Before beginning our discussion of world distribution and patterns of possession states, we shall need to introduce some distinctions and definitions and indicate just what sort of states and beliefs we shall be talking about. As far as world distribution of these states is concerned, our program this week-end will take us to the Bushman, to Northern India, To Haiti, to Nigeria and to Iran, as well as to various times and places of the Western world. This fact alone seems to indicate a very broad range indeed. We shall, therefore, consider some distribution maps later on, which will attempt to provide a geographic perspective for our discussions.

For almost three years a group of us at The Ohio State University have been involved in a broadly conceived cross-cultural study of dissociational states and of the explanatory systems to which they are linked in the societies in which they occur. We soon discovered that dissociation or "trance"—itself a complex and variable phenomenon—might or might not be interpreted and experienced as possession in a particular society, and the concept of possession, in turn, might be utilized to account for actual or putative forms of behavior other than those of dissociation. We have, therefore, found it useful in our work to distinguish between trance behavior and associated beliefs on the one

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hand, as represented in our Table 1 (slide 1) and possession beliefs and associated behavior, as represented in our Table 2 (slide 2). The two meet and overlap in the constellation which will concern us the most in the discussions of this conference, namely trance behavior linked to possession belief. These states we shall refer to in the following as states of "possession trance." We shall return to this in a moment.

Our tables 1 and 2 represent an attempt to bring some order into the vast quantities of highly varied materials that we have encountered in an analysis of descriptive accounts of some seven-hundred cultural groups from all parts of the world. In these writings, the terms "trance" and "possession" recur, but appear to refer to a variety of phenomena. We have attempted to organize the materials to show what conceptual relations, if any, exist between them.

We may begin, then, with a closer look at Table 1 (slide 1). Here we are concerned with a somewhat heterogeneous class of behaviors, for which we have accepted to use the term "trance," and with the ways in which this class of behaviors is interpreted or explained. We are concerned with the interpretations which are current in the societies in which the behavior is found, rather than with interpretations, which claim to be supra-cultural or extra-cultural, such as those which we, as Western anthropologists or psychiatrists, might make. We are not asking here how would we interpret, for example, Yoruba trance behavior, but rather how the Yoruba account for trance, on the one hand, and on the other, how members of our own societies, (U. S. or Canadian, as the case might be) account for trance states occurring among them.

Explanations of trance may, generally, be divided into two types. We shall call them, for lack of better terms, "naturalistic" and "supernaturalistic," the former term being chosen as the clearest opposite to the latter, that is,
explanations that take into account only natural processes and forces, and not supernatural and spiritual ones. "Supernaturalistic" explanations of trance, as the name implies, draw on spiritual or supernatural processes, entities or forces to account for the phenomena observed.

While we find naturalistic explanations of trance widely used in the Western world, they are not the only explanations used there. Indeed, the sub-cultural differences in modern mass societies make it particularly difficult to discuss trance behavior and spirit possession beliefs in relation to these societies. On the other hand, we must also admit that "naturalistic" explanations are not the exclusive property of modern Western society. Thus, for example, the Samburu, a pastoral tribal people of East Africa, related to the Masai, consider that trance states, which occur with some frequency among their young men, are due to the peculiarities of their status and the tensions associated with it. No supernaturalistic explanations of these states are offered. (Spencer, 1965).

The naturalistic explanations may be listed as either "positive" or "negative" indicating whether they are considered desirable or undesirable, or in some cases, as neither. In this naturalistic classification, we may interpret negative as "pathological" and positive and neutral as "non-pathological." We may note, in this connection, that in the contemporary scientific literature the term "trance" is found only in one context outside of ethnography, and that is the context of hypnosis. We may consider hypnotic trance phenomena under the heading of non-pathological; also, those types of dissociation which are not part of a disease situation. Whether the artist's and the poet's inspiration or the actor's impersonation—his identification with his role—are to be listed here is perhaps debatable, and we have not included them in our table. Some states of dissociation brought about by biochemical agents,
such as drugs and alcohol, must undoubtedly be included here. The states produced by them, for example, those produced by the so-called psychedelic drugs, are eagerly sought by some as a positive good, and at least in some instances without any supernaturlastic explanations. On the other hand, the greatest likelihood exists, that we will encounter more complex dissociational states in the context of illness, on the negative side of our diagram. Illness may be linked to the use of biochemical agents, as in the case of addiction. Again, illness may be considered as involving disorders of a primarily psychological or psychiatric character (psychosis, hysteria, multiple personalities, epilepsy) or of a primarily somatic character, as in certain types of fever-producing illnesses.

While this discussion of naturalistic explanations of trance, in Western society and elsewhere, could be considerably elaborated, it is included here primarily for the sake of balance and completeness.

Under the heading of supernaturlastic explanation of trance behavior, we may distinguish between those explanations which involve concepts of possession and those which do not. Several categories are to be examined among the latter. Perhaps the rarest or most atypical is trance thought to be due to being bewitched, or more generally, due to the power of witches and others (such as the, presumably hypnotic, powers of the Pawnee medicine men) to cause persons to experience various types of alterations in the experience of their bodies or of their perceptual environment.

Of undoubtedly greater significance are the mystic states of Eastern and Western religious experience,² often associated with preliminary exercises of

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² See the proceedings of the 1965 annual meetings of the R. M. Bucke Memorial Society for the Study of Religious Experience.
meditation, concentration, and certain rules of bodily manipulation: abstinence, fasting, breathing exercises and the like. Some of these bear a relationship, mutatis mutandis, to methods used in other types of attempts to reach communica-
tion with spirits, as perhaps in the vision quest of some American Indian tribes.
Communication with spirits may occur in a private search or in a public séance,
be it that of the Western spirit medium or of the Eskimo or Siberian shaman.
Various forms of absence of the soul or of one of several souls may also be
considered among the explanations which we find for the existence of trance
states. While definitive, permanent absence of the soul often serves as an
explanation of death, a temporary absence of a soul may serve as an explanation
of illness, producing trance states, in which the soul has been stolen by evil
forces or spirits, or may be devoured by them. On the positive side, on the
other hand, soul absence may involve communication with spirits, in that the
souls (or one soul) of the shaman may be thought to have gone on a voyage to
the land of the spirits, to divine the cause of the patient's illness or of
other difficulties, or even to fight the hostile spirits and bring back the
soul of his patient and thus to effect a cure. The line between the positive
and the negative side of our diagram may at times be difficult to draw, for the
shaman's positive diagnostic and curative powers may have been acquired only as
a result of a preceding illness, in which a temporary soul loss was involved.

While the shamanistic trance, as well as that of the vision quest in other
cultural contexts, may well be aided by the use of biochemical or physical
agents, the factors inducing trance are not our concern in the present analysis.
Rather, we wish to distinguish here the various explanatory systems used in the
cultural contexts in which these states occur. While many South American Indian
groups, for example, recognize the need to swallow great quantities of tobacco
juice or tobacco smoke as a preliminary to their trance states, (e.g. Dole, 1964)
it is the reported contacts with supernaturals during these trance states which
are of primary interest to us here. The physiological factors associated with
the trance state, its induction and termination, require a separate analysis.

Soul absence, either in the form of the shaman's voyage to the beyond or
in the form of soul loss illness, rivals possession as one of the major explana-
tory systems of trance. Like possession, as we shall see later, it has both a
positive application—to the activity of the shaman, and a negative application—to illness. Like possession it, however, applies not only to trance states, but
to other types of illness as well. Furthermore, it is also applied to shaman-
istic performances of the non-inspired type, so wide-spread in native North
America, where there is no clear-cut evidence of trance states. (Loeb, 1929).
However, a discussion of the non-trance application of soul absence would take
us too far afield.\(^3\)

As Luc de Heusch (1962) has pointed out, belief in spirit possession
necessarily also implies a belief in the temporary absence of a soul, for in
order for possession to take place—particularly the type of possession involved
in trance behavior—the displacement of a soul by the possessing spirit must
occur. While this is logically indisputable, nonetheless people with highly
developed possession theories usually appear to pay little attention to this
concomitant facet of their interpretation. A notable exception is found among
the Yaruro Indians of Venezuela. The shaman journeys to the spirit land, and
urges the spirits to help his people, and the spirits in turn "arrive in the
husk of the shaman which he has left behind as a channel of communication for

\(^3\) See, however, various papers on soul loss illness: Gillin (1948),
Rubel (1964).
the other-worldly beings while his divisible self travels abroad." (Leeds, 1960, p. 6). Among the Senoi and Samai of Malay (Dentan, n.d.) the shaman may either send his soul away or be possessed; both interpretations of trance behavior and of communication with spirits in trance states exist.

Generally speaking, however, in spite of these overlappings and occasional difficulties of interpretation, we may say that the supernaturalistic interpretation of trance may or may not involve spirit possession, and among the latter, theories of soul absence are prominent. It should be noted that both theories may occur in the same society, as alternative explanations of the same observations, as complementary explanations (as in the case of the Yaruro) or, more frequently, as applying to different social contexts.

We may then proceed to take a closer look at trance behavior interpreted as spirit possession. This is charted at the right of Table 1 and to the left of Table 2, which shows belief in spirit possession. Here, we may again divide the experiences into positive and negative ones, desired and undesired states. This parallels Oesterreich's (1922) distinction between voluntary and non-voluntary possession. Another similar distinction is made by Murphy (1964, p. 69) when she speaks of "spirit intrusion" as a cause of illness and limits the term "spirit possession" to its positive application, as in the case of shamanistic seizures. In both instances, we may deal with possession either by spirits or by non-personalized powers. The spirits may be those of greater or lesser gods, of dead or living human beings or of animals. The dead may be ancestors, fellow tribesmen or strangers, and so may the living. The variety here is very great, but much of the information needed for such a classification is unavailable in the literature. It is striking, however, that where there is a belief in a High God, belief in possession by such a god is rare. (In Christian tradition, there
exists a belief in possession by the Holy Ghost, but not, with some dubious exceptions, by the other persons of the Trinity.) There is no correlation apparent to us as yet between the type of possessing spirit and positively or negatively evaluated possession, or with other differences to be discussed in the following.

While we may contrast positive, desired, and negative, undesired types of possession trance, we may compare these states also along other dimensions. When we are dealing with a belief in possession by spirits, rather than powers, we find that the trancer acts out an impersonation of the spirit. The behavior will, therefore, vary in conformity with the concept of the spirit which is to be impersonated. It may vary from the chaotic behavior of participants in the Kentucky Revival to the formal and orderly behavior of the Balinese child trance dancers. It may be stereotyped as in Bali or individuated, as in the case of the Haitian vodú pantheon, it may be traditional and prescribed drama as in Bali, or commedia dell'arte improvisation as in Haiti. In both of these instances, we find dramatic performances; on the other hand, in the behavior of the shaman among the Nuba, we find only a verbal impersonation. The range of possibilities is very broad here and the comparisons and contrasts which have been drawn in the literature have been predicated on whether the similarities or the contrasts have been focused on. Each of these cultural instances, I venture to say, is unique in its combinations of elements, some of which in any one case are comparable to elements in society A and others to elements in society B. Thus, even in the Afro-American cults, differences between one cultural or sub-cultural variety and another exist, which must not be underestimated, and which are to be understood in terms of a particular history and a particular socio-cultural context. In possession trance, we find a very clear expression of the influence of learning and expectations on
the behavior of the trancer. From a cultural and a psychological point of view, it is important to stress that there is great variation in the amount of leeway which is permitted for the direct or symbolic expression of personal motivations and psychological themes. The more ritualistic, stereotypic and formalized the proceedings, the more the trancer must follow a dramatic "script," the less room will there be for a satisfaction of idiosyncratic needs.

Where spirit possession is seen as undesired, the spirits may be either exorcised, expelled and dispatched or they may be manipulated and, within certain limits, transformed into helpful spirits. In this case, only the initial possession is negative, later ones, having been brought under control, may be indeed positively evaluated. Shamanism, with its frequently associated initial state of illness, may involve either this type of situation, in the context of possession trance, or, as we have seen earlier, trance without possession in the context of shamanistic voyage or other types of communication between shaman and spirits.

Possession trance may also involve a belief in powers or forces rather than individuated spirits which take over the person of the trancer. On the positive side, this is seen in the case of the Navaho hand trembler, or curer, whose power resides in his arm and which provides a diagnosis in response to his questioning (Kaplan and Johnson, 1964). (Localized trance may, however, also be found in connection with spirits—rather than powers—as in Bali.) It is clear that whatever the physiological sources and constants of trance behavior, the explanatory system to which it is linked will necessarily influence the behavior exhibited. In some of its facets, therefore, trance behavior explained as possession may be expected to differ significantly from trance behavior not so interpreted, although these categories are not truly as
distinct or even contradictory as might appear to be the case on purely logical grounds. We may consider that where spirit voices speak through the shaman in trance we are dealing with possession trance but where he, in trance, is heard to converse with spirits, we are dealing with non-possession trance. Yet the spirit voices, however altered, are still produced by him, and the distinction may not be an entirely meaningful one in native categories. Furthermore, we also find cases of shamans or conjurors who are reported to be conversing with spirit voices but who also are reported as not being in trance or ecstatic states. Indeed much has been said on the ventriloquist abilities of North American shamans or conjurors. We have already referred to Loeb's famous distinction between shaman and seer (op.cit.) which Hallowell (1942) has quoted and applied to the Saulteaux conjurors. The data on North American conjurors are primarily historical and the psychological materials are sparse. We must, generally, consider most of these materials outside of the context of trance, simply because the data for its inclusion are absent. And yet Hallowell's material raises some tantalizing questions, when he tells us that the Saulteaux conjurors were probably generally of good faith and that some claimed to have seen the spirits in the conjuring lodge. The problem is not very different from that presented by Boas (1930) and analyzed by Lévi-Strauss (1958) for the Kwakiutl. However, we are, I believe, on safe ground in asserting that whatever the situation of the conjuror, from the point of view of his culture, it is likely that he did not experience a truly altered state of consciousness, that there was no discontinuity of personality functions, of sensory modalities, of memory or even of behavior patterns, all of which we must necessarily consider criteria of dissociation. While much has been written on the question of extra-sensory perception of conjurors, there simply are no adequate data
available on which to base a discussion.

Possession, as indicated earlier, need not, however, be expressed through trance behavior. Here again, we may bifurcate our materials into positive, desired possessions and negative, undesired possessions. In the negative variety, possession is due to a personalized, animate being; we again find that such possession may cause illness or may transform a person into an agent of a witchcraft being. Such a being may cause illness in others. Its physical presence in its agent will be found upon the agent's death and the performance of an autopsy on his body. This is a notion which appears to be limited to Africa, as far as our present data show, but which is rather widespread on that continent. Illness blamed on possession may be thought of as due to the entry of illness spirits into the body. These may most specifically cause illness by attempting to eat the soul or one of the souls of the victim, and indeed death if they succeed in doing so. The positive type of possession, on the other hand, involves the presence of a power, either inanimate or that of a (previously) living spirit. Such possessions are permanent and confer power; though they are not expressed through trance states, the first acquisition of the power may indeed be expressed through a brief state of dissociation as in the installation ceremonies of the Nyikang, the king of the Shilluk. (Lienhardt, 1954). Here the soul of the first king enters the body of the new king during his installation and this is observed as a brief seizure. The possession itself, however, is permanent. Among the Jivaro, on the other hand, the souls acquired through head hunting confer power through possession. There is, however, no trance or seizure or personality alteration. (Harner, 1962). On the other hand, the power may be inanimate, as that which resides in the Navaho or Havasupai medicine man, and which makes his cures possible.
Our scheme makes no claim to finality of any kind. It is to be considered merely as a heuristic device, which has, it seems to me at present, permitted us to bring some order into a bewilderingly vast and diverse mass of materials. In developing this scheme, we are considering the materials from the perspective of culturally variable systems of cognition and explanation. For an ordering of other data, e.g., the factors involved in trance induction, one would require a totally different scheme, built on such supra-cultural categories as those of biochemistry, physiology, pharmacology, etc. On the other hand, it is tempting to suggest at this time at least one hypothesis that links the two systems: it is my impression that possession trance is much less likely to involve biochemical and physical agents for trance induction, than trance states associated with other explanatory systems.

As we examine the categories of explanation included in Charts I and II, we note the recurrence of several features. The most striking of these is the recurrence of both negative and positive evaluation of trance in both the naturalistic and the several supernaturalistic explanations of trance and in the application of possession concepts to non-trance behavioral states as well. This contrast is so striking, that, as we have pointed out earlier, Oesterreich (op.cit.) who did not distinguish between trance and possession, used it as the basic organizing concept of his pioneering work by speaking of voluntary (positive) and involuntary (negative) types of possession. The observation that a limited set of common explanatory categories serve for both positively and negatively evaluated experiences deserves special mention. The significance of this fact is further highlighted by the observation that negative experiences may be transformed into positive ones. Illness involving types of trance, such as loss of consciousness, fugue states, visions, etc., interpreted as soul loss,
as possession or as a supernatural call, often precede the acquisition of supernatural powers. We may cite, choosing our examples almost at random, the Balinese of Indonesia (Belo, 1960), the Dards of Pakistan (Snoy, 1960), the Akan-Ashanti shrine cults of Ghana (Field, 1960) in addition to well known examples from Siberian shamanism (Bogoras, 1907). A less drastic transformation occurs in the various possession cults of East Africa, in particular in the zar cult of the Amhara and their neighbors. Here possession is seen as the cause of illness and possession trance is induced in order to question the spirit as to its demands. However, the spirit is not exorcised or dispatched. Rather attempts are made to meet its demands and a modus vivendi is worked out between the patient and the spirit, which involves, apparently, a degree of manipulation of the patient's social environment. And while the patient, generally, does not become a shaman, a therapeutic result is achieved and future instances of possession trance are positively evaluated, rather than negatively, and possession then is voluntary rather than involuntary. (Leiris, 1958; Messing, 1958).

Combinations of trance experience with several types of explanation and of possession theories with various types of behavioral manifestations may co-exist in the same society. An example is provided by the Fon of Dahomey. Here soul loss trance in the form of "temporary death" precedes possession trance. (Verger, 1957). Or again, in Azande society, we have another constellation, this time involving divination. Divination through possession trance is found only among women, and trance divination without possession only among men. (Evans-Pritchard, 1937, 1962). Here two forms of trance co-exist in the same society, but in varying socio-cultural contexts within it.

If we now wish to examine the world-wide distribution of the phenomena
under discussion, we shall not be able to do justice to the various detailed aspects considered so far. Rather, we shall have to limit ourselves to a somewhat cruder analysis. In the following, then, we shall distinguish only between possession trance (PT), trance linked to other explanatory theories (T) and possession linked to other behaviors (P). The presence or absence of any or all of these three variables theoretically gives us eight possible types, as shown in Table 3 (slide 3). And indeed, we do find various instances of each of these eight theoretically possible types represented in our ethnographic sample. Some random examples are indicated in the table.

Two preliminary words of caution are called for, however, before we proceed to a discussion of our distributional maps: These refer (1) to the problem of the absence of a cultural trait and (2) to the heterogeneity of the types represented in Table 3.

1. Absence of a cultural trait.---This is the great handicap in all distribution studies. On the one hand, it is as important to identify the societies and regions in which a given trait or trait complex, here PT, T, or P, is absent as those in which it is present, and this is in fact implied in our typology. Furthermore, any correlational studies would need to contrast groups in which a trait or trait complex is absent with those in which it is present. And yet, specific hard information on absence of trance practices or possession beliefs is virtually non-existent in the ethnographic literature. And since we now know that the presence of PT does not necessarily imply the absence of T, or the presence of T the absence of P, our discussions of presence or absence depend mostly on inference and circumstantial evidence, tend to be equivalent to "not reported" and stand to be corrected.

2. Heterogeneity of types:---As must be evident from our discussion of the variety of subdivisions which we have found for our categories PT, T, and
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P, combinations of these are not likely to yield homogeneous types. Thus, for example, our type 2 is represented by the African Bushmen of the Kalahari desert, (Marshall, 1962) and the Amahuaca Indians of the interior Amazon region. (Carneiro, 1964). In both instances, trance involves communication with spirits and no concept of possession is reported. In both instances, it is the men who go into trance, the Bushman trance appears to be induced by dancing and psychological factors; it is a collective phenomenon, primarily concerned with curing. Neither curing nor dancing are relevant to the Amahuaca case. Other differences of a geographic, ecological, economic, social and cultural kind also exist between these two groups. To cite another example: our type 3 is represented by the Aymara of Bolivia and by the Nyakyusa, a Northeast Bantu people of East Africa. Both of these groups have a belief in possession, which is not related to trance behavior. The Aymara believe that possession causes illness. (LaBarre, 1948). On the other hand, the Nyakyusa believe that only certain men are possessed and that such possession turns them into witches. Witchcraft is thought of in concrete terms as the presence of a python in the abdomen of the possessed person. (Wilson, 1951). For neither society do we have reports of possession trance (PT) or trance without possession (T). Again, these two groups are greatly different in general economic, geographic, social and cultural factors.

I do not wish to belabor the point. It is simply this: our distribution maps contain a great deal of information, but are modest in intent. A map showing the distribution of possession beliefs in Africa, which are not associated with trance, tells nothing about the great variety of specific beliefs involved. More refined studies concerning, for example, possession as an explanation of illness, still remain to be made. Yet we feel that by separating PT, T, and P
we have taken a step beyond the broad and undefined categories of either "trance" or "possession" as they occur in the literature. As to our eightfold typology, its usefulness remains yet to be tested, beyond its application to the plotting of distribution maps. While the types appear to group some dissimilar phenomena and groups, as our discussion has just attempted to show, we must recognize that our predicament is not peculiar to this particular enterprise. Socio-cultural systems, like individual personalities, are unique, complex wholes and only by abstracting certain common features, and ignoring other features can we ever hope to find any order in our mass of data. The problem is to find the features which are truly diagnostic with reference to the questions at hand.

With these preliminaries in mind, we may now take a look at the first of our maps, (slide 4). 4 We have found it necessary to utilize a method of sampling, heavily influenced by the availability of data. However, we have attempted to balance our sample by including materials from all the culture areas of the world, following in this respect Murdock's World Ethnographic Sample. We start with Africa, at least in part because, for a number of reasons, we have made several special studies of African materials. The slide shows three maps, one each for Possession Trance, Possession and Trance. Possession Trance exists in all culture areas of sub-Saharan Africa, with the exception of the Pygmies and the Bushman-Hottentot areas. Simple trance is found primarily among the Bushman-Hottentot groups and in the Upper Nile area. It is also found among some groups of the Guinea Coast, particularly in Liberia and among the Fang and Kpe among the Equatorial Bantu. Absence of trance as well as possession trance appears

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4 The maps were drawn by Mrs. Mildred Hayman. The data are derived from the archives of our Cross-cultural Study of Dissociational States assembled during the past three years, the coding was done by Mrs. Jeannette Henney and Mrs. Judith Gussler, who also contributed heavily to the collection of the materials.
among the pygmies as well as in the Nigerian Plateau area, in the Upper Nile and neighboring areas of Ethiopia, where there is, however, some evidence of a progressive advance of the trance possession complex among the Galla. A comparison of the maps will show a considerable degree of overlap between the distribution of the three groups of traits. This is particularly striking in South Eastern Africa, among the southern Bantu, where possession trance, possession illness and simple trance coexist in a number of groups.

While the African picture as a whole is highly varied, there is one configuration that recurs again and again and deserves special mention. This is the cult group, in which possession trance is encouraged and in which women predominate, if not as members, certainly as trancers. This is exemplified in the complex and elaborate cult groups of the Guinea Coast, in the intertribal societies of East and Central Africa, such as the Owesi cult, and in the zar cult of Ethiopia and adjoining areas. A great many other examples could be cited. There are some important variations here, but the striking common features involve cult organizations, possession trance and a predominance of women in the possession trance activities. The slave trade which lasted well into the 19th century, distributed this pattern into that portion of the New World which is referred to as Afro-America (Map 2, slide 5) and into the Islamic areas adjoining Negro Africa. In Afro-America, cult groups of varying complexity have been reported from the Caribbean area and Coastal Brazil. It is likely that New Orleans once represented an outpost of such cults in the United States. The Afro-American cults are heavily overlaid with Christian syncretism, and there is a good deal of regional variety. It is striking, however, that while such cult groups have been described for Cuba, Jamaica, Haiti, Trinidad, the Guianas, and Coastal Brazil, there appears to be a notable absence of such groups in the Dominican
Republic, in Puerto Rico and in the smaller islands, from the Bahamas, to the Virgin Islands to the Lesser Antilles. The reasons will have to be sought in historical and socio-cultural factors. In Cuba, in Puerto Rico and probably elsewhere, there is an important element of spiritualism which involves trance possession séances, but no dancing or active group participation, and which is largely devoted to therapeutic tasks. The role of evangelistic Protestantism, with possessions by the Holy Ghost will need to be investigated more closely throughout this area. In the United States, this represents one institutional area, for Negroes and whites, where possession trances find expression.

The other area into which Negro-African religions have expanded is that of Islam. Both the zar cult and the Negro Islamic brotherhoods of North Africa (in which women frequently play an important role) show an extension of the cult group, possession trance pattern to the North and East of the Negro African area (V. Paques, 1965). Islam, like the other world religions, presents us with a difficult problem. As we look at its broad area of diffusion (Map 3, slide 6) we see that it reaches from Northwest Africa to Indonesia. It has placed the stamp of a great tradition, in Redfield's (1956) terminology, on a great many peoples of diverse history and culture. On the village level, we still find an expression of the local Little Tradition, though often tightly wed to elements from the general Islamic Great Tradition. The map indicates our sampling in this vast area, specifically as it refers to Islamic peoples. Among the general shared patterns, we find the presence of Moslem brotherhoods with their exercises of meditation and breathing, notably expressed in the zikr, which is practiced in Indonesia as in Morocco. Trance states are at times sought and achieved in these exercises. (cf. Landolt, 1965).

Self torture, such as flagellation occurs in the context of pilgrimages
(e.g. Chelod, 1963) and this too may lead to ecstatic states. Such practices, as well as breathing exercises or meditational exercises are characteristically absent in Negro Africa. We also find the very widespread beliefs in diseases caused by possession by a jinn or sheltan, and these require exorcism. Such beliefs and practices connected with illness recur among people as distant from each other as the Tuareg and the Kurds, as well as the Bedouins of the Negev. In the exorcism, which this calls for, again in contrast to Negro Africa, whipping of the patient may be resorted to. (e.g. Chelod, 1965). On the other hand, possession by certain souls of dead people, which permit the trancer to establish communication between his clients and the departed seems to be a rarer phenomenon, notably reported from Egypt. (Winkler, 1936). The zar cult, as already mentioned has established itself not only among Negroes but among Egyptian women of various classes and was made to accept syncretic Moslem elements. (R. Salima, 1902).

We may now move on to a look at the distribution map of the Indian subcontinent (Map 4, slide 7). Here the symbols on a single map distinguish the presence, and co-existence of the patterns under consideration. In this area, in addition to the presence of Islam, in India as well as in Pakistan, we find the Hindu Great tradition, various local traditions on the village level as well as other among tribal peoples. The data are sometimes reported in terms of a particular village or a particular region and sometimes in terms of a particular caste, or sub-caste which may have a sizeable regional extension. We have attempted to express all information on villages, caste-groups and tribal groups in purely geographic terms for the purposes of this quick survey. Trance and possession trance related primarily to meditation and to the festivals of the great Hindu gods occur in the context of the Hindu tradition. On
the village level we find possession illness and possession trance illness, as reported by the Freeds (1962, 1964) and by Opler (1958) among others. The victims frequently appear to be young women. Possession trance also occurs in a positive form in a diagnostic and therapeutic context, in the person of the healer or diagnostician. In Bengal and Madras possession trance appears to center around the worship of Kali, and this practice has been strongly established in the New World in British Guiana by Indian migrants (Rauf, n.d.). Similarly, possession illness has been reported among Indians in Trinidad by Klass (1961), where some syncretism with African-derived patterns appears to have taken place.

While trance patterns and possession beliefs have not been reported for some of the tribal peoples of India, for example the Chenchu (von Furer-Haimendorf, 1943), they have been reported for many others, as the map shows. We may once again refer to the contrasts with Africa: possessing, illness causing spirits may be questioned in trance and their demands may be met, as in the zar cult, but unlike the latter, there is no accommodation and the aim is the expulsion of the troubling spirit. Sometimes, beatings and fumigations may be resorted to in an effort to drive out the spirit and these, as newspaper reports occasionally show, may have disastrous results for the patient. There are no cult groups, and there is no accommodation with the spirits. The mediumistic aspects of possession trance are prominent in India, among tribal peoples as well as among villagers, (cf. for example description of Bhil shamans in Hermanns, 1964).

Mediumistic patterns are widespread in other portions of Asia as well (Map 5, slide 8). Again, we have here three maps, which present PT, T, and P separately. It is interesting to speculate to what extent the mediumistic processes derive from the great shamanistic tradition of the circum-polar regions. This has been shown clearly by Shirokogoroff (1935) for the Manchus. The Chinese
varieties of mediumism have been brought by Chinese migrants to Singapore, to Hong Kong and to Hawaii, where they have been documented. Chinese influence also appears in the mediumistic traditions of Southeast Asia, Korea, and Japan, although it appears likely that in all these regions indigenous patterns were overlaid with Chinese syncretic influences. In addition to mediumistic possession trances, we find references to possession by fox spirits in China and Japan, and these involve a context of deviancy and/or illness. (Yap, 1960). The circum-polar region, which includes the Eurasian and American arctic is, of course, the classical area of shamanism, where we find both soul loss illness and possession illness and shamanistic trances which either involve possession of the shaman by various spirits, or the absence of one of the shaman's soul, which travels in search of information or to retrieve the lost or stolen soul of the patient. Sometimes, however, it is not the shaman's soul who makes the trip but rather one or more of the shaman's familiar spirits. The shaman's performance may be very elaborate and theatrical, the prime content being a report of his trip or a conversation with the various spirits or communication by the spirits. There are striking similarities here with shamanism among, for example, the Senoi-Semai of Malaya or of some South American groups. Shamans, depending on the tribe, may be male or female and some transvestites have been reported. Asiatic shamanism reaches into Europe in Hungary, in Finland and in Lappland. It is interesting, that among the latter, it has been reported that Lapp Protestantism has a peculiar character with ecstatic states unknown to the neighboring Swedes. (Fehrson, 1949).

In our quick survey we may now rush on to North America (Map 6, slide 9). Here we may distinguish between the Eskimo, whose shamanistic patterns clearly relate them to the remainder of the circumpolar region and the North American Indians. While there is a great and voluminous ethnographic literature on
North American Indians, the materials relating to trance and possession are particularly difficult to interpret. While it was long believed that possession illness was absent in North America (e.g. Kroeber, 1962), Tsiecher (1960) has demonstrated this is not quite so, by showing that some reports of windigo psychosis among the Indians of Northeastern Canada do refer to possession by a windigo spirit, rather than to the patient's turning into a windigo spirit. Illness has sometimes been explained as possession by a power, as in the previously mentioned case of the Navaho (op.cit. Kaplan and Johnson). It is true that soul loss and object intrusion were much more widespread as explanation of illness in North America and in South America as well. There is much reference in the literature on North American Indians to visions and the vision quest, and while the distinction is not always made between visions and dreams, it is clear that in a good many instances we are dealing with visions occurring in trance states, brought on by fasting, isolation, self mutilation, etc. The use of biochemical inducers of trance and vision states is now widespread in the peyote cult, but this has its pre-Columbian precursors both in the United States and in Mexico. Trance states were clearly part of the shamanistic patterns of some Indian groups, such as the Yurok of California, and possession trance appears to be clear cut among the Kwakiutl of the Northwest Coast. However, the whole matter of possession trance has given us so much difficulty with reference to North America, that we have preferred to omit it from the present mapping. A very peculiar instance is found among the Acoma Indians of the Southwest, where, Leslie White (1932) implies, the masked dancers are believed to be possessed by the visiting katchina spirits, but there is no indication that they are in trance. Much North American shamanism, we must repeat, appears to have been of the non-inspirational type, and although shamans communicated with spirits,
sent their spirit helpers on trips and performed various sleight of hand tricks, reminiscent of the activities of the arctic shaman, there are few references here to true trance or to any belief in possession. Among South American shamans, on the other hand, trance activities were, and to some extent are, widespread, as our next group of maps shows (Map 7, slide 10). Various drugs and tobacco were used to induce these states, some of which may involve prolonged unconsciousness (op.cit. Dole). Possession beliefs whether or not associated with trance appear to have been relatively rare. One group for whom they have been reported are the Aymara, and LaBarre (1948, p. 222) links a belief in possession illness among these people to trepanations practiced among them in pre-Columbian times. However, there is no reference here to possession trance. Indian shamanistic practices have been syncretized with Afro-American cult practices in the Amazon area of Brazil (Leacock, 1964) and among the Black Caribs of British Honduras. (Taylor, 1951).

While this very rapid survey of the world, makes no pretense of completeness, we must make yet one more brief reference, and that is to the Judeo-Christian tradition. We have made no attempt at mapping the area involved, but we have already had occasion to refer to this tradition several times in the context of syncretism. The New Testament makes ample reference to possession illness and exorcism and ideas of demoniac possession have been with us ever since, in Judaism, in Catholicism and in Protestantism. The French psychiatrists of the 19th Century were very much interested in these phenomena in the context of their studies of hysteria. The background of these beliefs is still very much with us, not only in a religious context, but even as a theme in films, in novels and in other areas of popular culture. On the other hand, mystic trance states have a long and complex history. The concept of "mystic states"
has recently been somewhat secularized in the term "peak experiences" (Maslow, 1964) as well as in the pursuit of psychedelic experiences through drugs. Eastern techniques of meditation have made inroads in Europe and America, as for example in the Subud sect which originated in Indonesia (Kiev and Francis, 1964, for England; Pfeiffer, 1965, for Germany).

While we have centered our attention here on traditional, so-called primitive societies, the problems of trance in its naturalistic and supernaturalistic interpretations are still of considerable relevance in the modern world.
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