals elbow room in the decision making process. A detailed descriptive study of a sample of fourteen societies strongly supported this suggestion.

Additional light on the relationship between PT and complexity may be shed by comparing ideal-typical PT and T (see Bourguignon 1974c for a more detailed discussion). Whereas PT involves the active acting out of spirit roles, T involves direct contact with spirits. PT is followed by amnesia, T by memory; in PT the actor is the passive vehicle of the spirits who deal directly with an audience, in T the active seeker for spirit contact goes on a spirit journey but is likely to be physically passive; PT is generally induced through suggestion, dance, hyperventilation, group atmosphere, drumming, etc.; T through drugs, sensory deprivation, mortification, hypoglycemia, etc.; PT more typically involves women, T men; PT is a performance, T an experience; PT is public, T is intrapersonal, often secret. PT is a social phenomenon and a product of social interaction, its results may affect the group. In T the individual may acquire power, a spirit helper, and it primarily
concerns the trancer himself. Where PT involves obedience to spirits and submission to their will, to the point of total abolition of the individual's personality during the period of possession trance, T emphasizes the theme of independence of human helpers, self-reliance by acquiring spirit power, achievement. These contrasts, as I have pointed out elsewhere (Bourguignon 1974c) suggest differences in the ideal typical personality of the possession trancer and the trancer. And differences in personality suggest differences in socialization.

By following through on these ideas we come to the development of a model of culturally patterned ASCs (Bourguignon 1974c). So far, we have found a relationship between one type of ASC, namely T, with a subsistence economy of hunting, gathering and fishing, and also with absence of stratification, and of slavery, with small populations, lack of differentiation of levels of jurisdictional hierarchy. These societal characteristics are also clearly related to such a subsistence economy. On the other hand, we have found another type of ASC, namely PT, to be associated with a different kind of subsistence economy, a high dependence on agriculture, (and also a relatively high dependence on pastoralism). PT is also linked to stratification, slavery, larger populations, several levels of jurisdictional hierarchy, etc. And these are linked to each other and to the agricultural subsistence base.

The model suggests that the intervening variable between characteristic forms of spirit beliefs on the one hand and economy, social structure and ASCs on the other is to be found in socialization. This leads to the resulting personality type and, additionally is mediated by characteristic types of stresses. The stresses may derive from ecological
factors (Guseler 1973, Foulks 1972) or from acculturative situations, as in many crisis cults and revitalization movements (La Barre 1970, 1971; Wallace 1956).

Barry, Child and Bacon (1967) related types of economy to adult role behavior and to child training. They confirmed that low accumulation societies (typically, hunting and fishing) socialize for assertion, independence and self reliance. On the other hand, high accumulation societies (agriculture and/or pastoralism) socialize for obedience and compliance. They also found that women are consistently socialized to a higher degree for compliance and men for assertion regardless of the subsistence economy.

Both of these findings fit into our distinction between PT and T societies. Note also that men are more likely to seek T and women to experience PT (Bourguignon n.d.b).

...an ecological adaptation in which adult economic role behavior requires compliance leads to socialization for compliance, producing adults who demand compliance in familial and political situations and who at the same time believe in spirits (ancestors or departed chiefs or other powerful beings) who demand compliance. These spirits can be dealt with through impersonations during ASC (possession trances) which dramatize the requirement for compliance made by these powerful beings. Yet, through the fact that, after all, humans play the roles of these impersonated entities, the ASC allow those in possession trance to act out their own needs for assertion, and they present them with an opportunity to manipulate others and their own real life situations as well.

On the other hand, an ecological adaptation demanding assertion, independence, self-reliance in the economic life of its adults, requires socialization directed to these ends. Social organizations of independent assertive adults, with few accumulated resources, will reach only a low level of complexity and limited social and economic cooperation, with little delegation of authority to a higher human power. Spirits, under such conditions, are perceived as having
limited powers and can be induced to share some of this power by expressions of normally unadmitted dependency and powerlessness. Such spirit allies will then help the seeker in overcoming other dangerous entities, increasing his own powers (Bourguignon 1974:47-24).

Our findings for possession types, comparing societies having PT, P or both, are on the whole consistent with those regarding trance types. Societies having possession belief only (P) are more likely than PT societies to depend heavily (46% or more) on a combination of hunting, gathering and fishing for their subsistence; they are less likely to have class stratification, or to have slavery; they are more likely to be nomadic or semi-nomadic in settlement pattern, not to have a jurisdictional hierarchy above the local level, to have a small estimated total population and a small local population. These differences were found to be significant below the .001 level of probability. Also, P societies were less likely than PT societies to have male genital mutilation (sig. below the .01 level). All of these societal dimensions are related to the subsistence economy (Bourguignon 1974).

Although P and PT both involve a belief in spirits in general and in possession by spirits in particular, the differences between these resemble in important ways the differences between T and PT that we have just reviewed. Consequently the model we have constructed for altered states may also be applied to possession beliefs. Whereas in PT, as we have seen, impersonation and the discontinuity of the self play an important role, this is not the case in P. Here, rather, there is not an alteration of consciousness but of capacities, either enhancing or diminishing the powers of the self. And such an alteration may be permanent. These differences with regard to the self concept bring us
back to the differences in child training discussed previously: PT as noted involves compliance, obedience, dependence. On the other hand, those who acquire power of spirits or of forces through possession—whether the power of the curer of the witch—acquire such powers as their own. Their selves are enhanced—or diminished—they are not displaced. Such an alteration of capacities involves the intimate relationship between a human individual and a spirit or power entity. Often enough such power is acquired through a visionary trance experience.

Much work remains to be done; we have not answered all the questions with which we began—indeed, we have a good many new ones now. This seems to be typical of much scientific research, not only that of the anthropologist: questions are transformed, not answered in a direct manner. Yet, we can now make a number of assertions with some degree of confidence. A concern with altered states of consciousness, particularly within a religious context, is neither antiquarian and esoteric nor faddish. Rather, it sheds a light on our universal human nature and how this raw material is utilized in the building of cultures. We have found that such states play and have played a significant role in the overwhelming majority of human societies; their antiquity must be very great as evidenced by the "dead man" in the Upper Paleolithic cave paintings at Lascaux. This vast antiquity and near-universality alone would justify the anthropologist's interest. Our large scale comparative research has shown these states to be a psychobiological phenomenon patterned within a variety of cultural contexts, a witness to both the unity and the diversity of human nature. They and their
associated belief systems have great relevance to studies of social and individual and ecological stress, to culture change and the position of women, to psychopathology, medical anthropology, drugs and a variety of other subjects. Members of our research team have turned to such varied subjects as glossolalia, sex and trance, nutrition, psychobiology, decision making processes and refinements of cross-cultural methodology. New graduate students have turned to subjects of related interest: Kenneth McGuire is currently completing a study of an American Catholic charismatic community. Patricia Larch is planning a study of women’s roles in Brazilian cults.

Since we began our study in 1962, a large number of descriptive ethnographies has been published dealing with altered states of consciousness, particularly hallucinatory trance states (e.g., Furst, ed. 1972, 1972) Harner, ed. 1972), Dobkin de Rios 1972, Castaneda 1968, 1971; as has a number of remarkable large scale studies with direct bearing on the subject (Wasson 1968, La Barre 1970). Rather fewer studies have been directed to the description of possession trance (but note e.g., Beattie and Middleton, ed. 1969, J. Monfouga-Nicolas 1972, S. and R. Leacock 1972), and there have been fewer generalizing studies (Zaretsky 1967, Lewis 1971, Walker 1972). The literature dealing with drugs, in particular, has received a large audience (J. White, ed. 1972, C. T. Tart, ed. 1972). In some respects, it would appear that we began our study too early: at present, there are larger numbers of fuller descriptive materials available to satisfy more of the needs of our outlines. Specifically, excellent materials are now available (for example, the book on the Hausa cited above by Monfounga-Nicolas) on previously
inadequately covered groups. A similar comment may be made concerning statistical cross-cultural studies, which have developed greater sophistication in recent years. At the same time, as altered states and possession beliefs have made spectacular gains in our own society, our work has gained in relevance: in what is clearly a crisis situation, many in the Western world have responded in old and familiar ways by attempting to manipulate their relationship to reality by seeking such altered states, whether as an escape from the pressures of daily life or by searching for supernatural assistance (however that supernatural may be conceptualised, in mystical or in demonic terms) through drugs, meditation, religious rituals and charismatic groups or through the manipulations of the occult. R. Bastide (1972) has pointed to the great growth of possession trance cults in Africa in recent years. La Barre (1970, 1971) has shown how crisis cults result from the stresses of acculturation. Our own society is undergoing such crises as well, and though a revitalisation movement has not taken shape, the turning to altered states surely is a symptom of stresses Western society confronts. In this connection, it should be noted that the possession trance cults of traditional societies have spread to industrialised societies, whether it be Cuban *santaría* and Haitian *vodoun* in the United States, or *vodoun* and various Indo-Chinese cults in France. Thus the comparative perspective of anthropologists sheds light on the peculiarities of their own society.
NOTES

1. Dates of publication do not accurately reflect dates of research. The field work in Dahomey was carried out in 1931, that in Haiti in 1934.

2. Herskovits evolved a theory of acculturation beginning its elaboration in the 1930's, a theory in the development of which his several African and Afroamerican studies represented so many milestones. He saw Haitian culture not as a true amalgam, but as a situation in which people tended to be pulled between the two poles, the African and the European, and he formulated the concept of "socialized ambivalence" to describe this state of affairs. I have pursued this subject elsewhere (Bourguignon 1969).

3. Herskovits consistently writes vodun both for Haiti and for Dahomey, where the word means "deity." This Dahomean word is also the etymological source of the U.S. term voodoo, which refers primarily to magic, however. Consistent with the present standardized spelling of Haitian créole, the form vodoun is used in this paper.


Much of the literature of culture and personality has been concerned with the question of whether psychopathology is to be defined in cultural terms, as deviancy and whether any supracultural concept of mental health can validly be established. We shall have occasion to
5. My field research in Haiti was supported by grants from the Carnegie Corporation of N.Y. and the Graduate School of Northwestern University.

6. The term *enculturation* was coined by Herskovits (1948:38ff) to refer to the total process by which an individual "gains competence in his culture." Socialization, defined as the process by which "an individual is integrated into his society," is seen merely as a part of enculturation.

7. Although the majority of possessed persons are indeed women, claims that the behavior does not occur among men (e.g., E. Douyon 1965) are quite unfounded.

8. This study was supported in whole by P.H.S. Research Grant MH-07463 from the National Institute of Mental Health.

9. A partial explanation of this, I now believe, is to be found in the selection of regions where American culture and personality research was carried out. For example, during the heyday of culture and personality research, the African societies where these phenomena were so very evident had largely been the domain of British functionalist anthropologists.

10. That this pattern has continued is shown in a recent book by Sargant entitled, *The Mind Possessed* (1974), who speaks of "religious and non-religious possession."

11. I have discussed the final version of the Outline in greater detail elsewhere (Bourguignon 1974a). It is included in the Final Report (Bourguignon 1968a) of the project.

12. Of course, they may have institutionalized some type of ASC in a
secular context, for example, a pattern of using opium or hashish, or alcohol to produce such a state. We were not concerned with these.

13. Prior to the Summary, the Atlas included a total of 1132 societies. Of these we had coded 569. For a more detailed discussion of our sampling procedures, see Bourguignon 1968a, 1973 and Greenbaum 1970.

14. It should be noted that while these several studies, as well as our Final Report, all bear the same date, they were completed at different times over a period of four years.

15. To compare the distribution of societies having T and/or PT with those lacking such patterns, we group types 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and contrast them with types 1 and 8. To arrive at a distribution of societies having P and/or PT we group types 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and contrast them with types 1 and 8.

16. To establish trance types we combine 1 and 5 into T, 2 and 6 into PT, 3 and 7 into T/PT and 2 and 8 into 0/0. To establish possession types we group 2 and 5 into P, 3 and 7 into PT, 4 and 6 into P/PT and 1 and 8 into 0/0. Because of the small number of 0/0 societies we have omitted them in our correlational studies.

17. For purposes of these tests we used the data coded in the Ethnographic Atlas in revised form. For a detailed discussion of these revisions and of our rationale for them, see Bourguignon and Greenbaum 1973. This source contains detailed coding information.

18. When we made the same calculations for each of the six regions individually, we found that we did not get the same results. The problem of regional differences with regard to correlations among variables (and not only uniqueness of distributions) will require much further work by comparativists (see Bourguignon and Greenbaum 1973:84-87).
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Foreword:


Hallucinatory (Drug-induced) Trance versus Possession Trance: Male and Female Forms of Altered States? Ms.


--and Lenora Greenbaum


--and E. W. Nett


--and Louanna Pettay


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Errata

Page 9 paragraph 4 line 16.
remained, and,... read, remained unresolved, and,

Page 32 add:
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1973 *The Shakers of Saint Vincent: A Stable Religion*...
Species-wide capacity. The behavior it made possible is sometimes but not always culturally patterned and interpreted as spirit possession. This, in turn, is sometimes evaluated positively and encouraged, sometimes evaluated negatively and treated with exorcistic ritual, that is, the actor is, in effect, punished. Both this negative form and the type of dissociation behavior not interpreted as possession are treated as pathological behavior. If so,...

note 3: Herskovits writes.... (omit "consistently")

Bourguignon 1974c -- change to: 1974c

Bourguignon 1974d -- change to: m.d.c.