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California Indian Shamanism, edited by Lowell John Bean, brings together 13 interesting and valuable articles, plus an introduction, on shamanism as it was traditionally practiced in California and continues to be expressed by contemporary California Indians. This collection is a result of the 1990 conference accompanying the exhibition "California Indian Shamanism" at the C. E. Smith Museum of Anthropology at CSU Hayward. As befitting current concerns that tribal history and cultural values be returned to the peoples to whom they belong, three California tribal members, Jack Norton (Hupa), Frank LaPeña (Wintu), and Floyd Buckskin (Ajumawi), are among the scholars contributing to this collection. The theoretical approaches to shamanism expressed in the volume are varied, thus illuminating not only the richness of shamanistic practice throughout California, but also the range of anthropological perspectives relating to this practice. These articles clearly demonstrate that the shamanistic tradition survives contemporarily in spite of the hegemony of the modern, Westernized, positivistic approach to reality which has seemingly repressed such values. In this historical sense, the practice of shamanism may be understood both in terms of persistence of culture and as active resistance to the politically dominant society.

Bean has been in the forefront of research in California shamanism since the early 1970s and sets the intellectual tone for the volume in the first four articles, which are reprints that were

revised, in part, from his previous work on this subject ("Power and Its Applications in Native California," "California Indian Shamanism and Folk Curing," "The Shamanic Experience," and "California Religious Systems and Their Transformations"), the latter two co-authored with Vane. Recognizing that shamanism is a complex tradition, in "The Shamanic Experience," Bean and Vane develop notions which are essential in understanding California shamanistic expressions and practice. Grounded in Eliade's definition, they establish the essence from which other aspects of shamanic experience flow: shamanism is based in ecstatic experience wherein the shaman specializes in

"a trance during which his soul is believed to leave his body and ascend to the sky or descend to the underworld;" that he is in control of, rather than possessed by, the demons, spirits, and ghosts of the dead with whom he is able to communicate [Bean and Vane, p. 7; Eliade 1964:4-8].

Thus, it is this necessary connection to the spirit world and access to the powers therein that define a shaman.

Bean does not limit his considerations, however, to this primary, psychological factor. Indeed, in keeping with contemporary research concerns aimed at understanding the historically situated and culturally mediated social practice (i.e., the context of shamanism; Atkinson 1992), Bean and Bean and Vane explore what it is to be a shaman in terms of power, knowledge, society, and history. These synthetic, introductory articles examine such issues as the initial identification of shamanistic abilities in a person, the training period and personal sacrifices required, uses of power and knowledge, particularly in healing, and the potential for abuse of power. Significantly, they also emphasize the social relationship between shaman and his/her community; a shaman *must* be recognized by and enjoy the confidence of the group for his/her abilities, knowledge, and wisdom. While prophets may sometimes be seen in the role of a

shaman, "a prophet usually does not enjoy the legitimacy within his society that is granted the shaman. His is a voice crying in the wilderness, not that of a legitimate curer and philosopher" (Bean and Vane, p. 15). This distinction has critical implications for future research in the understanding of the various "New Age" revivals of shamanism and Native American religion.

While Bean and Bean and Vane consider shamanism in general within the context of California, the nine articles which follow treat shamanism in the context of knowledge, society, and history within specific California tribes. In "The Shaman: Priest, Doctor, Scientist," Shipek reviews the several shamanistic statuses in Kumeyaay society (San Diego County), distinguishing between them in terms of specialized knowledge and function but always emphasizing the vast knowledge commanded by each status. As her title suggests, Shipek's major effort is to render Kumeyaay shamans more comprehensible by equating them in terms of intelligence, education, and practice to those of high status in Western society: priests, doctors, and scientists. Similarly, Bates ("Sierra Miwok Shamans, 1900-1990") describes and assesses the variation of shamanic roles in Miwok society from 1900-1990 and the changes in those roles across this time period. These two articles clearly reveal the social rank of the shaman within the community and the importance of the social legitimation of the individual who fulfills this role.

Buckley ("Yurok Doctors and the Concept of 'Shamanism'") also addresses the range of roles and functions expressed by shamans among the Yurok, a northern California society. He introduces numerous statements by his consultants, with the result that his article presents a wealth of particularistic and seemingly noncomparable data. It is not surprising, then, that he is led to ask, is the category of shaman a meaningful one? With the richness of his data, however, Buckley is able to emphasize the emotive

aspects of being a shaman and the personal sacrifice and suffering that a Yurok doctor experiences as a result of being a powerful healer.

In "Shamanistic Aspects of California Rock Art," Hedges sees the shaman as artist. He explores the notion that many of the rock art patterns are expressions of the trance state into which a shaman enters during the process of mediating between worlds for the well-being of his community. Some specific image categories (amply illustrated) appear to be the result of drug-induced trance states in that they conform to images described in the medical and psychological literature on altered states of consciousness produced by hallucinogens. It is well documented in the worldwide ethnographic record, including California, that shamans in many areas use drugs to induce and control their trance states. "In rock art we have images from that separate reality," (p. 88) which is the shaman's reality and which offers us a special view into that mediating position.

Norton's article ("Ridge Walkers of Northwestern California: Paths Toward Spiritual Balance") discusses the Ridge Walkers of northwestern California and the spiritual paths they follow along the ridge tops, which are cosmologically positioned between the good and evil dimensions of the universe (p. 228). These specially trained men and women "who may walk between these forces of good and evil hold not only the health and felicity of the people, but also determine their continuance and very survival" (p. 233). For Norton, as a Hupa, to call Ridge Walkers "shamans" is to "sever them from the unique topography and cosmology of Northern California, as well as demean their roles within a vital and specific community" (p. 232). He thus emphasizes here, and throughout his article, the sacred essence of the landscape and the importance of place in California Indian cosmologies: "Without the spiritual places, we do not exist as a people or as Indians" ("Hupa-Karuk Spiritual Doctor," p. 235).

The importance of place is the theme of the Theodoratus and LaPeña article "Wintu Sacred Geography," which includes seven high-quality color and three black and white reproductions of LaPeña's paintings and drawings of Wintu places and cosmology.

The landscape provides images whose meaning has influence on daily activities, spiritual life, and ethical considerations. . . . As a Wintu travels through the countryside, he/she is aware of this sacred dimension that is "power of place," and of its interconnectedness in Wintu sacred cosmology [Theodoratus and LaPeña p. 217].

Spiritual information about the cosmos and the essential relationships of power is encoded in these spatial references and landmarks which act as cues for the transmission of sacred knowledge, both for general tribal members and the shaman. Thus, knowledge, power, myth, and history converge in the sacred places across the tribal landscape. These latter two articles express the essential value of California Indian religion: the inseparable quality of the sacredness of place with the shaman's power and knowledge for the well-being of the community.

As the title suggests, Buckskin's article, "Ajumawi Doctoring, Conflicts in New Age/Traditional Shamanism," brings up a number of timely issues which will be critical for future research, but which can only be mentioned briefly here. What is the meaning of New Age religious practice, replete with the outward semblances of Native American sacred objects and practices? Buckskin emphasizes the rigorous training undertaken, the sacrifices made, and the strict discipline followed by Ajumawi doctors and hence that sacred knowledge does not come easily. For instance, crystals with power must be earned, "you can't go downtown and buy them. You had to do this thing [to get them]. It was hard work. It was dangerous" (pp. 237-238). Norton also voices this problem, responding that the "tribes are cognizant of the potential trivialization and diminution of their belief

systems that define them as people" when religious practices are casually adopted by outsiders (pp. 228-229).

Finally, the volume is rounded out by two additional articles, "Dancing on the Brink of the World: Deprivation and the Ghost Dance Religion" by Parkman and "Notes on the Wintu Shamanic Jargon" by Shepherd. Respectively, these add interesting historic and linguistic dimensions to the study of shamanism in California.

In sum, this volume offers a varied selection of perspectives on California Indian shamanism and brings these ancient, fascinating, and inherently human practices into focus within the context of history and society of traditional and contemporary California Indian communities. This review has only been able to provide a glimpse into these informational and engaging articles. The volume will be of value both to the interested layman and to scholars who will find stimulus and direction for further research.

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