

# Shaman, Healer, Witch

## Comparing Shamanism with Franconian Folk Magic<sup>1</sup>

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Ideal-type shamanism is compared with Franconian folk magic. Franconia, a central province of Germany, experiences the end phase of a tradition of dualistic folk magic, including white and black witchcraft. While there are similarities between shamanism and Franconian magic – good or evil spirits amenable to magical manipulation, psychosomatic effects, “justice magic” –, differences prevail. The shaman’s ecstasy, idiosyncrasy, public séance, and “possession” by supernatural entities contrast with the healer’s or witch’s mechanical magic, privacy and secrecy, and intermediariness between humans and supernatural powers. While shamanism is holistic and ambivalent, Franconian magic is dualistic and predictable; it is an extension of Catholicism rather than a form of shamanism.

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### Introduction

Fascination with the supernatural is timeless and universal. An approach to reach these powers is magic. While the appearance of magic may vary, its core stays identical: the attempt to manipulate supernatural powers by mostly mechanistic procedures. Also motives may differ, so may techniques, but the basic belief that humans can manipulate supernatural forces remains identical. A widespread form of magic is witchcraft.

Another approach to the supernatural is shamanism, a form of sorcery that claims to be capable of persuading the supernatural for good or evil purposes. Historically it has been found in “primitive” societies.

This paper compares shamanism with witchcraft. The juxtaposition presents shamanism as an ideal type, a sort of composite picture of the variety found the world over. The picture will be heavily influenced by the prototype of shamanic forms: North American and Asian (esp. Siberian) shamanism. On the other side, witchcraft joins our comparison not as an ideal-type definition but as a concrete ethnographic

case: the case of Franconian folk magic. Hence the comparison is checking Franconian folk practices – including white and black witchcraft – along shamanistic dimensions. In a sense, then, the paper investigates the presence or absence of shamanic elements in Franconian folk magic.<sup>2</sup>

### Franconia – land and people

Franconia is a central province of Germany, and the specific area of my research (Sebald, 1978, 1980, 1981a, 1981b) is limited to the Jura mountains, flanked by the cities of Nuremberg, Bamberg, and Bayreuth. These mountains rise from the surrounding flatlands like a fortress, with their crags, ridges, and canyons sheltering small peasant villages and providing extraordinary seclusion. The inhabitants have retained ancient customs, adhere to a tradition of folk magic, and follow simple farm technology. The farmers have no understanding of, or liking for, specialization and try to grow everything they need on limited homesteads, averaging ca. 12 acres. The peasants’ attempt at self-sufficiency is of sociological sig-

nificance. Because there is little need or opportunity to interact with complementary farmers or traders, the peasant families maintained a high degree of social isolation. Hence life has remained strongly family-centered and family-dependent.

Isolation and delay in modern technology, science, and medicine have also meant delay in empirical understanding of accidents, diseases, and death. Old beliefs, incorporating a system of magic, have therefore had a chance to survive longer than in surrounding regions. But the system of magic has entered its terminal phase and is rapidly becoming history. Technology, science, and the rational-objective world view have finally penetrated the Jura mountains. The younger generation now wants a share of West Germany's "economic miracle," and has begun to reject Franconian folk magic as "superstition." Hence my sources are old people who entrusted me with accounts of personal experiences with the magical and supernatural that span the time from the 1890s to the 1970s.

Access to these first-hand informants was furthered by my background. I was born and raised in the Jura mountains, grew up in peasant kinship groups,<sup>3</sup> know the traditions and dialect intimately, and am related to a number of the informants. The circumstance that earned me the trust of the peasants was the older peasants' memory of my grandmother who was a renowned healer (white witch). This identity helped to open doors and mouths of villagers; they accepted me as an insider and in many instances as a clansman.

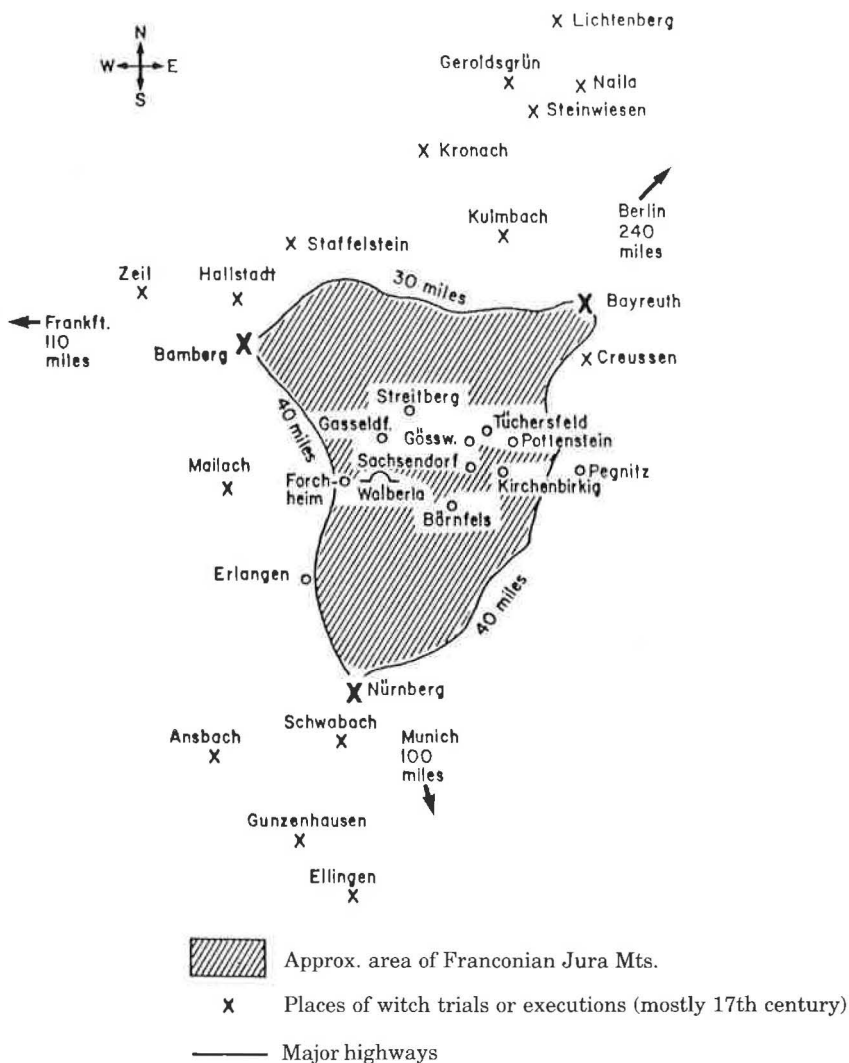
The magical system of the Jura mountains includes the roles of witch and healer, and the theology of folk Catholicism. Witchcraft in the Jura region falls into the category of classical black magic, also describable as Satanism. This type of witchcraft derived from and thrives on the theology of medieval Catholicism. It assumes that devils and demons can be persuaded to render services. Form of appeal or manipulation is "mechanical magic," wherein power of conjuring lies in accurately speaking formulas and completing secret rituals. The Franconians' tool of black »mechanical magic« is the so-called *Sixth and Seventh*

*Book of Moses*, a grimoire the peasantry has used for many generations – in spite of that it ranked on the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, the no-longer-enforced papal list of prohibited books.

Franconian witchery has a distinctly democratic quality – any man or woman who so desires can engage in it. However, unlike the normal villager using witchcraft defensively, the witch, almost always a woman, uses witchcraft aggressively. Moreover, she makes witchery a *constant* part of her lifestyle, while other peasants might use witchcraft as occasional "justice magic."

The witch has a beneficial counterpart: the healer. This is usually a woman known to be skillful in *Anfangen* (literally "the beginning") – a uniquely Franconian-Jura-mountains expression referring to the technique of healing. She has charisma, allies with good spirits, taps divine grace, and knows secret rituals. This healer, a white witch, lacks a proper noun in the peasant dialect and is called *eine Frau, die das Anfangen kann* (a woman able to do the beginning). Although the peasants know High German, they never use its vocabulary to refer to "a woman able to do *Anfangen*." For example, High German contains *Gesundbeterin* (a woman healing through prayer, a faith-healer), *Heilerin* (healer woman), or *Zauberin* (sorceress) – but these words are never applied. I asked elders and priests about the origin of the awkward phraseology, but they could not provide definite answers. Some ventured that the phrase might refer to the woman as merely initiating healing and depending on God, the good spirits or Nature to complete the task. Government institutes researching dialects were equally lost for answers.

Like the witch, the woman doing *Anfangen* is largely an invention of Christians and usually functions within the dogma. It is believed that God could be approached through special prayers or rituals and that, through the healer's charismatic office, He would mercifully cure a witch's curse. The Catholic clergy of the area has observed a hands-off policy and considers her practice a folk custom neither condemned nor approved by the 20th-century Church. When peasants specifically asked pri-



ests' advice about *Anfangen*, the clergy allowed that there was nothing wrong in asking God to heal the sick, either human or animal.

A peasant in trouble can choose to either turn to a witch for help or seek the service of a woman skilled in *Anfangen*. For example, a peasant suspecting witchcraft as the cause of his or her piglets' ailment can approach a person having the grimoire. Help from this source is limited, since almost all peasants believe that witching cannot heal the piglets or prevent their dying, but can only place a hex on the stable of the caster of the spell to coerce her to withdraw the curse. A witch can heal only

through withdrawal of her hex and thus rehabilitate the victim's well-being.

Countercursing first requires that the curser be identified. Various methods are available. One is detection by facial image visible in a mirror brought to the site of trouble: presumably the face of the evil-doer will appear. Another is to see who, within three days after the misfortune, would be the first person to knock at the door and ask to borrow something. But most of the time, identification proceeds by reputation: the villagers simply "know" who does this sort of thing. After identification, the countercursing can commence.

However, such duels are rare and take place only between parties (usually quarreling neighbors) reputed for witchery. More likely, our peasant with the sick piglets would seek the help of a woman doing *Anfangen*, asking her to come to the stable and lift the hex and cure the animals. To prevent reversal of the healing, the curer leaves protective directions that usually include the warning against accepting any object from a suspicious or strange person during the next three days. In the tradition of "contagious magic" (Frazer, 1964:35), the peasants believe that if a person allied with the devil and his demons succeeds in passing on a personal item, she can renew the hex. Likewise, the healer warns against giving a personal item during this critical period, since the witch can regain power through transfer of a personal item *to or from* the victim.

Those skilled in *Anfangen* are highly esteemed, come from families known for honest work and Christian faith, and are also consulted for problems other than supernatural ones: they function as midwives, medical experts (especially in childhood diseases), and veterinarians. In short, they practice folk medicine, evidencing extensive knowledge of herbalism and peasant remedies.

The interpretation of a "wondrous" event or an unexplained disease as a supernatural phenomenon is never remote, and women who know *Anfangen* cure natural as well as supernatural problems. Their roles are in line with the ancient magico-medical tradition of sorceresses. Besides medical and spiritual problems, they are favored as counselors, and their opinions are highly valued. Hence, to some degree, they carry out the function of the oracle: predicting events, revealing divine insights, being clairvoyant. In sum, the woman skilled in *Anfangen* is a curious mixture of Christian faith-healer, ancient magician, practitioner of folk medicine, and oracle.

### Juxtaposing shamanism and Franconian folk magic

In comparing shamanism with Franconian folk magic, "shaman" will refer to the *ideal-type* shaman; "witch" and "healer" to the *specific*

Franconian figures. The comparison of the three magicians will examine personal characteristics, initiation, functions, techniques, familiars, and healing practices.

#### (1) *Personal characteristics*

All three figures can be defined as magicians. As such they are mediators between the common folk and the spirit world and claim to know, communicate with, and even manipulate the manifestations of the spirit world, be they incarnate or in form of spiritual entities. Unlike priests, with which these figures share several major attributes, folk magicians are unencumbered by institutional hierarchies and engage in a *direct* relationship with the supernatural (cf. definitions, descriptions by Malinowski, 1946: 51–63).

The daily routines in the lives of witch and healer differ little from that of other members of the community. They are usually married, have family, and pursue peasant work. While the shaman most often is a man (Halifax, 1979: 22–23; Langness, 1976:59; Boas, 1938:468; Bogoras, 1958:414), the witch and the healer are almost always women. Unlike the Franconian magicians, the shaman frequently displays homosexuality, transvestitism, or androgyny. Such forms were commonly found among Siberian shamans, who often engaged in homosexual marriages and practiced lifelong transvestitism (Halifax, 1979:22–23; New Columbia Encyclopedia, 1975:2491). The sexual deviance is sometimes explained as the shaman's desire to fathom the total range of human sexuality and, thus, to be able to understand his clients, or human nature in general. Whether this explanation was actually given by the shaman or inferred by the authors of research reports is an interesting question. In any case, there is no record of a Franconian witch or healer ever deviating from expected gender-role behavior.

While the shaman can enact both good and evil sorcery, Franconian tradition split the realm of sorcery between witch and healer. The healer works strictly within the confines of folk Catholicism and is, if not exactly endorsed, tolerated by Church authorities. The witch, on the other hand, specializes in black magic, at-

tracts a select clientele, and, at least technically, is excommunicated.

Because he reigns over a magical territory without bounds, the shaman's reputation is ambivalent and sometimes disconcerting to the community. People believe that his power is limitless and that his spell can kill anyone he chooses. Fear may grow that he misuses the power and turns it against the innocent. For example, he sometimes turns destructive by meeting his clients' requests to harm their enemies by vengeance magic (Eliade, 1956:180). He also exemplifies the old adage of the corrupting influence of power and occasionally shamanizes out of greed, revenge, and lust (Balicki, 1967:202). At times people have sensed enough ambivalence to condemn him, and in extreme cases communities have decided to kill their shamans (Margolin, 1978: 19, 139; Balicki, 1967:206, Hippler, 1976:110-111).

Such distrust is a natural part of the Franconian peasants' view of their witches. There is no ambivalence, however. The expectations are clear: She is evil and harmful at all times. During the era of the European witch hunt the consequences of this image were unequivocal: She was persecuted, prosecuted, and often executed. Although the Franconian witch of modernity (ca. the past 300 years) has retained the pernicious image, she has done so with relative impunity, for modern law observes a division between secular and ecclesiastical matters.

The healer, likewise, is never tainted by ambivalence. Her image clearly is one of helpfulness and piety, and her healing procedures are compatible with Christian principles. Her role provides a mixture of esteemed services: faith-healing, herbalism, midwifery, and traces of the oracle.

The magician frequently enjoys personal charisma. This is particularly true in the case of the shaman. His power of healing (or sometimes cursing) depends on the credulity of his community. Social scientists recognize this condition as imperative for psychosomatic manipulation. Levi-Strauss described the successful shaman Quesalid: "He did not become a great shaman because he cured his patients;

he cured his patients because he had become a great shaman" (1967:36).

The healer similarly depends on charisma. Her office rises and falls on the basis of personal qualifications. Since her power of healing relies less on formal status (as the priest's), her authority must rely on charisma. This is reflected by the fact that my grandmother's healing reputation is remembered by village elders still today, a reputation that lingers even though she died over 50 years ago.

The Franconian witch, on the other hand, lacks the aura of personal charisma. This is so because the positive quality of charisma rarely applies to a patently evil character, and, second, the efficacy of her sorcery rests on "mechanical magic" (i.e., power of magic is presumed to lie in correct rendition of formulas or completion of rituals) and only remotely so on personal qualities. Charisma is replaced by the community's fear and distrust. And it is fear, not reverence as in the case of the healer, that motivates people to treat her politely and sometimes seek her services.

In all cases, be it charisma or fear, the personal characteristics must be validated by the community. The power of healing or harming emanates from the credulity of the community. The magicians' power ultimately resides in the convictions of those who admire or fear them (one of the earliest classic statements to this effect was made by Malinowski, 1948:63).

## *(2) Initiation or "calling"*

While the magical arts can theoretically be learned by nearly anyone, in reality a selection process singles out few for the magician's career. Process variables are exposure to the practice, personal proficiencies, and ascription of charisma or being "elect."

Sometimes initiation proceeds through family lines. I found this particularly true in the case of Franconian witchcraft where black magic is transmitted from mother to daughter, making generational transmission almost as mechanical as the magic they practice. Underlying reasons for the nearly automatic transmission deal with the evil reputation and the quasi-ostracism that are experienced by the

entire family of the witch. Communal rejection often includes the offspring, who may come to identify with the community's consensus and continue the family tradition. Exposure to the witchery of the mother and access to the grimoire promote identification with the black-magic lifestyle. One can call this process apprenticeship, with the mother instructing, the grimoire providing the tools, and the community validating the status.

The shaman's rituals and trances are public spectacle, hence imitation is facilitated. Not so among the Franconians. The method of witching as well as healing is shrouded in secrecy and done in privacy. To learn the ways, instruction is necessary and this is done most conveniently within the family.

Assumption of the healer role is more individualistic and largely depends on personal aptitude. For example, I have no record of my great grandmother having been a healer; it is possible that my grandmother's healing career originated in personal qualities rather than in family tradition. Again, family tradition failed to assert itself in the case of her only daughter, who did not continue the healing career.

Similarly, the shamanic career is rarely chosen on the basis of family lineage. (See exceptions in Halifax, 1979:5, 130.) More often shamanic calling manifests itself through very personal symptoms. Some anthropologists feel that temporary schizophrenia marks the onset of those insights that lift the shaman-to-be above the ordinary tribes or clansmen. Eliade idealizes this experience as "a function of his psyche's breakthrough to a deeper reality" (1956:2, 17). Not all scrutinizers of shamanism share this poetic description, and Pfeiffer (1966), Lantis (1947), and Silverman (1967), for example, define the typical shaman as abnormal and schizophrenic. Ackerknecht thinks that the "individual who is to become a shaman passes through a stage of very marked mental disturbance" (1971:28). Bourguignon is more charitable and tends to classify the alleged schizophrenic episode as an "altered state of consciousness," which may consist of a culturally institutionalized trance (1976:48). However much ethnologists may differ in the underlying disturbance, virtually all agree that a

proper description of the shaman's psychic state is "ecstasy." Eliade, for example, defines shamans as "practitioners of archaic ecstasy techniques" (1976:14, 15) and Halifax as "masters of ecstasy" (1979:4).

The sign of "calling" through ecstasy or trance does not apply to the Franconian witch or healer; ecstatic transports are relatively alien experiences to them. The more common path of the witch career is apprenticeship. This path also applies to the shaman; in addition to the signals of aptitude or being "elect," the novice enters apprenticeship and spends years under the tutelage of an experienced shaman. For example, the Netsilik Eskimos selected a boy, who was thought to reflect shamanic characteristics and placed him for training into the household of a shaman (Balicki, 1967:194). Completion of apprenticeship was usually marked by public consecration (Nadel, 1958:430).

The issue of symptomizing »elect« status warrants further comment. Certain mental disturbances have a standard interpretation among the people who adhere to the shamanic prototype. Young persons' mental or neural disorders, such as schizophrenia or epilepsy, are usually understood as the persons' encounter with gods, spirits, or demons, and interpreted as shamanic calling (Eliade, 1956:24). Sometimes symptoms are already noticeable in the newborn infant, identifying him as shaman material (Halifax, 1979:5). Dreams and hallucinations of the novices are taken as products of communing with supernatural forces (Halifax, 1979:5). In extreme cases, resulting in highly enhanced charisma, the shaman-to-be experiences "death." "The encounter with death and the subsequent experience of rebirth and illumination are the authentic initiation of the shaman" (Halifax, 1979:5, 65). "Death" is experienced through social symbolism, bodily mortification, or mental trauma (Rasmussen, 1927).

The social-psychological process of creating a shaman includes the imposition of a collectively validated role in the candidate. Often the candidate cooperates "with a mixture of cunning and good faith, progressively constructing the impersonation which is struck

upon him" (Levi-Strauss, 1967:30). A graphic description comes from the Zuni culture where an adolescent, accused of sorcery, actually came to believe that he was a sorcerer. He created the symptoms of "calling" (Stevenson, 1906:406). In a similar vein, Boas reported the case of the famous Kwakiutl shaman Quesalid, who started as a skeptic, play-acted, and finally seemed to believe in his shamanic power (1930). These observations illustrate the principle that the learning of one's role proceeds through community pressure. And what may start as role playing may finish as role identification.

The role of witch in Franconia is no exception to this principle. I have personally observed the transference of the evil role from a mother to a daughter in a village. The daughter was exposed to a double, mutually reinforcing impact: First, to the proximity and imitability of a mother who had acquired the full-fledged reputation as a witch; and, second, to the power of the community's opinion that virtually forced her into a cast similar to her mother's. The end result was a daughter who mirrored the attitudes and actions of her mother. Both learned to accept the social validation of their characteristics and to actively seek causing harm by meddling, corrupting, lying, and sowing disharmony wherever and whenever they could.

In the shamanic setting, the public display of the shaman's ecstasy or trance – regardless whether schizophrenic or simulated – exposed sufficient numbers of persons to the spectacle so that it must have included some disturbed personalities. Selectivity could have prompted persons with fitting inclinations to continue shamanism as a tradition. Nadel sees this process as instrumental in offering deviant and abnormal personalities a legitimate social niche. It transforms emotionally disturbed persons into persons carrying out useful social functions (Nadel, 1958:425).

"Elect" symptomatology is at a minimum in Franconia and fails to provide for "elect" interpretation of psychopathological symptoms. The healer role consists of socially acceptable behavior, thus attracting a more conforming and less deviant personality. The witch's role is

usually learned in family context, thus precluding a larger selection process that might usher disturbed persons into the role. However, the question could be raised as to how the role of the witch was *originally* acquired. That means, how did an ancestor initiate the family tradition? Did a personality disturbance play a role? If so and if there is validity to the claim that certain mental disturbances have a higher probability of recurring through heredity, then we may well deal with a higher incidence of such disturbances in witches. The many ifs of the issue preclude conclusion at this time.

### (3) Techniques

The shaman's grand technique is the ecstatic trance. As mentioned earlier, there are questions concerning the nature of the trance. Several hypotheses:

a) It is a psychotic symptom; hallucinations prompt the shaman to imagine clairvoyance, prescience, spiritual battles, whereabouts of straying souls, and cures for ailments. In such visions the spirits reveal diagnosis, cure, location and preparation of effective herbs (Gelfand, 1965:132; Nadel, 1958:427; Halifax, 1979:134).

b) It is a form of abreaction in which the shaman relives "death." Abreaction is a catharsis becoming part of the trance "performance." In turn, the act induces abreactions in patients (Levi-Strauss, 1967:37). Consequences of the patient's abreaction can be perceived as healing. This type of trance notably consists of "attacks of convulsive hysteria that occur only in the presence of spectators" (Abse, 1958:276).

c) It is a drug-induced temporary psychosis. (Halifax, 1978:132). Kennan, as early as the 1860s, observed Siberian shamanic practices and noticed the natives' ingestion of hallucinogenic mushrooms and the subsequent drinking and re-drinking of their hallucinogenic urine (1920:156).

d) It is an altered state of consciousness through autohypnotism. This is probably the most commonly held interpretation of the shamanic trance (New Columbia Encyclopedia, 1975:2491). This voluntarily induced and actively sought state has been classified as "pos-

session" and contrasted with "hysterical psychosis" that is an involuntary, unintended, and most likely neuropathological trance (Lan-gness, 1976:59). Under autohypnotism the shaman performs as a medium of spirits. (This, however, is not a universal trait of shamans. Plains Indians' practices exclude spirit possession (Boas, 1938:658).)

e) Some opinions describe it as fake, a performance that may be culture-bound but fails to convince the shaman himself.

Trance defined as autohypnotic possession deserves further discussion. A range of methods to self-induce trance has been observed, varying from drugs to concentration. "In Uganda, it is said to be produced by the use of tobacco, in parts of Polynesia by kava, in southern California by the datura, in Siberia by monotonous drumming, in India by breath control" (Boas, 1938:659). The prototype of shaman favors drumming, rattling, dancing, singing, and hyperventilating. Further into the seance, he distorts limbs, trembles seemingly uncontrollably, manifests olfactory hallucinations, yells, babbles, ventriloquizes, and speaks in forced falsetto voices (the voices of spirits possessing him). Finally he will collapse, showing signs of severe exhaustion (Bogoras, 1958; Nadel, 1958).

Possession trance (mediumship) is virtually unknown to the Franconian magicians of modernity (there are questions about the historical occurrence of this phenomenon). However, there exists the idea of the spirit flight, and two accounts came to my attention. One dealt with the witch-reputed blacksmith of the hamlet of Gössweinstein. Elders reported that he used to be found lying unconscious in his smithy each time after his chimney had emitted a conspicuous black puff of smoke, or, as some claimed, after they had seen him exit through the chimney for a night flight. The other account tells of a young man who, one day, found his girl friend "in a deep trance, and no attempt to wake her was successful. He, then, realized ... that the girl's spirit roamed elsewhere as an evil witch and would return to the body after the nefarious mission was completed. The young man fled in terror never to return" (Sebald, 1978:123). (These events were

supposed to have taken place in the 1910s and '20s.) It is interesting that the peasants matched the shamanic interpretation of the spirit flight.

This belief may be a vestige of the medieval and Renaissance conviction that witches experienced trances during which they flew through the night to attend the sacrilegious Sabbath. Theologians and common folk alike accepted this notion as fact (Kraemer and Sprenger, 1584; Bodin, 1580). However, the belief in the witches' nocturnal bacchanalia has long since disappeared from Franconia.

In this connection, some authors have raised the question of drug use. The so-called witches' ointment did indeed exist – at least according to a medieval author who published a recipe (Porta, 1589). Several European ethnologists have experimented with it and reported that they indeed experienced a trance with notable sensations of flying through the sky (Döbler, 1977:24–25). However, reputable historian hesitate to say that hallucinogenic ointment was actually used by witches, or, if used, to which extent. Many medieval and modern writers think that the witches' ointment has existed merely as a figment of culture-bound imagination (Duprés, 1925; Weyer, 1563; Rose, 1962; Mackay, 1841). My acquaintance with and study of the peasantry has not revealed any psychedelic drug use by witches or healers in modern Franconia (cf. Merzbacher, 1970). None of the elders ever hinted that such usage ever occurred during their lifetime; neither could any one of them recall ever having heard about it from *their* elders, which takes us back into the early 1800s. If during medieval times there was psychedelic drug use within or without a magical framework, it has been forgotten.

Nonetheless, a number of ethnologists and folklorists take stock in the idea that psychedelic drugs played a most significant role in medieval witchcraft (e.g., Duerr, 1978). Some of them see the role as *etiologial*, i.e., hallucinogenic drugs having *created* the notions and the ideas that formed the basis of witchcraft belief (e.g., Kröll, 1979–1982, at the University of Bayreuth). This extreme view is unacceptable to the majority of scholars specializing in

the history of witchcraft. Their explanations of witchcraft's origin dwell on the nature of religious ideas, cultural symbolism, and political and economic conditions (e.g., Russell, 1980; Monter, 1976; Midelfort, 1972).

Trance-inducing implements, as used by shamans, are unknown among Franconian magicians. Drums, rattles, dance and song are not part of their magical art. Remotely, one could call the witch's pronouncing of a formula or the healer's saying a prayer as vestiges of more expressive sorcery in the past.

Both witch and healer practice mechanical magic, believing that formulas or rituals possess innate power. This is particularly true of the witch who must rely on the grimoire. Technically any person rendering the magical formula can accomplish magic. For example, many formulas in the grimoire include Hebrew (or pseudo-Hebrew) and Latin phrases. Though the meaning of the words is unknown to the witch, she believes that speaking them (made possible by accompanying phonetics) will achieve magical effects. Similarly, the prayers of the healer include Latin phrases, the meanings of which are unknown to the performer. Hence, rather than witch and healer being media, they are mechanics working with limited tools. This is why the tenor of their magic is far less expressive, let alone ecstatic, than that of the shaman. The difference is due to different cosmologies. The shaman can be a *medium*, i.e., an incarnation of a spirit, while witch or healer are mere mechanical *mediators* between people and Satan or God. While shamanic work is capricious and individualistic, the healer's or witch's work is sedate, predictable, and influenced by theological principles of an established religion: Catholicism.

#### (4) *Familiars*

A *Familiar* is considered a supernatural entity sometimes incarnately disguised, as in an animal, and sometimes believed to be an invisible, spiritual entity. The pantheons of the shaman, on one side, and healer and witch, on the other, are teeming with them. Shamanism usually focuses on invisible familiars; Franconian magic used to communicate with both visible and invisible entities, but since the Renaissance has

gradually lost its zest for the incarnate. During the years of the European witch mania, not only humans were suspect of Satanic servitude but also animals, with the proverbial black cat heading the list. This has largely become history, and only in legends and occasional faint hear-say emerges the figure of the vivible familiar.

What, however, has survived are the invisible spiritual entities. For the healer they are the souls of the departed, angels, saints, God, His son, His mother, and so forth; for the witch they are Satan and innumerable demons. To the believers they are real; to the nonbelievers they are culture-bound imaginations. The realm of good and the realm of evil are theologically defined and reflect the dualistic nature of Judeo-Christian thought. Each realm has its representative in Franconian folk magic; the healer is the mediator between humans and the "forces of the light," and the witch of the "forces of darkness." Each tries to marshal the forces of her realm.

On the other side, the shaman's main technique is possession, with familiar spirits playing leading roles. Each shaman has his helping spirits, which belong to him and like to be frequently called and used (Balicki, 1967:195). During the seance, the shaman calls his spirit helpers, converses with them, becomes them, and asks them to accomplish tasks. The task may consist of finding a straying soul or of gathering vital information about distant places and events. Upon return, they tend to possess the shaman and their voices can be heard ventriloquized or in *falcetto*.

The trouble with the shaman's familiars is that they often have a will of their own, turn fickle, develop jealousies among themselves, turn against their master, and switch to evil magic. Conversely, evil spirits can change their minds and become good ones. This tumultuous spiritual universe explains the unpredictability of shamanic magic (Nadel, 1958:27-28; Balicki, 1967:197, 206; Rasmussen, 1931:299).

Exorcism shamanic style sends into battle spirit familiars to help drive out or kill demons (in the classic Siberian setting they are, respectively, *tunraqs* and *tupiliqs*). This maneuver is

similar to Christian exorcism, which calls on various saints, angels (some of them are depicted in traditional Christianity with sword in hand), and God Himself to intervene. Again the significant difference is that the shaman becomes the medium of the spirit, while the healer (or priest) is merely a mediator appealing to God and His helpful hosts. There is, however, an identical element: The initial uncertainty as to the identity of the possessing demons and the vital task to identify them. Unless they can be identified, battle against them is futile. (See Hindu example, Freed and Freed, 1964:307; African example, Rogers, 1976:35.)

In the late 1970s an official exorcism took place in Franconia. It was sanctioned by the bishop and carried out by two priests, who experienced great difficulty in determining the identities of five demons and trying to evict them from a young woman (Goodman, 1981). The exorcism ended with the death of the "possessed" Annelise Michel and culminated in a trial with prison sentences for the priests.

Another common element is fetishistic and reveals the human penchant for sympathetic magic: the wearing on one's body of an amulet, charm, or medal as "good medicine" to ward off evil. The shaman will give the sufferer an amulet that represents a protective spirit, as among the Netsilik Eskimo a *tunraq* (Balicki, 1967:195), or among American Indians the medicine bag. Folk Catholicism, as ministered by the healer, proceeds similarly: Medals picturing saints or the Mother of God, often blessed in church, used to be part of the healer's arsenal of sacred implements to be offered to villagers in need of fortitude.

In sum, witch and healer inhabit a dualistic cosmology. What guardian angels are to the healer, are *tunraqs* to the shaman. What demons are to the witch, are *tupiliqs* to the shaman. The shaman is an holistic figure empowered to work both good and evil magic. He does so under the guise of familiars, which often are unruly and unpredictable, and can use them to deflect culpability from himself. If his sorcery fails, he can put the blame on the misbehavior or impotence of the spirit helpers. Witch and healer, likewise, have never been

short of excuses for unsuccessful magic: Fault has been imputed to inadequately performed ritual or interfering stronger power. However, demons of the witch and spirits of the healer have had fixed qualities that made them far more predictable and consistent than the supernatural entities of the shaman.

### (5) *Healing*

The literature on shamanism overwhelmingly describes healing as the main function of the shaman. Some definitions of shaman focus on this quality (Amiel, 1966:34; Eliade, 1956:208; Kiev, 1968; Hippler, 1976:108; Pfister, 1932:104). In contrast to the scientific approach, "the shaman has never grasped ... that disease can be cured through the aiding of natural bodily repair work ... Primitive people as a rule know nothing of physiology" (Rogers, 1976:3-4). Hence shamanic explanation of disease is of a spiritual nature. The shaman recognizes three etiological categories: a) *Witchcraft*. Disease is seen as the result of someone working evil witchcraft. Everyone is a potential victim of spells (Rogers, 1976:5). Such spells can be cast by the enemy him- or herself, or by someone hired to do so. b) *Dreaming*. Followers of shamanism believe that dreams can bring on sickness, particularly if the dream is about sickness. c) *Moral delinquency*. Violations of taboos may lead to disease as punishment. Punishing agents can be God, a mysteriously automatically avenging universe, or supernatural visitation.

Besides explaining many diseases on a naturalistic basis, Franconian folk magic also explains some diseases and accidents within the categories of "witchcraft" and "moral delinquency," but discards the category of "dreaming." Franconians believe in the reality of witch-caused disease or accident and that the witching person had to know the formulas (available through grimoires). On the other hand, shamans in illiterate societies do not have grimoires and hence their magic is more individualistic. However, both the Franconian and the shamanic systems assume that everyone is a potential victim. Like in shamanism, violating moral standards of the community can provoke the wrath of God, or trigger a

mysterious, inherent response in nature, or prompt the visitation of avenging spiritual entities. The belief in an immanent punishment response has animistic quality; for example, mistreated trees, fields, bee hives, or tools, can avenge themselves. Responses are thought to be particularly forthcoming if animals are mistreated. Another means of guarding taboos is the fear of visitations, which can come in form of avenging angels or punishing demons.

However, Franconian tradition allows explanation of illness on two levels simultaneously. It is understood that, in its immediacy, an illness or accident has a physical explanation. The peasants understood the »how« of a misfortune but wondered about the »why.« There is always the question of »supernatural motive« behind a seemingly natural occurrence. »An illness could be recognized as natural, but the causation behind it as supernatural. When my grandmother suffered a hernia, almost everyone understood what it was – a physiological disability. *But why did it happen?* Did a malicious witch weigh down the basket when she tried to lift it? Or did God punish her for some mistake of her own or of someone in the family?» (Sebald, 1978:175).

Duality of explanation is not part of the shamanic prototype. (See exceptions in Africa, Rappaport, 1976; in Mexico, Young, 1981.) An illness or injury can be understood as having been inflicted *directly* by a demon. Supernatural power and physical act coalesce. The shamanic diagnosis of illness can fall into one of three categories: a) Spirit or demon intrusion causing suffering. b) Disease-object intrusion, whereby a foreign object of evil power is lodged in the body of the patient – a crystal, pebble, ball of hair, small animal, and so forth. c) Soul straying or soul capture leaving the patient weak or unconscious.

Franconian magic has counterparts in all three classes. a) Symptoms of inexplicable diseases are often blamed on demonic intrusion, if not outright possession. For example, a certain type of infants' convulsions – labeled *Gfrasch* by the peasants – defied medical explanation. This was one of the rare instances where the Franconians adopted a shaman-like holistic explanation, i.e., symptoms and causation were

considered one and the same. (Today *Gfrasch* is increasingly understood as a symptom of malnutrition, particularly of calcium deficiency.) More frequently, disease in farm animals was ascribed to intrusion of demons, who obeyed the spell of a witch. b) Object-intrusion used to be notorious proof of witchcraft at work, and many prosecutors during the years of the witch hunt considered pins or needles voided by a »victim« as signs of witch-caused intrusions. This is history by now, and I have no recent reports of such beliefs or happenings. c) Franconian folk magic knows of the possibility of soul separation. As mentioned earlier, they have a legendary flavor, and belief in them is limited. Moreover, the cases do not entirely fit this category, since the persons involved were considered witches and not patients.

Witches in Franconia, by definition, are ruled out as healers. Their exclusion is categorical, even though the grimoire they use includes also curing formulas. The only way a witch can approximate an act of healing is by withdrawing her aggressive spell. One of my case studies deals with a woman who stole from a witch-reputed neighbor. Soon thereafter she perceived a vengeance spell causing her cows to milk traces of blood. Knowing the traditional solution of *Abbitte* (asking to be forgiven), she visited the witch, offered restitution, and begged that the curse be lifted from her stable. The witch complied; the cows returned to normal. In a strict sense, this is not classifiable as healing but as »justice magic.«

The healer, unlike the shaman at the seance, usually visits the location of illness or misfortune, where she performs rituals in privacy. In the majority of cases, the problem is with farm animals – calves sicken, piglets die, and, most often, cows milk traces of blood. In such cases she enters the stable, closes the door, and after one or more hours reappears to announce the exorcism completed. She usually leaves the family herbs with detailed instruction as to their application to the ailing animals. Her exorcism is usually rewarded with some simple gift, usually farm produce, rarely money. Reports on remuneration in shamanic healing differ. Most cases report no remuneration; in other cases shamans were found to charge fees

and became exceptionally wealthy (Nadel, 1958:431). Witches almost always expected to be paid, either in produce or in money.

In cases of human affliction, the healer's practice may be taken over by the priest if the supernatural visitation is considered major and an official exorcism may be performed. According to Nadel, similar hierarchies of healers are found in some primitive societies and consist of consecrated and nonconsecrated shamans (1958:430). In Franconia, the healer officiates in minor personal afflictions, working with the patient directly and allowing the immediate family as audience. From my informants' reports I can generalize a number of characteristics: a) The healer is aligned with Catholic liturgy, using standard prayers, the sign of the cross, candles, herbs, and medals that have been blessed by the priest during mass. b) She prefers as much privacy as possible for her rituals, except when the exorcism involved persons; then she allows immediate family members as passive spectators. c) She chants certain prayers in a language patients fail to understand; whether the prayers are in Latin, Hebrew, or a form of glossolalia has not been verified. d) She impresses people as an expert herbalist. e) She functions as counselor, perhaps to some extent as oracle, whom people consult in important decisionmaking. f) She frequently functions as midwife and "paramedic." g) Remuneration is so minor that healing is not used for making a living.

The healing efficacy of both shaman and healer often appear wondrous to people. A number of reasons bear explanation. When the healer is called for an exorcism of the stable, it almost always is during the end phase of a disease or an epidemic when the afflicted animals have either developed immunity or have perished. Livestock alive at the time of exorcism would most likely survive anyway. Here is the report of a first-hand witness to the practice of *Anfangen*-healing.

"The Meddler family experienced "misfortune in the stable." Piglets died, the cows milked blood and the calves sickened. No natural explanation could be found. It was decided to call on the services of a well-known healer from the

village of Rabeneck ... After the healer entered the stable and closed the door, the family was expected to stay in their quarters and wait for him to complete the ritual. My confidante was a young teenager at the time and her curiosity got the better of her sense of obedience. ... she found a knothole and spied on the man. She saw him kneel, pray, make the sign of the cross numerous times, and light a blessed candle, the so-called *Waxstock*, that normally is used only in a requiem mass. After he had completed the ritual in the stable, he asked to see the butter barrel and proceeded to carve three crosses on the inside. This was to dispel the hex that presumably impaired the implement, as it had failed to curdle butter ever since the trouble began.

After the healer had finished the *Anfangen*, he reminded the family that they must not accept or lend any object for the next three days. He also announced that within these critical days a person would call on them to borrow something. This person was the one who put the hex on the stable ...

The second day after the healing ritual, Mrs. Fruitgrower came and asked to borrow the *Grasstumpf* (sickle). The identity of the witch and the origin of the curse were now confirmed. (Under some plausible excuse, her request was denied, since the witch, through handling a personal object, would be empowered to renew the hex.)

The *Anfangen* by the healer appeared effective, the animals recovered and the butter barrel again produced butter." (Sebald, 1978:103-104).

In the case of humans, the most important reason for efficacy deals with a persuasive social-psychological-somatic process. It is a process of faith healing and its success depends on three interrelated factors: a) The curer must believe in his or her technique's effectiveness. b) The victim must believe in the curer's power. c) The community must have faith in the curer-patient relationship and offer a positive definition (cf. Levi-Strauss, 1967:24). Essentially the efficacy of magic depends on *belief* in magic. These conditions are met in both the shamanic and Franconian situations.

Certain ailments are more amenable to magical healing than others. Neurotic or psychosomatic conditions, generated by fearful belief or self-harming perception, can be undone by helping the patient to change belief or perception. For example, a person haunted by anxiety and believing to be suffering from a witch's spell may seek the help of a healer. Because the anxiety may have resulted in psychosomatic disorder, the sufferer can be cured by a magician's persuasive ritual. The cure, in essence, capitalizes on the suggestibility of the subject. Since harmful perceptions of the world and of ourselves are universal, curing by magic works and therefore occurs equally universally.

Efficacy is enhanced by the shaman's or healer's insight into the patient's unconscious. This ability permits psychosomatic manipulation and tends to support the notion that folk healers indeed have extraordinary talents and are not just lucky charlatans (cf. Pfister, 1932).

The community supports the belief in healing and benefits from it. In folk healing (shamanic and otherwise) the magician uses transference tendencies of the client and channels them into social conformity. The client's dependency needs are not attached to the healer as such but are deflected back to the community (cf. Boyer, 1964). I have seen this method reduce social isolation through the person's integration or reintegration into the community. A case in point was the peasant woman who had violated certain neighborly duties and as a result suffered guilt and perceived an ailment she had recently contracted as the neighbor's revenge hex. The healer she finally consulted encouraged her to reconcile with the neighbor and make amends for her offense – and all would be well. In so counseling, the healer strengthened community integration, avoided a limited client-counselor attachment, and instead promoted a conciliatory relationship between neighbors.

This type of healing or counseling is characteristic of such folk healers as shamans and the women who do the *Anfangen*. Hippler called shamanism an "ethnopsychiatric healing technique that in the absence of (modern) insight therapy permits some degree of personal

reorganization with group support" (1976:108). In summary, magical healing in primitive and peasant societies can be understood as culturally institutionalized therapy (cf. Amiel, 1966; Kiev, 1968).

Techniques differ widely, of course. For example, there is no psychic surgery in Franconian culture. If she ever has used psychedelic drugs in recent generations, the Franconian healer applied it only as an anesthetic or analgesic (members of the nightshade family have been used at child birth, for example). Shamans, on the other hand, have used drugs to facilitate their mediumship.

A few folk techniques are, however, striking in their similarities. For example, Franconians cut switches from a thorny member of the nightshade family, the *Bocksdorn* bush (*Lycium halimifolium*), to whip hex-suspected cows; regular *Bocksdorn*-whipping was believed to keep the stable witch-proof (Sebal, 1978:74). Rural Thais and Indian peasants drove out bad spirits by whipping the afflicted with a cane (Suwanlert, 1976:80; Freed & Freed, 1964:317). Franconians burned wormwood (*Artemisia absinthium*) in the stable to keep witches and demons out, for it was believed they abhorred its smell. In North Indian villages, the smoke from certain potions (available from the shaman) thrown into the fire was to banish ghosts and demons (Freed & Freed, 1964:308).

Shamanic as well as Christian exorcisms can serve as subterfuge therapeutic devices for the victim. The exorcist converses with the possessing demons; during the attempt to persuade the evil spirits to leave the victim's body, the spirits are given ample opportunity to complain, curse, and insult the exorcist or any other person they wish to choose. This was conspicuous throughout Anneliese Michel's Christian exorcism, referred to earlier, and was equally clearly observed in shamanic exorcisms (Freed & Freed, 1964:301). The outpouring of rage, insults, and obscenities can be a cathartic and go unpunished, even earning compassion. To prolong attention, the possessing demons may be slow in revealing their identities. This maneuver was apparent in Christian as well as shamanic exorcisms. "De-

ception and confusion about the identity hold the interest of spectators and prolong the curing procedure" (Freed & Freed, 1964:307). In short, "possession" can bring gripes and grievances to the attention of the community and possibly win support of relatives.

Side-by-side comparison of classical shamanic (among Netsilik Eskimos, Balikci, 1967) and Christian exorcisms (the Michel case, Goodman, 1981) shows resemblances. In order of procedure: a) The demons must be identified. b) The shaman invites his *tunraqs* into his body. The priest or healer calls on the Holy Spirit and angels. c) The shaman has the *tunraqs* speak (in secret vocabulary) in front of the patient. The priest begins to speak prayers of exorcism in Latin over the victim. d) The *tupiliqs* or demons and Satan leave the body of the victim. e) The shaman sends *tunraqs* after the *tupiliqs* to help him kill as many as he can. The priest's prayers intend to banish the demons and order them to hell. f) Spectators join in chanting, singing, or praying aloud. (In the Michel case, family members, relatives, and a few community members joined in the exorcism with some expressivity.) g) If, in spite of efforts, the victim continues to be possessed or even dies (as in the case of Michel), the *tupiliqs* or the demons were too numerous, or returned after the exorcism, or the exorcism wasn't carried out adequately.

It must be remembered, however, that possession in the orthodox Christian context differs from the shaman's personal possession. When the shaman becomes possessed, he tries to heal through being voluntarily possessed by helpful spirits, by being a medium for supernatural forces. Christian possession means the intrusion of an evil spirit against the will of the possessed.

#### (6) Other functions

Explaining the world are unequivocal – albeit latent – functions of shaman and healer. The witch's function is more egotistically goal-oriented than explanatory. Shaman and healer perform, among other tasks, the roles of explainers: Giving meaning to a multiplicity of situations which otherwise would remain puzzling to the community. In so doing, unity and

consensus is created. Humans, it appears, can bear negative and even frightening definitions better than no definitions at all. An anomic, unstructured situation is least bearable. Diseases that defy natural explanations have been readily given a supernatural explanation by folk healers – an explanation that usually calls for exorcism.

If the world of experience is divided in the "normal" and the "pathological", it is the folk healers' task to interpret the latter. They must supplement an otherwise incomplete reality and provide a multitude of meanings not available through "normal" thought (cf. Levi-Strauss, 1967:37–38). If normal means of recognizing the nature of events are insufficient, they may claim paranormal abilities, such as clairvoyance or other ESP talents (Balikci, 1967; Sebald, 1968:112, 180).

Many authors assume that shaman and healer further social cohesion. Levi-Strauss, for example, thinks that the public's participation in the cure results in experiencing "enthusiasm and an intellectual and emotional satisfaction which produces collective support" (1967:35). Halifax's poetic rendition has it that the shaman's work creates balance "between the community and the gods or divine forces that direct the life of the culture" (1979:21). Indicative of the presumed unity of shaman and culture, Balikci thinks that "the taboo system provided the shaman with an important rationale for his practice" (1967:206). Others find that the shaman is integrated and has an integrative function in the community (Nadel, 1958; Romano, 1965; Boyer, 1964; Billig, 1948).

The statement that "mores do not live on of themselves but must be recreated by ritual, ceremony" (Park, 1967:254) applies more to the shaman than to the healer. Franconian folk magic has a minimum of public ceremony. Perhaps the human desire for ceremony and ritual is otherwise fulfilled by official Catholicism through colorful liturgy and festivals.

Both, Franconian folk magic and shamanism, can be understood as providing "justice magic." Many communal or personal misfortunes are attributed to breaches of taboos. The shaman's function is to have these admitted

openly through confession at the seance. Forgiveness is then extended and supernatural forces appeased. Similarly, the democratic quality of witchery among the Franconians not only deters them from wrong-doing (through fear of retaliatory hexes) but, if they indeed break a taboo, prompts them to go for *Abbitte*, which involves confession and restitution. Hence witchcraft functions as preserver of taboos.

Just as the witch, or the witching peasant generally, the shaman "could serve as a threat to the local bully, whom he could kill by magic" (Hippler, 1976:110). But even the power of the shaman is subject to justice magic. Among Plains Indians a malevolent shaman's magic can be counteracted by the aid of another shaman (Lowie, 1958:413). This is the equivalent of "duels by means of witchery" as I found them among the Jura peasants. Villagers who prefer to abstain from conjuring personally, have a choice of either consulting a healer for help or engaging a witch to do aggressive witchery for them.

Describing the magician as exclusively providing integrative functions must be modified. Both shaman and witch contribute to deep rifts and chronic fears in the community: the shaman through ambiguous and sometimes unjustly partisan sorcery; the witch through constantly recreating suspicion and distrust among the villagers. In such environment of magical threat the only persons you can trust are in your immediate family. Jura parents constantly admonish their children to avoid trespassing, to refuse gifts from strangers (even neighbors), and to never steal anything. Village life, because of this and other reasons, consists of isolated families. Likewise in the shamanic community clan loyalty is at a premium. Eskimos prefer first-cousin marriages to guard against infiltrators who might wreak evil sorcery. Hence, a positive outcome of the two magical systems is a strengthening of familism.

In sum, shamanism and Jura folk magic present us with a repertoire of ambiguous and sometimes contradictory functions. Both systems expend their energies circularly: (1) The belief system spells out a cosmology; (2) it

creates certain fears and anxieties; (3) it suggests cures; (4) the process of curing reintroduces the same fear- and anxiety-inducing cosmology; (5) therefore recreating the same or similar social, psychological, or psychosomatic symptoms; (6) this circular process continues ad infinitum. The symptoms will endlessly recur as long as the belief system is operant.

## Summary and Conclusions

Comparison of ideal-type shamanism with Franconian witchcraft yields similarities and differences in a number of variables.

(1) Personal characteristics. The shaman practices totality of magic. Because of the total range of sorcery his character is ambivalent — he can work good and evil magic. Healer and witch have divided up the contrasting elements and are predictable in basic attitudes and functions. (2) Initiation. While the shaman, and to a lesser degree the healer, is often identified as "elect," the witch usually depends on family lineage. Yet the three offices can also be obtained through apprenticeship. (3) Techniques. The central art of the shaman is mediumship through possession. Witch and healer are mediators. While the shaman becomes the incarnate of spirits, witch and healer merely entreat them. Shamanic magic is mostly ecstatic; Franconian magic is mostly mechanical. The shamanic seance is a public spectacle. With few exception, Franconian magic is secretive and private. (4) Familiars. The cosmologies of both systems teem with good and evil spirits. They not only can be manipulated but some can be chosen as intimate associates — *tunraqs* among the Eskimo shamans, guardian angels or patron saints among healers, demons among witches. (5) Healing. This is the main function for healer and shaman alike. The witch reigning over the negative segment of the shaman's spiritual spectrum, does not heal. All three figures capitalize on human suggestibility and can achieve success in psychosomatic manipulation. (6) Other functions. Both belief systems function as justice magic, proposing a sanction system based on magical enforcement. Both systems are fraught with para-

doxes, however. They induce integrative as well as divisive behavior; they cause disturbances and suggest spurious cures against them.

In general, the two belief systems reflect greater differences than similarities. The holi-stic, organic magic of shamanism contrasts with the dualistic, mechanical magic of healer and witch. Compared to shamanism, Franconian folk magic is an atrophied, if not necrotized, vestige of sorcery. It is too dependent on rigid, institutionalized theology to be comparable to idiosyncratic, dynamic shamanism. If shamanism indeed ever was a pre-Christian and pan-primitive system of beliefs and practices, it has been fragmented in Franconia, as well as in the rest of Europe, and supplanted by a religio-magical system in which preside formal priest, informal healer, and black witch. In its present form, Franconian folk magic cannot be defined as a version of shamanism. While there are indeed several shamanic elements, they fail to add up to an integrated picture. Franconian folk magic is primarily a fading form of medieval Catholicism. And to what extent medieval Catholicism was influenced by ancient shamanism (or shamanic druidism) is still another question.

## Notes

1. The author gratefully acknowledges the 1984/85 sabbatical leave from Arizona State University which facilitated the completion of this paper.
2. While this paper limits itself to a comparison, the importance of the question of *origin* of the elements of witchcraft is not lost on the author and he wishes to at least make a note of it.

Over recent years, inferences have been made linking European witchcraft to ancient, pre-Christian shamanism. Eliade alludes to this linkage (1956), Duerr sees the desire of witches to engage helping spirits as a derivative of the type of shamanism that already prevailed in lower palaeolithic times (1984), and Corradi's thesis, based on research of linguistics and myths, reads:

"Shamanism, which in the strictest sense is a phenomenon typical of Northern Europe and America, has left its traces not only in the ancient culture of India, China, Iran, Scythia, and Thrace from where it probably spread to Greece but also (in) the West ... Despite the fact that the Indoeuropeans cannot be considered as people of sha-

manic vocation, they reveal certain parashamanic characteristics which lead us to think of a common primitive cultural base, or, at any rate, of prehistoric contact ..." (1983:19).

Corradi sees validity in replacing "Indoeuro-pean" by "Indouralic", suggesting a closer linguistic, mythic, and general cultural link between ancient European and Finno-Ugric peoples than is being claimed traditionally.

A specific etiological theory proposed during the 1920s by Margaret Murray, a British Egyptologist, relates witchcraft of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance to ancient Celtic druidism (Murray, 1921). She thought that "ritual witchcraft" had been an ongoing, highly organized pagan cult until its more or less complete extermination at the hands of the Inquisition, which redefined the pagan religion as Devil-worship. This is not the place to delve into the controversy whether Murray's theory can be supported by enough evidence to convince such reputable historians as Monter (1969), Russell (1980), Macfarlane (1970), and others, who are highly skeptical of Murray's notion. Moreover, what is really important in this context is the question whether druidism, if indeed it should have influenced the development of medieval witchcraft, had anything to do with shamanism. Here the answers run scarce. One of the foremost experts on Celtic culture, Stuart Pig-gott, dedicates most of his pages to combat the romantic image that has come to enshroud the true picture of the druids and was able to summarize the few facts we know about them in a very few pages at the end of his book (1968:158-164). So at this time, conscientious scholarship would refrain from establishing any definitive relationship between druidism and shamanism.

3. A "kinship group" in this region was (to some extent still is) loosely identified by the *Hausnamen* (»house name«) associated with the patriarch; hence all descendants from my maternal grandfather were called Kloppeperer, those from my paternal grandfather *Schneider*. Each villager could therefore claim belonging to two different clanlike sets of relatives, each going by an informal *Hausnamen* that was neither written nor officially recorded but known and used by everyone in the village.
4. An adequate discussion concerning the role of drugs in witchcraft would demand more attention than can be allotted in this paper. The reader may want to follow up on the topic by consulting Duerr (1978:13-24), Mrsich (1957), Barnett (1965), Fühner (1930), Haining (1977:33), Baroja (1965:254-255), the daring idea to explain the Salem witch mania through ergotism by Caporael (1976), and perhaps even the highly suspect accounts by Castaneda (1968). There seems to be evidence that leaves from members of the nightshade family were sometimes boiled or smoked, with the most frequent ones being *Hyoscyamus*

niger, *Aconitum napellus*, *Datura sanguinea*, and *Atropa belladonna* – all being Old World plants known virtually to all peasants. The decoctions and ointments occasionally mentioned in the witch trials may have included these drugs and may explain the perception of flying, attending the witches' Sabbath, and experiencing other extraordinary things. Without doubt, the natural pharmacopia of psychedelia can easily produce visions of haunting realness and confirm all sorts of ingredients of witchcraft. However, some overzealous writers seem to forget that it is not drugs that create or infuse these images; drugs merely activate the perception of already established cultural images and beliefs, lending them real-life appearance.

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