HANS PETER DUERR

DREAMTIME

Concerning the Boundary between Wilderness and Civilization

Translated by
Felicitas Goodman

BASIL BLACKWELL

For Manâr es-Sanâ
of the Islands of Wâk

Aucunes genz dient qu'en songes
n'a se fables non et mençonges,
mes l'en puet tex songes songier
qui ne sont mie mençongier.

(Roman de la Rose)

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Preface to the English Edition

The German edition of this book was published in 1978. The publisher of the present English version asked me to bring the book up to date, to answer objections and correct mistakes. I did not accede to his wishes, although many scholars and other readers – some friendly, others not so friendly – drew my attention to various errors, many of them significant. I did not revise anything because, in my view, a book is not a dishwasher, where it is advisable to change malfunctioning parts. Hegel says, 'The truth is in the whole.' This may sound a bit pompous to us moderns, but what he meant is something that many scientists nowadays have lost the feeling for: knowledge represents *results*. These results only have meaning if we are informed of the manner by which they were gained, so that we can comprehend, we can follow the process towards cognition ourselves. Errors are an essential part of a book, and readers need to know them if they are to understand its content.

This does not mean, of course, that I have no respect for the criticism voiced. I learned a great deal from informed as well as uninformed critics. In my recent book, *Sedna oder Die Liebe zum Leben* (Frankfurt/Main, 1984), I paid due attention to some of this, as well as to similar views in a collection of papers, edited by Rolf Gehlen and Bernd Wolf, *Der gläserne Zaun: Aufsätze zur 'Traumzeit' Hans Peter Duerrs* (Frankfurt/Main, 1983).

One train of thought in the criticism advanced I now accept without reservation. It concerns what appears to be my 'mixed-pickles' method of associating the most varied customs and beliefs in the discussion without always making clear to the majority of the readers precisely what they might have in common. I could, of course, clarify such issues, but that would entail rewriting and considerably expanding extensive portions of the book. I hope the reader will forgive me for not undertaking this at this time.

In some ways, George Devereux was the sharpest critic of this book. At first, he felt personally insulted by *Dreamtime*, but he is not one to hold a grudge for long. I dedicate this edition to him in friendship and respect.

I am greatly indebted to Felicitas D. Goodman, who undertook the translation. In the past few years, I have worked with quite a number of translators, but I have never met one with greater dedication. In a number of instances, her questions actually revealed aspects of what I had written that had not even occurred to me before.

Hans Peter Duerr
Heidelberg

Preface to the First Edition

Ich achte die Bücher wie auch das was sie nicht wissen.
(Taliesin, Welsh Bard)
I respect books and also what they do not know.

The idea for this book came to me as the result of an experience in New Mexico, in the summer of 1963. All that day, I had been climbing among the caves of Puyé Cliffs and arrived at the Albuquerque Greyhound bus station in the evening. There I happened to strike up a conversation with a Tewa Indian *yerbatero* who was getting a cup of coffee at the counter. We talked for a while about this and that. Finally, I asked him whether he could help me find any Indian family in one of the pueblos north of Santa Fé, where I could stay while studying the nightly dances in the subterranean kivas. I was not exactly telling the truth: the thought occurred to me as I was talking to him. I had remembered the Hopi snake dances, probably because that afternoon a rattlesnake had slithered past me in one of the caves, perilously close. (She had not even rattled when she saw me: it must have been an omen, but Castaneda's books were not around yet.) The Indian looked at me for a while, then he smiled and said that if I wanted to find out about the dances in the kivas, then the best place at a pueblo for that was the University of California at the Pueblo of Our Lady of the Angels.

His answer dealt a telling blow to my vanity. I was convinced that there was not a trace of condescension in the way in which I had approached him. I had not been trying to be clever and had even pointed out to him that, although I had studied anthropology, I had retained an abiding interest in the ways of life of different societies. I am not sure whether it was from injured pride, but the same night I boarded a Greyhound bus in the direction of Arizona. That is the reason why this book is less a record

of the experiences I might have gained in the kivas, at the 'navel of the world', than about what I discovered in the library at Los Angeles and other unhappy places. What happened to me can perhaps be compared to that which a Zen master experienced when he wanted to paint a tiger – all he could produce was a pussycat.

Edward E. Evans-Pritchard greatly encouraged me to write this book at the outset, and took considerable interest in its early stages. A few years before his death, his interest cooled, mainly because he had to witness how the state of my soul gradually approached that of ordered anarchy. Yet I remember him fondly and am almost sure that Sir Edward is now contemplating matters from a considerably elevated vantage point.

Part of this book goes back to a lecture I gave in the autumn of 1975 before members of the philosophy seminar at the University of Constance and later before a club of housewives in Mannheim. Of the latter, I have joyous memories.

Institutions are sometimes generous, but rarely gracious. This can certainly be said of the Heinrich-Heine Foundation. Without the two-year scholarship it granted me, this book would have been much shorter but, I hope, not better.

I did get by – with a little help from my friends, especially Margherita von Brentano, Armin Morat, Axel Rütters, Reinhard Kaiser and Jacob Taubes. I even got high with a little help from my friends, especially Magdalena Melnikow and her equally self-willed baby, Bernd Kramer, Annette Primm, Paul Feyerabend, Helmut Krauch, Danielle Bazzi and Klaus Stichweh. With all of this, I was able to compose the present book. That I completed it is thanks less to their criticism than to their enduring friendship, their love and their irony.

Hans Peter Duerr
Heidelberg, Spring 1978

A Warning to the Reader

In the past few years, I have frequently received letters from readers expressing interest in the composition and dose of witches' salves. I have also found in the American 'freak' literature totally irresponsible 'recipes' that were praised as 'tickets' California-style. I discussed the matter with some nightshade spirits who are friends of mine, and they asked me to transmit the following to the readers of this book:

1 They do not want to be called just for fun or out of craziness. If they feel like striking up a friendship, they will let the respective person know.
2 The tickets they issue are often one-way, singles i.e.: the return part is missing.

H.P.D.

1

Witches' Salves: for Flying to the Sabbat or into the Trap of the Demon?

Jetzt bin ich leicht,
jetzt fliege ich,
jetzt sehe ich mich unter mir,
jetzt tanzt ein Gott durch mich.
(Nietzsche)

Now I am light,
now I fly,
now I see myself beneath me,
now a god dances through me.

In 1661, a number of people were strangled and burned as witches in Gutenhag in Styria. Among them was one Ursula Kollarin, who at her trial testified that 'the old Wollwerkthin smeared them all with a black salve, rubbing it into their armpits. Soon their bodies became covered with feathers and forthwith they flew to Rohitsch Mountain like so many storks.' After drinking wine at a banquet there, 'her head became as if without reason'. Seventy-year-old Michael Zotter also reported that he had been 'as if drunk most of the time, and found it hard to keep up with the others during the flight'. Another woman, also accused of being a witch, recalled that the Devil himself had rubbed the salve into her armpits and 'had thus deprived her of her senses'. Most of them had met the Evil One for the first time as they were searching for mushrooms in the forest or were working in the fields.[1]

Before a Rhodesian court of law a few years ago, three Shona women suspected of being witches declared that they met naked near a stand of three trees and rubbed their hands and faces with a white salve (*mushonga*) in order to 'travel by night', preferably on the backs of hyenas

or anteaters.[2] 'I felt things going very dark,'[3] reported one of them, a woman called Netsayi, according to the translation of the rather dumbfounded ethnographer, 'and felt as though I wanted to vomit.' The witch then proceeded to explain: 'On each occasion we travelled about naked and we appeared to travel through the air. I remember three kraals we visited . . .'[4]

Similar, though rather more graceful, experiences are reported from the South Pacific. Before flying to *numu,* the lower world, a witch of the Normanby Archipelago bathes and then anoints her body with 'leaves and magic', whatever that may mean. It makes her glisten like a gorgeous bird of paradise, and from then on she will be called 'bird of paradise'. After this preparation, she climbs the *kayaru,* a conifer, and flies off to the faraway lower world to fetch seeds, especially *huyowana. Huyowana* means 'good fortune'.[5]

For the most part, the records of European witchcraft trials provide little information about the composition of these salves and oils.[6] Surprisingly enough, the nightshades which supposedly make a person 'as hot as a buck, as blind as a bat, as dry as a bone, as red as a beetroot and as crazy as a hen', never appear in these documents. Nor is there much mention of poisonous plants.

In 1596 Agnes Gerhardts confessed that she and her companions rubbed the soles of their feet with a salve 'in order to fly to the dance like snow geese'. This salve, she said, was prepared 'by taking tansy, hellebore, wild ginger, and frying it all in butter mixed with an egg. That is how the salve was made.'[7] But this is one of the few exceptions.

The recipes for witches' salves, which have become so famous in recent years, are not taken from the court records. They derive from the writings and tracts of men who were interested in *magia licita,* i.e. 'natural magic'. They were physicians, astrologers and scientists who went to great lengths to avoid the suggestion that they were trafficking with the Great Adversary. So they usually kept everyone in the dark as to their sources. Johannes Weier, for instance, a student of Agrippa of Nettesheim and personal physician to the Duke of Jülich-Cleve-Berg, names 'fat of children, as they say, also wild celery juice, clinging birthwort, tormentilla, nightshade, and soot.'[8] The philosopher Francis Bacon says, 'The ointment that witches use is reported to be made of the fat of children digged out of their graves; of the juices of smallage, wolf-bane, and cinquefoil, mingled with the meal of fine wheat. But I suppose that the soporiferous medicines are likest to do it; which are henbane, hemlock, mandrake, moonshade, tobacco, opium, saffron, poplar leaves, etc.'[9] Andrés Laguna, in 1570, speaks of 'a certain green ointment, such as poplar salve, with which they [the witches] anointed themselves; its oppressive and disagree-

able smell indicated that it was composed of extremely cold and soporific herbs, such as hemlock, nightshade, henbane, and mandrake.'[10] A witches' salve of Krain, which made women 'imagine that they flew', and 'caused them to dream of dancing, guzzling, gorging themselves, music, and other similar matters', contained cinquefoil, belladonna, waterparsnip, meadow salsify and wild celery according to Johannes Valvasor, as well as the extremely poisonous aconite,[11] which will cause serious inflammation at the merest touch. One of the earliest descriptions comes from the pen of Harttliepp, physician at the court of Bavaria, who in 1456 wrote:

> For such travelling, both men and women, that is, the witches, use a salve called *vngentum pharelis* or 'lighthouse ointment'. It is prepared from seven herbs, each one of which is picked on a certain day. Thus on Sunday they pick and dig heliotrope, on Monday crescent-shaped fern, on Tuesday verbena, on Wednesday spurge, on Thursday houseleek, and on Friday maidenhair, and all this they use to make the ointment; they also add bird's gall and the fat of various animals, which I will not describe lest someone should take offence. When they feel the urge, they rub their bench, their rake or loading fork, and off they fly.[12]

The obvious question then is, why should there be so little mention in the court records of these salves, some of them hallucinogenic? How could the ingredients of these oils and ointments have escaped the probing questions of the judges and inquisitors?

Before going on, we may be sure of one thing: most of those unfortunate people, who at the beginning of the modern era fell victim to a persecution every bit as cruel as that which the press of our day reports from the dungeons of Chile or Cambodia, never rubbed themselves with any 'witches' salve'; nor did it occur to them to fly to a dance like snow geese.[13] For the most part, they were simple peasants or burghers, caught in the machinery of a system of terror that demanded more victims every day to justify its existence.

However, as we know from a number of contemporary observers,[14] there must indeed have been people, mainly women, during the time of the Renaissance and in isolated incidents even later, who fell into a stupor with the aid of certain salves. After coming to, they proceeded to tell of flights, frequently strenuous,[15] and of orgiastic dances.[16] Why then should the trial documents be silent about such eye-witness accounts and about the ingredients of the ointments and oils?

A manuscript from the fifteenth century provides suggestions 'concerning all matters about which the witches and warlocks should comfortably be examined'.[17] Perusing these instructions, we find that the judges were enjoined to query whether 'they sat on the front or the back of the broom', and 'how they recognized from the air where they were?', but the com-

position of their salves was not explored with the same conscientious intensity, if at all.[18] When such questions were posed, they were highly suggestive. They robbed the 'witch' of her speech and usually contained the desired answer in its entirety.[19] This becomes obvious in the interrogation manual of 1588, the use of which was decreed by law in Baden-Baden. The impatience with which the preconceived answers were elicited is palpable. The questions cease to be interrogative and are turned into contentions:

> What did she use in order to travel? And also, how was the same prepared, and what colour did it have? Would she trust herself to prepare one?[20] Often they needed fat from humans and thus must have committed many murders. They usually render the fat by boiling or frying. What then did she do with the boiled or fried human flesh? And also: they always need human fat for such salves, be it from humans alive or dead,[21] as well as blood of the same, fern seeds,[22] etc., but the fat is always added.[23]

In most cases[24] the judges *presupposed* the reality of the witches' flight.[25] There was therefore the implicit assumption that the witches did not anoint themselves, but rather the object they flew with, such as the broom, the billy goat or the paddle used to load bread into the oven.[26] The corresponding question in the interrogation manual of the Alsace 'malfeasance court' says, 'How did she prepare the salve with which she rubbed the pitchfork?'[27] Occasionally, the salve was actually called 'broom grease'.

We must assume that the role of mind-altering plants in some witches' flights was not only under-emphasized, but entirely suppressed for a reason. If this had not been done, then a *natural* explanation for such phenomena would have suggested itself, something in fact advanced by the physicians, philosophers and magicians quoted here, such as Porta, Weier and Cardanus.[28] The Devil would then have been left with only a very modest significance,[29] or none at all. If he was assigned nothing more than the role of carnival conjurer, who caused mere illusions to flame up in the heads of witches, he could not have fulfilled the function assigned to him, namely the mighty enemy and seducer of Christendom.[30]

In some of the trials it becomes quite clear that initially the Evil Adversary does not even appear in the reports of the witches and warlocks.[31] In the course of the trial, he is then forced on the accused as an entirely foreign element. In some cases, there are obvious descriptions of actual experiences, which are later replaced by coerced fiction originating in the imagination of the judges.

Diel Breull of Calbach, for instance, a magician, herbalist, crystal gazer and night traveller, first reported in 1630 that 'he travelled to the mountain

four times a year, during the days of the fast. He had no idea how he got into the mountain. (At another time he said that when the time came, he had to leave, and then he lay as if dead) . . . He then confessed that he was a night traveller. He said that Frau Holle (to whom he travels) was a fine woman from the front, but from the back, she was like a hollow tree with a rough bark.[32] It was in Venus Mountain that he came to know a number of herbs.'

After this description, which did little to please the judges, he was tortured. Suddenly, he succeeded in satisfying the court.[33] He confessed to having repudiated the Lord with the words, 'Here I stand on this manure pile and deny the Lord Jesus Christ.'[34] Thereupon, he told of the Devil appearing to him, and similar matters.[35]

The *description* of the experience as it actually happened can easily be separated from the *interpretation* placed upon it by the interrogators in the following case. This concerns a Hans Buochmann of Römerswil. He related that near Sempach, on 15 November 1572, 'he was carried away to a strange land; he did not recognize himself and was not in his right mind. He had gone through the forest by night and had happened on a gap in the fence,[36] when he heard a rustling as if a mighty demon flew by, and immediately afterwards drumming, piping, and the sound of strings.' Compare this with 'And thereupon, the Adversary grabbed him, carried him away through the air, and for four days and nights he did not know where he was.'[37]

Finally, there is the case of a Scottish witch trial, where a fairy was reinterpreted demonologically. For years, so we read in 1597, one Andro Man of Aberdeen, had had 'carnall deall' with a 'devilische spreit', a queen of fairies who, according to the court records, was none other than the Devil: 'Thriescoir yeries sensyne or thairby, the Devill, thy maister, com to thy motheris hous, in the likness and scheap of a woman, quhom thow callis the Quene of Elphen'; and further on, 'Vpon the Ruidday in harvest, in this present yeir, quhilk fell on ane Wedinsday, thow confessis and affermis, thow saw Christsonday cum out of the snaw in likness of a staig,[38] and that the Quene of Elphen was their, and vtheris with hir, rydand vpun quhyt haiknayes. . . .'[39]

Female characters, such as 'fraw Holt' or the 'Quene of Elphen' keep cropping up in these reports. It is more than likely that it was under the pressure of their inquisitors that the accused identified these ghostly women of the wilderness with the Devil. Quite frequently, the female form of witch, *unholda,* is used as a term for the Devil, and in a witch trial in the Alps, he is called 'the old Perchtl'.[40]

We may conclude, then, that in many instances the character of the Devil was compulsorily introduced into the confession. It could not be

tolerated that this Evil Incarnate be confused with any lowly forest spirit or morally ambivalent elf with whom the country folk had consorted from time immemorial. Besides, many of the accused were probably aware from the start what sort of language was expected of them. Not a few may have acted in the same way as the men of the Australian Kurnai tribe when questioned by an ethnographer who wanted to know who was represented by one of their rock art figures. As Howitt, one of the old-timers of Australian fieldwork tells it, 'After consulting together for a few minutes, one of them said, "We think that he is Jesus Christ." When this answer proved unsatisfactory, they laid their heads together again and after mature deliberation declared that he must be the devil.'[41]

In addition, it would also have meant an inadmissible diminution of the power of the Demon if it had transpired that he needed bewitching herbs to confuse the senses of witches and sorcerers. A devil who can only affect the soul and not also the tangible material world is not a very impressive being. Once the explanation of the drug effect was admitted, could not the Devil then also be cut out of the picture, as suggested by Occam's razor, i.e. that 'entities should not be multiplied unnecessarily'? In fact, some of the learned magicians and physicians, to whom we are indebted for the recipes of witches' salves, do make this suggestion, albeit rather covertly.

The extent to which the importance of mind-altering drugs was played down is illustrated by the declaration of the Holy Inquisition concerning the peyote cult in New Spain. This plant, they said, did not have the power to bring about those phantasms which obviously led the Indians astray. Such action could only be the work of the Father of Lies.

> This is a matter of superstition, which is reprehensible and opposed to the purity and sincerity of our sacred Catholic faith. The said herb and others like it cannot have the power or the natural efficacy attributed to them to bring about the said effects, or to cause the images, phantasms, and representations that the said divinations are based on. In those, what can manifestly be seen is only the suggestion and the assistance of the Demon, the author of such abuses.[42]

To some extent, of course, the Holy Inquisition was right. It was not interested in the psychological, pharmacological or scientific aspects of a confusion of the senses or of hallucinations as such. Rather, what was important was the *content* of these conditions and their origin. And when we read how one of the most outstanding ethnopharmacologists of our day brags that, in contrast to Indian sorcerers, *he* knows that the nature of the spirits of poisonous plants is a chemical one,[43] then we realize that quite possibly the Holy Inquisition had a much more discriminating intuition about the subject than many of today's scientists.

The Spanish physician Juan de Cárdenas, while admitting that magic

herbs could produce dreams, confusions and other horrible things in the heads of heathens, still contended that it was the Devil who incited those wretches to consume cactuses, herbs and mushrooms so that they might sink into darkness. The plants alone, he thought, could never conjure up the Devil.[44]

'And if you take a herb,' the Sioux medicine man Lame Deer tells the ethnographer, 'well, even the butcher boy at his meat counter will have a vision after eating peyote.'[45]

The epistemological arguments did not turn into a moral issue until later on, when scientific enlightenment began to unfold, exiling the fairies and elves to the subconscious. It was then that an understanding increasingly gained ground that at least some of the witches had been the victims of pseudoperception, and that they had not really flown, but had only imagined it.

Pierre Bayle illustrates this point. As a typical philosopher, he preferred to let his scepticism flutter about in the rarefied air of epistemology; but when it came to matters outside that realm, he tended towards rather robust judgements. And so he says about witches who, he thinks, show no signs whatsoever of an 'imbecility of the spirit': 'If they like such dreams, and taking them for real, wish to return to those meetings and if they carry out the ceremonies that prepare them for such travels, they commit the same crimes as any other sorcerer, and they are, in fact, sorcerers of the imagination. Consequently, they deserve the punishment due other sorcerers.'[46]

The idea that some women, especially so-called night travellers, flew only in their wild imaginings or were merely the victims of demonic illusions could easily persist[47] in association with the opinion that the 'new sect' of witches actually did fly 'contrary to common custom and nature itself'.[48] The two different groups of demonized people were not distinguished very clearly,[49] as we see in this Lenten sermon given in Strasburg in 1508 by the well-known and eloquent preacher Johann Geiler von Kaisersberg:

> Now you may ask: What will you tell us about those who travel by night and assemble thus? You asks if there is something to that? When they travel to Venus Mountain, or when the witches travel here and there, do they travel, or do they stay, or is it an illusion? As to the first, I say that they travel here and there and also remain in one place, but they think that they travel, for the Devil can create that delusion in their heads and thus a fancy.

We are somewhat taken aback, however, when Geiler then continues:

> It is a certain rule of matter that the Devil can transport a thing which is physical from one place to another because of the power he has that was created for him by

Almighty God. This is why it is then possible that when a witch sits on a pitchfork, and smears it, and says the word she is supposed to utter, then she will fly away wherever she wants to. The pitchfork does not do that on its own accord, the salve does not do it either.[50]

It seems that Geiler is contradicting himself here; but actually, he makes a distinction. On the one hand, he thinks the Devil capable of transporting the true witches through the air to their love affairs, that is, that 'new sect' of witches which, according to the calculations of the Dominican friar Silvestro Mozzolino, had started infesting the world in the year 1404.[51] On the other hand, he conceives of a different group, consisting of those women who, in the belief of the people, went about 'travelling by night', roaming the forests since time immemorial together with pagan goddesses, and who were carried away to Venus Mountain. In the view of the preacher, these were mere victims of all sorts of 'fancies',[52] which had no relationship to real life.[53]

Women of this kind who journeyed about at night were quite familiar to country folk. It was known that they sometimes rubbed themselves with mysterious salves prepared from plants. This made their bodies sink into a stupor, and their souls (or whatever) fled away into the wilderness.[54] There is the story of a hag who said that from time to time she flew away in the retinue of Diana and stayed with Lady Venus. A Dominican friar prevailed on her to let him watch her supposed flight.

The night came that she wanted to travel, and so she called him. When she wanted to leave, she placed a trough on a bench, the kind made in the villages,[55] where baking is done mostly at home. She sat down in the trough, rubbed herself with oil and said the words she was supposed to say, and while still sitting, she fell asleep. Then she imagined that she was flying, and she had all her pleasures internally. She fought with her hands and her feet, and did that so violently that the trough fell off the bench and she came to lie under it, gashing her head.[56]

It may have been the same kind of night traveller whom a magician and scholar from Naples by the name of Giambattista della Porta encountered. He calls her *striga,* possibly because he modelled his account on a story by Lucian.[57] The anecdote has become rather famous in recent years.

As I was now seriously pondering these matters (for to tell the truth, I was of two minds about these things), I happened to meet an old hag. She was one of those who is called *striga* in Latin, after the night bird which is thought to suck the blood of young children. Voluntarily she agreed and promised that she would provide the answer to my question. She ordered me and all those who were with me to leave. As we could see through a crack in the door, she stripped and rubbed herself all over with some sort of salve. As a result of the strong effect of the soporific ointment, she fell on the floor profoundly asleep. We opened the door, went in, and

not very gently tanned her hide. But she was so fast asleep that she felt none of it. So we went outside once more in order to see how things would go on. As the effect of the salve began losing strength, she awoke and told many strange tales about how she travelled over dale and mountain. We disputed it and pointed to the wheals on her body, but that was for naught. In short, all our remonstrances and actions amounted to no more than if somebody blew into a cold stove.[58]

I have already mentioned how much Porta's eye-witness report resembled an anecdote from Lucian's *Lucius and the Ass*. In that story Lucius and his companion observed through a crack in the door how a *striga* rubbed herself with oil in order to turn into an owl. German legends tell of similar incidents. The question is, how trustworthy are eye witnesses such as the Neapolitan scholar?

For an answer, let us look at an Italian engraving of 1601 (plate 1), showing a whale that was beached near Ancona in that year. The engraving was allegedly created by an eye-witness to the event.[59] Disregarding the head fins of the animal, which are a bit too much like ears, we might



Plate 1 Whale stranded near Ancona. Anonymous (Italian 1601, Copperplate).

take this engraving to be an accurate representation of a whale stranded near Ancona. However, contemplating plate 2, which shows an engraving of 1598 by the Dutch artist Goltzius, we may become more sceptical towards the Italian engraver. The whale presented here is one that was washed ashore on a Dutch beach. The only difference between the two whales is that one is the mirror image of the other, and that the Italian artist modestly drew the North Sea whale's extended penis retracted. Does

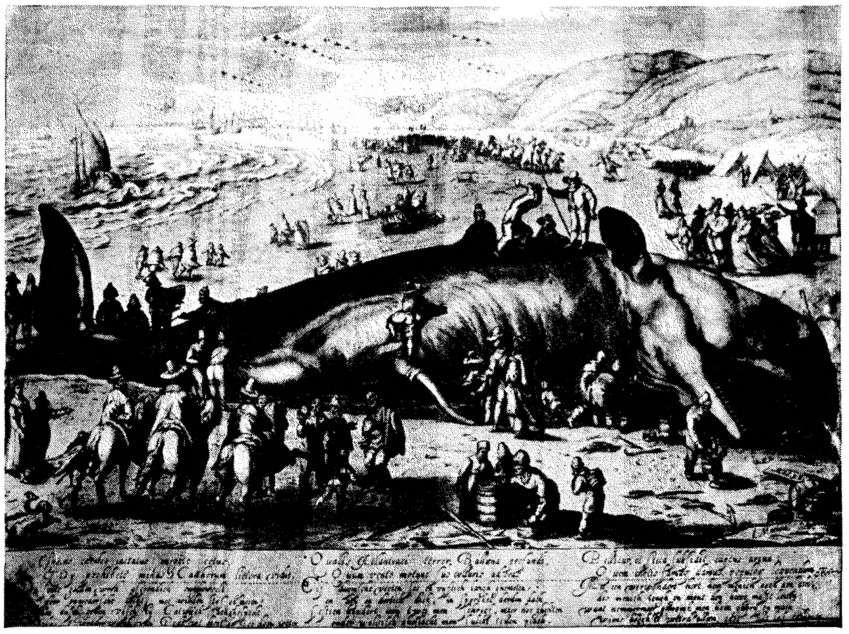


Plate 2 A whale stranded in Holland. After Henrik Goltzius (1598, Copperplate).

that mean that in all probability the Italian draughtsman was no eye-witness at all?

I think that we should trust the Italian artist just as much as his Dutch colleague. At that time it was customary to render events and objects of one's own experience in a well-established or traditional manner. We may assume that for the Italian painter it was less important to communicate to the viewer of his engraving in what posture the dead whale was found or how many people crawled over it. It was more important to transmit the news that at Ancona an enormous sea monster had been washed ashore.

The same may also be true of reports of night travellers who annointed themselves. What was important to a man such as Porta was not every *detail* of the event as it actually happened. What he wanted to communicate was principally that there actually were old sorceresses who anointed themselves with salves prepared from plants, and who then imagined that they flew through the forest by night. To report his experience, he used a model from ancient tradition. He intended to refute a prevailing belief with his report, and by using the classical form the contrast emerges in bold relief. For Lucian's *striga* did indeed change into an owl and fluttered out of the window, something completely in agreement with widely held views during the Renaissance.

As we have seen, the idea that women in league with the Devil smeared themselves before flying to the sabbat apparently goes back to the women who travelled about by night and actually used salves which were in part 'hallucinogenic'. Such salves also appear in stories about the so-called 'gude wychties' or 'cunning folk'.[60], who had connections with the forest fairies, found in previously Celtic regions. The famous Laidie Alice Kyteler, who was executed in 1324, and had the double misfortune to be used 600 years later by Professor Murray to support her somewhat venturesome theories about witches' cults, apparently also used such a salve. It was an 'oyntment, wherewith she greased a staffe, upon which she ambled and galloped through thick and thin, when and in what maner she listed'.[61] A North German legend tells of a midwife who was fetched into the moutain by 'white women'. There she was able to rub a little 'elves' salve' under her eyes. After returning to the realm of mortals, the ointment made it possible for her to see the inhabitants of the lower world.[62]

2

From the Lioness of Women to the Night Travellers

A u na tingana
Famba b'sikwin?
(Song of the Tsonga)

Aren't you ashamed
To travel by night?

What sort of women were the so-called 'women that travel by night', and what kind of being was Diana, in whose retinue these women supposedly roamed through the nocturnal forests?

Artemis, once the 'lioness of women', whom the Greeks required to remain chaste,[1] was an ancient women's goddess. She was a deity not of agrarian, but of nature's, fertility,[2] as well as a goddess of trees. However, she was not the mistress of cultivated trees, but rather of those of the forests, indomitable, growing wild, a being very similar to the tree-god Dionysus, who was not the god of wine as such, but the deity of wild wine.[3]

The wooden statue of Artemis Orthia used to be wound with willow branches.[4] This was the reason why the goddess was also called Lygodesma, the 'willow-bound one'. The branches were twined mainly around her arms, which she folded over her chest. This crossing of the arms was, we might suggest, a tame Greek variant of the naked breasts jutting forward, characteristic of the pre-Indo-Germanic goddess of love and fertility.[5] Artemis, more aloof, more domesticated, was the successor of that deity.

Despite this reserve, however, a different character does on and off break through the surface in the various representations of Artemis. With their hair down and their peploses ungirded,[6] the Laconian Artemis Caryatis and her tree nymphs, the Caryatids, swarmed and raged through

the wilderness, uttering wild cries, especially on those days of the year when the fetters of the trees were removed and the women were given liberty to perform their ecstatic dances.

Artemis Lyaia of Syracuse bore the epithet of the 'one who looses', for she set herself free, together with the women who formed her following.[7] The dances of Artemis Alpheia, and more particularly those of Artemis Corythalia, were notorious in classical antiquity.[8] During these events, ecstatic women tied on artificial phalli (we will return to this later) and, as an embarrassed nineteenth-century scholar wrote, the performance 'was probably not very modest'.[9]

Extraordinary things happened at such festivals. Strabo reports that Artemis Perasia had a temple in the Cappadocian town of Kastabala. There the priestesses of the goddess walked over glowing coals with bare feet without blistering their skin.[10] These ceremonies may have given rise to the wild dances of Nestorian women who, according to the report of an ethnographer, during the feast of St Constantin, flail their arms 'as if they wanted to fly',[11] and with their eyes half closed and their faces deathly pale, step ankle-deep into the live embers.

Particularly during ancient times, such events appear to have been initiation rites for women. On the east coast of Attica, the virgins[12] of Artemis, called *arktoi,* or 'she-bears', danced in saffron-coloured robes,[13] and in earlier times most certainly in bear skins during the Brauronia festivities in order to turn into bears.[14] This particular Artemis was reputed to cause madness, but she also cured it.[15]

Roman Diana, who later became one with Artemis, was also a goddess of wild animals. As the mistress of wolves, she ruled over all those who lived *outside* the social order: outlaws and strangers.[16] She was also the goddess of war, like Artemis, to whom the victorious Greek troops sacrificed a goat after the battle of Marathon.[17] She produced visions; fugitive slaves and criminals were given sanctuary in her temple;[18] and she was especially venerated by the lower classes.[19]

North of the Alps, this Diana was soon identified with the Celtic goddesses of nature and mistresses of animals, about whom we know very little.[20] This was particularly true of the region around Trier, where pagan beliefs survived long after the Franconian occupation of the fifth century.[21] The Diana worshipped here had her garment bound so tightly above the waist that her naked breasts were exposed.[22] Rites of an Artemis of Asia Minor, such as those of Artemis–Anahita–Diana,[23] seem to have taken place in the region of the Palatinate. If we consider that the Diana of Ephesus was a goddess particularly of perverted sexual behaviour,[24] then we are probably not far wrong if we assume that the rites of this Palatine Anahita were not too modest either!

According to Roman authors, Diana was the most venerated of all the deities of Galatia,[25] and presumably the most stubborn opponent of the new religion. Understandably, she was singled out for particularly keen attacks by the Christians.[26] We may therefore wish to treat with some caution a story which appears in the life of St Taurinus, who in the fifth century was bishop of what is now Evreux. According to this tale, Diana withdrew from her followers of her own accord because, since the arrival of the Christians, she was held in 'fiery chains'.[27] In contrast to the Spartan willow branches, these chains could never be loosened again.

The power of this goddess was greatly feared and considered very real. This is evidenced not only by the testimony of St Taurinus, who heard her voice himself, but even more clearly by a marble torso of Diana, which in earlier times stood next to the monastery church of St Matthew near Trier. It carried a medieval inscription that was still being renewed in the seventeenth century, and which read:

Wolt Ihr wissen was ich bin,
Ich bin gewessen ein Abgottin.
Da S. Eucharius zu Trier kam,
Er mich zerbrach mein Ehr abnam.
Ich was geehrt als ein Gott,
Jetz stehen ich hie der Welt zu spot.[28]

If you want to know who I am,
I used to be a false goddess.
When St Eucharius came to Trier,
He broke me and took away my honour.
I was honoured as a god,
Now I stand here for the world to mock.

It seems, however, that sometimes Diana did manage to break her chains.[29] This is indicated by a famous text from the collection of legal documents of Reginus, an abbot of Prüm.[30] At the beginning of the eleventh century, it was included by the then bishop of Worms[31] in his *Decretum,* and was translated into German in a Swiss manuscript from the year 1393:

Also we should not forget nor overlook that there are quite a number of deluded women who were converted by the Devil, and who on his orders commit mockery, and are subject to fantasies and illusions of the senses. They believe and say that they, together with a large number of women, go riding and travelling with a pagan goddess, who is called Dyana, or with Herodiade,[32] on the backs of some forest animals, during the quiet of the night, passing over many regions or countries. And that they obey her orders, as of a powerful lady. And that the same goddess calls them to her service during certain nights.[33]

During the early Middle Ages and even at its height, no one apparently disputed that there were such women travelling through the wilderness by night. What was denied was that Diana, the mistress of such beings, was a true goddess,[34] and that not only demons, but also humans took part in such travels.[35]

St Germanus of Auxerre saw such beings with his own eyes. At first glance, he thought they were real. But when he found that those people whom he knew and thought had recognized were actually sleeping peacefully in bed at home, he was forced to conclude that the apparitions he had seen must of necessity have been demons who had assumed only the shape of those sleeping women.[36]

Had the Christians of those early times accepted as fact that from time to time their women went flying away with the pagan goddess, it would have meant admitting that the 'false goddess', whom they had deprived of power, was still capable of exerting considerable influence in the world. As it was, Diana was not exactly robbed of her *existence,* but what existence she was allowed was a pitifully meagre one. Once a deity, she was now driven from her shrines and banished to a spectral realm, accessible only to a few wretched women who could participate in its rites merely in fantasy or illusion. Occasionally, she was still needed, but only to affirm one's own normality. That did not mean that she had to be accorded all that much reality. The old pagan culture paled in dead space, and the new paganism of those who were destined to break the willow branches around their hearts during the later Middle Ages was still far away. As we shall see later on, those rebels to come were not admonished as pagans. They were persecuted and destroyed as heretics of the Christian faith. These were no longer adherents of the faith of a bygone age, something that had managed to survive for centuries into the time of the Renaissance in the memory of a few women travelling by night. The 'new sect' of witches did not come from *out there,* from remote villages or forests. It arose from the *inside,* or as Lévi-Strauss might want to say, from the *outside of the inside.* Precisely because the face of the witch, more than the face of the night traveller, was the countenance of the guardians of the social order – its night side, as it were – it was considered to be real, even though the *reality of someone else.*[37] Snow White's stepmother could only bear to see her second face when it was not her own, but that of the mirror.

In a way Geiler is right when he says that those who travel by night merely imagine things, but witches really fly. The reality of those who flew by night was gone, and no Margaret Murray and her theories could bring it back to life for the beginning of the new era. No matter how distorted, the witch was indeed the reality of the future, of a future, however, whose dreaded advent was to be prevented at all cost.

3

The Vagina of the Earth and Venus Mountain

What name, we bilong belly all the same.
(Native of the Sepik)

In the quiet of the night the travelling women united, in whatever way they did, to swarm in wild rapture over the far reaches of the land. We have seen that they did this in the retinue of a being whom medieval reporters tended to call Diana. We traced Diana, beginning with Artemis, the 'unconquered virgin', as she was called in the Odyssey, all the way back to a pre-Indo-Germanic goddess, who proffered her breasts and made people giddy and sometimes made them go mad. What sort of being was she, and what views of life did she represent?

This very ancient goddess bore the epithet of *parthenos*, i.e. virgin, but in earliest times this word had a somewhat different meaning than it later acquired with the Greeks. Originally, it did not signify what we now associate with the word 'virgin'. Rather, it described a woman who was free, not at the beck and call of any man.[1] We can assume that in the figure of the Amazon who was not tied to any man, the Greeks preserved a distant memory of this type of woman.[2] The Amazons, after all, were known to venerate Artemis.[3]

Traces of the prototype of Artemis, the unrestrained mistress of animals and plants, can be found all the way back to the last Ice Age. She was represented in obese female statuettes,[4] endowed with enormous breasts, sometimes resting their arms on them, with a protruding posterior and occasionally a wide open vagina with swollen labia, as seen in the Venus of Moravany nad Váhon.[5] Such figurines were often found in hearth pits,[6] once the centre of the communal dwellings constructed of enormous mammoth teeth. Occasionally, they have also been found in the depths of cult caves, as in the case of the Venus of Garsitz.[7] Even there, however, they have been found close to small fire pits.[8]



Plate 3 *Venus of Dolni Vestoniče.*

There are at least three features of these statuettes which suggest a representation of mistresses not only over the life of animals and humans,[9] but also, and especially, over death.[10] First, the position of the arms over the breasts, as can be seen in the famous Venus of Willendorf and particularly in Venus statuettes dating from the period after the Ice Age, corresponds to the fetal position of the arms of the dead as well as of the unborn.[11] Secondly, traces of red ochre often adhere to these figurines, perhaps signifying the juice of life. In many societies, the initiates are rubbed with it when they return from the 'death of initiation'.[12] Thirdly, the head of these female figures is usually unshaped, and either looks like a plug or is absent altogether. The featureless face of the Venus of Dolni Věstonice recalls the countenance of a knight of the late Middle Ages, with his visor down (plate 3),[13] particularly in view of the slanting eye slits of the figurine. The head of the Venus of Willendorf (plate 4) is covered with a pattern of horizontal ridges in such a way as to suggest the masking of



Plate 4 Venus of Willendorf.

the face. If this interpretation is valid, then we may have here a prototype of the 'one who veils' of later times, the goddess of death such as Calypso or 'fraw Holt' whose names hide the Indo-Germanic stem *kel-*, 'hide' or 'veil'.[14] Even the bison horn, which the equally faceless Venus of Laussel holds in her right hand (plate 5), may presage the horn of plenty of Mother Gaea, the horns of the goat Amalthea,[15] from which issued nectar and ambrosia.[16] Perhaps it is the same as the drinking horn once held in her left hand by an Iberian goddess of the lower world, whose name may have been Ataecina, and who was venerated in a grotto near the Straits of Gibraltar. She was bare-breasted and her head was veiled.[17] Finally, the horn of the Venus from the Dordogne is reminiscent of the drinking horns offered by the Teutonic Valkyries to the warriors killed in battle,[18] or of the beaker proffered to Tannhäuser by Lady Venus:

Die schönste von den Frauen
Reicht ihm den Becher hin.
Ihm rinnt ein süsses Grauen
Seltsam durch Herz und Sinn.
Er leert ihn bis zum Grunde,
Da spricht am Tor der Zwerg:
Der unsre bist du zur Stunde,
Dies ist der Venusberg.[19]

The most beautiful of women
Handed him the beaker.
His heart and mind
Shuddered with sweet horror.
He emptied it to the last drop,
Then the dwarf said at the door:
Now you belong to us,
For this is Venus Mountain.

Whoever partook of the 'food of the elves', was forever in their power. Calypso, who lived in a cave on the island of Ogygia, the 'navel of the sea', wanted to persuade Ulysses to accept nectar or ambrosia from her, the Lethe drink of forgetfulness, so that he would become immortal and would never be able to return to his homeland, to the world of mortals.[20] The medicine men of the Seri Indians, whose shamans had to spend four days and nights in a dark cave without food or drink, in order to meet the spirit living there and thus be initiated, told the ethnographers: 'If you undertake the journey into the sacred cave, you will never grow old the way other people do.'[21]

Some of the paleolithic caves, such as Le Combel, for instance, a part of Pech-Merle Cave discovered about thirty years ago, suggest the thesis[22] that the cult caves of the Ice Age were uteri[23] of the earth goddess. The

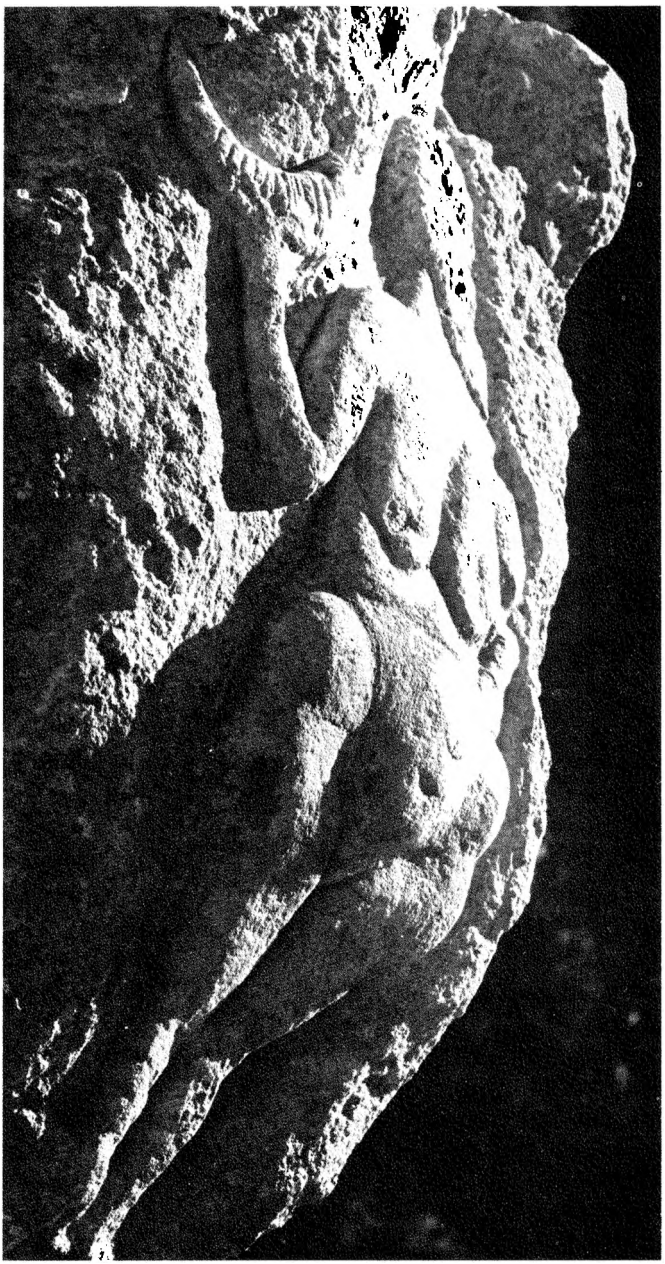


Plate 5 Venus of Laussel.

initiate was conducted into a cave so that he would 'die' and then be born again to a new life. There is sufficient evidence[24] to assume further that rituals were carried out in these uteri in which the initiate participated in 'separating' the animals from the cave walls,[25] thus aiding in their birth from the womb of the earth.[26] If we are willing to accept all of this, then cults of this nature can be traced through the millenia almost to the present.[27] The kind of initiate, whom we assume 'died'[28] in the body of the earth mother as he united with her, lives on in the Cretan Couretes, who died with nature to be resurrected with it. The image is again present in the companion of the 'Great Goddess', the prototype of Dionysus Zagreus, the 'master of wild animals', who is usually represented clothed in animal skins.[29]

According to myth, the earth goddess Gaea took Zeus with her into a cave of the Aigaion, the goat mountain. The cave was probably identical to the present-day Psychro Cave on the highland of Lassithi or to that at Arkalochori. There she fed him the milk of the goat Amalthea, that is, nectar and ambrosia, in the same way as Heidrun refreshed the fallen warriors with milk from her udder. According to another version, the goddess gave him the honey of wild bees,[30] which also lived in caves.[31] He was sent into the wilderness to turn savage and then grow into a man. This was the tradition for the *epheboi* of Crete, for the Samnitic 'wolf men', and for the werewolves of Zeus Lycaios.[32] Quite possibly also the *tityroi,* who according to Strabo resembled the Corybants, were subjected to a similar initiation at a shrine on Mount Tityros of Ditynna, a Cretan Artemis.

Artemis Courotrophos had a cult in the bear cave, the Arcoudia, on the Acrotiri Peninsula. In its centre was a stalagmite in the shape of a bear. On the feast day of 2 February, Panagia Arcoudiotissa, the Virgin Mary of the bear, is venerated there today.[33]

Not only the wise men of Crete came to seek insight in the cave, according to Epimenides, famous for his logical paradox about all Cretans being liars. His contemporaries called him the 'new Couros' and thought him to be the son of a nymph.[34] In later times women also came to the cave, those who wanted to conceive or were close to giving birth, to perform rituals, possibly nocturnal torch dances,[35] of unknown content.

In the distant past perhaps women did not receive the 'soul' of the child by way of the male semen during intercourse, but directly from the maternal womb of the earth.[36] We may assume that Eileithyia's cave near Amnisos on the north coast of Crete was such a womb (plate 6). A fig tree grows in its opening,[37] and a round stalagmite close to the entrance, an *omphalos,* intimates that this is the navel of the earth.[38] Behind it, one comes to a much bigger stalagmite. With some effort (or with the aid of a guidebook), it is possible to recognize a woman seated there, holding on

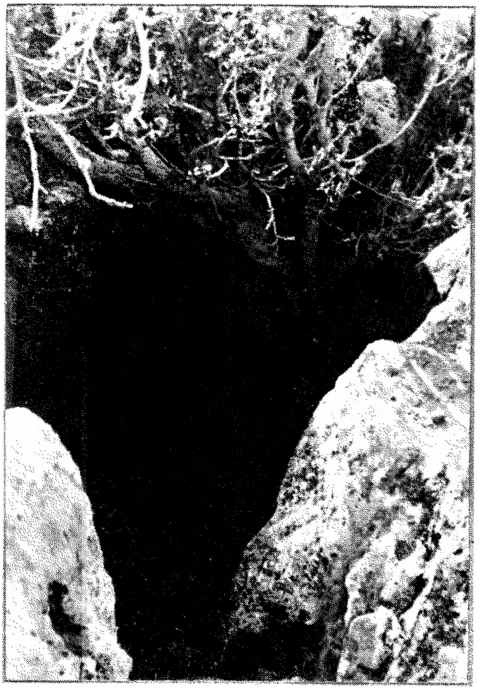


Plate 6 Entrance to Eileithyia's cave near Amnisos.

her lap her son or 'companion' mentioned before.[39] Mineral water continually drips from the ceiling of the cave.[40] At the back, the floor drops abruptly, forming a narrow, vertical cleft. Emboldened by the guidebook, a person can glide down into the opening, as was probably done by those ancient Cretan women, and encounter, successively, three small grottos, once the uterus of the earth, if indeed the cave itself was the vagina.

The very ancient Cretan goddess Eileithyia was later identified with Artemis in her aspect of goddess of women and of birth.[41] As late as the sixteenth century, she was seen by the people and even by Christian priests, bathing in the ocean with her blonde nymphs and disappearing in the waves. To this day some old people aver that she can be found along the Amnisos river close to the cave.[42]

Cults of this kind survived to the modern age. Verena, a being resembling Holle, was venerated in the Verenen bath in Baden in Aargau. Women hoped to receive children from the hot 'Verena's hole'. The song of Tannhäuser, who dared to venture into the castle of the Lady Vreneli, used to be sung in the same region, and for a millennium, the grave of St

Verena in Zurzach was the scene of promiscuous revelry. Every year, itinerant women met at that spot, reminding us that Diana was also the patroness of women outlaws, strangers and slaves. In a carnival play we read:

> Ich han dich wol in grossen eeren gsehen
> Es ist iez by siben jaren bschehen
> Zuo Zurzach an dem huorendanz
> Darumb so treist du wol ein kranz
> Dann da warend mee dann hundert huoren
> Die do al am danz da umbher fuoren
> Do hast du da den gulden gwunnen
> Den man der hüpschisten solt gunnen.[43]
>
> *I saw you greatly honoured*
> *It was nearly seven years ago*
> *At Zurzach during the dance of the whores*
> *You wore a wreath*
> *There were more than a hundred whores*
> *Dancing around in that dance*
> *You won the gold piece*
> *It should not be begrudged the fairest one.*

In Aargau, the midwife used to walk whistling three times around the 'children's stone' shortly before a birth took place, knocked on it or slid down it with her naked behind, then opened it with a golden key.[44] Right into the twentieth century, women who wanted to become pregnant carried water from the mineral springs into the mountains in Niederbronn in Alsace, where in ancient times Diana was venerated as the goddess of springs. In the mountains, they poured water into the cleft stones.[45] In other border regions of France, before marrying, young girls, with their abdomens bare, would slide seven times down a rock, which they called the 'hot stone'. And not so long ago, midwives in the Palatinate fetched the children's souls from a cave, the 'devil's kitchen', home of the 'evil woman'.[46]

This being was named the 'white woman' in Heubach in Swabia. In the Rosenstein Cave she handed the souls of the children to the midwife. It was said of her that those who died young returned to her, and that sometimes she robbed the souls of unbaptized infants.[47] In the Tyrol, it was the 'Stampe' herself who brought the children. She was loved and doughnuts were placed on the roof of the threshing barn for her.[48]

Witches' trials at the beginning of the modern era often contain references to such beings. One Bessie Dunlop of Lyne in Ayrshire was asked who the 'sperit' was that had visited her while lying-in? She called him Thom and maintained that he belonged to the 'gude wichtis that wynnit in

the Court of Elfame', and 'quhen sche was lyand in chyldbed-lair, with ane of her laiddis, that ane stout woman com in to hir, and sat doun on the forme besyde hir, and askit ane drink at hir, and sche gaif hir.' This being turned out to be the 'Quene of Elfame', who had sent the spirit called Thom 'to wait vpoun hir, and to do hir gude'.[49]

As already mentioned, the Swiss Vreneli festival was quite exuberant. Even today, women behave in a rather lively way during feasts involving delivery and midwives. In Macedonia during the night of 7 January, throngs of women roam the streets, while men go into hiding. Should the women catch a man, they may strip him, or at the very least he has to buy his freedom. Afterwards, the midwife is taken to a spring, where she is drenched with water.[50]

According to the reports of Danish women's guilds, their members behaved in quite an unrestrained fashion after delivery. They broke into houses to rob meat, eggs and bread. In the streets, they made kindling of the waggons and took liberties with the men.[51] Married women passing by had their bonnets knocked off, the symbol of their subservience to men.[52] This was also a custom at the Cologne 'women's carnival' on Thursday before Shrovetide.[53]

But let us return to the Couroi and Couretes of Crete. In the spring, when herbs and flowers awake to new life,[54] they swarmed (*thyein*)[55] and danced over the meadows and fields in the retinue of the 'Great Mother', nurturing the animals of the wilderness. Some scholars suspect that the rite was probably rather orgiastic.[56] Just like the later Greek Artemis, the goddess released life from the womb of the earth, but later, she also extinguished it.[57]

The maenads of Zagreus–Dionysus were closely related to these Couretes, and probably had the same roots. The maenads were the 'grasping ones', the 'tearers', even more clearly than the Couretes bearing traits of the Wild Hunt. Like the Erinys of Artemis,[58] these ecstatic[59] huntresses were spirits of the dead who raged through the land 'between the times', clad in the skins of panthers, deer or foxes,[60] carrying the thyrsus and suckling wolf pups.[61] They were given death offerings usually of milk and honey. The same offerings were later given to the 'bonnes dames' and the 'naht-frouwen', the women of the night.[62] On *chóes,* the second day of the Anthesteria festival, Dionysus, the 'great loosener', the 'god of blossoms' rolled through the streets and alleys of Athens, seated on his ship cart. The cart was drawn by two satyrs, and the god was accompanied by the souls of the dead, who on this day arrived from the swamps of Lerna, the door to the underworld, to visit the mortals.

When a ship rolls on land, all matters are turned upside down. The rule of the masters did not prevail on *chóes,* and the slaves were free and could

do as they pleased.[63] As late as 1133, a wooden ship on wheels travelled from Cornelimünster to Tongern and Looz[64] via Aachen and Maastricht, where it was fitted out with sails and mast. Wherever the ship halted, the women were overcome by wild ecstasy. Half-naked or clad in a short shift, their hair loose, they danced around the ship and later engaged in behaviour about which a monk who reported the event maintained he could only weep or be silent.[65] Regrettably for posterity, he did not write while weeping, so we are left in ignorance as to what might have taken place around the ship after nightfall.

Ships float in water, in no-man's-land, as it were, not subject to the laws of one particular country. It is understandable, therefore, that in the latter part of the Middle Ages, 'lawless' fools were often represented on ships (plate 7).[66] If the ship then travelled over 'someone's land', this was chaos overcoming order.

The rites of Dionysus, the one who 'turned things inside out', had their roots in the cults of the subjugated pre-Greek population.[67] They were observed principally by women and slaves, by groups at the periphery rather than the centre of society,[68] while being a thorn in the side of those in power. Soon 'the heavy hand of the state that loved order and moderation fell on the frenzy of the orgies'.[69] Still, Dionysian rituals survived in remote regions of Greece into the twelfth century.[70] Even the rulers discovered what happened to those who stood in the way of the rapturous god and his mob: they went mad. So Dionysus was tamed in a manner applied successfully by the representatives of law and order throughout history. The frenzy was channelled into calmer waters, until it finally ebbed away and in the end flowed only underground.[71]

Even the 'Great Goddess' left some traces behind. The custom of lifting the incest rule on the day of the 'Great Mother',[72] may be a memory of those days when the 'dying' in the womb of the earth represented incest with the mother.

Some Anatolian female figurines show a 'lover' about to climb on the back of the 'Great Mother'. It may be a distorted recollection of the ancient death of the initiate in the clefts of the earth. The same could probably be said of the anxiety-ridden visions of later generations (and of contemporary scholars) of the vagina with teeth, capable of castrating a man, or of there having been a time when the Artemis of Asia Minor, in the manner of a spider, enticed her favourites into a cave, there to devour them after intercourse.

Although the cave cults eventually passed into oblivion, a man seeking insight still occasionally 'died' in the lap of the hierodules, the temple prostitutes representing the 'Great Mother'.[73] In Asia Minor, the earth cults survived for an extended period in the Phrygian mysteries of Cybele,



Plate 7 The Ship of Fools. Hieronymus Bosch.

a goddess who can hardly be distinguished from the region's Artemis.[74] The initiate of Cybele took of the 'mixed drink', then passed on to the goddess's 'bridal chamber', as it was called, located in the *adyton,* the former cave over which a temple had been built. Embracing the deity, he 'died' in a pit in the centre of the *adyton,* to be born again as Attis and be greeted amidst great jubilation.[75]

The present-day Desana Indians of the rain forest of Colombia strive for similar insights in the belly of the maternal earth with the aid of *yajé,* the drug of a liana, called *ayahuasca* in Quechua, the liana of death.[76] Along a navel cord (*porakërida*)[77] made visible by the drug, they return to the womb of the earth, which they also experience as an incestuous act.[78] On their way to the source of life, the Huichol peyote hunters of Mexico squeeze through a narrow passage near the modern city of Zacatecas. They call the spot the 'vagina'. For the Mexicans, it is La Puerta, the 'door'.[79] The Indians avoid incest with their mother Wirikúta by confessing all their love affairs before entering her vagina. In that way, they once more turn into innocent children, the way they left her womb.[80]

The Huicholes travel back along the path that they traversed after being born. This is what the Tantric holy man also does. He undertakes the 'walk against the current' (*ujâna-sâdhana*) by causing all life processes, from breathing to the flow of semen, to go 'backwards', whatever that might mean.[81]

In classical Greece, there were other rites which appear to have been celebrated in caves in archaic times, even though the 'earth mother' was replaced by a male deity. *Delphys,* for instance, means 'vagina',[82] and from the rock cleft of Delphi, according to Nonnos,[83] the oracle voice of the deity could once be heard. The womb of the earth, in later times most probably nothing more than a depression in an artificial hill,[84] may formerly have been the entrance to the *korykion antron,* a limestone grotto about 760 metres above the temple of Apollo, located on a steep incline.[85] It was the entrance to the body of the earth goddess Gaea. To this day, Neraides are said to live there.[86] The Indo-Europeanized Apollo may at that spot have felled the snake-like Pytho,[87] which guarded the shrine.

The oracle of Trophonius in Lebadaia retained the appearance of a cave ritual even more conspicuously. The man who intended to descend into the cave there was first anointed with oil.[88] He then drank of the water of Lethe, the drink of oblivion, and of that of Mnemosyne, which was later to help him remember what he experienced in the cave. After this preparation, he descended into the cleft of the earth on a narrow ladder, in order to 'see' and to 'hear'. Pausanias visited the oracle himself. He recalls that after returning from the cave, those who had descended into it were filled with terror, recognizing 'neither themselves nor their environment'.

However, after a while, they were even able to laugh again.[89] Apparently, this was not true of all, for men who had dared to take that path were called 'men without laughter' in antique times.[90]

The mysteries of Eleusis seem to represent a comparable journey into the underworld. At least, they may go back to the same sources. Some scholars believe that the mystics 're-lived' in the wandering of Demeter in search of her daughter Persephone who was abducted by the god of death. Demeter won temporary release from Hades of her daughter and with it, the return of fertility.[91] In historical times the entrance into the womb of the earth was replaced by touching an artificial vagina, probably located in the *cysta mystica*.[92] Even in that ritual, however, there is a faint reflection of 'death' in the 'great uterus' and subsequent re-birth.[93]

Led by a mountain ascetic, Japanese initiates in white funerary garments climb Aki-no-mine, the 'autumn peak'. Their goal is Kōtaku-ji, the uterus of the 'Great Goddess', in which they will 'die' to be 'reborn'. Today, Kōtaku-ji is a temple. In it, strips of cloth and hempen ropes hanging from the ceiling represent the blood vessels and bones of the deity.[94] When released from the womb of the earth, the initiates shout, *Wuu-uu*. This cry is called *ubu-goé*, the first sound the infant utters after birth.[95]

For a long time, this 'travel into the womb of the earth' or 'into the mountain' must have been part of folk belief in Europe also. Not only that, but it constituted *experience* as well, as we know from the records of various witch trials. With this we return once more to 'those that travel by night'.

We noted the report of Diel Breull who was one of those night travellers. In 1582, Dr Martin Pegger, counsellor to the archbishop, a learned mathematician and astrologer, was arrested in Salzburg. The charge was that he had maintained in some of his writings that his wife had gone to visit Herodias in the Unterberg, where she had seen also her mountain ladies and mountain dwarfs. Herodias had returned her visit, coming to her house at the fish market in Salzburg. During the investigation, the authorities tried to pin witchcraft on him and on his wife, who was also arrested, but both steadfastly refused to confess to such a crime. When they died after ten years' incarceration in the keep of Hohensalzburg, Pegius (Dr Pegger's latinized name) was buried in consecrated earth. His wife was interred outside the cemetery.[96]

During the late Middle Ages, stories of descents into a mountain were often related by travellers who returned from the south.[97] Antoine de la Sale, a traveller from Provence, spoke in 1420 of a priest by the name of Don Anthon Fumato 'whose senses had been confused by the action of the moon' and who together with a German knight had entered the Sibylline grotto on the Monte della Sibilla. There they encountered several enchant-

ingly beautiful women, who were indulging in all manner of lust with some men.[98]

Intercourse with the goddess of the earth is usually reduced to a kiss in old English ballads. In a ballad by Thomas the Rhymer, the queen of elves, wearing a green dress, allows herself to be kissed under the eildon tree. To the consternation of her somewhat surprised suitor, she then tells him that he has to go with her and serve her for seven years.[99]

To avoid such unpleasant consequences, we hear of the somewhat more crafty Gawain, how he refused even the briefest affair with the queen of shadows during his visit to the castle of the Green Knight, and to the island of the spirits, 'li reaume don nus éstranges ne retorne': 'the kingdom from which no strangers ever return'.[100] We mentioned briefly that the seducer, or the one that is being seduced, if you will, met the fairy under a tree, the 'ympe-tree', and that a tree usually grew at the entrance to the womb of the earth mother. For the world's axis usually rose near the *omphalos,* the navel of the world. It took the shape of a dripstone formation or of a tree, connecting the various layers of the world, because its roots penetrated into the lower world, while its tip reached into the sky.

According to a well-known Yakut story, a poor old couple encountered an enormous birch tree in a clearing the top of which touched the clouds. The name of the tree was *An-doi-du-ichyte,* 'entrance to the protector of the earth'. Forthwith, the tree provided milk and butter for the old people.[101] We are reminded of the cascade of honey, the *hûnangsfall,* flowing down the Yggdrasil, the Teutonic tree of the world, or of *hom,* dripping from the Persian Ilpa tree.[102] According to another Yakut myth, the first human, a young man, came upon an enormous tree at the 'stillest place on earth',[103] where the moon did not wane and the sun never set,[104] where the summer was everlasting and the cuckoo called incessantly. Suddenly, from the roots of the tree, a naked woman appeared with ample breasts, her hair loose, emerging up to her waist. She proffered him one of her breasts and the youth drank, until he felt 'how his strength increased a hundredfold'.[105]

This Siberian being, sometimes called Kübäi-chotun, the birth goddess, is quite similar to the Iranian Ardvīsūra anāhita, whose descendent Artemis–Anahita–Diana we encountered in the Palatinate (see chapter 2). Both beings were mistresses of animals, plants and human fertility, attending to the proper development of the uterus and the provision of ample milk in women's breasts.[106] Like Artemis, she used to be the 'Great Bearer' in earlier times, but later had to content herself with the role of helper and nurturer.

An axis of the world, resembling the one under which the voluptuous Yakut goddess lived, used to be placed in the yurt by Altaic shamans in the

form of a birch tree stripped of its leaves. Its top reached through the smoke hole, and its stem bore nine notches, used by the shamans to climb into the world beyond.[107] The shamans from the Lower Tunguska river told an ethnographer that during ecstasy their soul climbed into the other world by way of a wooden pole. At the same time, the pole grew and grew, until it reached 'to the top of the sky'.[108] The shamanic tree of the Buryats was wound with a cord of twisted silk, which leads to the navel and the uterus of the earth.[109]

According to the *Hávamál,* Odin, who had shamanic traits, hung from Yggdrasil[110] for nine days. When he finally dropped off, he was full of wisdom and the master of magic.[111]

Ich weiss, dass ich hing
Am windigen Baum,
Neun Nächte lang,
Mit dem Ger verwundet,
Geweiht dem Odin,
Ich selbst mir selbst.

I know I hung
From the windy tree,
For nine nights,
Wounded with the javelin,
Dedicated to Odin,
I myself to myself.

Some researchers no longer identify the tree of the world with the ash, *askr,* which was also used as a generic term for all trees[112], but with the yew[113], *yr* in Old Norse.[114] The yew is an evergreen,[115] giving off taxine on warm days, an alkaloid capable of producing a 'hallucinogenic' effect.[116] This observation may shed some light on the reports of Plutarch and Dioscurides, who maintain that sleeping in the shadow of a blooming yew could cause death.[117] The stem of *yggr* is *ygg-*, the 'frightening' or 'awful' one, an epithet of Odin; *drasill* is a literary word meaning 'horse'.[118] In other words, for nine days, Odin rode to the world beyond on this horse,[119] just as the Nordic witch rode on her *gandr,* her magic wand. The Siberian shaman had a drum made of the branches of the tree of the world, which changed into a steed.

Similarly, it took the protagonist of a Transylvanian tale nine days to climb a giant tree with rung-like branches and to reach first a copper city, then a silver city, and finally a golden one.[120] Increasingly, the forests were cleared. The fence of civilization penetrated further and further into the wilderness, and with it, these ladders to the other world vanished.

The Khasi tell a myth, according to which an enormous tree used to

shade their land in the dim and distant past. The ancestors of the Khasi wanted to make gardens and needed the rays of the sun that could not penetrate the jumble of leaves of the tree. So they felled it. But as the tree thundered to the ground, the sky dissolved and disappeared above.[121] Now they were able to enjoy the fruits of the earth, but the navel cord to the sky had been torn forever.

4

Wild Women and Werewolves

Ma despoille me gardez!
(An old Werewolf)
Guard my spoil!

One should wear the coat of the country
he visits and save the one of the country
from where he comes.
(Diderot)

During women's festivals, as we have seen, men were sometimes handled quite roughly, while the women tore off their caps, a symbol of their submission, danced half-naked, with their hair loose, and the ecstatic dancers of Artemis Corythalia tied on artificial phalli.

As is well-known from many pictorial representations, only women used these phalli, and the men who participated in the dances wore female attire and masks.[1] Typically, they had no penis, and judging from their movements, they did not beget, but rather conceived, proffering their backsides to the women for insemination.[2]

Such 'times between the times', during which many differences were obliterated by reversing them,[3] including those between men and women, outlasted the millennia. Thus, the spinners of the Grossarl Valley near Salzburg formed organizations, considered 'domestic groups' by the population. At certain times, they tore the trousers off men they could get hold of and threatened them with castration.[4]

There is a custom in the Tyrol which I may not be describing entirely correctly although I used a specialized dictionary, the reason being that the folklorist who reported it, bashfully hid the details under a cloak of medical terminology. It seems the women, laughing uproariously, attacked a shepherd boy and pinned him to the ground. Then they pulled off his

trousers and, without touching his penis, rubbed his testicles until he lay there in permanent erection, which after a while probably caused him considerable pain, since the women prevented ejaculation.[5] Finally, they drove him away amidst much mockery and derision, and the festival reached its peak. The women, their bottoms bare, stimulated each other by whipping and sticking with barley stalks, performed wild rocking and tripping dances, and 'young late-comers were helped by more sophisticated companions by the use of phallic tools and their thumb, first finger, and second finger'.[6] In Bulgaria until recently, midwife festivals often ended in women making love to each other.[7] Such celebrations may be related to ancient pagan rituals, against which Christian preachers inveighed as early as the seventh century. They called the rites 'spurcalia', a word derived from the Latin *spurcus,* 'swinish', actually meaning 'sow'. The 'Spörkel' woman of the Rhineland is a being corresponding to 'Frau Holle'[8] who, as we know, was identified with Diana.

In early times the 'Perchts' who in some regions roamed about during the period between Christmas and Twelfth Night, seem to have been women. In Styria, at least, the 'Perchtln' were only women[9] right into the nineteenth century. Their long hair hung down over their blackened faces, and their breasts were bared. As an old woman related about the Perchtln of Donnersbach who often carried a swaddled babe, a 'Hudlkind', 'A long time ago, when I was a little girl, it often happened that some women would let one of their breasts hang out. They were disguised so thoroughly that no one needed to be ashamed.'[10]

Festivals similar to those in Austria and Bulgaria are also reported from Africa. During the feast of the virginal Zulu goddess Nomkubulwana, who was dressed only in a 'garment of light', the women and girls engaged in all manner of obscenities. They performed work normally reserved only to men, such as the milking of cows and carrying weapons, ran around naked, while the men went into hiding. The women, in other words, turned into men.[11] This reversal was said to promote the fertility of the fields.[12]

From West Africa, dances are reported which are reminiscent of those performed during the feast of Corythalia. At the time of initiation into a women's cult called Mawu, a young girl reached under her raffia skirt, which represented her pubic hair and pulled out an erect phallus which was attached to her abdomen. She massaged this phallus and pursued some of the women spectators. Had she succeeded in catching one of them as they scattered laughing uproariously, she would have simulated intercourse with her.[13]

'Between the times', when the old time is over and the new one has not yet begun, everything is beyond the bounds of normality. Order becomes

reversed and its continued existence is threatened. The powers of order and those of chaos are joined in battle.

Occasional traces of this struggle can still be detected in statements made during witchcraft trials towards the end of the Middle Ages. Around the middle of the fifteenth century, for instance, Els von Merspurg stated on record that she and her companions travelled about under the instructions of a demon called 'Krütli', and that on a Thursday, they fought using hemp stalks, with some of them riding on dogs.[14] In another case, one Magdalena Hermes confessed in Quedlinburg on 10 March 1570 that on 1 May, that is, during Walpurgis Night, she and some other women flew to the Brocken on a broomstick. They were accompanied by a man in a brown garment who meanwhile played the bagpipe. Once on the mountain top, they hit each other with flails, milk churns and mangle rollers.[15]

In 1692, during an often quoted Latvian trial in Jürgensburg a peasant definitely bearing *schwejk*-like traits, 'who was never known to lack common sense', related how he and other peasants 'went into the bush and threw off their ordinary clothes. Instantly, they turned into wolves. In that shape, they tore apart whatever animals they would encounter, horses, and cattle. He himself, however, had mauled no large animals, only lambs, kids, piglets and the like.'[16] Werewolves such as these had the task of rescuing the 'grain blossoms', the 'barley, oats and rye' of the old year, in other words, fertility, which had been robbed by the 'sorcerers',[17] and taken to 'hell', in the 'swamp under Lemburg' (in Latvian Mālpils).[18] Down there the devils had a banquet with the same sorcerers. 'Ordinarily', they went to this hell:

> three times: during the night of Pentecost, on Midsummer's Night,[19] and on St Lucia's Night; as far as the first two nights were concerned, they did not go exactly during those nights, but more when the grain was properly blooming, because it is at such times and at the time the seeds are forming that the sorcerers spirit away the blessing and take it to hell, and it is then that the werewolves take it upon themselves to bring it back out again.

Women had a role in these activities too. 'The women are also among the werewolves. Girls are not accepted, for they are used as flying goblins and dragons and sent out in that form, and they take away the blessing from the milk and the butter.'[20]

We are reminded in this context of the accusation often levelled against witches in the Middle Ages that during the night they milked the cows in such a way, that afterwards they no longer gave any milk. Thus it was said in Silesia towards the end of the fourteenth century: 'The heretics are against the sacrament, they doubt the faith and do not believe in it, the likes of witches, milk stealers, and those that fly to the Brocken.'[21]

Cults of this nature also survived in other marginal areas of Europe right

up to the Renaissance. For instance, in 1575 one Paolo Gasparutto from a small village in Friaul stated that 'by night he went travelling with witches and goblins'.[22] He then proceeded to explain matters to the Inquisition more fully: 'On Thursday of every quarter of the year, they were forced to travel to various places with these witches, to Cormons, in front of the church of Iassico, and to the fields of Verona', where they 'fought, jumped about, rode various animals, and did all sorts of things among themselves', while 'the women hit the men who were with them with millet stalks, and the men had nothing but fennel stalks in their hands.'

These peasants, like the *striga* Porta wrote about, fell into a catatonic-like state on Thursday nights, while their 'soul' rode about on typical witch's animals, such as rabbits, cats, butterflies and mice, 'invisibly with their spirit, while their bodies rested.'[23] Armed with fennel stalks, they fought the enemies of order and fertility, of 'all the fruits of the earth'. They called themselves 'in their language, Benandanti.' Even more than old Thies and his werewolves, they emphasized the fact that they were 'good witches' and that they fought great battles against the 'evil sorcerers,' the so-called 'malandanti', who correspond to the sorcerers of Livonia, that is 'men and women who do evil.'[24] One Battista Moduco stated on record, 'And when we are victorious, then there follows a year of abundance, but if we lose, then there will be a year of want.'[25]

It is easy to see how these 'good witches', and also the werewolves or the wild women of the Nomkubulwana, are related to those 'great throngs of women' who raged through the quiet of the night, the Couroi of Crete, who danced over the meadows in the retinue of the Great Goddess, the enraptured skin-clad maenads of the 'Great Transformer', the nocturnal hordes of the spirits of the dead of Artemis–Hecate,[26] and the mad 'Brechler' women of the Slovenian Gail valley.

No matter how great the differences between these groups of people, they were all united by the common theme that 'outside of time' they lost their normal, everyday aspect and became beings of the 'other' reality, of the beyond, whether they turned into animals or hybrid creatures or whether they reversed their social roles. They might roam bodily through the land or only 'in spirit', in ecstasy, with or without hallucinogenic drugs.

'Between the times' indicated a crisis in the ordinary course of things. Normality was rescinded, or rather, order and chaos ceased to be opposites. In such times of crisis, when nature regenerated itself by dying first, humans 'died' also, and as ghostly beings ranged over the land in order to contribute their share to the rebirth of nature. The aspect of the *struggle* against the forces of darkness expressed itself with greater or lesser intensity in all of this.

In the course of time, knowledge became lost that 'outside of time' the

boundaries dissolved between the living and the dead,[27] between those in the mountain and those walking in the sun, between wilderness and civilization. With knowledge gone, the experience itself also faded. The last of the night travellers might still have been aware of the fact that they flew away with 'fraw Holt' or went to the mountain with 'Domina Venus', but why it was that they were doing this, they became less and less aware. Increasingly, rather than being the actors, it *happened to them.* Eventually, people simply *ran the risk* that some ghostly throng carried them along 'from the fields and the streets at the time of night, transporting them with great speed to regions far away.'[28]

The relationship to those 'throngs' was sometimes still ambivalent, corresponding to the equivocal nature of the beings joined in the Wild Hunt. For a long time to come, the Wild Hunt was felt both to threaten disaster but also bring fertility.

For the modern reader it is generally difficult to decide, on the basis of the sources, whether what is involved in the reports about the appearance of the Wild Hunt is merely a demonic *interpretation* of natural phenomena, for instance of an unusually violent storm, or whether we are dealing with a description of ritual processions of humans changed into demons.

A memory of the latter is most probably a custom where Swiss youths 'raised strange screams, as if they were ghosts in the graveyard', scared the burghers passing by and threw stones at them.[29] Such 'youths of the night' would march along the streets playing drums and bugles in the dark, confusing the night watchmen and waking the people from their sleep.[30] Cases are known where they would range over the land, attack rich peasants, demand ransom, rob cattle, and generally terrorize the population.

Most likely, groups of this nature represented survivals of associations, the members of which had to 'die' in the wilderness as children in order to be 'reborn' into the social order as adults, and who 'between the times' lived outside the law.

We are reminded of what old Thies said, that as a werewolf he had mauled all sorts of small domestic animals. As we shall see later, the Italian *Hirpi sorani* were forced to live from robbery.[31] In medieval Switzerland such congregations of youths undertook actual raids into neighbouring regions. Thus we read: 'In the year 1495, before carnival, wanton throngs of Uri, Unterwalden, and Zug ranged into Turgow; those from Schwyz held the county of Dockenburg. Once arrived, they celebrated the carnival there.'[32]

Towards the end of the Middle Ages, the authorities took increasingly strict measures against these disturbances. In 1430, Duke Amadeus VIII of Chambéry in his *Statuta Sabaudiae* threatened severe punishment of the

larvaria, those who disguised themselves in 'devil's costumes', threatened 'the peasants and humble folk' and extorted money from them.[33]

Precisely because these youths were originally *outside* the social order, they were able to recognize that order and thus maintain it. In a manner of speaking they were 'non-participants' and therefore allowed to censure and thus to judge. A Wild Hunt would occasionally gather in front of a homestead, there to shout:

> Wenn-der-is aber nit waid ge
> So-wei-mer-ech Chüe u Chalber ne
> Mer weinech s'Huus abdecke
> Mer weinech uferwecke.[34]
>
> *If such a person is here and will not leave*
> *Then we are going to take away your cows and calves*
> *We will tear the roof off your house*
> *We will wake you up.*

As late as 1766, there is a report of an 'oat field disturbance', from Upper Bavaria:

> First one of the youths of the band will go to a house where there is a wanton woman who was punished because of a third party. Disguising his voice, he will knock on the window shutters or the door of the house and with loud shouting he will ask: Peasant (giving his name), is the whore at home? Is the oat field empty? Whether it is empty or not, we will range over it. After this, they will make an insufferable noise, screaming, howling, screeching, ringing doorbells, banging on boards, blowing cow horns, and firing guns, so that those who hear such commotion for the first time, are sure that all hell has broken out. Often these youths will tear the tiles off the roofs, break the window panes and tear down the fences, and act as if a witches' dance just went by. They blacken their faces with soot and some put on false beards, so they cannot be recognized.[35]

As already indicated, these youths were no longer human beings when they undertook their campaigns of censure and looting. Rather, they were 'neutral' ones from the beyond, and for precisely this reason, they were called upon to punish serious deviations from the norm. However, such 'dead' could easily become really dead. For, unlike later police forces, they often encountered forceful opposition, which they in turn were not allowed to avenge.

For instance, the *cucheri* used to rage through the villages south of Bucharest. They wore masks of horned birds and feathered goat heads, were commanded by a leader called *baba,* and were infamous for their homicidal acts. Whoever killed such a demonic runner, could not be accused or punished,[36] for this deed also took place outside the social order.

As late as end of the 1860s, masked men lowing like steers stormed through the villages of the Lötsch valley on Sunday before the old carnival. By one o'clock in the afternoon, all houses were barricaded.[37] If a woman, child or young boy appeared outside, the masked figures beat them about the head with a sack full of ashes. Young girls were sprayed with sooty water, liquid manure or with blood. These customs are actually rather mild. In earlier times, things were much rougher and wilder, with robbery, destruction and plunder.[38]

The latter is still prevalent in Africa. In Southern Cameroon, for instance, the initiates (*mvon*) painfully squeeze and wiggle through a tunnel fifteen metres long. Once through, they are 'outside', beyond the social order. They have complete licence to assault people, to pillage and to commit mayhem. In this, they resemble the masked followers of Diana who in the course of their run would attack harmless passers-by and kill them.[39] For six months the *mvon* remain naked, painted white with clay, like the Titans who mauled Dionysus and his wet nurses on the heights of Parnassus, in order to 'initiate'[40] him. Now they are the spirits of the ancestors (*bekon*). They have the right to kill any woman who dares to approach them,[41] or rather, they may do this without being subject to any restraint, since they are outside of all norms, beyond good and evil.

Spartan youths also left the settlement during initiation, and were not given any tools or food. They were expected to steal both. Certain ones were chosen and lived in the wilderness for two years; and during their nightly forays they killed people among the villagers.[42]

The youths of the Lötsch valley most probably turned into wild bulls. And from a text of the year 1428 we learn about the bands of youths of the Valais that 'there were many among them who were taught by the evil spirit how to turn into wolves', and more than that, 'they themselves thought and did not know it any other way than that they had turned into wolves, and whoever saw them did not know any different. They mauled sheep, goats, and lambs, and ate these in the manner of wolves.'[43]

In cases such as these, there is no doubt about the fact that we are dealing with *people* who turned into wolves or spirits of the dead. There are, however, also other reports which (*pace* Otto Höfler) apparently represent 'hallucinations' or interpretations of events of nature, possibly unusual storms. At least this is how I would understand, for instance, the account concerning the Wild Hunt, which appears in the Zimmern chronicle:

In the year 1550, the Wild Hunt was heard at Mösskirch. One night in autumn, after the hour of ten at night, it came storming by with tremendous noise from the direction of the forest across the river Ablach to Minchsgereut. After raging about for a long while over there, it came down Herdt street, passing the hospital and

Our Lady's, across the Ablach bridge, along the brook towards the town, then up the Katzen alley, making a strange noise, with great screams, ringing and gusts of air. It being night, the watchman in the tower and others in the town could hear everything clearly, but because of the darkness could see nothing. It proceeded on to Herdlin, through it and on past Rordorf and into the Hardt. In the same night, it also arrived at Feringen on the Lauchard. There the blast came down from the old castle stables and through the small town, causing great fear in the burghers and in all who heard it. During the same night, as the Wild Hunt passed through Veringen, a watchman went down into the street at night, at about the hour of twelve. His name was Hanns Dröscher, and he wanted to call out the hour. At that moment the ringing started and came down from the direction of the old castle. And someone of the throng shouted at him, 'Mano! Mano!'. The good watchman was greatly frightened and understood well that something strange was going on.[44]

If we check the distance on a map of the Swabian Alps that the Wild Hunt is supposed to have travelled between ten o'clock at night and the last hours before daybreak, even during a long autumn night, it would seem unlikely that a group of demonic youths could have covered it, even running at the greatest possible speed.[45]

5

The Bedevilling of the Senses, especially those of Women

> The Devil flatters our Mother Eve,
> as if he was desirous to make her
> more Happy than her Maker did;
> but there was the Devil in
> that flattery.
>
> (Cotten Mather)

Let us briefly summarize what has been said up to now. I advanced the proposition at the beginning that recognizing the fact that mind-altering drugs were responsible for the curious experiences of witches would, in the eyes of the secular courts and the Holy Inquisition, have deprived these experiences, as well as those of the 'savages' of the New World, of their character of reality. Since Christian culture hardly knew the use of such substances, or at least was disposed against them,[1] the experiences achieved with their help had to be interpreted as illusory distortions of the real world, as hallucinations, as phantoms or imaginary experiences.

If experience could be changed in a basic manner with the aid of poisonous plants, then, according to official opinion, it should not be understood to indicate that a greater sensitivity could be awakened toward properties or facts that had hitherto been hidden. Rather, it was believed that people who opened themselves up to such experiences, perceived reality in a distorted manner. They detached themselves from it, and they were no longer capable of stating reasonably where the borderline was between illusion and reality. The poisonous plant put reason to sleep, and 'the sleep of reason brings forth monsters' (plate 8).

An opinion such as that put forth by Goya, however, is of a more recent era. As far as most theologians and demonologists of the Renaissance were concerned, in no sense of the word were demons ever *brought forth* by the sleep of reason. They were not lured to appear in this way, and neither



Plate 8 The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters. Francisco de Goya.

were they *created*. They not only existed independently of human thought or conjecture, but also took the initiative and flooded the world in all sorts of guises, even in the shape of angels or the Mother of God.[2] If the sexual intercourse of the witch with the Devil or her dance at the witch's sabbat turned out to be nothing but an illusion, then the next logical step would be the conclusion that the Devil himself was nothing but a phantom also.

We have also seen that the Devil, who did not become generally accepted as a popular figure until the thirteenth century, played no role in the accounts of the *experiences* of those who travelled by night or who sojourned in the mountain. His figure was apparently forced on these men and women, or the interrogator inserted it into the minutes of the trials.

We have examined the origins of these night travellers and traced their guides back to the 'earth mothers', in whose wombs humans once dissolved their individuality, and 'died',[3] in order to be born again from the place of generation as men and women of knowledge.

In order for them to understand their own essence, they had to descend to that place, to return to the uterus of she who gave birth to everything, the place of origin not only of humans, but of all creatures of nature.

The act of insight was at the same time also an act of love, which would have represented incest with the mother if at the place of origin incest itself had not dissolved together with the *barriers* to incest. There is no sin at the place of origin. Where there are no longer any norms, no norms can be violated. Knowledge of the place of origin means: dissolution of the separation of things from each other. What is involved is less *seeing* and *experiencing* that those things over there, which at first glance within the perspective of everyday life seem different, prove themselves to be really one; but rather it is the dissolution of seeing and experiencing in the place of origin.

In later times, in the classical Greek period, people spoke of 'knowledge as memory'. This is actually a watered down form of what in archaic times was a factual leaving behind of the 'world of separation' and a return to the unifying womb of things, which knew no knowledge and no object of knowledge, no above and no below, no animals or people, no men and women.

What philosophers love nowadays and what they call 'critical self-reflection' is a technique which supposedly makes it possible to render our own horizon intelligible from inside-out, within itself.[4] Archaic humans, by contrast, still possessed the insight that one had to leave the world, that one could become 'tame' only if before one had been 'wild', that one could only live in the true sense of the word if one had proved one's willingness to die.

In order to be able to live within the order, in other words, in order to be

consciously tame or domesticated, one had to have lived in the wilderness. One could know what *inside* meant only if one had once been *outside.*

Artemis–Diana, once the wild mother of vegetation, was the goddess of the 'out there'. This 'lioness of women' was tamed by the Indo-Europeans in an entirely different manner. She was rendered chaste and frigid, she was made into a virgin. She no longer fetched men into her womb, but rather struggled against those who pursued her in order to watch her bathe in the nude. Later on, *this* Diana was compared with the Virgin Mary;[5] the painters of the Renaissance changed her into a coquettish woman who simultaneously hid from the glance of men and also lured them (plate 9).

Briefly, I showed how Sibyl was degraded into the Pythia, a medium, that is, who was no longer mistress over her own experiences, but only a vessel for the god, a young country girl raped by Apollo, after struggling against him in vain. We finally saw also how the 'dissolver of opposites', the 'man–woman' Dionysus had his wings clipped as soon as he was assigned a place in Olympian religion.

The 'cult of the great mother' vanished. However, in an attenuated form, some of the traits of this unnamed female being endured. Circe's womb, Calypso, Venus, Morgan Le Fay lured the hero into the 'valley of no return' on their journey of initiation, men such as Ulysses, Tannhäuser, the Knights of the Round Table, and even the late night travellers of the witchcraft trials.

Usually, though, the hero did not surrender to his love for the queen of the shadows, or more exactly, he surrendered only half-heartedly. For intercourse was less and less *knowledge,* it developed into a menace. The vagina acquired teeth. It ate and devoured. If the hero was seduced by such a woman or if he was dragged along in the Wild Hunt, he returned if he was lucky, but pale and stupefied, 'elwetritsch'[6] as they used to say in the Palatinate, or 'huldrin' in Norway.

For a long time, as we saw, the 'time between the times' persisted, the interval when separations dissolved. It was the time when the beings of the lower world swarmed through the settlements and knocked on the doors of the Alpine villages. Those from the other world were otherwordly no more, and those of this world not of this one.

The powers of the lower world threatened those who lived in the world of the sun. Hades abducted Persephone, the daughter of vegetation, into his realm of the shadows and wanted to keep her there for himself. Demeter, and after her the initiates of the Eleusinian mysteries, 'died', descending into the place of generation to gain the limited return of fertility. Death entered and with it once more new life.

The werewolves of Livonia and the Benandanti of Friaul took up this struggle against the Powers of chaos over and over again. Or, to put it

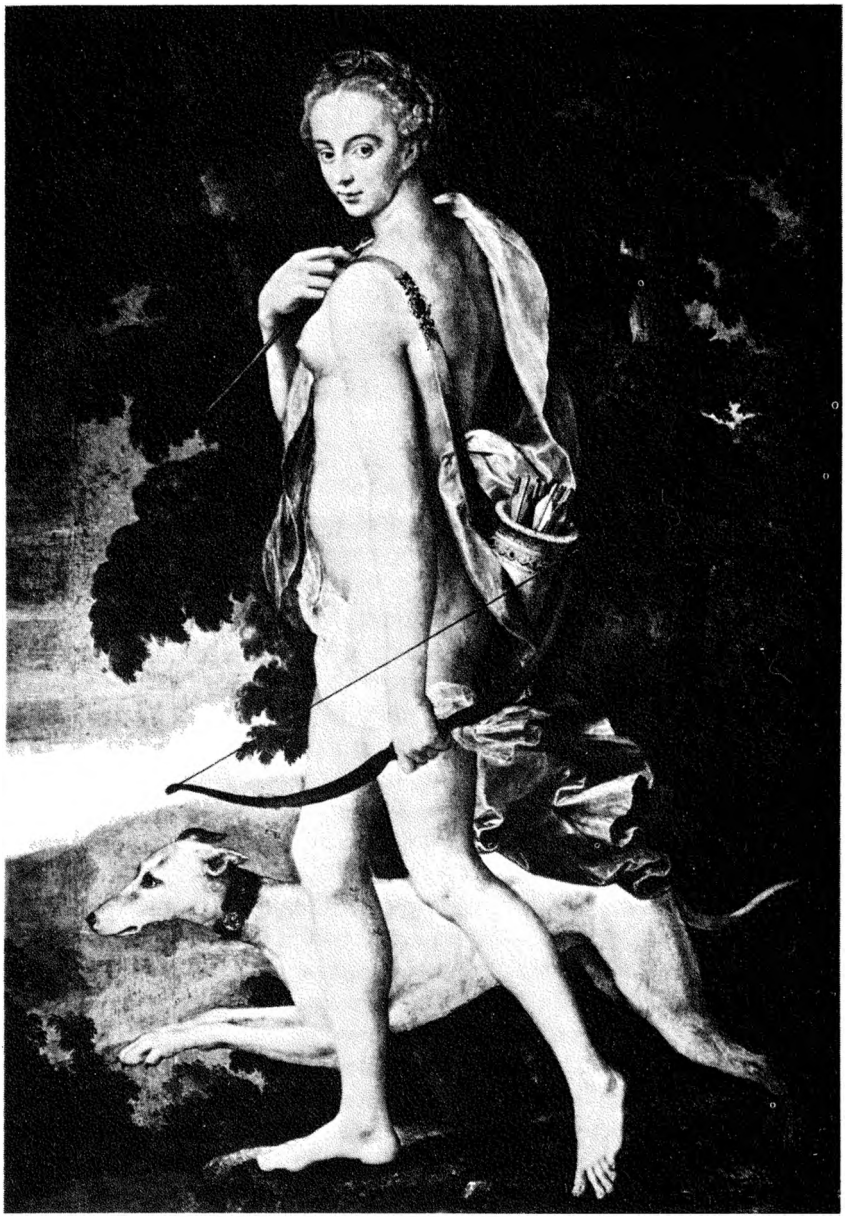


Plate 9 Diana. School of Fontainebleau.

more succinctly, they participated in the struggle between life and death, which is the foundation on which rests the order of the world. For 'magic rituals' are less an *intrusion* into the events, as envisaged by those who would consider them a 'protoscientific technique of manipulation',[7] but instead they are rather a *participation* in the cosmic crisis, which is both a threat to and a condition for life.

Civilization, becoming increasingly complex, lost the knowledge of these events. It encountered the things of the other world by inhibiting, repressing and later by 'spiritualizing' and 'subjectivizing' them. Here lies the root of all 'theories of projection', which were one day to be developed by Feuerbach and Marx, by psychoanalysts and by positivistic critics of ideologies. That which was outside slipped to the inside, and if on occasion it was unable to deny its original character, it was integrated into subjectivity as being that which was 'projected'. 'Nothing is allowed to be outside any more, since the mere conceptualization of the outside is the true source of anxiety.'[8]

Initially, this displacement process especially involved those who were situated in a particular manner 'on the boundary', and who since ancient times were in some uncontrollable way open to the other world. These were women, and among them principally those who had specifically developed their ability to cross over that line at one time or another.

In small, non-Western societies today a more 'archaic' attitude is often still encountered towards that part of the self that is sited on the other side of the fence of civilization, in the wilderness. For the Bakweri of Mount Cameroon, the world of the 'outside' is the world of the mermaids (*liengu*). This world includes the sea and the primeval forest. The 'outside' is also the realm in which the women of the Bakweri are at home. Within the fence that separates the worlds from each other, the men raise their goats, cows and pigs, while outside the fence, the women fetch the firewood from the forest and cultivate their tuberous *xanthosoma* (arum).

All women are outside, but the mermaids are 'more outside' than all the others. If an ordinary woman is possessed by such a spirit being, and this may happen not only to a young girl, but also to an older woman, then she needs to leave the world of culture. She dresses herself in a skirt made of the bark or the roots of the *iroko* tree, is given a *liengu* name and learns the language of the mermaids. After some months, at dusk, she is finally thrown into a deep waterhole by a medicine man or a medicine woman. This is reminiscent of a Macedonian custom, where another intermediary between the worlds, the midwife, is guided to a spring and there drenched with water.[9] The woman has now turned into a mermaid; she lets her hair grow long and matted. She rubs her entire body with a mixture of charcoal and palm oil until she is black from head to foot. She avoids contact with

all 'cultural' objects, especially those things made or worked by Europeans or by men, and instead of the phallic cultivated banana, she eats only the wild fruit shot through with seeds.

As far as the men are concerned, this woman is now definitely 'out'. With other women, she speaks the language of the mermaids, unintelligible to men. She has turned completely wild,[10] and she lives in a strange world, inaccessible to men.

However, while ritually, that is *consciously,* she has become wild, she has not *surrendered* to the wilderness.[11] Rather, after having been 'outside', she is ready for the 'inside', for marriage with a man.[12] Putting it differently: it is only now that she is capable of culture in a much more elementary sense than the men. Her ritually defused wildness will henceforth protect the community against the threatening invasion of the mermaids into the realm within the fence.[13]

Our forebears handled matters in a similar manner. As late as the Middle Ages, the witch was still the *hagazussa,* a being that sat on the *Hag,* the fence,[14] which passed behind the gardens and separated the village from the wilderness.[15] She was a being who participated in both worlds. As we might say today, she was semi-demonic. In time, however, she lost her double features and evolved more and more into a representation of what was being expelled from culture, only to return, distorted, in the night.

The role of women engaging in *sejdr,*[16] that is, sorceresses, is somewhat idealized in today's feminist literature. The authors tend to disregard the fact that on occasion one or the other of these women, these *Völven* or *spákonur,* was lynched. Generally speaking, though, the relationship of people to these women 'between night and day' was quite ambivalent,[17] as towards the bare-footed Cimbri women, who would guide their prisoners of war to enormous metal cauldrons, there to cut their throats and divine from their spurting blood and from their entrails.[18] The same ambivalence also prevailed towards the *Völven* who, like the Pythia on her tripod, sat on her *sejdhjallar* and sent her soul out into faraway countries,[19] or towards those purely demonic beings who raged through the forests in the twilight.[20]

To make clear that the witch was not a being of the 'inside', that she had at least one foot 'outside', beyond culture, a reversal of the ordinary has been used since ancient times. Thus, in the *Vatnsdaela Saga* we are told about the old witch Ljot: 'She had pulled her clothes over her head,[21] stepping backward with her head stuck between her legs, and the glance from her eyes was not good to see, as she was casting lightning against her as a troll would.'[22]

The witches of the Akan walk with their feet up and their heads down.[23]

The warlock (*umthakathi*) of the Zulus rides backwards on a baboon[24] just like the witches of the late Middle Ages (plate 10). Also the Yakut shaman Küstech sits astride a mountain goat, 'the hooves of which face backwards'.[25] When the medicine man of the Western Australian Jigalong turns into his dream spirit, his *badundjari,* resembling an eaglehawk, his legs become wings, his testicles eyes, and his anus, his beak. He flies away, his back towards the front.[26]

'What is up, they put down', Petronius writes in his *Satyricon* about witches and those travelling by night, the *nocturnae.*[27] Even in Christian times, witches often had their plaits arranged on their head anti-clockwise. Looking into their eyes, a person saw his image in their pupils upside-down.[28] At the sabbat, they also danced in a reversed manner. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, for instance, we read, 'at theyr meetings, [they] do all thinges contrary to the custome of Men, dauncing, back to back, hip to hip, theyr handes ioyn'd, and making theyr circles backward, to the left hand, wth strange phantastique motions of theyr heads, and bodyes.'[29]

South of the Pyrenees and at approximately the same time, it was said of the Devil that 'with his left hand and in the sight of all those present, he held her with her face toward the ground, or he had her stand against a tree, and there he knew her carnally', that is, he was said to have anal intercourse with the witch, although usually, he had intercourse from both sides.[30]

What distinguishes the pre-Christian and non-Christian witches, however, from those of the time of their great persecution, is not simply this reversal of ordinary patterns of behaviour and properties as a metaphor for representing that which is not amenable to description in everyday language, to the conceptualizations 'within the fence'.[31] What is more significant is the change in attitudes assumed towards witches and, with that, also towards the 'outside'.

Christian culture had begun to construct a new form of order which required not so much the *recognition* of its own 'other side', but rather its repression and final annihilation.

The first step in this direction consisted in 'demonizing that which was demoniacal'. Humans could not be *strigas,* humans could not participate in the nightly journeys of Diana. In other words, the attempt was made to shoo the *hagazussa* off the fence, to chase her from the boundary of culture into the wilderness, from dusk into night.

The second step was necessary when it became clear that these demons could not be deprived of their power in such a simple fashion, that they responded to deeply felt needs of humans which were not easily dissolved or replaced by something else.



Plate 10 Witch's Sabbat. Hans Baldung Grien (1510).

The Virgin Mary, for example, a symbol of the idea that a woman could lay claim to importance only as a virginal girl or as a mother, in both instances chaste and asexual,[32] just managed to be a substitute for the sister of Apollo, who had become somewhat prudish in the meantime. But she certainly would not do as a replacement for Diana of the Ephesians, to name just one other figure, who was much less restrained.[33]

The demons who had been chased into the wilderness, far away from people, then proceeded to return in a changed shape and in a much more threatening form. They were not content to squat on the fence anymore, they sneaked up the cellar steps at night and knocked on the doors. The witch no longer threatened from the outside, she awoke inside.[34]

Initially, there were some ideological difficulties in also admitting this fact publicly. After all, it had been emphasized expressly that humans could not participate in the doings of demons. But those texts treated only the 'women that travelled by night', and their guides, such as Diana or Herodias. These were very different from those beings who since the beginning of the fifteenth century troubled the world from the inside, who did their evil deeds in the villages and towns, the stables and the cellars.

In the original text of the *Canon Episcopi,* formulated by Regino von Prüm, there was not a word of bloodthirsty *strigas.* For this reason it was now possible to assure everyone officially that there existed human beings, and in considerable numbers at that, who at midday, as well as in the middle of the night, were abducted by the Evil One, or rode away in the air on billy goats and broomsticks to feasts of perverse fornication, and who tried to harm the body and soul of their fellow men. Such people not only committed a sin against nature, they were also *maleficae,* 'evil-doers', in contrast to the relatively harmless travellers by night, and therefore needed to be punished more severely. The old decrees did not protect them, for those texts did not refer to 'our witches', *ad lamias nostras.* This was, as we have seen, actually correct.[35]

The first rather successful step then, taken in the early Middle Ages, consisted of eliminating the pagan traits of the culture. In the face of a 'new paganism' stirring in the shape of heretics, witches and other arrogant people, a strategy had to be developed to place the evil enemy in the centre of the culture and to defeat him there decisively. The Devil had conquered the 'inside', the soul, and in view of this, his new abode, the body, had to be killed and burned[36] in order to deprive him of his base.

The rebirth of the *striga* on the inside was not an isolated phenomenon. Satan must have attacked in all walks of life at the end of the Middle Ages. Or, put differently, a new spring must have announced itself, and this happened in an era that is often compared to autumn. The blossoms brought forth by that spring must have appeared in the eyes of the Church

and the authorities as the first signs of an outbreak of a new paganism.

As a result of the influence of the works of Norbert Elias, we are nowadays inclined to think of the fettering of the senses, the banishing of sensuality into its inner exile, the arising of the private sphere and, with that, of a far-reaching loss of informality and directness as the continuing process of civilization. It became most apparent, supposedly,[37] at the time of the Renaissance, when the foundations were laid for the modern 'achievement-orientated society'[38] which demanded a considerable 'renunciation of drives'.

In reality, however, it seems that during the late Middle Ages, more than during the early part of that era, there was a strong resurgence of sensuality, a turning to the pleasures of the eye and the palate, a fostering of the imagination and the soul, together with a loosening of social control, not only among the rising middle class in the towns, but also among the peasantry. The foundations of the rigid divisions of the estates were shaken, life became more emotional, more passionate, less confined and more intense.[39]

It is often pointed out that both sexes could freely use the bath-houses together during the Middle Ages, a custom which was supposedly increasingly banned during the Renaissance.[40] This suggestion does not quite agree with the facts. Customs of this kind did not develop until the *late* Middle Ages. Earlier, the two sexes bathed separately.[41] In the same way, the custom of sleeping naked was not widespread until the fourteenth century.[42] The medieval murals showing men and women in bath-tubs together and exchanging pleasantries were most probably not so much an expression of sensuous joy than a pillorying of yet another vice.[43]

It is not actually appropriate to use the bath-houses as an index of the uninhibited mores of the time. Many of them were rather brothels than institutions of cleanliness.[44] The term *rîberîn*, someone who rubbed people down in the bath-house, was synonymous with 'whore'. It was said of the bath-houses in the towns of the Netherlands that 'they were designed to stimulate indecency, and that more ribaldry and shamelessness was practised there than in the houses of ill repute'.[45]

The abhorrence of nudity was mainly inherited from Judaic-Christian religious tradition. To be sure, the Ionic Greeks were not exactly enthusiastic about the fact that the young Spartan girls were naked, or clad only lightly when they joined in sports events with the boys.[46] The prudish Romans were incensed about naked Greek athletes, to which custom they attributed the decadence of Hellenic culture.[47] But these societies were innocent in comparison with the one where the Virgin Mary closed her eyes each time she undressed, so that she would not be embarrassed by seeing her own naked breasts.[48] Eve was the woman who was naked and

the Virgin Mary was the one who once more put clothes on women: 'You redressed the fall of woman by giving birth to the Word who redresses the vanquished. . . .'[49]

Baring the breasts was generally considered to be degrading, a penance. In the year 1417 a 'sorceress' was sentenced by the canon of Freising to stand for two years in the cemetery on certain days with her hair shorn and her upper body uncovered, for the crowds to see.[50] Even when flagellants scourged themselves publicly, they covered their lower body; and in the case of very severe punishment, for instance when a man had committed adultery and was chased through the village naked, together with the respective woman, the abdomen of the woman was usually clothed, 'covering the woman modestly, however,' as we read in a text from Avignon from the year 1292.[51]

Representations of women at the height of the Middle Ages lack eroticism to a remarkable degree. As an art historian remarks about the statues of Adam and Eve at Bamberg Cathedral, the first representation of nude figures in German sculpture, the two of them are 'as little sensuous as the buttresses of a Gothic church'.[52] Two small protuberances, so to speak unavoidable, placed at the spot where the breasts are normally situated, distinguish narrow-hipped Eve from her partner[53] (plate 11). Statues of naked women with extremely long torsos and tiny breasts that are placed far apart and very high, 'more protective than any drapery',[54] also suggest that the Middle Ages were not exactly an era of innocence and lack of inhibition. In fact, this was precisely the time of 'deepest animosity'[55] towards the naked body.

During the *late* Middle Ages, there was an assault on this antagonism towards the senses. In an occasionally very cunning way, nudity and clothing were increasingly combined.[56] A comparison of the de-eroticized Eve of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* of 1330 (plate 12) with the late Gothic Eve of Berthold Furtmeyer, of 1481, who has just picked the fateful apple from the 'side of death' of the apple tree in Eden (plate 13) is quite instructive. The pelvis of the latter is wider, more feminine, her hair reaches to the back of her knees. her girlish breasts are still placed rather high, but they no longer look 'glued on'. Instead, they form an organic whole with the body, which is no longer a 'prison of the soul'.

At the end of the Middle Ages, paintings were created that *addressed* the viewer, while the artists of the preceding age painted pictures which, as the saying went, were visible 'for the eyes of God'.[57] It was not so much that God *saw,* but rather, that he *knew,* in the same way as the person looking at the Romanesque Eve did not so much *see* her breasts, but *knew* what was meant. Later representations, which one day would pass into photography, are painted from a point of observation and are directed toward



Plate 11 Eve. Bamberg Cathedral.

it.[58] The observer *participates* in an event, he is not led to *read* symbols which awaken his imagination,[59] and which make it possible to show scenes in one picture which in reality happened consecutively. This also corresponds to the so-called 'principle of simultaneousness' of the mystery plays at the height of the Middle Ages. The actors had no entrances and exits, as we are accustomed to in the modern theatre, but only a return to their places after their scene had ended.[60] Plate 13 incorporates both manners of presentation. On the one side, the viewer participates. On the other side, the painting still tells a story: Eve receives the apple of death from the serpent and hands it on to her descendants. At the same time, the Virgin picks the apple of life from the same tree, bringing salvation to suffering mankind.

In the late Middle Ages there was a gradual awakening of the senses, with the eyes becoming increasingly active. In the middle of the fourteenth century, according to the *Limburger Chronik,* many women suddenly



Plate 12 *Adam and Eve from the* Speculum Humanae Salvationis *(c.1330).*

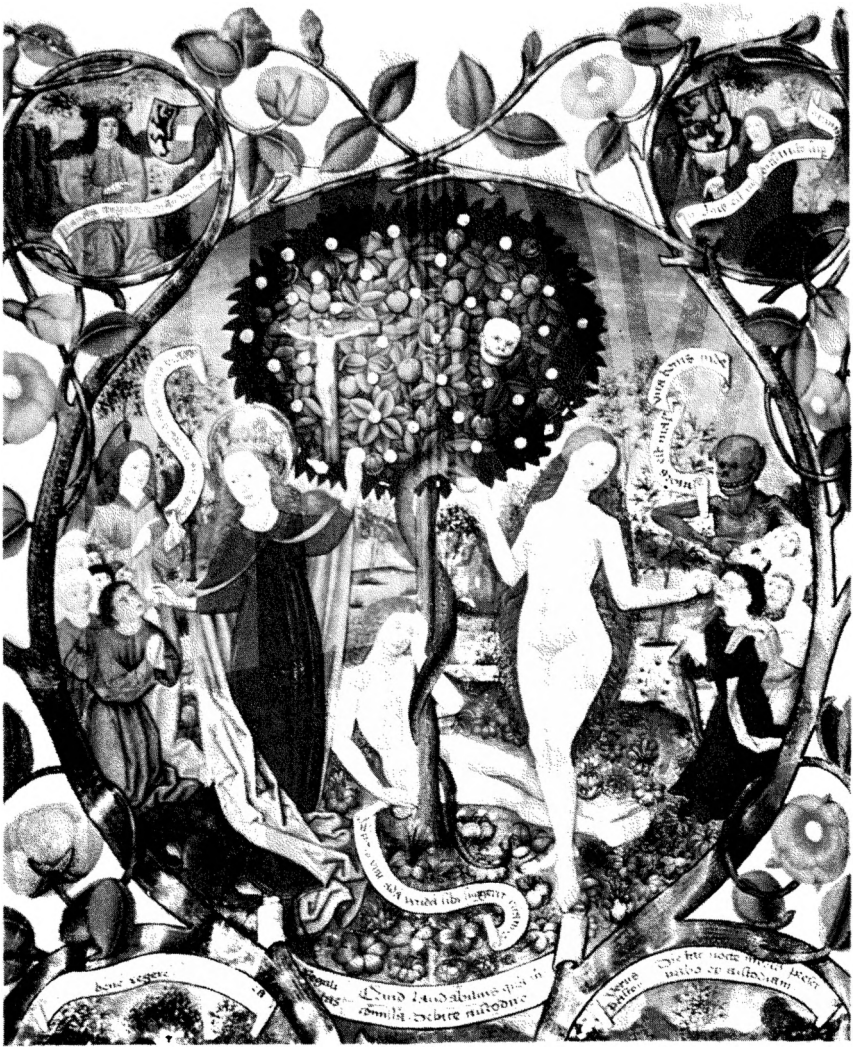


Plate 13 Tree of Death and Life. Berthold Furtmeyer (1481).

wore 'such low necklines that you could see nearly half their breasts',[61] and among the upper classes in the same century, Queen Isabella of Bavaria introduced the 'garments of the grand neckline', where the dress was open to the navel.[62] This fashion eventually led to the application of rouge[63] to freely displayed nipples, those 'little apples of paradise', to placing diamond-studded rings or small caps on them, even to piercing

them and passing gold chains through them decorated with diamonds, possibly to demonstrate the youthful resilience of the bosom.[64]

Not so long before, the armholes of women's clothing were called the 'Devil's windows'.[65] Now, looking in was made increasingly easy. The skirts of the peasant women, kept long by tradition, became shorter and more colourful, while previously they had been made of undyed cloth. Simultaneously, they revealed more of the shape of the body, and the breasts were hidden much less. Geiler von Kaisersberg complained that when looking a bit too far down a woman's neckline, he could easily spy her nipples.[66] 'Then there are clumsy oafs,' he continues, 'who dance in such an obscene way that, swinging the women and the young girls and throwing them up high, one can see into the crotch in front and in the back, and sometimes the girls almost like it that they are being tossed about that way, so that one can see up to I do not know where.'[67]

A different spirit permeated the subsequent era. Up to that time, it was permissible at least for young girls, that is, for those who had not yet become the property of a man, to display their charms,[68] a custom often encountered in small, non-Western societies.[69] But by 1539, there is an indignant complaint:

> Die töchter tragend ouch jetzt das,
> Was einst dirnen schandlich was:
> Wyt ussgeschnitten schuh, schuben, röck,
> Dass man die milchsäck nit bedeck.[70]
>
> *The daughters now wear*
> *What used to be shameful for a whore:*
> *Low-cut shoes, shawls and skirts,*
> *Not even covering the milk sacks.*

The suppression of the senses became literally palpable.[71] The *Unholdenhammer* called women 'an evil of nature painted in pretty colours'. Their bosom was tightly laced, or it disappeared modestly behind pleated shirts. A woman's neck was hidden under enormous ruffles, her posterior covered by hoopskirts.[72] There was even a return to the medieval caps and chin bands, revealing nothing of the hair beneath.

Spain, recently 'liberated' from the Moors, led the way in the rejection of sensory experience. The *manto* completely enveloped the female figure, leaving only a small peephole. Black became the colour of choice, the expression of the face froze into a mask, bodices had iron staves sewed into them, even the hint of a bosom was shunned. Lead plates served to keep breasts flat and to impede their development.[73]

As late as the end of the seventeenth century a French countess wrote about high-class Spanish ladies,

Among them it is a point of beauty not have any bosom, and they take precautions early so that it will not develop. As soon as the breasts begin to appear, they place small lead plates over them, and they wrap themselves as one would swaddle a child. One has to admit that they accomplish their goal, having breasts no thicker than a sheet of paper.[74]

The use of public baths decreased precipitously, the reason most assuredly not being the spread of the 'Frantzose' (syphilis) or the increase in the price of firewood. In 1387, Frankfurt am Main still had thirty-nine bathhouses. Less than 150 years later, there were only eight.[75] All areas of life were progressively limited and regimented.[76]

Contesting Elias' claims, we can come to two conclusions. The shifting of the borderline of shame, the increasing awkwardness toward the naked body did not come about in the course of the gradual progress of civilization. Rather, during the late Middle Ages, especially at the time of the great plague epidemics, when death felled innumerable people in the cities,[77] a freeing of the senses occurred on all levels of life. This sensuousness was not, however, merely 'child-like' or naive. It was conscious and challenging. No wonder that some observers characterized the fashions of the fourteenth century as 'aggressive'.[78] And it did not take over from an age of innocence.[79] During the early Middle Ages, naked women symbolized submission, humiliation, abasement. For the woman of the new age, *décolleté* represented rebellion in an epoch that is often considered to be merely the end of the preceding one. She was not naked, but bared, and entirely conscious of that.[80] Her face was freer than ever before. Soon, however, only 'arrogance' was seen in that face, hiding finally the lover of the Devil.

This woman of the late Middle Ages had broached the domain of men. She was a woman, as one historian put it, whom one might encounter everywhere where there was activity, in the drinking halls of the guilds, at any kind of folk festival, at markets and fairs, 'usually not exactly as the guardians of good taste or strict morals'.[81] She was a woman who had found her way to a new consciousness. She was admitted to professions that formerly were reserved for men. She was allowed to learn a trade and attain the rank of a master. There were a number of trades organized into guilds that could be carried out only by women, such as extensive branches of the textile industry, beer brewing, bleaching and baking. Women were also represented among furriers, harness makers, teachers and physicians.[82] It was not until the dawn of the modern age that the trade and journeymen's organizations effectively stopped the work of women in the public domain in the course of domesticating them.

This takes us to the second point. The thumb screws of this modern age

were not tightened gradually, but rather in an often hasty and spectacular manner.

Admittedly, in the sixteenth century a man such as Etienne de la Boëtie was able to write with some justification: 'Habit, which has us in its grip, is never more powerful than when we are seduced into servitude. It enjoins us to swallow that poison and not even to find it bitter, as we hear about Mithridates who accustomed himself gradually to swallowing poison.'[83] People were not only *seduced,* however: they were openly and consciously *suppressed.* It seems that Elias pays too little attention to the reactive and particularly suppressive character of the stifling of sensuousness.[84] The 'arrogant' woman, as one example, was encarcerated as a witch and her sensualism was burned out of her.

A woman of the seventeenth century may have said, somewhat coquettishly, in unbuttoning her garment, 'It is rather hot – do you mind?' Her partner in the conversation might now answer, 'It will be much hotter in hell.'[85] But such threats were not enough. Even here on earth, she was made to feel the heat of hell. She had aggressively shown her naked breasts and had let her hair fly loosely in the wind. She was now distorted into a being who rode a bewitched man through the night, instead of letting *him* mount her, a being that had debased men into becoming the object of her lust.

In 1609 a Basque judge presiding over witchcraft trials calls such women 'usually lascivious and wanton wenches, living only for the flesh',[86] and burning and excited, he exclaims:

> When you see them with their hair on their shoulders flying in the wind, then in this gorgeous ornament of their hair they appear so beautiful that when the sun shines through it as if through a cloud, the radiance is indescribable and gives off blazing lightning; this is how enchantment comes from their eyes which are just as dangerous in love as in witchcraft[87] (plate 14).

The glance of this woman does not say, 'I want to belong to you', as we are used to seeing in later nude pictures.[88] It is not the expression of submission or solicitation. Rather, it represents her own, aggressive sensuality.

In addition to their immorally enticing nudity,[89] the loose hair of the witches is mentioned with increasing frequency. In a double sense the witch was thought to use it for all kinds of sorcery. Thus we read in the charges against the Scottish 'witch' Bessie Skebister, from the year 1633: 'Ye sat doun, and taking of your curtch, sheuk your hair lous, and ever since shoe [referring to the claimant, a certain Margaret Mudie] hes bein so vehementlie pained, that shoe dwins and becoms wors and wors: and

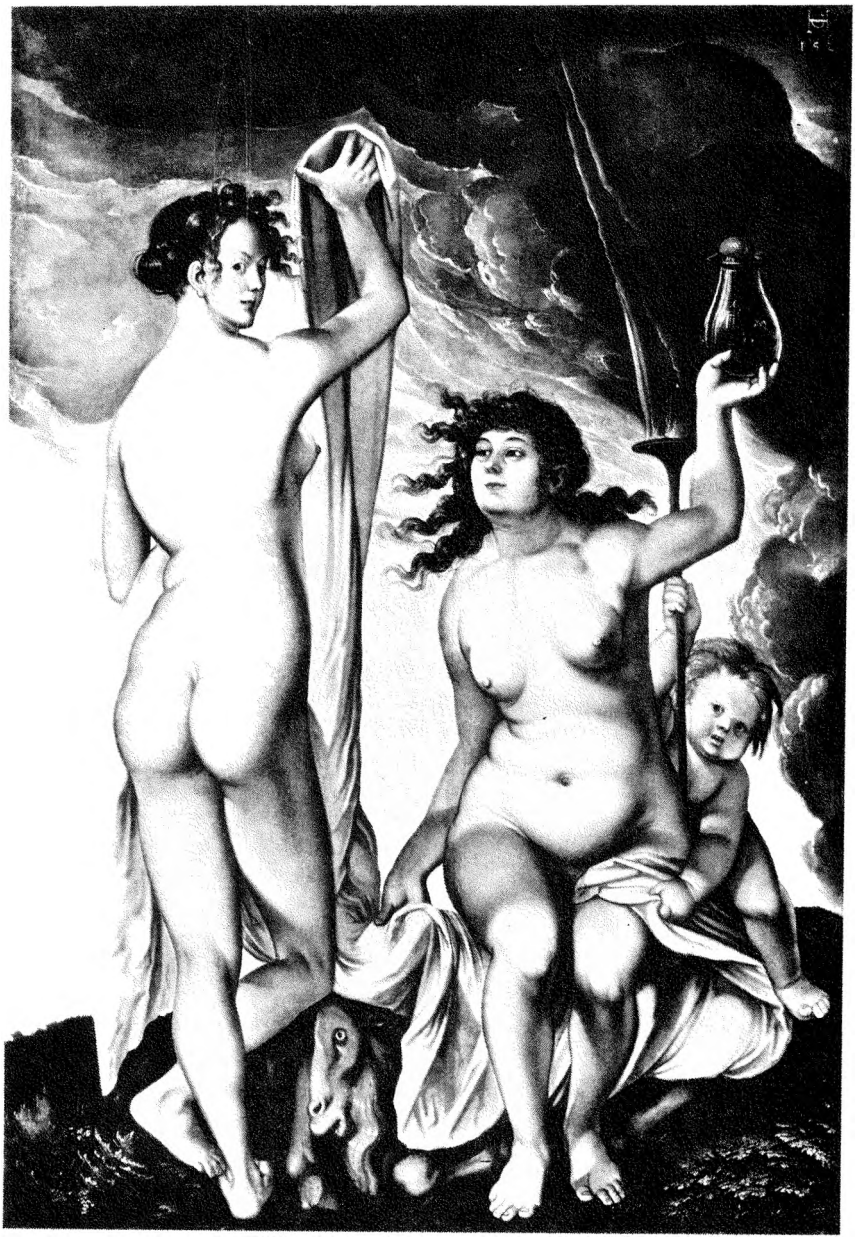


Plate 14 Two Witches. Hans Baldung Grien (1523).

hes nevir bein weill since ye curst hir, or sheuk your hair lous.[90]

Married Teutonic women wore their hair long, but it was either plaited[91], pinned up or held together with a ribbon.[92] In later times, it was covered with a scarf.[93] In the Middle Ages, hair was hidden entirely under scarves, veils or caps. A cap called *Gebende,* at the height of the Middle Ages, was a tight head covering tied on with a band that reduced women to a lisping speech; they had to loosen the ribbon if they wanted to eat.[94]

In Bavarian folk law of the eighth century, the 'lewd loosing of the hair' was named in the same breath as adulterous fornication and raping a virgin.[95] According to Frankish law, a man who loosed a woman's cap ribbon had to pay a fine of 30 *solidi*; one who grabbed her breast was liable to a fine of 45 *solidi.*[96] As late as the seventeenth century, it sealed the doom of a woman such as Christina Heyden that her husband saw her during the night (!) 'with her hair undone' and 'her clothes unbuttoned as if she had danced with many lovers and had doings with them'.[97]

It appears that at all times and in a number of different societies, long and especially loose and unkempt hair[98] was taken to be a sign that the respective woman, as the sociologist would put it, had extricated herself from social control or at least was less subject to the pressures of social convention than others. Christian anchorites, for instance, ran around nude and let their hair become dishevelled as a sign that they had become 'wild' and had left their civilization behind.[99] What in their case was a sign of the utmost humility before God, that of sacrificing their culture, was in the case of the witches a signal of extreme rebellion. Cutting off their hair meant not only their humiliation, but also their reintroduction into society.[100]

6

Wolves, Death and the Island of Ethnographers

Est-ce que tu connais la mort?
Eh bien, moi je vais t'en parler.
(Song of the Fang)

Do you know death?
All right, I will tell you about it.

Die Furcht for dem Tode ist das beste Zeichen eines falschen, das heisst schlechten Lebens.
(Wittgenstein)

Fear of death is the most telling sign of a wrong, that is, a bad life.

At the dawn of the modern era there was a concerted attack on pagan custom, even on the religious 'fools' festivals' fostered by the lower ranks of the clergy.[1] As we noted, the youths of the Middle Ages, having turned into demons and animals, used to come out of the wilderness during the time between Christmas and Twelfth Night, pillaging and sometimes raging destructively through the settled areas. These youths were in fact outside normality and the law.

Towards the end of the Middle Ages though, they were placed 'outside the law' in an entirely different manner. Formerly, as demonic beings, they could not be brought to trial. Just as in archaic times, they had been at liberty to censure and punish, because in the truest sense of the word they were above partisan strife, beyond all cultural bonds. They resembled the fool in this respect, although the latter usually had to pay the price that his truth obliged no one.[2] Now, however, they were threatened with serious punishment. No longer were they considered demons, but rather humans who moreover, just like the 'new sect of witches', had been recruited into satanic services.

Thus during the first half of the fifteenth century, an ordinance was passed in Lucerne that those who 'masked their faces and ran around in the manner of devils or billy goats'[3] could expect strict punishment. And in 1601, we read, 'All those who celebrate that feast, betray themselves in their external shape and clothing, namely that they do not serve God, but rather Satan, in that they run around in devil's garments, and looking like devils.'[4]

In archaic times a person who stood outside the law, the culture, was considered 'dead' by ordinary people. In many instances the embodiment of these 'dead' was the bear or, even more importantly, the wolf. According to old Norse law and even much later, the wolf was deprived of the protection of the law. The *Sachsenspiegel,* for instance, provides that by the king's orders in the land of Saxony wild animals were to be left in peace, except for *bears, wolves and foxes.*[5]

Even if a wolf wandered into a shrine by chance, it was pursued there as a *vargr í veum,* a 'strangler in the temple'.[6] The end of time before *ragnarök,* the 'twilight of the gods', when all order ceased and things were turned upside down, was called *vargold* 'wolf's time' by the *Voluspá.*[7]

The outlaw, considered to be 'dead',[8] the banished person, the *wealdgenga,* was called *vargr,* 'strangler' or 'wolf' by the Salic Franks and by the Goths, and his 'wolf's head', his *wulfes heáfod,* was made public all over the land.[9]

Before a person could be executed, he had to be declared an outlaw, he had to be banished from the community. In our times, it is hard to imagine the psychological significance of such a measure for the person in question.

It also seems that in ancient times the only person who was allowed to be an executioner was one who had for that brief interval left the ranks of the living and joined the dead. Medieval society which declared the executioner to be 'without honour' may have hearkened back to this tradition.

The same was possibly also true of ancient warriors. Odin, the god of death, whose fighting men interestingly enough were often called *ulfar,* 'wolves', was also the god of warriors. Tacitus[10] speaks of *hariers,* the fighters of the Naharnawals, who painted themselves black. They probably represented men ritually declared dead who in the wilderness, in a condition of lawlessness, killed the enemies of the social order. There were the warriors of the Phoci, painted white with gypsum, that Herodotos speaks of. And then there were the Etruscan priests who, according to Roman legend, came rushing at the Roman troops during the siege of the Etruscan city of Fidenae, snakes and burning torches in their hands and wearing the garb of the gods of the underworld.[11] Most likely, they all belonged to the same category. Memories of such figures seem to linger on.

At the beginning of the Thirty Years' War the Bavarian cavalry, considered invincible, rode into battle dressed in black, on black horses, with a skull on their helmets.[12] The Prussian cavalry, whose insignia was the skull, existed until quite recently.

The *ulfar* were closely related to the infamous 'berserkers'. The word *berserkr* is frequently translated as 'bare shirt' instead of 'bear shirt', which implies that the berserkers fought without a mail shirt.[13] Thus we read in the *Ynglinga Saga*: 'Odin had his men fight without a mail shirt in battle and made it that they raged like dogs or wolves. They would bite into their shields, and they were as strong as bears or bulls; they killed the men, but neither fire nor iron could injure them; this is what people called the berserker rage.'[14] It would make it intelligible that *if* they wore any clothing, berserkers preferred wolf or bear skin, so that they were sometimes called *úlfhepnar*.

Originally, the berserkers may have been brotherhoods of youths, and they quite possibly caused the populace more suffering than the comparable Swiss brotherhoods of the Middle Ages, who were mere choir boys by comparison.[15] Especially in later times, they were practically outcasts and lived in desolate forests shunned by ordinary people.[16] They sometimes abducted women, whom they would keep for weeks, doing with them as they pleased.[17]

A man who had been a berserker in his youth, bore the imprint as long as he lived. Of old Ulf, the grandfather of the skald, Egil Skallagrim, it was said, for instance: 'Every day towards evening he would become so surly, not many people could engage him in conversation. As it became dark, drowsiness would overcome him. There were stories that during the night, he often roamed about in a changed shape (*hamrammr*). People called him *Kveldúlfr*, meaning evening wolf.'[18] In the morning, they said, he lay in bed, totally exhausted.[19]

These wild young men, who ate raw meat and drank blood, also professed to having Odin, the god of death, as their leader. It seems that they were viewed as practically invincible fighters, as 'dead' or as 'wolves'. The Vikings, who on occasion wore the skin of predatory beasts and bear masks, were quite mild by comparison.

A wolf or bear character is still reflected in the *Vinnili*, as the Langobardians used to be called, and in the Nordic *Ylfingar*, the 'wolflings' of the *Amelung Saga*; the lineage of heroes such as Hildebrand, Wolfhart and Albhart, as well as of the men dressed in bear skins, well-known from German fairy-tales.[20]

As late as the sixteenth century, the Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Correro, called the Swiss warriors *cani arrabiati*, 'mad dogs'. There is a story that around 1530 young fighters from the canton of Aargau barked like dogs when out feuding.[21]

After nine years which they spent in the forest as 'wolves', the were-wolves of Zeus Lycaios[22] were changed back into men, provided they had not eaten any humans in the meantime.[23] At the peak of the Lycaion, the highest mountain of West Arcadia, there used to be a temple, an *abaton,* that no human was allowed to enter. If a person did enter, he lost his shadow, as Ulysses did on the island of Calypso, when the sun was vertically above him. He was at the axis of the world, 'its most quiet place', at the entrance to the underworld, he had now become a 'dead' person for ordinary mortals.[24]

The *Hirpi Sorani* also had such an entrance to the lower world, a rock cave. They were famous for running barefoot over glowing coals. An oracle of Apollo obliged them to make a living by pillaging the countryside 'as wolves do'. Their grotto was dedicated to Soranus,[25] identified with Dispater, a god of the dead. On certain days, wolves were said to pour from their cave.

These maws of the earth may have affected the mannerist architecture as late as the sixteenth century, as can be seen in the *Orcus* of the 'sacred forest' near the small town of Bomarzo (plate 15). The words 'OGNI PENSIERO VO ...' are engraved on the monster's upper jaw, perhaps meaning 'All thoughts go flying away.' The inscription is reminiscent of Dante's 'All hope abandon, ye who enter here' (*Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch'entrate*).[26]



Plate 15 Entrance to the lower world in the 'sacred forest' near Bomarzo.

The historical record is quite scant about the werewolves of Soranus. We know a little more about the Luperci of Faunus, or Pan Lycaios, who streamed through the city on 15 February, at the end of the old Roman year,[27] that is, once more 'between the times'. They used to go about naked, but during the time of the emperors, they became more decent, wearing goat skins about their loins.[28] They came from the Lupercal, the wolves' den, the entrance to the underworld,[29] and went about whipping the abdomen of naked women with goat's straps.[30]

Quite possibly these 'wolves', the 'dead',[31] actually had intercourse with women in ancient times, for it was said later that the Fauni, who broke into homes, raped the women there.[32]

As we pointed out earlier the fence or hedge, separating the domain of the wilderness from that of culture, was not an insurmountable boundary to the archaic mind. At certain times this fence was, in fact, torn down. Those who wanted to live *consciously* within the fence, had to leave the enclosure at least once in their lives. They had to roam the forests as wolves, as 'savages'.[33] To put it in more modern terms, they had to experience the wilderness, their *animal nature,* within themselves.[34] For their 'cultural nature' was only one side of their being which by destiny was inextricably bound to their animal *fylgja,* visible only to him who stepped across the dividing line, entrusting himself to his 'second sight'.[35]

Huginn and Muninn, the two ravens perched on Odin's shoulders, represented the fact that the god possessed the capacity for this second sight, or in other words, that he was able to journey to faraway places assuming the shape of these birds or of some other animal: 'Odin changed his shape, his body lay as if asleep or dead, and suddenly, he went forth to distant lands as an animal, a bird, a fish or a snake.'[36] The Nordic 'witch' also sent out her 'soul', while her everyday body remained on the *sejdhjallr,* probably a tall wooden structure.[37]

On certain occasions the witch of the West African Temne leaves *noru,* the everyday world where those things happen 'which we can ordinarily see', (*m'ma sa nank yen*). There is another world, the companion to the ordinary one. It is called *roshiron,* 'a place from which the witches go forth'. Once more, this is merely an image to illustrate the fundamental switch in the witch's mode of perception. Suddenly the face of the witch changes and assumes the traits of an animal: her 'animal' nature becomes visible.[38]

Medieval witches, such as Cundrîe la Surziere, were 'half animal' in this sense; the Old Norse expression was *eigi einhamr,* 'not having only one shape'.

It is for this reason that the Tzotzil Indians of Chiapas do not say that people *have a nagual,* but rather that they *are naguales,* a mountain lion,

or some other animal.[39] Humans rarely manage to see their own *nagual* nature, and in German fairy-tales encountering one's *alter ego* often means death. That is quite plausible. For whoever sees his *other* ego, has let go of his familiar one. You might say, his everyday personality 'died', it dissolved in order to make room for another part of his self.

For us, living in the age of modern civilization, and used to *having* rather than *being,* coming face to face with that 'wild' part of our person is hardly a familiar experience any more. Accepted ideologies of our times, psychoanalysis, for instance, or Marxism, point out that whatever is beyond our everyday experience is actually merely 'ourselves'. But these same ideologies always tend to take away the real character of this 'other part of ourselves' and to represent it as an 'illusionary projection'. The reason is that they arose at a time when the hedge on which the *hagazussa* once sat had solidified into a wall that also represented the boundary of reality.

As we said before, those who wished to come to know the essence of culture needed to go out into the wilderness. Only there could they discover their everyday nature which was familiar to them and yet unknown. At the height of the Middle Ages, Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote an account of the life of Merlin in the forests of Caledonia; Yvain, Lancelot, Tristan left culture behind to eat the raw meat of animals, and to become mad in the wilderness, 'the realm from which no stranger ever returned'.[40] Only after having become wild could they rise to the rank of knight. Following the same path, the Tungus shaman runs out into the wilderness, or his 'soul' travels down the kin river, the *mumangi chokto bira,* the 'watery river path', to the spirits of the ancestors. His tambourine acts as his companion, assuming the shape of an eider goose or of a pike, and he uses the drumstick as a rudder.[41] Finally, he reaches the 'shaman tree of his clan'. Its roots reach into the lower world, its top stretches to the upper world, and humans live around the middle section of its trunk.[42] *Ijäkyl,* the 'animal mother of shamans', lies among the roots. She swallows the shaman's soul and gives birth to it in animal shape. From that day forward, the shaman possesses 'another side' of his person, his 'animal part' (*chargi*), which lives out in the *taiga* in a lonely tree.[43]

What actually takes place is not that the shaman *turns into* an animal, but rather that he has now experienced his 'wild', his 'animal aspect'. Not until that happens will he be a true shaman. For he cannot *know* his human side until he also becomes aware of what it is *not.* To put it differently, he needs to become estranged from it, to have *seen* it, that is, to have seen it from the *outside.* After experiencing that, he is no longer what he once was. In pictorial representations, he now appears as a human bird or a human with bird's legs.[44]

The 'animal mother' appears to the shaman three times: at his birth,

during his 'initiatory death', at which time his body is carved up and is then assembled again,[45] and at his actual death.[46] If after his trip down the river he clearly sees his 'other self', then he will die. On his 'shamanistic journeys', which involve great personal risk,[47] he therefore always wears a fringed veil over his eyes, so that he can see only a weak outline of his animal nature.

As we have seen, concepts such as *fylgja, nagual* and *chargi* designate that part of human nature about which we can say nothing, or at least nothing that would be intelligible to those who have never crossed the boundary.

'The *nagual*', the Indian Don Juan says to the ethnographer Castaneda, 'is the part of us for which there is no description – no words, no names, no feelings, no knowledge.'[48] And just as the Tungus shaman who sees his 'animal nature' three times, at his birth, his 'initiatory death' and his real death, so also the Indian avers that at the time of our birth 'we are all *nagual*', but also at the hour of our death and at rare moments of our lives. Then we hear something 'like a voice that comes from the depths, the voice of the *nagual*'.[49]

In those rare moments we must be 'empty', we must surrender our 'cultural nature', or become *hang'-e-lah,* lost ones, as the Mewuk Indians used to say.[50] To use another metaphor, we need to step over the border that separates wilderness from civilization, the 'island of the *tonal*', as the Yaqui Indian expressed it.

The step into this wilderness, however, is a confrontation with death:

> I said to you once that the *tonal* begins at birth and ends at death; I said that because I know that as soon as the force of life leaves the body all those single awarenesses disintegrate and go back again to where they came from, the *nagual.* What a warrior does in journeying into the unknown is very much like dying except that his cluster of single feelings do not disintegrate but expand a bit without losing their togetherness. At death, however, they sink deeply and move independently as if they had never been a unit.[51]

The step from this 'little death' to the big one is small, however, because 'beyond the gate of the *tonal*'s eyes the wind rages ... A wind that can blow one's life away.'[52]

The *piunbökmökupanyen* ritual of the Mundurucú Indians provides a vivid illustration of such a journey to the 'gates of death'. At first it is usually a tapir that abducts the soul of a human and spirits it away through the rain forest, the undergrowth and across rivers. At some point, the tapir hands it over to a peccary which passes it on to an even smaller animal and so forth. The smallest monkey of the jungle then relinquishes it to a big fish that gives it to a smaller one. ... While the human soul is

being drawn further and further 'down', the human's strength ebbs away, he becomes weaker and weaker. Unconscious, his body lies on his mat. The soul is carried off progressively further from its body; in other words, the boundaries dissolve which separate the person from animals more and more 'distant' from himself, until he arrives at the place where nothing is separate from anything else, where 'everything is the same', that is, death. The shaman of the Mundurucú takes it upon himself to run a race with death. He pursues the wild chase through the primeval forest, all the while intoning the song of the animal which at that time is holding the soul. In this way he tries to stop the animal that in a mad dash is bearing away the soul, and attempts to return it to its body.[53] He will take care, however, not to venture 'too far', so as not to overstep the boundary of death.[54]

Apuleius provides a similar report of the journey to the gates of death in the Isis mysteries: 'I went as far as the boundary of death; I stepped on Proserpina's threshold and after passing through all the elements, I returned.' And wisely, he adds what many an ethnographer has also been told by the shaman, 'Lo! Now I told you that which although you heard it, you cannot understand.'[55]

Our modern philosophers are naive in their pretentiousness when they contend that only *they* realize that words such as 'wilderness', 'animal nature' and the like are metaphors. The Dogon, or rather their sage, Ogotêmmeli, calls such terms 'words of this low world'.[56] And when the ethnographer asks the Indian what there might be beyond the 'island of the *tonal*', he is told, 'There is no way of answering that. If I would say, Nothing, I would only make the *nagual* part of the *tonal*. All I can say is that there, beyond the island, one finds the *nagual*.'[57]

It is for this reason that the Winnebago do not say what the spirits *are*, but what they are *not*.[58] The Fang do not tell what *is going to happen*, but rather, what *is not going to take place*. Reason, which creates the boundary and the separation, will dissolve:

> When a person eats *eboga*, he spends a brief period in the world of the spirits that have escaped evil. There are no sexual relations any more, no men or women, neither Whites nor Blacks. . . . He can see the past, the present and the future. . . . There is no distinction between Blacks and Whites: this difference is a state of affairs that is overcome and that disappears after death.[59]

The Whites used to call the members of small, non-Western societies 'savages', a word derived from the Latin *silvaticus*, 'of the forest' or 'wild'. There is a certain irony here, for they indeed still had *knowledge* of their 'wilderness'. To these people, the Whites appear as humans who blow up the 'island *of the tonal*' by over-extending it. Put differently, they see them as people who are convinced that within the fence civilization can compre-

hend itself in and of itself, and who beyond this also believe that they are able to understand the world all the better, the more they advance their fence into the wilderness. They appear to be humans who cannot *live* because they have forgotten death. 'The French,' an old Kabyl said, 'behave as if they would never die.'[60] The Indian also speaks of those who 'conduct their lives as if death could never touch them.'[61]

Death, however, is not an experience, but the *boundary* of all experience.[62] One can only live consciously when being conscious of life's limits. A man could not become a true knight until he had lived in the wilderness. Only a person who had seen his 'animal part', who had 'died', could consciously live in culture.[63] Among the !Kung Bushmen, the healer[64] is a man who can endure the 'pain' of 'having looked death in the eye'. Among the Iglulik Eskimos, it is the precondition for becoming a shaman to be willing to see oneself 'as a skeleton'.[65] 'Your death will tell you that you are not right, and that nothing counts except its touch. Your death will tell you, "I have not touched you yet." '[66]

'The *nagual,*' says the Indian, 'is the unspeakable.'[67] He repeats an insight characteristic of all mystics, namely that that which is 'mystic' cannot be stated, rather it *shows* itself.

In one of his letters, Wittgenstein wrote, 'I believe that in my book, I have stated what many people blather about, by remaining silent about it.'[68] And another mystic, Seuse, says, 'There is no there, either; if one speaks about it, one makes a mockery of it.'

But, you might ask, does not *this* talking about the *nagual,* do not these *words* about the unspeakable take us down the road to absurdity?[69] Does not the Indian do exactly what he says one cannot do, namely establishing the *nagual* on the island of the *tonal*?

We might answer that words such as *nagual, fylgja* and *chargi* are not terms that refer to anything that can be experienced. Instead, they make clear that the experience of objects, *m'ma sa nankyen,* as the Temne say, is an *experience* of objects. And this, however, is not an *experience* we can have. 'Experiencing that experience has a boundary'; this sentence would make sense only if things could be experienced as being limitless. But if experience also dissolves in that which 'has no limits', in the *nagual,* then no one exists who could experience anything, or even the absence of anything.

If *nagual,* however, does not signify anything that can be experienced, is it then not a concept that makes no sense? Does it not resemble a screw that is not part of the mechanism because it does not turn anything?[70]

Let us make this clear: the *nagual* is not a screw in the mechanism. Yet it is not true that the word *nagual* does not turn anything. Or rather, without the *nagual, nothing* would be turning at all. Being conscious of the *nagual*

is at the same time being conscious *that* something is turning. In this sense only those people can be conscious of the 'island of the *tonal*', of their own 'mechanism', of their own culture, who become aware of the *nagual,* that is, their own boundary. In order to become aware of their own limits, in order to become *conscious of themselves,* the initiates go where they can hear the 'whispering' of the *nagual,* a whispering that is not of this world and yet is not outside of this world either.

In other words, the 'island of the *tonal*' lies within the shadows of the demons. It has been 'demonized', and the 'insane' are among the few who are conscious of that in our culture. Of course, demons are not ordinary objects of experience. We do not *meet* them in everyday life. Despite all the refinements he has introduced into 'everyday seeing', the scientist will look for them in vain. The more he searches for them, the farther he gets away from them.

In order to become aware of demons the scientist would himself have to be 'demonized', he would have to venture to the boundaries of the 'island of the *tonal*', instead of cramming himself with the 'knowledge' of the *tonal.* He would have to grow wings, which he actually could do, for also he *is* what he *is not.* Also he could be *eigi einhamr,* as the Teutons used to say, whose 'scientist' Odin was wise and knew how to fly.

Archaic humans were still fully aware of all of this. They knew that a conscious 'experiencing of things', a conscious life on the island, was possible only by *dissolving* experience.

Mind-altering plants were occasionally employed to achieve this goal. They contributed to the weakening of the foundations of society. 'Power plants shake the *tonal* and threaten the solidity of the whole island.'[71] But they are neither a necessary, nor even a sufficient, precondition for hearing the 'whispering of the *nagual*':

GLENDOWER: I can call the spirits from the vasty deep.

HOTSPUR: Why, so can I, or so can any man; but will they come when you do call for them?

In order to accomplish this 'shaking', the Fang take the drug *Tabernanthe eboga.*[72] Many societies of South America, as mentioned before, use a vine, *Banisteriopsis caapi* or *yajé.* During the *oyne* celebration of the Cubeo, the boundaries are literally torn down. They drink *yajé,* then demolish the walls within the communal house and engage in unrestrained sexual intercourse.[73]

During initiation on a small Melanesian island, the grown men lie down on their stomachs and proffer their behinds to the initiates. Not so long ago, the Melanesian initiates were obligated to perform fellatio, a custom which has now been abolished. Similar rites are reported of certain feasts of

Artemis involving male dancers who offered themselves to the women in this way.

Such a ritual is not only an expression for the initiates having abandoned the 'world of woman' and becoming members of the 'world of men'.[74] It also signifies the dissolution of the separation between male and female modes of behaviour.

When the Tolai on New Brittany were initiated, they commited sodomy. Ordinary time had stopped and all norms were voided. The young men were now in *momboto,* the 'dreamtime', where humans behave 'like wild animals', and men sleep with their sisters.[75]

With the help of hallucinogenic mushrooms called *nonda,*[76] the Kuma of the New Guinea highlands similarly suspend the order of culture. Under ordinary circumstances, the aggression of the men is directed against anyone who is not a member of the same clan. But during this purgatory, their fury is discharged against their own group. Up and down are reversed. Women engage in activities ordinarily prohibited to them, such as dancing, and young girls take the initiative in love-making.[77]

7

The Upside-down World or 'Pot in Every Chicken'

Fair is foul and foul is fair.
(W. Shakespeare, *Macbeth*)

The Roman orator Dion Chrysostomus relates that during the days of the Persian *Sakaia* a condemned criminal was allowed to rule. Not only was the harem of the ruler thrown open for his pleasure, but he was also allowed to give orders, to get drunk and everyone had to fulfil his heart's desire. But after the festival, they tore his clothes off, savagely scourged and then crucified him, as was to happen later to the man with the crown of thorns whom they mockingly called the 'king of the Jews'.[1]

Over and over again we encounter the custom of reversing the circumstances of life during the 'time between the times', and it seems that this reversal of the ordinary is a way of showing that which is 'outside', that which is 'entirely different', a representation of the *nagual* within the boundaries of the 'island of the *tonal*',[2] similar to the paradoxes of the Zen Buddhists or of the mystics of the West from Plotinus to Wittgenstein.

The Peruvian wildcat demon is described as an 'inhabitant of two worlds'. Either it walks upright and has no plumes, or in a reversal, it is plumed and painted with reversed colours.[3] During ceremonies of initiation into adulthood among the Wemale of the Moluccas or the African Bembas the girls crawl backwards, in the latter case through a 'birth canal',[4] which simultaneously also means a return to the origins. This corresponds to the notion that the connections between the worlds are often stood 'on their head'. The Teutonic tree of the world, climbed by the *völva*, the female magician in the *Voluspá*, is not an everyday tree as seen from the perspective of ordinary reality. The magician climbs *down* to its crown and over nine steps successively reaches nine distinct worlds.[5]

Quite possibly the upside-down crucifixion said to have been demanded by Peter, was within the tradition of the inverted cross tree. Peter wanted

to represent the first human, the way he was before Lucifer, at his fall from grace, reversed the order of things. On the cross, Peter supposedly said: 'This is what the Lord said secretly: if you do not choose what is right, turning the top so it will be the bottom, you will not enter into the kingdom of heaven.'[6]

The *Book of Leccan,* written late in the Middle Ages, tells of a miraculous tree having nine branches, the bottom part of which is above the firmament and its crown roots in the earth.[7] And in the early thirteenth century an angel guided Hadewych, a female mystic from Brabant, to a meadow where she saw a tree with its top pointing downward and its roots up, and the angel said to her: 'Mistress, you who will climb this tree from beginning to end, up to its deepest root, understand that this is the path of the start toward the duration of what is completed.'[8]

There are people whose task it is to represent, as it were, the *nagual* on the island of the *tonal.* Everywhere and at all times, they break the order, presenting to their society its *other* face. The *hohnŭhk'e* warrior of the Cheyenne would say 'no' when he meant 'yes', and 'yes' when he meant 'no'. If he was sent away, he came nearer, and if he was asked to walk on foot, he mounted a horse. Usually, such a 'contrary' kept to himself, squatting on a lonely hill on the boundary between civilization and wilderness.

The Cheyenne also had a 'contrary society'. With their bare hands its members picked scraps of meat from the boiling broth. The covering of their lodge was inside out, the lodge-poles on the outside, and the smoke-hole was turned the wrong way.[9]

During the 'midwinter ceremonies' of the Spokane, all persons endowed with 'blue jay power' progressively lost their human characteristics. They tore their clothes off, changed into blue jays and danced around with irregular steps characteristic of these birds. Sometimes one could observe such 'were-blue jays' sleeping in the branches of large trees or hopping from branch to branch. Toward the end of the feast, they had to be caught and changed back to humans. If they could not be seized and over-powered, they had to continue living in the wilderness as 'blue jays'.[10]

The members of the medieval French order of the *Galois et Galoises* resembled the *hohnŭhk'e.* In the summer, they wore heavy fur coats and lit fires in their fireplaces. During the crisp cold of winter, they would forgo muffs, coats and gloves.[11]

During their journey to the origins, their pilgrimage to *Wirikúta,* mentioned before, the peyoteros of the Huichol Indians reverse their normal behaviour. Old men become children; beautiful, happy words are used to speak of sad and ugly things; and instead of thank you, they say 'please'.[12] At the origins, all is the same, everything is simultaneously also its opposite, and thus one.

When for the Kamayura on the Rio Xingú a *payé* or shaman dies, he begins to live in the other world. When it is night here, it is daytime there. When the moon darkens, it becomes 'sick' for us, but it 'recovers' and shines in the beyond. This is the moment, the great time of changes and rapture. Humans are in danger of being translated to the other world, and the *mamaé,* 'those of the other side', the helping spirits of the shamans, come over from 'outside' and swarm across our world.

At one time, or better yet, in the origins, the two worlds were or are one. Humans danced and sang with the *mamaé* and had joyous intercourse with wild animals and the trees of the primeval forest.[13] This side and the beyond are fundamentally the same. The death of the enraptured ones, of the shamans is at the same time also their life. Death and life are one.

This place of origin 'opens up' or 'shows itself' at the intersection of the times, at the spot where in ancient China *yin,* the female principle, whose time is winter, and *yang,* the male principle of summer, intersect as they exit and enter. Men and women meet at that sacred spot[14] where there is neither *yin* nor *yang,* both existing simultaneously instead.

Life and death are the same. For the Ashanti, the birth of a child in this world means also the death of a 'spirit child' of a 'spirit mother' in the other one. During the puberty rites the old women are happy, but also mournful. For a spirit child dies when a young girl is reborn as a woman, who at first cannot walk and is called *akoda,* 'small child'.[15]

Contrasts dissolve at the point of origin. The initiate experiences how unique things, which had appeared to him as *distinct* when he was not initiated yet, are one in reality, that is, in the origin.[16]

He does not, however, learn about this as we would at a philosophy seminar in the university. He experiences it himself, with his own body. During initiation, the tongue of the Piaroa men in the Venezuelan rain forest is pierced to be like that of the peccari, and the silver lip ornament, which they will now wear, corresponds to the bristles on the lower jaw of that animal.[17] The Thonga break their upper incisors so that they and their cattle are alike.[18] And the Fali in northern Cameroon file their teeth during initiation, so they resemble the crocodile, or they pierce their ears, lips and nostrils, until they look like the toad or the turtle.[19] Some investigators assume that Australian aborigines submit to subincision because the oppossum, the kangaroo, the koala, the wombat and other animals have a 'slit' penis.[20]

The initiate also experiences on the level of his body that 'this here', something that to the non-initiated seems to be distinct, is one with itself in the origin. In a much-quoted incident, an Australian aborigine was shown a photograph of himself, made by an anthropologist. 'That one,' he said pointing to it, 'is just the same as me; so is a kangaroo.'[21]

Within the perspective of the origin, *ngarungani,* the 'dreamtime',

differences dissolve: 'In *ngarungani* there were no blackfellow, but kangaroo, goanna, bird bin walk like blackfellow. Him all the same blackfellow. After him bin turn into kangaroo, goanna, bird.'[22]

Archaic mentality, as we noted, is characterized by a belief that humans can gain a clear *consciousness of themselves* by confronting what a person *is* and simultaneously *is not*. Much more clearly than we moderns, archaic humans recognized themselves in what they were *not*. 'Being yourself and simultaneously not being yourself' can only mean expunging the boundary separating humans from kangaroos, human nature from kangaroo nature, a boundary, that is, about which the Fang say, 'It is overcome and it disappears after death', even if that death is only the 'small death', the death of initiation.

To know *what it is like,* what it *means* for us to be ourselves,[23] that is, to be oneself and also *not* to be oneself, that means, using a popular term, to be alienated.

Somebody might ask what it means to be 'outside' of ourselves. If we are *not* ourselves, are *we* then not ourselves? Does that not reduce itself to semantic nonsense, 'semantic' because after all, we are *we,* and that is not an 'empirical insight', but at most a shorthand version of an explication of meaning or, as Wittgenstein would have it, a 'grammatical remark'? Does the statement 'to be another' make any sense at all? Would the other one then not be the other one and not ourselves?[24]

We might say that a sentence such as 'I was somebody else' made sense only if, for example, we had become aware of aspects of ourselves that had been hidden previously. What we had been before would become significant for us on the condition that we underwent an experience contrary in nature. This is probably what philosophers mean when they speak of experiencing what is different as being the prerequisite for a consciousness of the self in the sense of *experiencing* oneself. You might say that we do not recognize our 'day face' until we open our 'night-time eyes'. Those 'eyes of the night', *masse padiena* possessed by the Badyaranké witches (*ngontunne*) in the Senegal, which are usually invisible to humans, open at initiation.[25] The person that steps across the fence is the only one to learn of the meaning of things within the fence, or in the words of T. S. Eliot:

> We shall not cease from exploration
> And the end of all our exploring
> Will be to arrive where we started
> And know the place for the first time.

However, as soon as the boundary dissolves between our world and the 'world of the kangaroo', no cognition will expect us over there. Knowledge awaits the one who *returns* from the wilderness.

'God does not know what he is, because he is not anything', Dionysus Areopagita says. And when the knight of the *Siebente Siegel* ('Seventh Seal') asks Death after being defeated in a chess game, whether he would now reveal his secrets to him, Death answers, 'I have no secrets. I am ignorant.'

Alice in Wonderland puts her hand on her head to answer the question how tall she is. She obviously provides no information about her size. She is like the man who answers 'I' when asked about his identity, and who does not actually tell us anything about himself either. Similarly, what philosophers of old used to call 'absolute knowledge' is, in fact, no knowledge at all. The *nagual,* the Indian says, is not an object of experience. Perceptive ethnologists such as Radin or Werner Müller do not cease to emphasize that concepts such as *mana, orenda* or *wakan* must not be understood as if they stood for something 'quasi objective'.[26]

It is probably misleading therefore, to say that archaic humans experienced chaos 'between the times'.[27] It would be better to maintain that they went through the dissolution of order and thus they experienced order.

In this elementary sense we moderns are much more ignorant about ourselves and about our limitations than humans were earlier. The reason is that we tend to think that we can live consciously, without paying the price of the 'little death'. Many Indians call that consciousness by a word that is generally translated to mean 'power'. The Whites possess a lot, perhaps everything. The Menomini say, 'Everything. Everything – except for *meskowesan,* "power".'[28]

My skin was white, they licked me to see if it would come off, and they laughted that in its strangeness, it stayed on. Again and again, their hands stroked my chest, my abdomen, my penis. With gentle fingers, they touched my nose, my eyes, my hair and stuck their nose into my umbilical. They kept repeating the word, *habe, habe.* It took a long time before I learned that it meant, 'an ignorant one'.[29]

8

A Midsummernight's Dream?

ORPHÉE: Il ne fait pas de vent. Pourquoi avez-vous l'air d'avancer contre le vent?
HEURTEBISE: Pourquoi . . . Toujours pourquoi. Ne me posez plus de questions, marchez![1]

ORPHÉE: *There is no wind. Why do you look as if you wanted to take off against the wind?*
HEURTEBISE: *Why . . . always why? Don't ask me any more questions, just go!*

'But –,' said Bilbo.
'No time for it,' said the wizard.
'But –,' said Bilbo again.
'No time for that either! Off you go!'

(Tolkien)

At the beginning of the modern era, a strange plant seems to have reached Europe from two different directions at once, a plant stinking, poisonous, but with lovely white flowers,[2] called the thorn apple (plate 16). In 1417, during the reign of Emperor Sigismund, gypsies coming from Hungary entered Germany for the first time.[3] Their sorceresses used the seeds of this plant during fortune-telling.[4] A hundred years later, travellers from New Spain[5] also brought the thorn apple and it was planted as an ornamental shrub in botanical gardens, from where it soon spread to become a weed.

Although the specialized literature gives a different impression,[6] this is the reason why the thorn apple could not have played a role in the 'witch's salves' of the late Middle Ages.[7] It was not important anyhow, since henbane and belladonna[8] were available as comparable 'flight plants'.[9]

Since ancient times, however, it seems that the thorn apple was used by Indians to facilitate the encountering of spirits, the transformation into animals, the casting of spells on others or to sharpen the understanding of



Plate 16 Thorn apple from Baron von Hohberg's book on flower gardens and the growing of medicinal plants.

the essence of things. Still, where the thorn apple continues in use nowadays, it is thought of as threatening to body and soul,[10] even though perhaps no longer as the weed of evil spirits and witches.

When anthropologists working among the Huichol attempted to talk to them about the thorn apple, they encountered considerable resistance. The Indians pretended they had never heard of the plant.[11] It was not until a year into their fieldwork that a shaman,[12] the *mara'akáme* Ramón Medina Silva admitted that although the Huichol had no thorn-apple cult, it was rumoured that some people, witches, did their evil deeds with the weed. Apparently, the thorn-apple witch *Kiéri Téwiyári* was stubbornly intent on wooing the Indians away from their 'hallucinogenic' peyote cactus and on getting them to take thorn apple (*kiéri*) instead. 'There is madness in him,' the shaman said. Then he continued reporting about this sorcerer:

Many people are that way, they learn from him. They follow his trail. They become dizzy and their throats become constricted. They become intoxicated and stumble over their own feet. They writhe and fall on the ground. *Kiéri Téwiyári* sings over

them. He uses his arrow,[13] he blinds them. He says, 'I am the *mara'akáme,* follow me'. In this way, he asserts his influence over them. He makes them roll on the ground. They are gripped by the desire to climb on high rocks, to fly, to jump deep, deep into the chasms, as though they knew how to fly. They believe that they can fly, those people. They learn from him, and they become witches.[14]

At one time, the Luiseño Indians of California also used the thorn apple (*naktamush*) at their initiations, especially in order to turn into all sorts of birds, crows, owls and hawks, and to understand their language.[15] For the Huichol too, *kiéri* is connected with flying.

Then the chief, he himself, that chief of the witches, that tree of the wind, he takes them himself out with him, and they remain out there, for five, six or seven days, and they eat out there in the Sierra all by themselves. They are there entirely alone



Plate 17 Kiéri Téwiyári *entices an Indian woman to become a witch. Yarn picture made by Huichol Indians*

in the solitude, and sometimes, when they climb the rock, as he tells them to do, when they are just about to jump from that enormous rock into the horrible abyss, into the *barrancas,* because they believe that they have wings and that they can fly, then this person takes that something away from them. He makes it disappear, they say. But only for a brief while. For two or three minutes he takes it away, this madness. Then they start thinking and they ask, 'Where am I? Oh, where am I? Oh, far, far, very far away! Father, Grandfather,[16] look, how far! What am I doing out here?' But then they lose themselves again, for that tree, that tree of the wind, will not let them go[17] (plate 17).

Kiéri Téwiyári, the 'thorn-apple sorcerer', deludes some of the Indians whom he lures onto a rock in the wilderness. But when they are about to jump to their death, he holds them back and begins to train them to become witches.[18]

It seems though that in earlier times the Huichol did not consider the thorn apple to be merely a witch's weed that confused the senses. It was apparently not demoted until it was displaced by Sacred Stag Older Brother *Káuyúmarie*[19] (plate 18). He brought *híkuri,* the peyote cactus to the Indians, another psychedelic, which makes it possible for the Huichol to arrive at the fissure separating the worlds from each other, at the tree of the world. And just like the thorn-apple witches, the shamans leap among the high rocks and 'fly' over steep crevasses (plate 19), so that the watching anthropologists feel their hearts stop.

Some anthropologists do manage to reach the chasm too. Barbara Myerhoff, given *híkuri* by Ramón, the shaman mentioned before, records how, soon after ingesting the cactus, she found herself: 'impaled on an enormous tree with its roots buried far below the earth and its branches rising beyond sight, towards the sky. This was the Tree of Life, the *axis mundi* or world pole which penetrates the layers of the cosmos, connecting earth with underworld and heaven, on which shamans ascend in their magical flights.'[20] Suddenly the anthropologist saw:

> . . . a tiny speck of brilliant red fiitting about a forest darkness. The speck grew as it neared. It was a vibrant bird who, an insouciant flicker, landed on a rock. it was Ramón as psychopomp, as Papageno – half-man, magic bird, bubbling with excitement. He led me to the next episode which presented an oracular, gnomelike creature, of macabre stickiness. I asked it *the question,* the one that had not been out of my mind for months. 'What do the myths *mean*?' He offered his reply in slimy tones, melting with a deadly portentousness that mocked my seriousness. 'The myths signify – nothing. They mean *themselves.*'[21]

About the same time that Barbara Myerhoff achieved her experience with the help of what might be called the 'official' peyote cactus and under the guidance of an equally 'official' *mara'akáme,* Carlos Castaneda, another

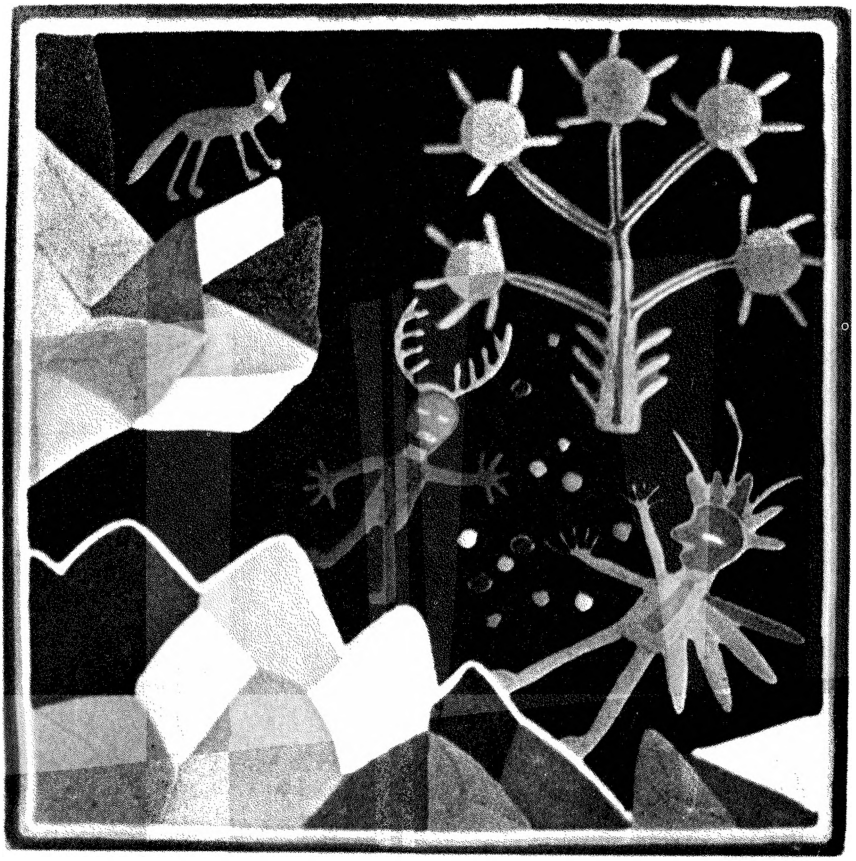


Plate 18 Thorn-apple sorcerer Kiéri Téwiyári *and peyote shaman* Káuyúmarie. *Yarn picture made by Huichol Indians.*

anthropologist, Peruvian according to *Time Magazine,* supposedly also encountered a sorcerer (*brujo*), purporting to be a Yaqui, but one of those who still used the thorn apple.

In the past, Yaquis are said to have known both men and women, called 'ritual specialists' by anthropologists, but branded as witches, *brujos* or *brujas* by the Jesuits, who in solitude more than in public rituals took up contact with the spirits.

Like the 'thorn-apple witches' of the Huichol in the narration of the *mara'akáme,* these Yaqui witches went out into the lonely sierra to get to know their guardian spirits in the shape of coyotes, mountain sheep, snakes and other wild animals.[22]



Plate 19 Huichol shaman ready to jump across crevasse.

It is difficult to judge just how authentic Castaneda's reports are. At any rate, there is no justification for rejecting out of hand the claim that Don Juan was an Indian and that he was within the tradition of such sorcerers,[23] as is increasingly done these days, although he was possibly not a Yaqui *brujo*.[24]

Castaneda rubbed his body with a thorn-apple variety, *Datura meteloides* or devil's weed; demonologists called it the same in the late Renaissance, 'herbe du diable' or 'erba dal diavolo'. He records the following about what happened to him.

Don Juan kept staring at me. I took a step toward him. My legs were rubbery and long, extremely long. I took another step. My knee joints felt springy, like a vault pole; they shook and vibrated and contracted elastically. I moved forward. The motion of my body was slow and shaky; it was more like a tremor forward and up. I looked down and saw Don Juan sitting below me, way below me. The momentum carried me forward one more step, which was even more elastic and longer than the preceding one. And from there I soared. I remember coming down once; then I pushed up with both feet, sprang backward and glided on my back. I saw the dark sky above me, and the clouds going by me. I jerked my body so I could look down. I saw the dark mass of the mountains. My speed was extraordinary. My arms were fixed, folded against my sides. My head was the directional unit. If I

kept it bent backward I made vertical circles. I changed directions by turning my head to the side. I enjoyed such freedom and swiftness as I had never known before. The marvellous darkness gave me a feeling of sadness, of longing, perhaps. It was as if I had found a place where I belonged – the darkness of the night. I tried to look around but all I sensed was that the night was serene, and yet it held so much power. Suddenly I knew it was time to come down; it was as if I had been given an order I had to obey. And I began descending like a feather with lateral motions.[25]

Until the beginning of the Renaissance, as I mentioned earlier, 'women travelling by night', sometimes called *strigas* by the magicians, rubbed themselves with 'witch's salves' and soon flew over hill and dale.

A scientist who during Walpurgis Night went to the solitude of the forest and, after rubbing his naked body with such a salve – surely prepared from some nightshade – lay down in an old rowing boat, had an even more turbulent experience than the anthropologist:

The body that I had left behind lay in the boat as if dead. I myself, my astral body or whatever you want to call it, started floating. A thought or a wish was sufficient to take me wherever I wanted to go. All movement was accompanied by euphoric feelings of pleasure. I wished myself to the nearest tree – and there I was. When I grabbed the trunk of the tree, it remained in my hand, or rather, it went through my hand. Then I floated through the tree trunk, or perhaps I should say: The tree went through me while I moved forward. I now realized that I could wish myself to whatever place I pleased, and so I wished myself to the nearest Walpurgis-Night orgy. Instantly I was there.

The picture that presented itself to me was indescribable. Naked women of unspeakable beauty floated about. Were they fairies, goddesses, demonesses? I don't know.

I joined the dance, wished myself to the naked fairy that seemed the most gorgeous to me. Her sensuous charm surpassed description – and I united with her . . .[26]

Finally, an American anthropologist reports about his transformation into a wild animal:

At about this same instant I found myself before a full-length mirror and, looking into it, was confronted by a huge, magnificent specimen of a tiger! Simultaneously, I think, with my perception of this image, I became aware of my tiger's body . . . I was *in* this body, and *felt* this body as I never have been in or felt my own. Yet even with what seemed my complete immersion in my tigerness, I did retain some infinitesimal human awareness.[27]

A few hours later, having turned back into a human, he wrote on a piece of paper, 'Would I have appeared to an observer to resemble in any way a tiger? Somehow I think the answer to that is "Yes". But probably, I now

feel obliged to add, I would only have looked like a silly anthropologist, "out of his skull" on hallucinogens, foolishly crawling around on the floor and making idiotic noises.'[28]

The questions that posed themselves to these scientists immediately after their experience, leaving them somewhat embarrassed have, as we saw, a venerable tradition. They are questions as disquieting to many mystics of the Middle Ages as to the magicians and demonologists of the Renaissance: did they actually fly or become transformed, or did they merely hallucinate under the effect of the devil's weed or some other drug? Did they possibly experience something that our ordinary or our scientific language was unsuited to describe?[29]

Are we forced to say in this instance, in analogy with Wittgenstein's dictum, 'And if a lion spoke, we could not understand him': If a witch turned into a crow and flew, we would not be able to see it?

Concepts such as 'speaking lions' or 'flying crows' would then have to be considered as isolated elements, not embedded in a form of life that would impart sense to them.

A statement such as 'I changed into a jaguar', would once again resemble Wittgenstein's screw, which turns without moving any part of the mechanism to which it is attached. At most, we might acquire some illusion of a meaning, for we would not be able to comprehend how such sentences might be used in a strange form of life, what sort of 'work' they perform there, in other words, what difference it makes whether such sentences are uttered or not.[30]

The way such statements are simply presented or expressed, they would at any rate still be otiose, comparable to some propositions of metaphysical or theological speculation, or they might correspond to imagery from Walt Disney's world where, at least seen with adult eyes, witches fly like hawks.[31]

Hollywood fantasies of this sort are quite popular with a number of anthropologists. They may have contributed considerably to ethnographers appearing to 'savages' as remarkably primitive people seriously lacking in any sort of sensitivity.[32] The Sanema Indians told the anthropologist Johannes Wilbert that their shamans could fly, or at least walk one foot above the ground. Naively, the scientist answered that after all, he could *see* that the shamans ran around just like anybody else. Whereupon the Indians countered, 'The reason for that is that you do not *understand*.'[33] And, similarly, a Washo Indian told another anthropologist, 'You have no idea what it is I am talking about, and the same is true of everyone who is going to read that thing that you are just writing.'[34]

Put differently, one might say that the Indians knew that the ethnographer had not the faintest notion what the word 'flying' meant in

shamanistic context, because he presupposed that one could only fly like a bird or like a PanAm pilot.

A dialogue between Castaneda and the *brujo* may make the point clear, although the anthropologist comes through as so lacking in understanding that we cannot help but suspect that Castaneda doctored the conversation in view of the ignorance he had to presuppose in his readers.

There was a question I wanted to ask him. I knew he was going to evade it, so I waited for him to mention the subject; I waited all day. Finally, before I left that evening, I had to ask him, 'Did I really fly, don Juan?'

'That is what you told me. Didn't you?'

'I know, don Juan. I mean, did my body fly? Did I take off like a bird?'

'You always ask me questions I cannot answer. You flew. That is what the second portion of the devil's weed is for. As you take more of it, you will learn how to fly perfectly. It is not a simple matter. A man flies with the help of the second portion of the devil's weed. That is all I can tell you. What you want to know makes no sense. Birds fly like birds and a man who has taken the devil's weed flies as such [*el enyerbado vuela así*].'

'As birds do?' [*¿Así como los pajaros?*]

'No, he flies as a man who has taken the weed.' [*No, así como los enyerbados*].

'Then I really didn't fly, don Juan. I flew in my imagination, in my mind alone. Where was my body?'

'In the bushes,' he replied cuttingly, but immediately broke into laughter again. 'The trouble with you is that you understand things in only one way. You don't think a man flies; and yet a *brujo* can move a thousand miles in one second to see what is going on. He can deliver a blow to his enemies long distances away. So does he or doesn't he fly?'

'You see, don Juan, you and I are differently oriented. Suppose, for the sake of argument, one of my fellow students had been here with me when I took the devil's weed. Would he have been able to see my flying?'

'There you go again with your questions about what would happen if. . . . It is useless to talk that way. If your friend, or anybody else, takes the second portion of the weed all he can do is fly. Now, if he had simply watched you, he might have seen you flying, or he might not. That depends on the man.'

'But what I mean, don Juan, is that if you and I look at a bird and see it fly, we agree that it is flying. But if two of my friends had seen me flying as I did last night, would they have agreed that I was flying?'

'Well, they might have. You agree that birds fly because you have seen them flying. Flying is a common thing with birds. But you will not agree on other things birds do, because you have never seen birds doing them. If your friends knew about men flying with the devil's weed, then they would agree.'

'Let's put it another way, don Juan. What I meant to say is that if I had tied myself to a rock with a heavy chain would I have flown just the same, because my body had nothing to do with my flying?'

Don Juan looked at me incredulously. 'If you tie yourself to a rock,' he said, 'I'm afraid you will have to fly holding the rock with its heavy chain.'[35]

The problem for the anthropologist is that he does not know how to interpret his experience. On the one hand, at least according to the Indian's interpretation, it seems clear that he did not fly the way birds do, but rather *así como los enyerbados,* the way someone flies who has rubbed thorn apple into his body.[36]

For according to the testimony of the Indian, Castaneda's body had lain in the bushes the same as the bodies of Nyder's 'night traveller' had been under the tub, or that of Porta's *striga* in the chamber, where this magician 'had clearly seen her'.[37]

However, if the body of a *brujo* lies 'in the bushes', how is it then possible that the same sorcerer can cover a thousand miles at enormous speeds, that an anthropologist has sexual intercourse with a fairy[38] or that the sorceresses fly through the forests by night with Diana and her women?

Or to put it differently, disregarding here all those *empirical* questions that could perhaps be answered by parapsychologists, are we actually able to understand *what it means* that a sorcerer covers a thousand miles although his body does not move?[39] For we might argue that after all, humans are not beings consisting of two 'entities', body and soul, normally connected with each other, but under certain very special circumstances able to separate, as traditional metaphysics could still suggest. We do not possess a body and a spirit, we are beings that laugh, think, write books and possibly can also fly. There is no consciousness 'sitting' inside of us, capable of leaving a 'physical shell'; rather, we *are* conscious beings.[40]

Anyone who thinks that he can imagine his spirit or his soul separating from his body[41] should also be in a position to imagine what it *meant* if the form of a flower separated from the flower or the smile of the Cheshire cat from the cat.[42]

Would it then not be reasonable to assume that a sorcerer only *imagined* that he flew or that he hallucinated it? Not because humans are not birds, but because it would be *nonsense* to suppose that only his soul or his spirit flew? A philosopher such as Wittgenstein might not have contradicted a person who maintained that he had flown a thousand miles, possibly with the argument that souls could not fly. He might instead have challenged him by saying, 'You have not demonstrated to me as yet how you *used* that sentence.'

They say that the soul *leaves* the body. However, in order to strip the soul of everything that might be corporeal so that no one will go about imagining that it might possibly be gaseous, they say the soul is noncorporeal, nonspatial; but by

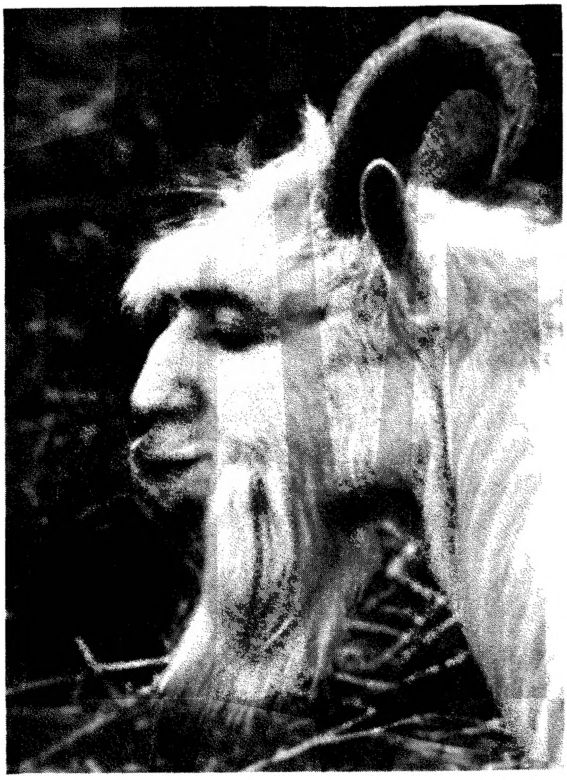


Plate 20 Were-goat. Photocollage by Janet Belden.

using the word 'leaves' you have already said everything. Show me how you use the word 'spiritual', and I will see whether the soul is 'uncorporeal', and what you mean by 'spirit'.[43]

What then *could* a statement such as, 'I flew with the help of thorn apples' actually mean? I believe we can only attribute a meaning to such a sentence if we change our manner of looking at things, or to use a term now in fashion, we alter our presently accepted 'paradigm'.

Let us recall from chapter 6 how a statement such as, 'I changed into a werewolf' needs to be understood. A werewolf is not a human being who grows a wolf's skin, whose teeth turn into carnassials, and whose words come out as a howl. A were-goat is not a human whose head suddenly sprouts horns (plate 20), Or put more cogently: even if a werewolf were to wear such a skin and howled like a wolf,[44] those features should not be our principal concern.[45]

It would be much more to the point to say that werewolves are persons

who are able to *dissolve* 'within themselves' the boundary between civilization and wilderness, who can step across the fence separating their 'civilization side' from their 'wilderness side', their 'wolf's nature'. These are people who can look their 'animal nature' in the eye, something usually kept under lock and key in their culture, and in this way can develop a consciousness of their 'cultural nature'.[46]

We may have to admit then that our person contains within itself, significantly more than is admitted by our everyday culture.[47] Moreover, the impression arises that in archaic societies people, or at least some of them, are trained to let their ordinary nature 'empty out',[48] the way Indians put it, to bring about a 'lowering of the mental level' in the jargon of parapsychology;[49] in other words to surrender their boundaries.

Let us compare our nature to an iceberg. What is ordinarily visible is merely a small section of it, the part above the water. The entire iceberg is much bigger than the area that the sun shines on. We can catch a glimpse of its contours a few feet down, then they are lost in the blackness of the deep. If anyone wants to see more of it, he needs to change into a diving bird the way Siberian shamans do.[50]

That which we include in our personality will then expand to the same extent as we, our everyday person, surrender our more or less firm boundaries.[51] What takes place is the reverse process, as it were, of several personalities sharing *one* body.[52] The limits of our person now include matters we formerly saw as belonging to the 'outside' world. With lightning clarity we realize that these limits are not circumscribed by 5 ft 11 in and 150 lb.[53] Our soul does not *leave* our body, but the limits of our person no longer coincide with the boundaries of our body that we might see on a snapshot. 'The Whites don't catch anything when they take photographs,' an Arapaho medicine man remarked to the anthropologist, 'and therefore it is meaningless to photograph.'[54] It is not so much that we fly. What happens instead is that our ordinary 'ego boundaries' evaporate[55] and so it is entirely possible that *we* suddenly encounter ourselves at places where our 'everyday body', whose boundaries are no longer identical with our person, is *not* to be found.[56]

Such an expansion of our person can easily be described as 'flying'.[57] To do so will seem exotic only to those who hold that the meaning of every term we use is completely fixed[58] by the standard situation in which we learned it and in which we are accustomed to apply it. In this view any expanded application would have to designate an *entirely* new and totally *different* object.[59] Such a stance is the semantic equivalent of a world view that is intent on separating by a rigid demarcation line what has reliably been recognized, from that 'which is not real'. In this sense then the Indian tries to make clear to the anthropologist that *he,* Castaneda the person, is

not tied to the boundaries of his physical frame. It is not necessary that he believes that he could 'jump out' of his body. ' "Don't take that leap in the sense that you understand a leap," he said. "Once again, this is only a manner of speaking. As long as you think that you are a solid body you cannot conceive what I am talking about." '[60]

Other people may choose a different way to try to make understandable what they mean. They might, for example, *destroy* ordinary modes of expression by contradictory descriptions. This is a manner in which many mystics the world over love to proceed.

In the apocryphal *Acts of John*, written in the second century, there is an incident where during the crucifixion Jesus supposedly appears to John in a cave and says to him: 'John, for the crowd down there in Jerusalem, I am being crucified. But as for you, I am talking to you.' And he is then said to have added, 'I suffered none of what they will tell about me ... I was pierced, but I was not pierced, I was hung but not hung, blood flowed from my wound and it did not flow.'[61]

9

Fear of Flying

Item ma laufft nit mit den fussen auss der welt.

(Sebastian Franck)

Also, we won't leave the world on foot.

Das ist gleichwohl unglaubhaft, kann auch mit unserem Verstand nicht erfasst werden, zudem unsere Lehrer für gewöhnlich dem Text allein anhangen und das, was sie in ihren täglichen Büchern nicht finden, entweder nicht wissen oder dem doch keinen Glauben schenken.

(Froben Christoph von Zimmern)

That is unbelievable though, and our reason cannot grasp it, especially since our teachers usually cleave to their texts alone, and what they cannot find in their ordinary books, they either do not know or will not believe.

There are, of course, specialists who occupy themselves with these events and processes, and who are frequently even paid to do so. Not infrequently, such people are psychiatrists. Unfortunately, it happens many times that psychiatrists of this sort are people who equate the boundaries drawn by modern civilization between itself and the wilderness with a dividing line between reality and illusion.[1] As far as they are concerned, the reaches beyond that border are mere 'projections',[2] and the dissolution of the boundary indicates mental illness.

When faced with such cases, they speak of a 'lack of ability to distinguish between the two realities, that of the mind and that of the external world'.[3] Ethnopsychiatrists such as Devereux, who apparently receive their information about the *true* nature of reality from the physicists,[4] suspect that those who believe that the boundaries of reality do not coincide with 'the boundaries of the fence', merely react with panic to the muteness of matter, and furthermore that such people attach a meaning to

that which is 'outside' that it does not possess. In this they supposedly resemble the infant who during the absence of its mother 'hallucinates her satisfying answers that it has experienced earlier'.[5]

Other scientists dismiss the 'outside' even more summarily. They maintain that there is nothing beyond the limit, or at least whatever there is out there could not conceivably be of any value to the scientist:

> Methodologically speaking [we can see the countenance darkening and the brows knitting] one might add that it is nonsense to defend by theoretical argument that certain aspects of reality can not come into focus via strictly scientific observation and reasoning. For in science we need and can only deal with that which, within the framework of the scientific method, can be established and taken hold of. The rest – granted that such a rest exists – is simply irrelevant to the student.[6]

Whoever talks to animals and plants in the wilderness is hallucinating. In his anxiety about the silence of nature, he peoples the world with creatures that do not exist.

'The uncounted voices of nature,' says a Tuscarora Indian, 'that for the Whites are dumb, are full of life and power for us.'[7]

The ethnopsychiatrist sees things differently. To him, it is eminently clear that what the Tuscarora Indian is doing is simply assuaging his fear that possibly there might not exist any 'voices of nature', and he does this by 'animistic projection'.

However, it seems that it is Devereux who is motivated by anxiety more than the Indian. To Devereux, the shaman is a 'severely neurotic person or even a psychotic in the state of temporary remission'. He supports this proposition mainly by citing further assertions, for instance that shamans hallucinate and 'usually are infinitely less realistic than ordinary people'. He heartily approves of the 'entirely human resentment' that he thinks led to the burning of Joan of Arc at the stake, and he further states that priests are locked in perpetual battle with shamans.

'I *therefore* [my italics] maintain with Kroeber, Linton, and La Barre,' Devereux continues, 'that the shaman is psychically ill.' He then adds that this fact is denied only by those ethnologists, presumably also severely anxiety-ridden people, who 'at a time of the dissolution of norms seek refuge in cultural relativism'.[8]

Accordingly, what reality is like becomes evident *within* the culture, our own, that is, and principally in science,[9] at any rate always within the fence.

According to Devereux, however, with the posts of the fence becoming rotten, it is easy to break a few out. Some people, 'border-crossers of knowledge',[10] can use those to fly away into the wilderness.[11]

Devereux and other vocal enemies of 'cultural relativism' are afraid of

crossing over the fence. Knowledge of the rotten posts is tremendously threatening to them, as it once was to Descartes who dreaded the prospect that in the absence of 'determinacy', without a stout fence, the treacherous demons could slip through the cracks to infect the world of reason with the disease germs of an all-pervasive doubt.[12] It seems to me that these scientists aptly illustrate the consequences of a development where the 'inside' is separated from the 'outside' by an ever more rigid line of defence.

As we saw, however, the witch, a being with one foot in the wilderness and the other in civilization, was not deprived of her power when she was driven off the fence. Instead, she reappeared in the villages and the cities as an incomparably greater threat. Similarly, we can observe how security in the inner precincts did not increase by armour-plating subjectivity, and by progressively displacing the accent of reality[13] towards the inner ranges, which became more and more isolated from each other.

Descartes, while pursued by his 'treacherous demons', was convinced that in his own deepest recesses, in thinking alone, he could find the Archimedian point, the circle that demons could not cross, while leaving the 'outside' to the evil spirits. For Teresa of Avila not knowledge, but humility represented a terrain unassailable to demons.[14] And philosophy to this day is engaged in a never-ending defensive struggle against the demons that continue to crawl up from the depths of the soul.[15] Their allies, dubbed 'sceptics' or 'relativists', and in anthropology the 'cultural relativists', are outlawed by science.[16] For they are implicated in trying to throw open to the powers of the wilderness[17] the last bastion, the 'inside', thinking, 'rationality'.

> The trouble is: Are there ghosts, Piggy? . . .
> Course there aren't.
> Why not?
> 'Cos things wouldn't make sense. Houses an' streets, an' – TV – they wouldn't work.[18]

At a first glance, it seems somewhat paradoxical that this armour-plating process[19] should have been undertaken precisely in the epoch when humans ventured to break open their 'closed universe' and struck out toward foreign lands beyond their horizon. Bloch continues to emphasize that the daring ones of those times were innovators 'within the productive forces'.[20] Perhaps we should emphasize this: *within the productive forces.*

For just as humans penetrated into the forests to clear them and to degrade them progressively into 'resources',[21] the armoured conquerors also went beyond the horizon, because there was something they wanted, because strange lands promised them loot.

People do not exploit a nature that speaks to them.[22] But a nature that, as two famous nineteenth-century ethnocentrics expressed it, 'faced humans initially as an entirely foreign, all-powerful and unassailable might, towards which they behaved as animals, and which they allowed to lord it over them as if they were brutes';[23] such a nature has no language of its own any more, it is merely matter.

And finally, people do not exploit those they understand. But when out among strangers, there is a tendency towards barricading oneself in ones 'subjectivity' much more even than at home, and what is strange is alienated by blocking the avenues of trust.[24]

Later anthropologists were to consider *understanding* what was strange as an index for not dealing with anything authentically strange.[25] In the words of one of the founders of modern ethnology, the anthropologist should be forbidden any inner understanding of what was strange in his role as a guardian of the boundaries of reason:

> Tribes in the state of nature surrender passively to the all too overwhelming impressions of the external world. For them, hallucinations and illusions maintain a half-conscious oscillation between dreaming and waking as a normal condition. Their entire mental condition enables them to create supernatural agencies or to believe in these unconditionally, with an intensity and to an extent, to the direct understanding of which luckily our logical thinking has long ago destroyed the bridge, or at least should have done so.[26]

Devereux also knows of the existence of such a bridge, but as far as he and many of his colleagues are concerned, anyone crossing that bridge will plunge from reality into a world of illusion and deception.[27]

As we saw, the Indian sorcerer wanted to persuade the anthropologist to step on that bridge. The latter had had an experience[28] that he described as a flight through the evening sky over the Sierra. The Indian tried to persuade him to abandon the *dichotomy* according to which a person can fly only the way birds do or only imagines to have flown.[29]

What the sorcerer is concerned with is to demonstrate to the anthropologist that there is a range of reality which his armour-plated culture usually forbids him to enter, and even more importantly, to recognize as reality.

Obviously, to have taken the step itself could not be convincing to the scientist. For who or what would *guarantee* that this had been an actual reality and not an illusion? Did not his own culture provide him with the criteria he needed to dismiss his experience as pseudo-perception? Had he repeated the experience, would he then not have behaved as the man who, according to Wittgenstein, bought the second edition of the same newspaper in order to assure himself that what he had seen in the first edition corresponded to the truth?

The question one might want to ask is whether Castaneda's experience is *actually* reality? Or better, perhaps, what are the criteria, and where can they be found, which would make it possible to decide whether one perceived a normally closed range of reality or was merely the victim of a delusion of the senses? What will give us the confidence to maintain that a psychiatrist such as Devereux is wrong in his assertion that insanity is the only thing that lurks beyond the fence?

To speak with Wittgenstein, does not reality show itself *in* our form of life? Does not our form of life expressly instruct us that what awaits us on the other side is nothing but what we have in some way or another always known, and what science has long ago arranged in its proper categories?[30] And is it not, as specialists in epistemology tell us, a sign of 'gullibility'[31] if we think otherwise?

Or could it be that where the confrontation of the criteria of various forms of life ends, there would be no criteria at all that would allow an unequivocal answer to such a question?[32]

In fact, some philosophers have come to a conclusion of this nature. They propose that there is no '*neutral* way of testing'[33] what reality is, there is no such thing as an 'epistemological Switzerland', where a decision could be reached on whether the shamans or the psychiatrists are right.[34] An experience such as the shamanistic one could, they maintain, be interpreted either way, because the experience itself is 'of course, intrinsically neither'.

Put differently: if what is real necessarily *shows* itself *in* one form of life, and if applying a set of basic criteria to various forms of life, those forms cannot be considered together, if an experience such as Castaneda's *is* an experience of reality in one form of life, but in another one, it *is* a hallucination, then it follows that there is no neutral experience as such, *the experience itself* as it were, which could serve as an arbiter in the question of its own interpretation.[35] The experience itself would cancel itself out in the same way as the 'thing-in-itself' of transcendental philosophy does when we want to answer the question whether we can be sure that the objects of our experience actually are the way they are in themselves, in reality. Criteria would then oppose criteria, one form of life would be pitted against other life forms, and a decision could only be brought about by paying the price of dogmatism.

The structure of these arguments goes back far into the past and is always paraded about by philosophical scepticism.

Salomon Maimon, wrongly forgotten, attacked every 'transcendental deduction' of cognitive categories in this vein, arguing that it was only possible to formulate sufficient conditions, but never necessary ones of the 'categorical framework'.[36] Later, Ajdukiewicz in particular pointed out that what we experience could be described in many different and mutu-

ally exclusive ways, and that it was not possible on the basis of the experience itself to favour one description over another,[37] because every experience was, using a modern expression, 'underdetermined' by the experience.

During the latter period of classical antiquity, such arguments were used in the name of academic scepsis *against* the monopolistic claims of Christianity.[38] Subsequently, it was precisely the Christian theologians who used it in order to defend the monopoly of revelation against scientific insights, granting only the status of hypothesis to the latter, suited at most to serve as a basis for calculations.[39] The 'underdeterminacy' of experience by such hypotheses supposedly indicated more than anything else the gulf separating earthly knowledge from divine revelation.

I do not intend to argue against the point that there are experiences the essence of which is 'underdetermined' by the means placed at our disposal at a certain moment in everyday life, or that we may find ourselves in situations where the criteria of our form of life, acquired during our lifetime, will not serve us,[40] where the 'hermeneutic circle', as it were, will not close.[41] We will then have experiences that are bound to irritate any strict transcendental philosopher, because we *cannot* – in his view – possibly undergo them.[42]

As Austin pointed out some time ago, we may imagine 'borderline cases' of experience, such as those of Kafka's Gregor Samsa, where obviously our form of life does not supply any unequivocal criteria that would allow us to decide whether we are dealing with the same person or already with another one[43] (plate 21). Is personal identity determined more by memory than by physical continuity? What is the point at which the body has not materially changed but is in fact a different body?

If there is no way to choose between different answers, then there *is* nothing to choose.[44] The opinion of St Paul seems a bit too optimistic when, writing about his own ecstasy, he says, 'If he was in the body, I know nothing; if he was outside the body, I do not know it either; God knows it.'

Still, I think, there are a few things to be said in favour of the Lord, or at least, of the apostle. For we cannot be content with simply stating that the current criteria have failed us.

For one thing, no form of life is ever 'in good order', the way it happens to be constituted. And secondly, for that reason questions can always be posed in every form of life which cannot be answered by the means *recognized* at that particular time and offered by that form of life without allowing the conclusion that the questions do not make sense.[45]

The fact, for instance, that in a particular society people have only units of measurement that are tied to a particular practical base and possess no



Plate 21 Alice in Wonderland, *as portrayed by Walt Disney.*

conversion equations for these units, so that one cannot say that a yard is three feet long,[46] does *not* signify that the question concerning such equations is *meaningless,* just because until the present nobody asked the question. History shows repeatedly that at a particular point in time a change in social 'interest' not only produces such questions but also their answers. That a coconut can be bought with shell money and a chicken with dolphin teeth need not indicate that the question concerning the relative value of the two currencies is illegitimate,[47] as though there existed a sort of cultural grammar, *fixed* by the spirit of God, the rules of which are amenable only to a conceptual explication that 'leaves everything the way it is'.

Trying such a conceptual explication may actually be the work of a goblin, initially appearing quite innocuous to an 'ordinary language philosopher', allowing questions to be posed motivated only by *clarification,* questions that are felt to be entirely *reasonable.*[48] (The goblin, we should note, is not 'outside' – it is 'outside' and 'inside' simultaneously; it squats on the border and sees to it that the form of life does not congeal into a 'solid fortification'.)[49]

Or let us consider a different example, that of the geographic orientation

of the Alfurs on Ceram Island. Their settlements are built in such a way that the mountain ridge is between them and the sea. The interior of the island is uninhabited. The 'basic' cardinal direction, corresponding approximately to our south is *lowau* for the inhabitants of the village of Ahiolo, located in the southern part of the island. *Lowau* means 'towards the sea'. The opposing cardinal direction is *lodaja*; west is *lodi,* 'right of the cardinal direction', and east is *lokai,* 'to the left of it'.

Matters are exactly the opposite for the inhabitants of Waraloin, a settlement in Northern Ceram: *lowau* is north, *lodaja* south. *Lodi* and *lokai* remain unchanged in their reference to the 'basic' cardinal direction, so that the sun rises in *lodi* for the natives in the north, and in *lokai* for those in the south.[50]

According to the view of the island's inhabitants living in the north, the settlements on the southern coast do not face 'south' as, for them, 'south' is orientated 'towards the sea', but rather left and right along the same straight coast, so that they are actually not aware of living on an island. This geographic world view would collapse, of course, if the inhabitants of Waraloin would push land-inward in the direction of *lodaja,* crossed the forested mountain range and suddenly arrived in *Ahiolo,* which according to their conviction should be located east or west of them.

However, the interior of the island is the abode of ghosts and demons. It is easy to see that if anyone passed through the realm of the spirits and arrived on the south side of the island, he would be convinced that demons had carried him off.[51]

But is this to say that over time such experiences are to be denied a different 'positional value', that as a result of some future trip across the realm of the spirits the world view of the Alfurs *could* not change? Are we to maintain that their geography, anchored in their form of life, is 'all right the way it is', and therefore simply incommensurable with our Western geography, so that the description given above amounts to a Ryle-type 'category mistake'? Or would it not be much more natural and reasonable to say that the 'framework' within which the Alfurs describe their experience is not *fixed* but can be changed by experience?

It seems to be the weakness of all 'transcendental' philosophies, be it their 'ontological' or their 'linguistic' variant, strictly to separate the 'framework' or the condition for the experience from the experience itself.

However, understanding or *verstehen* does not involve a total *anamnesis,*[52] and present behaviour practised in a certain form of life does not completely determine any other possible knowledge. Or put differently: the questions that have meaning within a particular form of life are not *determined* by that way of life, but constitute themselves *elements of life* of that world view.

It seems a mistake on which extreme relativists and dogmatists of the 'transcendental' bent agree, to believe that such questions must derive from the 'outside' in the sense that they can be separate from the form of life, and to be convinced that the form of life is the framework in the strict sense of the word, *within* which all questions have to find their meaning.[53]

Dogmatists tend to hold, for instance, that it is not *we* who have reason, but that reason *has us,* or that we do not think the myths but that myths think themselves in us. Extreme relativists create the impression of standing in an empty space outside of their own form of life, and that their opinions are merely 'expressions' free of the hypotheses of traditions several thousands of years old. But even Laplace's demon, 'who for a given point in time were to know all the forces animating nature and the situation concerning the beings that compose it',[54] would still not be able to predict the future exactly, for he would not be able to include his own calculation in his calculation.[55] This shows that he is part of the boundary of the 'universe', which is simultaneously 'inside' and 'outside'.

It can therefore be misleading to compare a form of life too much with a 'framework', or with something that *determines* experience. For the 'framework' exists only as a result of experience, and these experiences are not *fixed* in any particular way. In this sense we may possibly posit that every experience is ahead of itself, and that theorists such as Thomas Kuhn are wrong in believing that questions concerning the truth can only be posed 'intratheoretically'.[56] And semanticists, who make the corresponding statements with regard to meaning, are equally wrong in maintaining that the question concerning the meaning of a concept or a sentence can never be posed except relative to certain 'analytic hypotheses'.

Much more than the likes of Kuhn or Quine, archaic humans were aware of the fact that questions concerning truth or meaning always transcended what could be experienced *within* a respective form of life or civilization.[57] *They* still knew that they were always also what they were not. They were not, as Werner Müller thinks, whole beings. But they still had an intact awareness of the *broken* whole, out of which they lived. And they were aware that this break was the condition for both sorrow and happiness and that the cognition of truth meant pain *and* joy.

A thesis of incommensurability, however, which settles truth and meaning *on this side* of the boundaries of a form of life, causes the respective ways of life to solidify into 'systems', which are only what they *are.*[58] Such theses are a hindrance to crossing the boundary, or if they encourage people to do so, they simultaneously signal, 'Leave *all* knowledge behind!' But those who cross the border of knowledge are neither of *this* nor of the *entirely different* world. They resemble the *hagazussa,* who sits on the fence separating the worlds.

At least we should now realize that the criteria we are looking for in order to be able to decide whether shamans are the victims of pseudo-perception or whether they perceive something real, are not *fixed* in some particular form of life, either in their own or in someone else's. These criteria are not 'pre-existent', as if all we needed were simply some 'conceptual archaeology', to dig them up.

On the other hand, to accuse the extreme relativists or 'theorists of incommensurability' of idealism because they dispute that reality could exist *outside* the form of life,[59] also misses the point. For these philosophers would then counter that a sentence such as, 'Reality *does* exist',[60] or as a traditional critic of idealism would formulate it, 'Reality *does* exist outside of our consciousness',[61] does not correspond to any experience available to us.

If we were to tell somebody that among other things this morning we also experienced that reality actually existed, the person we talked to would rightly be somewhat bemused, provided he was not a philosophy professor.[62]

We do, of course, experience that this or that object or person exists – stones, flowers, witches or philosophers – and, on occasion, we may even be astounded about it. But we do not ordinarily experience that something exists at all and that it does not fail to exist instead.

So if these philosophers maintain that all these things appear in only one particular form of life, then they do not intend to intimate that things are 'products' of our form of life, or that 'to be' can be *identified* with 'to perceive' as determined by our civilization. Rather, they draw attention to the fact that we cannot be poured out of our form of life as if from a container in order to examine 'outside' whether things are really constituted the way they *appear* within the form of life.[63]

What these philosophers do teach us is that concepts such as 'form of life' do not signify anything that we might easily compare with cages, apparatuses or buildings, with or without windows.[64] This also means that concepts such as 'boundaries of a form of life' can easily mislead us if we think of them too much as barriers.

But let us be cautious not to concede too much to these philosophers. For sentences such as, 'This morning I experienced reality' or 'In the dusk, I heard the whispering of the *nagual*', are not necessarily the result of a linguistic confusion as suggested by some followers of Wittgenstein, who no longer have any understanding for the mysticism of their master. Such sentences may also express that our experience *broke down,* and needed to do that so that we could *experience* our form of life itself.[65] What we can express in this way is the essence of initiation, as we have seen: only those whose life was destroyed, who suffered death can live *consciously*; only

those *know* their experience and their form of life, who flew 'beyond their boundaries'.

Perhaps now we can also see more clearly what those philosophers cannot see who believe that the various 'frames of reference' in which the nature of things shows itself differently should definitely be mutually exclusive.

It is these philosophers who, upon seeing the failure of their scientific and their everyday criteria, decide with excessive haste that they should advance the conclusion of incommensurability of various forms of life. They always tend to 'exoticize'[66] what is strange. Yet they are precisely the ones who proceed to caulk the cracks of their own civilization and to cut back the weeds that grow out of them.[67]

They believe that no one is capable of flying who lives within the precincts of factories, laboratories or universities. To fly as a shaman is only possible in the Sonora desert at dusk, when coyotes and jack-rabbits bid each other good night.

The assumption of a basic 'incommensurability' results in a splintering of reality.[68] No longer is it possible to ask about the essence of things, about whether the anthropologist flew or not, whether he really turned into a crow, or whether he had only imagined it.

The question would then be, did the anthropologist fly within *his own* form of life? And, did he fly within the life form of the *Indian*? Concepts such as 'true' and 'real' will in this case be assigned their meaning only within a rather impermeable form of life,[69] and since apparently the various forms of life are incompatible with each other, there is this reality and the separate reality, which is the misleading title of one of Castaneda's books.

But all this does not suffice as yet. The way we now formulate matters, we have not done anything about the presupposition that various realities are spread out openly before the same observer that, not unlike the observer of Wittgenstein's 'duck-rabbit', he can see a situation first the way it presents itself in the form of life of the anthropologist by making use of an all-inclusive '*gestalt* switch', and then, after having, as it were, been touched by the fairy's magic wand, he can also perceive it as it exists in the form of life of the Indian.

But this picture is false, because if we presuppose a basic 'incommensurability' of forms of life, then there is no such thing as a *something* that we might be able to see in a different manner, for the *situation itself* will have dissolved in thin air.[70]

We cannot say of an event that cancels itself out that it can be described in a mutually contradictory manner. For according to relativistic assertions nothing could exist that might be described in one way in one form of

life and in some other way in the next one, and there would be nothing to talk about in a dialogue between the Indian and the anthropologist.

If what is true and what is false were established *within* our form of life,[71] then the relativity of forms of life could no longer even be expressed. We would no longer be able to *describe* anything, saying, 'Thus and so is human life'. Our own form of life would be king no more[72] because there would be no subjects.

Or, to say it another way, an *entirely* different form of life would not be an entirely *different* form of life.[73] In the strict sense of the word this is not an argument of transcendental philosophy, because it does not postulate that we can only recognize what we have virtually recognized all of our lives.[74]

It does state, however, that a *change* of meaning is a change of *meaning*.

When Feyerabend asks how we could possibly discover whether our opinions are true *insights* or only 'well-fabricated dreams',[75] Wittgenstein might counter him by saying, 'Would that not be as if we assumed that all our calculations to date were false?'[76]

A critic of 'transcendental' arguments once suggested that Kant was a philosopher who offered us our own thirst to drink.[77] A similar view could conceivably also be advanced against a 'paradigm case argument'.

Still, we may suppose that our thirst cannot be quenched by just anything. Even someone weakened by the desert sun is not going to assume that 'anything goes'.

Feyerabend contends that the criteria that could be applied to evaluate Castaneda's experiences are so different according to the respective forms of life that there would be no 'objective possibility to make a choice among them, unless we could find a "superworld" that would include experiences of both kinds.'[78]

But it is not necessary to find such a world. It is not an 'assumption',[79] a 'hypothesis' or a 'theoretical construct'. There is nothing *that argues for* things really existing, and this is not a fact that would be *confirmed* by practice, as the Marxists never tire to point out.[80]

Rather, the world is everything that is the case. And if it is the case that occasionally we have some difficulties in deciding between mutually exclusive descriptions, then that *is* simply so. What Feyerabend is looking for and what he calls the 'superworld', he has found already. If he were not 'in' it, then there would be *nothing* that could cause him these difficulties in decision making.

Admittedly the criteria that we use to describe experiences such as Castaneda's do not resemble the 'solid rails' that Wittgenstein is looking for.

We cannot, it seems, pry our experiences loose from the 'logical gram-

mar' of our language, but neither does such a 'grammar', as a semanticist could explicate it, totally determine our experiences.

To illustrate the point, let us examine one of those standard philosophical sentences used ordinarily to make clear judgements that are 'synthetic', that is, that say something about the world, but the truth of which is supposedly *a priori,* that is, it can be accepted independent of any empirical verification: 'The colours green and red cannot simultaneously be at the same spot.'

It is said of such a sentence that we cannot imagine it being false.[81] '"I cannot imagine the opposite," does not here mean, of course that my imagination is incapable of accomplishing it. With these words we defend ourselves against something that by its form gives the impression of being a statement of experience, when in reality it is simply a grammatical sentence. . . .'[82]

But is that truly so? Is it, as Wittgenstein thinks, simply 'nonsense' to consider the opposite possible? It seems hasty to judge that way. If we are to believe psychologists exploring perception, it is possible to produce the experience of seeing a surface simultaneously red and green by stimulating the eye with an alternating light and dark impulse.[83]

Can we consider this to be an example refuting the supposedly 'grammatical' sentence? The arguments advanced against such examples point to the *semantic* fact that we use the words 'red' and 'green' in such a way that whenever we describe an object as being green, we cannot at the same time characterize it as red: 'If we stick to this rule, we do not call an object 'both' red and green, however strange our color experiences may be.'[84]

The argument presupposes, of course, that such rules are fixed in our language, *come what may.* What we are going to say *in every case*[85] is thus predetermined. Experimental subjects who describe the object as being simultaneously red and green are out of luck. They had not heard what analytical philosophers of the Wittgensteinian direction had found out about the essence of language.

In this way, the semanticist inadvertently slips into the role of the Lord as Leibniz saw him, able *a priori* to determine the truth of every empirical sentence.[86] But even such a god would not have any absolutely fixed rails with the help of which he could answer questions beforehand such as whether certain sentences were 'analytic' or 'synthetic', or whether computers made of metal could think. And if even the Lord is incapable of doing that, how much less the semanticists, who are only distantly related to him!

'For God's sake,' Gustav Landauer once said, 'don't talk as if you were the brother-in-law of the Lord and came to us bringing his greetings.'[87]

Our picture of the world is not a finished building that the semanticist needs only to inspect.[88] It seems though that Wittgenstein believed it was, over and over again: 'We could simply say, "Oh, nonsense", to someone who raised doubts about determinate sentences. That is, not answer him, but only reprimand him.'[89]

Wittgenstein does not even take the possibility seriously that others could be right, and he does not anticipate that all sorts of demons might already be squatting in the rafters of his 'logical grammar'. Wittgenstein wrote in praise of God, but forgot to give the Devil his due also.

The representatives of the 'incommensurability' thesis dump the grist they would urgently need for their own mill. Such a *reductio ad absurdum* suggests itself with an exaggerated 'sceptical' thesis, such as Quine's semantic 'indeterminacy thesis'.[90] If we can never know *what* we mean, then Quine cannot know either what *he* means with his 'indeterminacy thesis'.[91] There could be nothing that we either knew or did not know,[92] and *all* cognition would have to disappear from human communication, even Descartes's supposedly infallible self-knowledge of thinking.[93]

It appears to me that we are only willing to give some credit to such exaggerated philosophical views if we believe that dogmatism is the only alternative. A dogmatism of that sort wishes to make us believe that, basically, we have always known and understood everything, since at all times we recognize as familiar that which is strange. Putting it in a somewhat more antiquated fashion, the spirit will always recognize only itself.

However, it is a false alternative that states that, 'basically, there is only *one* form of life, or there is none at all'. It seems more appropriate to compare the various forms of life to the fibres in a cord, as Wittgenstein did in a different context. The various fibres do overlap,[94] but there is no *thread*[95] with the function of connecting all the individual fibres. At times, the fibres touch, but there is no *basic* fibre, such as reason, or spirit, or whatever other concept one might want to cite, ideas treated with such awe by philosophers.[96]

> If someone would want to say, 'So all these structures do have something in common, namely the disjunction of all these commonalities', then I would answer: you are simply playing with words. One could say with equal justification, that a something is present throughout the entire cord, namely, the total overlap of these fibres.[97]

The fact that there are possibly no 'continuous identities'[98] does not indicate though as suggested by the extreme relativists, that the different forms of life are 'incommensurate', even if the 'common standard' is not a continuous one.

It should be clear by now that despite some appealing traits one might discover in radical scepticism,[99] it is not worlds apart from the dogmatism of those for whom reality stretches only as far as the end of their noses.

The dogmatist, the 'true believer in science' as we might possibly prefer to call him today,[100] destroys the bridges and fortifies the walls. The sceptic, the consistent relativist, does exactly the same thing.[101] Or at least, he does not contest the dominance and the rights of dogmatists *within* the walls.[102] He only points out to them that they have lost their understanding for the forest outside the walls, and that events might occur there never dreamt of in their book learning.

The dilemma of the relativist lies in the fact that he is not allowed to *say* these things within the walls which do not offer him the hoped-for protection,[103] or that he always needs to speak with a forked tongue. The relativist can only hope to *seduce* the dogmatist, which is what Feyerabend is trying to do. But where is the dogmatist who would go with him into the forest? What scientist would even venture to trip with him?

It is possible to point out, of course, that the relativist at least *recognizes* what the dogmatist must surely *know,* but does not want to admit.[104] For after all, who is going to put on his armour if there is no danger?

In some way, the dogmatist is like the man who declares with a quivering voice that he never gets excited. The relativist, however, does not only put his finger on the anxieties of the dogmatist,[105] he also tickles his little desires, the fulfilment of which the dogmatist denies himself.[106]

But neither does the relativist fulfill these longings. He stands on the walls of the city and as he looks out into the wilderness, his eyes reflect the sadness that he does not know how to fly.

10

The Half-truths of the Coyote or Castaneda and the Altered States of America

Wer viel glaubt,
Dem widerfährt viel.
(Peasant woman from the Mark)

He who believes a lot,
experiences a lot.

We might say then that both the relativist and his partner, the dogmatist, that is, the 'true believer of science', lack the insight that their own form of life is always what it is not and that for this reason one does not become conscious of his own form of life until he leaves it.

The strange way of life of the Indian is for the anthropologist what the *nagual* is for the Indian. For the first time in his life, the anthropologist sees *clearly* what has always been close to him, and this happens as soon as he enters the unfamiliar wilderness and interacts with it. In search of his own society, he leaves it and recognizes himself in what is strangest to him. *Tat tvam asi.* Lo! This is what you are.

When Rattling Blanket Woman was taken to a cave by two plumed bears, she saw a weather-beaten old man sitting there, with the voice of a woman. Suddenly she recognized that she was that ancient being. It made her shudder and the vision disappeared.[1]

Hardly any scholar or philosopher who has interpreted Castaneda's experience and drawn conclusions from it, including Castaneda himself, seems to have understood its essence, namely that it is not the experience of another reality, but rather the experience of another part of *the* reality, that is the precondition for the self-knowledge of the anthropologist.

The initiation that the Indian begins with Castaneda is intended not so much to take him into the realm of the Yaqui sorcerers as it is to initiate him into his own, into the world of the anthropologist.

Similarly, the initiation of the Siberian shaman is not principally an introduction into the form of life of the 'flying people', of the snowy owl and the eagles. The Ostyaks on the Yenisei river used to tell the following story to future shamans. A shaman once bragged that he had acquired powers of great significance. One day an eagle asked him what these powers might be? The shaman answered, 'Do you see that cliff over there? Yesterday, I flew up to it.' 'Is that all?' the eagle countered. 'I always fly up to that rock to relieve myself.'[2]

For the Yaqui Indian the goal was not to equal the birds. An old Yaqui legend tells of an Indian named Malon Yeka who desired nothing so much as to be able to fly. A buzzard was ready to make his wish come true and loaned him his plumage, for which he took the man's clothes in return. As it turned out, the buzzard had a lot of difficulty with those clothes, and the Indian hopped helplessly from one branch to the next in search of a dead animal to eat. After both had suffered for six days and nights, each took back his own garments.[3]

For the anthropologist the purpose of 'crossing the boundary' is not necessarily to become a *brujo,* a witch, to traverse a thousand miles in a few seconds or to be able to deal a blow to an adversary at a large distance. The goal is much more to gain an awareness of himself and his own form of life. This is a purpose that the Indian and the anthropologist share, no matter how different their paths are.[4]

The British anthropologist Adrian Boshier reports how in a divinatory rite an old Zulu witch cast the bones for him. She repeated the process three times, then she picked up a small nuckle bone and said that this bone represented him:

> I was the bone of the impala. The impala ram is an animal who lives with its herd most of the time, she told me, but periodically it leaves its group and goes off into the wilds by itself. It always returns to its herd, but again it must leave to wander alone. 'This is you,' she said. 'You live with your people, but sometimes you must go into the bush alone. You walk by day and by night. You sleep under trees, like the impala ram. You go wherever you feel, wherever your spirits lead you. When you return to your people, they ask why you go off alone into the wilds. They think you are mad. But I know why you do this – I do it too. You go to learn, living in the wild places, the mountains, the desert. You will go on doing this throughout your life, living with your people, then leaving them to walk alone in the bush with your spirits. This is your life's work. What you learn is what the spirits are teaching you. This is the only way.[5]

As we have seen, there are not two realities, one for the witches of the Sonora desert and the other for the University of California. Anyone who has ever undertaken to 'fly' with the aid of the thorn apple, or to 'talk' with

animals or plants, is bound to find it a bit strange, to say the least, when Castaneda asks, 'Did I *really* fly, I mean, did my *body* fly? Did I take off like a bird?' For when, after all, he generally will not have been inclined to doubt the status of his experience but rather the *reality character* of his everyday experience,[6] he must have realized, of course, that he offered no competition to the hawks and the snowy owls.

Snowy owls do not talk the way they do in fairy-tales,[7] either in English or in German. But it is possible for us to communicate with snowy owls provided that, possibly with the aid of hallucinogens, we *dissolve* the boundaries to our own 'animal nature', separating us from the snowy owls.

As he did with 'flying', the Indian also attempts to demolish Castaneda's Walt Disney imagery involving 'conversations with animals and plants'. He does not proceed the way it is done in philosophy seminars, but more like a Zen monk leads his student by the nose, or sends him to the kitchen to do the washing up. He tells him of an encounter with a deer, for instance:

> 'He talked to me,' don Juan said with a grin.
> 'The deer talked?'
> Don Juan stood and picked up his bundle of hunting paraphernalia.
> 'Did he really talk?' I asked with a tone of perplexity.
> Don Juan roared with laughter.
> 'What did it say?' I asked half in jest.
> I thought he was pulling my leg. Don Juan was quiet for a moment, as if he were trying to remember, then his eyes brightened as he told me what the deer had said.
> 'The magical deer said "Hello friend",' don Juan went on. 'And I answered "Hello". Then he asked me, "Why are you crying?" and I said, "Because I am sad." Then the magical creature came to my ear and said as clearly as I am speaking now, "Don't be sad."'
> Don Juan stared into my eyes. He had a glint of sheer mischievousness. He began to laugh uproariously.
> I said that his dialogue with the deer had been sort of dumb.
> 'What did you expect?' he asked, still laughing. 'I'm an Indian.'[8]

The Indian does not tell the anthropologist *explicitly* that the deer communicated with him in an *unusual* way. Instead, he caricatures the anthropologist's fantasies about such a dialogue, ironically exaggerating and thus *demonstrating* their inadequacy (plate 22).

Put differently, the magic plants are intended principally to *shake* the perceptional and ideational system of the scientist; the Zen master tries to *irritate* his student by contending that the transistor radio exhibits the Buddha nature; in the same way, the irony of the *brujo* is to stimulate the anthropologist to take the 'jump' through the cracks of his own form of life.



Plate 22 *From* Radical American Comix.

What the animal says to the sorcerer differs from ordinary language, just as the 'voices' heard by the schizophrenic are not like ordinary voices, what Merleau-Ponty calls the 'direct voice'.[9] He does not *hear* them so much as he becomes *aware* of them,[10] and he immediately separates the voices 'talking' to him from the voice the therapist lets him hear over the dictaphone.[11]

Just as for the schizophrenic food is not 'poisoned' in the sense in which the term would be used by a nutritional chemist[12] whose analysis would hardly shake the schizophrenic's conviction, the judgement of the biologist that deer and certainly plants do not talk would not be an argument taken seriously by a *brujo*.

For this reason it is misleading in the extreme to speak of hallucinations as a kind of 'pseudo-perception',[13] which the person experiencing them cannot distinguish from ordinary events and which supposedly, should better be called 'illusory errors'.[14]

A woman having intercourse with an incubus is entirely aware that this 'love-making' is totally distinct from what she is used to when sleeping with her husband or lover. A psychiatrist trying to convince her that nobody was lying on top of her would be a very poor psychiatrist indeed.[15]

In some ways, the hallucinatory experience of schizophrenics is com-

parable to the 'reality feeling' of certain metaphysicians, who ask whether there *really* is such a thing as reality, or how we are to tell whether others have a consciousness.[16] Such metaphysicians would hardly be satisfied with an answer in the Wittgenstein mode, 'But under what condition then would anything be real in your opinion?',[17] or with that of the famous Dr Johnson who proved the reality of a stone by kicking it. The metaphysician would rightly answer, 'But surely you must realize that I am asking this question not in its everyday sense: it is an *epistemological question*!'[18]

What is hidden in a sentence of this sort, namely that 'it is an epistemological question', is most probably a loss, or a fading of the *familiarity, the self-evident nature* of things, of one's own body or one's own person. Things all of a sudden become questionable that we would never have thought asking questions about, because doubting them would have been 'out of place'.

This is true, of course, much less of philosophers who often voice merely what Peirce once called 'paper doubts'[19] than of schizophrenics because the 'metaphysical' questions and doubts of the philosophers for the most part are restricted to the world of their university seminars.[20] Not even Popperians such as Hans Albert would worry much about having to *justify* that at the corner shop they bought aubergines instead of courgettes.[21]

In a way Feyerabend is right in comparing the 'critical rationalists', as an example of modern metaphysicians, to hysterics.[22] Although we must admit that their hysteria is a very limited one, ending where everyday matters begin.[23]

Naturally, many schizophrenics are equally familiar with this sort of 'double-entry book-keeping', but in contrast to the philosophers, it is part and parcel of their everyday existence, the 'false bottom' of which, moreover, is profoundly threatening.

I mentioned earlier that at times I have my doubts about the authenticity of Castaneda's texts, especially because of the way in which he describes his experiences. I came to this conclusion mainly because I tend to believe, on the basis of my own 'thorn-apple experiments' and from reports of others about similar experiences,[24] that an animal will not suddenly say, 'Hello friend', the way they do in fairy-tales.

While the Indian *ironically* pretends to have observed something to that effect, Castaneda seems to want to make us believe that he actually *experienced* it:

'But it is inconceivable that a coyote could talk,' I said.

'It wasn't real talk,' don Juan replied.

'What was it then?'

'Your body understood for the first time. But you failed to recognize that it was not a coyote to begin with and that it certainly was not talking the way you and I talk.'

'But the coyote really talked, don Juan!'

'Now look who is talking like an idiot. After all these years of learning you should know better. Yesterday you *stopped the world* and you might have even *seen*. A magical being told you something and your body was capable of understanding it because the world had collapsed.'

'The world was like it is today, don Juan.'

'No, it wasn't. Today the coyotes do not tell you anything, and you cannot *see* the lines of the world. Yesterday you did all that simply because something had stopped in you.'[25]

It seems hard to believe that the anthropologist really heard the coyote talk the way he heard the Indian. His report of having flown over the nocturnal desert in such a manner as to suggest the question whether he had flown 'the way the birds fly' seems just as untrustworthy. For the 'world' that had been 'stopped' was the world of his everyday perception, the same world in which the zoologist might want to investigate the 'communicative system' of coyotes.[26]

He had allowed the boundaries to dissolve within himself that prevented an understanding between humans and coyotes in ordinary life, and in doing so, something hidden behind that boundary showed itself.

In this sense, the coyote was no longer an ordinary animal, 'changing' instead into a magical being.[27] But Castaneda presents the experience in a manner suggesting that his *mode* of perception had not materially changed, as if he had been Little Red Riding Hood and the coyote the Big Bad Wolf.

In the view of the Indian, an 'ordinary person' is someone for whom such experiences are sensory delusions. And an 'ordinary witch' is a human who thinks that *basically* animals talk and their failure to do so is mere appearances. Both are able to see, even though differently, but they cannot *see*. Their controversy is reminiscent of the dispute among the Yatmul of New Guinea. Their sun moiety is of the opinion that the night is due simply to the absence of the sun, while the opposite moiety is convinced that the night is a 'positive' phenomenon, and the day is merely due to the absence of the night.[28] He who can *see*, however, recognizes the truth and the simultaneous limitations of both points of view: 'Perhaps you are aware that *seeing* takes place only if you smuggle yourself in between the worlds, the world of ordinary people and that of the witches.'

For between the worlds, 'on the fence', it becomes possible to recognize that the 'true believers of science', as also the 'true believers in magic', are simultaneously right and wrong. 'Magical animals' do not talk the way they do in fairy-tales, but neither is their 'talking' mere delusion, as the psychiatrists would have us believe. A 'magic animal' making conversation 'California-style' would have little chance escaping the wide-angle lense of an Eibl-Eibesfeldt.[29]

In other words: such magical animals can be seen less with the 'eyes of the body' (*tan čašm*) than with the 'eyes of the soul' (*g yān čašm*), as we read in the Pahlavi texts,[30] or with the 'eyes of heart' (*tšante išta*) as the Sioux Indians say. The boundaries of our person expand, and we become aware of things that remain invisible and unreachable for our ordinary eyes.

As I pointed out in chapter 8, a *brujo* need not be able to fly like a bird in order to arrive at a different place within seconds, for it seems that a sorcerer can change the boundaries of his person so much that he can be simultaneously within his everyday body and *also* at another place, where his body is not. Something like that may indeed be happening during divination and telepathy, for the people involved do not seem to overcome distances the way electromagnetic waves do.[31] It does not appear to be a transmission as assumed by most parapsychologists.[32] We are apparently dealing more with a 'lifting of boundaries', in which there is a dissolution of barriers developed during the processes of civilization and individuation.[33]

It is not that an idea *flies* from one person to another – what sort of meaning would we want to attach to something like that any way? Rather, some of the boundaries that modern individuals[34] are encapsulated in, as compared to archaic humans, disappear. The modern person is then enabled to participate in a 'conscience collective', certainly not metaphorically in this case. It is entirely possible that the Bushman hunter 'becomes animal',[35] and that the barriers between himself and the springbok progressively dissolve when he says:

> The springbok seems to be coming, I can feel the dark hair on the springbok's flanks. Go climb up on the rocks over there so you can look around on all sides! I feel the springbok feeling . . . I am used to feeling that way: I have a sensation in my calves as if the blood of the springbok dripped down on them.[36]

Barriers of this sort did not exist at the point of origin. When Gluskap, the culture hero of the Abenaki said goodbye to his children, to the people and the animals, and rowed in his boat towards the setting sun, all beings fell silent. And then they became aware that they, who formerly had *one* language, could no longer understand each other.[37]

At the point of origin, the Kabyles of Morocco say, 'All the stones spoke, so did all trees, the waters all spoke, and the earth spoke.'[38]

To get to the point of origin, to be able, for instance, to 'speak' with plants, a person needs what the Indians call 'reverence'. Humans must become *unimportant* before the other beings of nature: 'When I was still a child, my parents and the old people taught me to treat everything with reverence, even the rocks, the stones, and the small crawling insects, for

they are all *manitus*.'[39] To 'become a part' of the *manitu* of all things means to 'speak the common language of all things'.

'It does not make any difference what you say to a plant,' he said. 'You might just as well invent words; the most important thing is the feeling that you like them and you consider them your equal.' A man collecting plants should always apologize to them as he picks them, he explained to me, and assure them that someday he will also be food for them. 'All in all, we and the plants are equal,' he said. 'Neither we nor they are either more or less important.'[40]

And a Kikapoo Indian characterized the lack of reverence of our civilization by saying:

The White people spoil our land, they make all of nature sigh. They cut the plants with their long knives, they spoil the herbs, and the herbs cry. They kill the trees, they treat the trees unjustly, and the trees cry. They tear out the entrails of the earth, they hurt the earth, and the earth cries. They poison the water of our clear rivers, the fish die, and the fish and rivers cry, the earth cries, the herbs of the meadows cry – indeed, the Whites make all of nature cry. Oh, those ingrates! They will be punished.[41]

People called 'ordinary' by the Indian sorcerer, such as the 'enlightened' anthropologist, seem unable to speak with herbs, 'magic deer' or even with the gods of classical antiquity. In a similar vein as Wittgenstein with respect to his hypothetical 'talking lion', Christoph Martin Wieland says as follows:

Let us suppose that Jupiter or his daughter, golden Aphrodite, wanted to convince you of their existence beyond the shadow of a doubt: they could not do it any other way, could they, than within what your own nature would admit? That is, in the same manner as you and I and all other humans, pursuant to our nature, become certain of things outside of ourselves? Namely by our external senses, by the direct impression they would have to make on one or more of our organs. Suppose then that Zeus were to appear to you in the shape of a bull or a swan, you would not see him, but a bull or a swan; for how could you, or how could Europa or Leda, who are said to have had this adventure, have hit on the idea of looking for the father of the gods under that mask? The same would come to pass if Zeus or Aphrodite would show themselves to you in human guise: you would see humans, not gods.

Wieland thinks that we could never see anything but the *masks* of the gods, for if we wanted to see their true essence, they would have to equip humans with 'hitherto unknown sensory tools, or receptiveness for those phenomena that are outside the range of their perception. Whatever demons might be in and of themselves, to us they could be nothing but idealized humans.'

So, we shall always see only that which we ourselves are. Should we

attempt to look beyond, we would be 'surrounded by impenetrable darkness; or the light that would pour towards us would so blind us that it would become the densest obscurity to eyes such as ours'.[42]

To retain the image of Wieland, Castaneda tries to make us believe that Zeus spoke to him in the guise of a swan. He leaves it to the Indian to demonstrate to him and the reader that it was neither a swan, nor ordinary speaking. But anybody addressed by a 'magical swan' would hardly necessitate a guru to explain to him *how* he came to have the experience.

During a similar experience that the anthropologist had with a 'magical dog', he thought that the Indian 'interpreted' this encounter as a meeting with *Mescalito* (Zeus). Once more we may want to ask: did Castaneda have an experience that subsequently needed to be *interpreted* 'magically'?

Are we to suppose that the night-travelling women of the Middle Ages had the experience of becoming light and then of being uplifted, about which they subsequently formulated a hypothesis according to which they raged through the forests with Diana?

We could, of course, conceivably subject such experiences[43] to what an old-style empiricist would term a 'thoroughgoing conceptual clean-up operation'. But what would that gain us? Nothing but some sensations not unlike the 'sensory data' of the so-called phenomenalists. About the reality status of that sort of sensation one might even be able to achieve a consensus with representatives of diverging world views.[44]

However, a description of such 'sensory data' would not reflect the *experience* of the night travellers,[45] and in return for a possible agreement, we would be stuck with the irrelevance of the statement, because we would have distorted the experience itself.[46]

For to *interpret* something means to invest it *with a certain meaning* after reflection and comparison, while we are fully aware that a somewhat different meaning could in fact have been more correct.[47] Normally, we do not interpret anything until we feel the need to ask for the significance of an experience that is not available to us directly.

When meeting somebody, we do not usually perceive first a physical object which we then interpret as being a certain person; rather, we see a certain person. If we hear someone talk, we do not 'decode' his speech, unless we are dealing with a Hegelian, but instead, we listen to him.[48]

Judging from the description that Castaneda gives of his encounter with the 'magical dog', he did not perceive a dog straightaway, which he then interpreted as being a *magical* dog. Rather, he perceived a magical dog. If Castaneda thinks that he first had to 'translate' such experiences, as he says,[49] then he seems to demonstrate greater loyalty to Californian ethnomethodology than toward his own experiences,[50] and we are tempted to suspect that he proceeded philosophically to tidy up most of the reports about his experiences.

Hallowell, another great anthropologist, reports that on a sweltering summer night a flash of lightning suddenly split the sky and there followed an audible peal of thunder. An old Ojibwa Indian turned to his wife and asked her, 'Did you hear what he said?' 'No,' she answered, 'I didn't get it.'[51] What happened was obviously not that the two Indians had not been able to hear the *thunder* correctly and therefore were unable to *interpret* it properly,[52] but rather that they had not heard clearly enough what the *Thunderbird* had to say.[53]

If the assumption is right that Castaneda gave us the wrong description of his experiences, then we might also understand the relationship of the anthropologist with the coyote better.

Having the coyote as a guardian spirit can be dangerous. For this 'magical animal', which for many Indian societies is a witch animal (plate 18), is usually lying or at most tells only half the truth. 'Shamans never get power from Coyote – Coyote always spoils everything,' a female shaman of the Paviotso told an anthropologist.[54]

11

Dreamtime and Dream Journey

> Oh diese Menschen von ehedem verstanden zu träumen, und hatten es nicht erst nöthig, einzuschlafen.
>
> (Nietzsche)
>
> *Oh, these humans of old knew how to dream and did not need to fall asleep first.*

The anthropologist, as we saw, could communicate with the 'magic coyote' because, as the Indian expressed it, something 'stopped' in him, the ordinary perception of the everyday world, where the coyote would have been nothing but one more specimen of a zoological species.

Ordinary perception can, of course, also be modified in the opposite direction, for instance, in the laboratory, where a progressive 'demythologizing' of reality is viewed as an index of getting closer to reality, to *naked* reality.

In that view, reality has no colour, no voice, no hearing. As Devereux puts it, reality confronts us in silence. Everything else belongs to the sphere of consciousness, and consciousness invests the world with deceit and illusion.

'We strictly denied ourselves (there was even a penalty for it in the laboratory) the use of such psychological descriptions as, "the dog guessed", "wanted to" or "desired" etc.' writes Pavlov. 'Eventually, all phenomena of interest to us began appearing in a different form.'

Obviously, ordinary perception had 'come to a halt' for these researchers too, but with the direction reversed. The dog, previously barking joyously, now simply produced sounds.[1]

'No matter how difficult it was for me in the beginning, I finally succeeded with a great deal of effort and by concentrated attention in achieving total objectivity in the true sense of the word.'[2]

The researchers, then, find truth at the very bottom, in the depth, after

stripping away all the various layers of consciousness, of culture. The same can be said also for archaic humans. But for the latter, things join into *one whole* in the depth, at the origin. The fractioning of things, their differentiation is wiped out. The researcher for his part splits them and differentiates them in an even more consistent manner than done anyhow in his civilization.

He has no reverence for anything, neither does he love anything. He throws a net over the objects of reality, he divides and classifies them. They are organized, controlled and purified; everything that might grow profusely through the mesh is trimmed away. The objects weep, but the researcher sees no tears. He clears the forest and plants a garden free of weeds, growing only vegetables that can be consumed.

The stomachs of humans are apparently more uniform than their souls, and so the researcher has objectivity, the agreement of opinions on his side. Even a native can digest tomatoes, and an Australian aborigine will not deny that a log is hard and combustible.

The only problem for the anthropologist is then whether or how he should make clear to the natives that a bull-roarer is nothing but a 'slab of wood', and that the masked dancer is not an ancestor but 'a neighbour in disguise'.[3]

Don't the Indians know that the shaman is only *pretending* to suck the illness out of his patient, that all he has in his mouth is an ordinary pebble that he spits out after sucking?[4] Do they lack some insight that *we* are familiar with?

I should like to propose that we are the ones who lack *their* insight.[5] For just as the coyote turns into a magic being for the person who has eyes to *see,* or rather, *shows* its magic essence, a 'mere' stone changes into an evil spirit for the Guiana Indians,[6] and the ancestor appears to the masked dancers.[7]

It is not a 'demythologizing', as proposed by critics of ideologies in the style of Topitsch,[8] when it is revealed to the initiates that the humans *themselves* are the ones to perform the dance. Instead, the initiates learn that their persons extend into the depth, that they themselves are the ancestors, whom they used to think of as beings having an existence apart.[9]

The initiates experience that the parak spirit talks and cries *through* the flute players, the parak men (*jenei paraek*),[10] that it *manifests* itself in them. They realize that 'this here', the spirit, is something different in the origin than they had assumed before initiation, that it is they *themselves.* Or as Spinoza or Hegel might have put it, by the ancestor taking over the body of the non-initiated, the latter loses consciousness of himself. During initiation, he regains this consciousness.[11]

Mühlmann, for instance, concludes from the fact that the masked Dukduk dancers can be recognized from their legs, that for the inhabitants of New Brittany the entire ritual is merely a 'play', which they have no trouble distinguishing from reality.[12] But all he actually demonstrates is how little he understands about what the identity of the masked dancers with the Dukduk means. Once more, as so often, the anthropologist comprehends as little as any non-initiated person who happens to discover accidentally that *humans* are wearing the masks and who is convinced that he has unveiled a mystery. On the basis of such discoveries, books about the 'origin and demise of metaphysics' can be written with the greatest of ease.

The story is told that when old Taugwalder died, one of the first men to scale the Matterhorn, his son, the younger Taugwalder, began telling his father's experiences during the climb as though they had been his own. He had become old himself by then, wore a beard like his father's, in other words, he *was* his father. This old Taugwalder could not die, he was 'outside of time'.[13]

Did the younger Taugwalder simply not know that he was himself and not his father? Had age dimmed his understanding?

How about the specialist in religious behaviour, who looked into the mirror after ingesting mescaline and seemed to see Shiva, the 'great changer' looking at him in the shape of a professor and who winked at himself with the words, 'Stop it Shiva, you old scoundrel!'[14] Was this man insane?

Shiva is timeless. He 'embodies' himself in time but anybody recognizing himself as Shiva steps out of the bonds of time, we might say, and becomes aware of his own *origin,* although not of his own beginnings.[15]

A tree growing in western Nuer country a few years before Evans-Pritchard did fieldwork there, *was* the tree in the shade of which humankind was created. The 'time depth' of the Nuer lineages never increases: the number of generations, the distance between the living and the founders of the clan remains constant,[16] no matter how many people following each other 'represent' the persons of the lineage. Although their bodies are subject to time, the small number of generations of the lineage are as timeless as Plato's ideas.[17]

The pipe smoked by the Sioux Indian *was* the pipe 'of yore', even if it had been carved only a little while ago: 'This pipe which you have brought to me is really as sacred as the original pipe which was given to us by the White Buffalo Cow Woman. Indeed, to one who understands they are really the same.'[18]

'What does "a long time ago" mean?' Castaneda asked the Indian. 'It means a long time ago,' the latter answered, 'or perhaps it means now, today. It is all the same.'

If we want to understand the meaning of such matters, we need, I think, to change our manner of looking at them, just as we needed to do in the case of flying or of the conversation with the coyote.

Naturally, the younger Taugwalder, the specialist in religious behaviour and the Sioux Indian knew perfectly well when they were born, when the pipe was carved, who their parents were etc. But at some particular point in time they experienced, just like the werewolf, that they were considerably *more* than they had been aware of before, that something was incorporated in them of which they had never before assumed that it was they themselves.[19]

Or put differently, they suddenly *saw* that 'the younger Taugwalder' or 'Allan Watts' was nothing but a surface or everyday identity, and that their deeper identity was hidden in the depth.

If we maintain that this depth is 'outside of time', *àrdaga,* as the Germanic tribes called it, or *nhh,* the ancient Egyptian term,[20] then this means that the depth will reveal itself when we *disregard* temporal change. Suggesting the concept of 'outside of time', we do not intend to 'subjectivize' time as the idealist philosophers do; it is only to express that if we assume the 'mythic perspective', the temporal change *no longer plays any role.* If we say that 'time stands still', that means that we are going to contemplate something without *hind*sight and without *fore*sight.

At this point, psychologists interested in perception will most likely draw our attention to the fact that any such view of necessity implies hindsight and foresight. It may be better to suggest, therefore, that hindsight and foresight lose their *relevance,* which they possess in ordinary or 'historical' perspective.

Those revolutionaries who during a nineteenth-century uprising aimed their guns at the clock-towers 'to stop the day', as one eye-witness reported,[21] and their successors who in May 1968 stopped a clock in the Sorbonne and wrote below it *Nous y mettrons le temps* (a play on words: 'We'll take time off' or 'We will decide what time it is'), knew, of course, of the 'historicalness' of what they were doing. But they placed themselves simultaneously outside of time, because historicalness had become *irrelevant* for them.

'The true Sufi is *ibnu'l waqt'*, they say, he is the 'son of the moment',[22] and when Foucault thinks that history makes us laugh about the solemnity of the origin, that simply means that he has no inkling of the Olympian laughter of the gods about history.[23]

It is a poor philosophical argument against immediacy to say that it too needs to be mediated. For immediacy *means* just this that we renounce all mediation.

It does not make much sense to draw the attention of the revolutionaries to the fact that at six o'clock in the afternoon of 25 May they shot at the

clock-towers. It is to be assumed that they knew that, or at least, they probably would not have denied it. But the fact was of no interest to them. And it was this lack of interest that was 'mythic'.

And finally, it is beside the point to argue against the view of an Australian aborigine who maintains that he is a *wondjina* in the 'dreamtime',[24] in timelessness, by telling him that as all other people, he is made of flesh and blood and probably of such and such an age. For this is not the identity that the *wondjina* has in mind.[25]

Similarly, it is nonsense to show the moving second hand of the watch to a schizophrenic who maintains that he lives 'completely timelessly'. The schizophrenic is going to answer that 'he knows full well what an hour is, but that he cannot feel time'. He no longer *lives* time, because he hardly *involves* himself with reality, he no longer acts in it.[26] Something has become real in his experience that Henry Miller describes by saying, 'Everything was destined for the morrow, but the morrow never came.'

For achieving such a 'change in perspective', the Zen Buddhists, a rather rough bunch, use some pretty violent tactics.

On one occasion Ma-tsu and Po-chang went out for a walk, when they saw some wild geese flying past.

'What are they?' asked Ma-tsu.

'They're wild geese,' said Po-chang.

'Where are they going?' demanded Ma-tsu.

Po-chang replied, 'They've already flown away.'

Suddenly Ma-tsu grabbed Po-chang by the nose and twisted it so that he cried out in pain.

'How,' shouted Ma-tsu, 'could they ever have flown away?'

This was the moment of Po-chang's awakening.[27]

The wild geese flying by *are* wild geese flying by. The wild geese that flew away *are* wild geese that flew away. When the Buddha comes, he comes. When the Buddha goes, he goes.

What happens in the 'dreamtime' never happens and never will happen. Or more exactly, the 'dreamtime' is that perspective of perception when an event is what it is regardless of the point in time where it might be located. When a seer proclaims his wisdom, he gives no information about what *will be,* but about what, in a way, *has always been happening.*[28]

An explorer wrote a letter of apology to the spirits of the Tsodilo mountains for desecrating their dwelling place by his expedition. The Bushman Samuchoso looked at him,

. . . and said with a voice quivering with excitement, 'All is well, Master. The spirits ask me to say to you that from now on all will go well with you. They only call my attention to the fact that when you arrive at your next destination, another

misfortune will await you. They want me to tell you that you should not get discouraged, for it is bad luck not belonging to the future, but to the past.'[29]

The explorer has nothing to expect *in the future*. For the mishap that the spirits of the Kalahari are talking about *already is,* just as his uninvited entry into the Tsodilo mountains.

Most scholars giving some theoretical consideration to the dreaming, to *alcheringa, chukurpa, ungur, bugari-gara, lalai* as various Australian tribes call it, do not, it seems, describe its essence correctly. Even Eliade, one of the most sensitive among them, proposes that 'concrete time' is being 'projected into mythic time',[30] or that archaic people believe that they are 'returning' into the 'dreaming'.[31] This may fit H. G. Wells' ideas, but has nothing to do with the conceptualization of Australian aborigines.[32]

The concept of 'dreamtime' does not refer to any time in the distant *past*[33] to which the Australians supposedly think they can return, which can be 'called up', 'repeated'[34] or 'emulated',[35] which 'endures'[36] or proceeds 'parallel' to ordinary time,[37] or which could be 'projected' upon the present. The 'dreamtime' is not past, present or future time[38]: it has no 'location' whatever on the continuum of time.

'Once upon a time,' a fairy-tale begins, 'and a very good time it was, though it wasn't in my time, nor in your time, nor in any else's time . . .'[39] Or as it is told of Mohammed, after a nocturnal visit to Allah, with whom he conducted 7,000 conversations, his bed was still warm and the water was flowing from the jug he had knocked over.[40]

The general conceptualization of time of some non-Western societies demonstrates similar traits. The Saulteaux on the Berens river in Manitoba did not range certain important events on a scale of points in time. They took place neither before nor after anything. One might say that these Indians moved back and forth toward or away from certain 'holes in time', something without the dimension of time. The time spent during such movement was not counted in any way, in number of days, for instance.[41] Neither is it correct to say that it was the interval between *recurring* events. Instead, the Indians kept approaching *the same* 'hole in time' and then departed from it once more.[42]

For some societies, the 'journey' to the origin is also a *geographic* one,[43] for the Huicholes, for instance, whose *mara'akáme* takes his children on a 'flight' to *Wirikúta,* to the origin of all things,[44] through modern cities and across motorways that now cover over the 'mythic' places with buildings and concrete.

The journey to Colchis that Jason undertook with his demonic companions, most probably of animal shape,[45] may have been such an initiatory trip to the origin, to the underworld. A *seeing* beam was built

into the keel of their boat the Argo, taken from the oracular oak at Dodona, which warned the initiates in critical situations.[46] We are reminded of the wooden 'mounts' of shamans that carried their masters across the boundaries of their society. In the distant past, the Dodona oak was possibly the axis of the world, reaching into the Tartarus with its roots, as Virgil maintains,[47] and so a beam made of it would guide the Argonauts to the beyond.[48]

Ulysses travelled to the navel of the world, the island of Circe, where the sun stood forever in its zenith.[49] Boreas, blowing from the direction of the North Star, the end point of the *axis mundi,* carried him along toward the lower world.[50] It was Circe,[51] the goddess of the underworld, who received Ulysses and his companions. She changed the men into animals and addressed them, as befitting initiates, by, 'You, who will die twice, where other people die only once. . . .' And Ulysses continued on this way, passing through the gate of the other world, the threatening passage-way between Scylla and Charybdis.[52]

It would seem that all these journeys were at the same time 'spatial' *as well,* and it was not until later that an abstract and analytical mode split them into a 'spiritual' and a 'physical' component.[53] Aristeas flew to foreign lands 'like a bird', while his body lay 'as if dead', according to the testimony of a Sophist, Maximos of Tyros. Similar journeys were carried out by the Hyperborean Abaris, who would mount the 'arrow' of Apollo, or assume the shape of a raven. Quite possibly these sages, very much resembling shamans, went on *actual* journeys into the wilderness.[54] But such trips became more and more 'spiritualized' in the course of time, until with Parmenides or with Plato's *Phaidros* they were reduced to providing the metaphorics for describing how metaphysical insight could be achieved.[55]

Our time is a divisive one. The predominating tendency is to divide the unity of things, to splinter the whole into components; units are 'punched out' of 'mere matter' by employing intellectual categories, creating objects which are 'composed' of parts that are basically disparate, that have a 'spiritual' and a 'material' aspect of bringing forth forms, colours, sounds that suffer a 'synthesis' or are 'given' meaning. Archaic humans, by contrast, see the world in much larger units.

Take the colour terms in Old English. There, *fāh/fāg* designated a quality that we today render only by a 'composite' description, such as multicoloured/beautiful; *grēne* by green/fertile/favourable; *sweorc, myrce, wan, deorc* by dark/frightening/veiled. When linguists maintain that this fact indicates how little things were classified at the time 'according to their objective quality',[56] their basic assumption seems to be that our 'analytical' way of looking at things approaches the essence of reality more

adequately than the archaic 'unified' mode of experience.[57]

The so-called 'mentally ill' tend to demonstrate the same kind of 'unified' perception: 'When I say "red", then that is a concept that can be expressed in colour, music, emotion, senses and nature. People do not have five senses, they only have *one*.'[58]

What many scientists call a 'disease of the mind' seems thus to be the dissolution of an analytic attitude, making it possible for an archaic mode of perception to reveal itself, which is normally kept under lock and key by cultural conditioning. Similarly, many consciousness-expanding drugs apparently facilitate an experience called '*syn*-thetic' or '*syn*-aesthetic' by those thinking analytically, because from where they stand, archaic perception 'brings together' or 'confounds'[59] things or components, which *basically* have nothing to do with each other.

These same thinkers then go looking for the 'basis' *within* our own modern civilization and actually encounter it, while a 'non-analytic' view of the world lingers on in the reserves of poetry or art.

The 'dreamtime', then, represents a perspective for seeing what we see without considering whether it once was or will some day be. In the same way, the 'dream place' is not any *particular* spot, although from the ordinary, everyday perspective, it is, of course, located somewhere.

However, the 'dream place', like *Tir-na-Oige*, the 'land of youth' of Irish fairy-tales appears only if we do not look for it geographically.

Samuel Butler once said that 'thinking about thinking' was like scratching where you itch: the more you scratch, the more it itches.[60] The dream place is a little like that. The more a person looks for it, the farther away it gets. 'You ran too fast after good fortune. Now that you are tired, it will catch up with you,' Nietzsche once wrote.

Hungarian fairy-tales usually begin with, 'Once it was where it was not, beyond seven times seven countries and the Sea of Operencia, behind an old stove in a crack in the wall in the skirt of an old hag and there in the seven times seventh fold: ... a white flea and in the middle of it the beautiful city of a king.'[61]

The 'dream place' is everywhere and nowhere,[62] just like the 'dreamtime' is always and never. You might say that the term 'dream place' does not refer to any particular place and the way to get to it is to get *nowhere*.

The drop of water which after taking a consciousness-expanding drug is no longer seen *as* something, but as something *in and of itself*, which is *sunder warumbe*, 'without why', as Master Eckhart says, changes into the universe, into *everything* and thus into *nothing*.

If we were to answer 'here' when asked where the 'dream place' was, that would be the same as if someone answered 'I' when asked about his identity, or 'here' if the question concerned his location, unless of course,

all we wanted was to call attention to ourselves, in which case it would be sufficient to say, 'Yoo-hoo'.[63]

There would be no place for 'I' in a totally 'intersubjective' description of reality, and if a scientist were to give a description of all the events and places, it would not contain any 'dream point in time' and no 'dream place' either. 'You cannot find the wondrous path by foot or by boat.'[64]

The 'dream place' is *in the centre,* and that centre is both everywhere and nowhere. Black Elk, a Sioux Indian, tells of a medicine man of his people.

> He scraped the ground level, and with a stick which had been purified, and which was first offered to the six directions, he drew a line from the west to the center, and then from the east to the center, from the north to the center, from the south to the center, and then, offering the stick to the heavens, he touched the center. In this manner, the altar was made, and, as I have said before, it is very sacred, for we have here established the center of the Earth, and in this center, which in reality is everywhere, is the home, the dwelling place of *Wakan-Tanka.*[65]

All beings are intrinsically *wakan.* All, that is, except humans.[66] They have been alienated from their *wakan* nature, and over and over again, they need to overcome this break, the fence between civilization and wilderness. It is part of their being to stand *between* the two, and the Indians and Hegel understood that much better than Marx. *Of necessity,* humans live an alienated life.

As Master Eckhart says, *Diu sêle ist geschaffen als ûf ein ort zwischen zît und êwicheit. Mit den nidersten sinnen nâch der zît üebet sie zîtlîchiu dinc; nâch der obersten kraft begrîfet und empfindet sie âne zît êwigiu dinc*: 'The soul is created to be at a place between time and eternity. With the lowest senses, within time, it works the things of time; with its strength toward the above it understands and feels a time of eternal matters.'

When standing at the vertex between east and west, the sun stops for a fraction of a second; it is not located at any particular place *under the condition* that its path up and the one down are the only lines on which it can be located. The zenith is a 'hole in space' and the 'point in time' is no point in *time,* but a 'hole in time'.

Just as the flying birds of Ma-tsu are nothing but flying birds, the sun at noon is not placed at a spot *determined* by the continuum of time.

Noon is 'between the times', it is timeless. Ulysses had left the island of Circe in the morning, and by noon the wind subsided and the sun became so hot that the wax in the ears of his companions began to melt and they were in danger of hearing the song of the sirens, the demons of noon.[67]

The Arcadian herdsmen drove their goats to the spring during the hot hours of midday and then retired to the shady trees or cool grottoes. In

their half sleep, shaggy Pan then appeared bringing voluptuous dreams.[68] This was the time for naked Artemis to descend into the pond[69] like 'Frau Hulli' did later into the waters of the Main,[70] and the 'noon wife' roamed the fields to tickle her victims to death if they could not answer her questions[71] or at least to carry them away in a whirlwind.[72]

It was also the time for witches and werewolves[73] to become active. A John Walsh from Dorset confessed in 1566 that he used to 'meet the feries betwene the houres xii and one at noone, or at midnight'.[74] *Eben die vorige Relation bekräfftigte mir auch aus glaubwürdigen Mäulern, dass es gar gewisse sey, dass der Waldmann, oder derselbig, so Wurtzeln und Gekräuter graben pfleget, offte mit dem Rübezahl sprechen und conversiren sol. Doch nur biss auff halbweg zwölffen, oder nach eilffen, da er einen jeden heisset vom Gebirge weichen, damit er nicht Schaden nehme*: 'Reliable sources confirmed the narration that it was truly so that the forestman, or the one who digs for roots and herbs, is said to talk or converse often with Rübezahl. But only until half past eleven or after eleven, since he tells everyone to leave the mountains so that no one would be harmed.'[75]

What we may conjecture from this report of Praetorius is that the demonic nature of Rübezahl is revealed at noon and at that time the men and women out collecting roots and herbs might become enraptured or suffer some other ill.

At noon, we said, time 'stands still' because one continuum is completed and the other has not started yet. Nothing was to 'go about', no carriage was allowed to move during the 'twelve days' when the sun died,[76] during the 'time between the times'; spinning had to stop,[77] all differences vanished, and during the Middle Ages this was the preferred time for the *festum stultorum,* the Feast of Fools.[78]

The separation of time and space equally dissolves together with all differences, all boundaries. Beatrice experienced God: *dove s'appunta ogni ubi ed ogni quando,* 'where all when's and all where's meet'.[79]

We noted further that noon is *only noon,* not a point, that is, that can be located on a line. Similarly, the spatial centre is not spatially determined, provided that it lies 'between' two spatial lines which are adjacent, but which are not connected by a continuum.

The medieval penal court of a number of towns met at the crossroads. In Bern the bench, the pillory and the stocks were located at that spot.[80] The judges were 'impartial'; in the true sense of the word they belonged to 'no direction'. They resembled the strangers[81] or those ghostly bands of youths that often had the right to sit in judgement, to censure and to punish, since they were outside the social order and *therefore* could reconstitute it.

Formerly, the ghosts preferred such 'placeless places'. According to the *Vita Sancti Symphoriani,* Diana, the mistress of the night travellers could be encountered there. Because of her preference for crossroads she was also called *Trivia.*[82] According to St Symphorianus, that was where she 'scattered the poisonous weed of her malice'.[83]

Anybody who went to the crossroads on New Year's Eve saw the heavens open and learned what the new year had in store for him.[84]

The centre of the house, the hearth pit,[85] afforded access to the spirits of the underworld. As we mentioned before, the Venus figurines of the Ice Age, probably representations of the goddess of the lower world and the earth, have often been found there. In later times, the witches flew to their dance through the smoke-hole[86] above the hearth, or through the owl's hole of Low German thatched roofs,[87] even through the tips of the straw roofs of the African Thonga,[88] in the same way as the Asiatic shaman started on his flight to the beyond through the central opening of his tent.[89] For the axis of the world, connecting the layers of the cosmos, passed through the hearth and the smoke-hole.

12

Road Bilong Science

White man got no dreaming
Him go 'nother way
White man him go different
Him got road bilong himself.
(Australian aborigine)

Human societies, as we have seen, erected the fence between themselves and the wilderness in many ways, and this fence assumed a number of different meanings.

In contrast to our own culture, the societies possessing what we called 'archaic' cultures have a much clearer idea about the fact that we can *be* only what we are if at the same time, we are also what we are *not*, and that we can only know who we are if we experience our boundaries and, as Hegel would put it, if we thus cross over them.

What this does not mean, however, is that we should endlessly move our fenceposts further and further into the wilderness and ceaselessly clear, work, categorize what is 'out there'.[1] It means instead that we ourselves should turn wild so as not to *surrender* to our own wildness, but rather to acquire in that way a consciousness of ourselves as tamed, as cultural beings.

If we wanted to understand only the one side in and of itself, we would be like Karl Valentin who goes to a record shop and asks to buy only *one* side of a record.

But there is no knowledge about the 'island of the *tonal*' without the experience of its quaking, without the *nagual*.

We have also seen that a society that is little interested in the consciousness of itself, such as our own, is usually intent on subjugating the wilderness by cultivating it.

No wonder that in such a society, understanding what does not belong

to it most often takes on the character of appropriation by subjugation or pronounced rejection.

For the most part, the conqueror no longer shows his face openly except in totalitarian, so-called 'socialist' societies. In June 1966, for instance, the Soviet press published an interview with Anikau, formerly a shaman of the Chuckchee. He told the reporter of the *Magadanskaya Pravda* that he regretted having deceived his people calling non-existing spirits, and cheating them out of fish, meat, and otter and reindeer pelts.[2]

In the *1984* Ministry of Love they are not satisfied until Winston Smith *himself* sees four fingers in the three held up to him, and the anthropologist Menovshikov reports along the same lines: 'It was not until they came under the influence of Soviet society that the Asiatic Eskimos started to rid themselves step by step of their distorted views about natural and social phenomena. Now their life is permeated by the materialistic ideas of Marxism and Leninism and is influenced by technology and science.'[3]

Our Western anthropologists rarely applaud such 'cultural annihilation' openly any more. Instead, these scholars often engage in a more subtle incorporation of material that otherwise might endanger their basic assumptions.

According to these researchers, understanding takes place almost exclusively *within* one's own culture. What is alien is supposedly *understood* once it is *translated* into familiar categories. When 'out there' they seize whatever they can, transfer it into their own culture and insert it into their own contexts, carefully caulking the cracks.

What was formerly a totem pole now supports the ceiling of a country home or adorns the garden of a museum as melancholy booty.[4] Similarly, the flight paths of the witches cross those of the jumbo jets in our imagination, and the image of the world of non-Western societies takes on the appearance of a Disneyesque fantasy land, where we can be children among children once more.

Strangeness is alienated and resettled at home and thus neutralized. Things are understood as soon as it can be shown that we have always virtually understood them, and they are arranged within what we consider the province of our culture.

Scientists constitute the force that does the categorizing, the intellectual 'police force'. They do not form one particular contingent, but are grouped into troops with different tasks. Some of these units could with a bit of malice be seen as virtual stormtroopers. In a blatant and rather transparent way, they mount the *defence* against what is strange.

Their ideal is to remain 'cool', as one anthropologist put it.[5] They discover the enemy and keep him out. At times, they do hear the distant 'whispering of the *nagual*', but immediately hasten to assure us that

insanity and death lurk where that whispering comes from.

This is the reason, they say, that we are not allowed into the realm of the shadows.[6] Under no circumstances should one turn into a werewolf just to understand what being a werewolf is like. Under no circumstances must the werewolf's experience ever be comprehended.[7] In the name of 'objectivity', anybody wanting to understand the Zuni Indians is strictly forbidden to become a Zuni himself. In order to impress on the anthropological novice the dangers inherent in 'going native', his teachers trot out the story of Frank Cushing, the bad boy of early anthropology. He was a man who supposedly took the road to the wilderness and not only did he never come back, but he also – perish the thought – had the bad manners to burn his field notes.[8]

Scientists who betray the 'norms of rationality' of their discipline are naturally no longer treated like the so-called *lançados* or *tangos-maos,* Portuguese who during the exploration of Africa in the fifteenth century 'deserted' to the natives and who were condemned to death by a Lisbon government decree, provided they could be caught. But as demonstrated by the reception accorded Castaneda, they may sign their own scientific death warrant. Of course, researchers who do not derive much of their estimation of self-worth from the opinions of the 'scientific community', are not going to be too depressed about that.[9]

In the opinion of most anthropologists, understanding is not comprehending. To understand means simply to incorporate the werewolf into the intellectual menagery provided by our culture. This menagery guarantees objectivity. Objectivity means control. The werewolf is located, measured, palpated, seen. However, what is kept in that zoo is no longer the werewolf. The werewolf remains in the wilderness, and the demons flee from analytic perusal.

A Haitian proverb says that the spirits leave the island when the anthropologists arrive.[10]

What is *real,* the scientists say, must *pass our tests.* 'Pass our tests' means that it must be possible to discover something equivalent in *our* culture. Our culture, or better yet science, is the base referred to in the statement, 'basically, the shaman simply hallucinates'. Anybody contesting that is labelled a relativist. Thinking is done in black and white, in day and night, and the sun of enlightenment illuminates all.

What we then say is this: If *I* ever did anything like that, I would end up on the psychiatrist's couch.[11] If *I* were a horse, Radcliffe-Brown once ironically said, I would not like grass.[12]

The 'logical grammar' of our form of life, and for the 'true believer of science' even the 'grammar' of the sciences in vogue at present, is thus something like a secularized variant of Plato's world of ideas. Basically in

that scheme of things, we have always known 'virtually' everything but our body soul was alienated from this base, because before being born into the world of the becoming it slaked its thirst at the Er river with the water of forgetfulness. Some souls are more moderate than others, they drink less and therefore, once they arrive in the world of the senses, they can recall a bit more clearly what these things of the senses basically are.[13]

Many modern scientists think along similar lines. The reason supposedly why they do not know what things are basically like, that is, in reality, is because they are alienated from the 'logical grammar' of their form of life. To gain entrance to the spaces where true knowledge takes place, they need to discover the rules of this grammar, which were 'theirs to begin with'.

Anyone arguing this way, however, rejects things and at the same time, incorporates them. He does not simply say, 'Leave the wilderness alone!' he says, 'Basically there is nothing that does not also exist here, and for that reason, we can understand everything without bringing any *sacrifices.*' Those advancing arguments of this sort risk nothing. They own the bank, a bank that has continued solvent for centuries. They might speak of something they call a 'basic hermeneutic experience', namely 'that it should be possible in principle to translate any sentence of a natural language into any other language',[14] or they formulate somewhat less pretentiously a 'postulate of basic translatability', 'investing anthropology with its justification'.[15]

What gives rise to such statements is probably the idea that language is simply a cloak thrown over the facts. Reality is naked, and language puts clothes on it. Be it a fig leaf or a grey flannel suit, it is in either case external to the matter in question. Or, as Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf formulates it, 'The garment has to be renewed, but the contents need to be retained. Any translation is a travesty. To say it even more pointedly, the soul remains but it changes its body: true translation is metempsychosis.'[16]

While extreme contextualists such as Quine want to balkanize all meaning,[17] by contrast, I do not want to maintain that there *can be* no such thing as a translation. Of course, there are facts that can be represented in a number of different ways. Neither can it be disputed, as some modern theoreticians of science are suggesting, that 'reductions' are possible, that it does make sense to say that something only *appears* to be something particular, but is *basically* something different.

Disregarding the excesses of relativism, we can see the truth it contains, namely that not *all* facts become apparent in *every* language, certainly not in the castrated variety customarily employed in academe. Not *all* wheels turn *everywhere*. Not even in Italy do all roads lead to Rome, certainly not the mythic paths of the Huichol Indians. The 'werewolf' wheel hardly

turns anything at all any more in our modern civilization, and even if it were to turn something, it would not be the same thing that it moves where it is 'at home', as Wittgenstein would say.

If we want to see *what* it turns 'at home', how it 'works' there, we need to *go* to where the werewolf walks about at night.[18] We may even have to howl with the werewolves to understand how they howl.

What we then experience will not be easy to moor, load and take home. 'Anyone bent on an ocean voyage,' says Jacob Grimm, 'and able to man a ship, set sail and guide it to a distant shore, will still have to land where the ground is different and a different wind blows.'[19]

To *understand* is not the same as to *translate*[20] if, taken with a pinch of salt,[21] we mean by translation a transposing of a meaning from one medium to another, regardless of whether this is done word by word, a procedure responsible for many exoticisms that Whorf made famous, or whether we attempt to find what a semanticist terms 'functional equivalents'.

To understand often means that instead of recognizing what is strange as if it were familiar, what Plato suggests with his model of cognition as 're-cognition', we learn how a word is used in a strange context, how it functions in an unfamiliar environment.

At times we will have to howl with the wolves, and that means that we will have to forget some things that are familiar, especially those things that prevent us from understanding strange contents. This in no way suggests that we will forget *everything* for all times,[22] as implied by a consistent relativism. The anthropologist returns home changed but he is not going to be an entirely different person, for in that case, it would not be *he* who had gained the insight.[23]

There are those who do not want to *understand.*[24] They are satisfied to do nothing more than translate and subsume,[25] and incorporate. They have no desire to know *who* they are. All they want is to get heavier, or at least, to remain as they are.[26]

Somebody might object at this point, saying, 'But if we roam through the wilderness with the werewolves, provided it is possible at all to do that, will we then still be able to *describe* what we experienced, what it was like to be a werewolf?'

What if the same thing happened to us as happened to the Greek seer, who wanted to know if women felt greater pleasure during intercourse than men? The gods sympathized with his thirst for knowledge and turned him into a woman. Now he knew how women experienced pleasure, but unfortunately, he had forgotten what it was like for him when he was still a man.[27] Is it all right then to gain *everything,* or do the gods punish such hubris?

Actually, I do not think that we can have *everything*. Not only in politics is *vogliamo tutto,* wanting everything, a rather naive slogan. Thus I have my doubts whether all werewolf experiences can be translated in such a way that a person who has not gone through them himself can still comprehend them. At times, and whether this is more a psychological argument than an epistemological one we need not argue at the moment, we may even have to sacrifice the ability to *represent* such experiences in a generally intelligible way in return for achieving the ability to experience them. Odin after all gave up one of his eyes in return for wisdom. And the bird that brought the intoxicating drink to Zeus lost a feather with each flight.

We moderns are used to getting knowledge by free home delivery and while consuming it, we forget that truth has its *price*. Or as an Eskimo shaman once said to Rasmussen: 'You do not know that only the person who seeks solitude and *suffers* can have any insights!'

Quite possibly when choosing the other path we may lose our scientific *innocence,* our everyday way in which to see it might be 'broken', but in return we then learn to *see* what seeing means, just as the werewolf finds out what it means to be human.

But will the werewolf not find himself alone with his *seeing*? Indeed, it seems that the werewolf too pays for his *seeing* with loneliness, that he only gains something to lose something else, something that may not mean the same to him, but that was also precious. However, once again, this simply means that we cannot have *everything,* and the road to solitude means the same thing as 'becoming an adult'.

Over and over, people have to make choices. But as we know, even Eve of the Old Testament gave up the protection of paradise for knowledge.

The question is though whether realistically, we even have the possibility for developing an 'internal understanding'[28] for a werewolf or for a woman travelling by night? Is it not that we will have to content ourselves with what might be called 'fictive comprehension'?[29] Might we not have to be very different from what we now happen to be, and that of necessity we would *not* be allowed in that case to possess many of the insights which we, in fact, do possess?[30]

I am aware that a shirt, even if reduced to rags, and of no use to me any more, will still retain some quality that tells me what it is for. I can never lose the knowledge about how to unbutton it, how to put my arm into its sleeve, or how to tuck the shirt-tail into my trousers. To become a Michii, though, I would not only need to rid myself of the compulsion to write, I would also have to give up the knowledge that there is such a thing as writing.[31]

The questions advanced give rise to two different trains of thought. Obviously, the person undertaking boundary explorations is threatened by

a number of difficulties and dangers, of which the risk of not being taken seriously by the 'scientific community' is surely the least onerous.[32] At times, the situation of the anthropologist is like that of the Indian ambassador to the Court of St James's who, after his return to India, was declared to have lost the membership of his cast, and who had to crawl through a golden *yoni* in order to be freed of pollution.[33] At re-entry, the Western anthropologist is probably not going to have to regain his purity by squeezing through a vagina, but more likely by forcing his experiences through the mesh of a sterile scientific screen.

A more serious hazard is represented by that form of 'going native', where anthropologists think that by adding a few external trappings, they will turn into natives, when all they accomplish with their masquerade as 'parlour savages' is to become the object of ridicule for the members of the foreign society. Many a leftist student here at home discovered something similar when he thought that by a bit of a shift in his dialect and by four weeks' work in a factory he could turn into a labourer. Thus we read about the socialist writer, Ladislaus Gumplowicz:

> He went to great lengths to project in mien and attire the picture of a miserable proletarian. Instead of gaining the trust and respect of the labourers, he usually reaped laughter as his own reward. I remember an incident when at a small celebration of labourers, he declaimed with genuine enthusiasm a revolutionary poem by Freiligrath. Despite the fiery rhetoric, the serious mood dissolved into mirth when by his violent gestures, the coarse rope became visible that he had used in lieu of braces to hold up his trousers.[34]

Disregarding such naive attempts at currying favour and other instances of lack of sensitivity, we have to admit that true experiences of the boundary indeed represent a serious destabilizing of the identity of the anthropologist, as illustrated by the reports of Castaneda.

Unsettling encounters of that nature may result in attempts at repressing strange experiences, with the anthropologist clutching his methodological structures like a drowning man would a straw. This may explain why it is often the field researcher who tends to distort his data by forcing them to adjust to the Procrustean bed of science, much more so than the armchair scholar, who is stimulated by the exotic and does not feel threatened by those circumstances in his daily humdrum activities.[35] Yet precisely those shocks are the precondition for insight, or rather: the *nagual* shows itself through the cracks and tears appearing in the cultural identity of the ethnographer, revealing the significance of his everyday identity.

Now we also recognize that there is some truth to the criticism applied to some forms of 'going native'. To stay with one foot in our own culture[36] during experiences at the boundary, or as Diderot counsels us, to leave our own coat in the cupboard at home while putting on the garment of the

strange land,[37] is then less an unavoidable concession which we are forced to make or a necessary evil that we have to put up with. It is instead the very *prerequisite* for cognition.[38]

Only the person who 'smuggles himself between the worlds', as the *Yaqui brujo* says, between the worlds of the 'inside' and the 'outside', will have access to such cognition.

Cushing did not turn into a Zuni, a werewolf is no wolf, he stands in the middle *between* the worlds of the wolf and of ordinary people, just as the *hagazussa* sits on the seam of the worlds, one foot inside, the other foot outside culture.

It should be clear by now that anthropologists such as Mühlmann are wrong when they believe that an 'inner understanding' for a Papuan can only be gained when *being* a Papuan, and who dismiss 'existential comprehension' as nonsense.[39] For if we could not know *what* another person feels, which of course does not mean we have to *be* that other person, then it would not be possible either to know *what* we ourselves feel, because we would not possess any kind of scale for the nature of our own emotions. If, on the other hand, we are able to recognize what we feel, then of necessity we are also able to detect the emotional make-up of the other person.[40] If the 'existential comprehension' of the inner life of another human is not *possible,* then it will hardly be feasible to 'comprehend existentially' what Mühlmann tries to indicate with his thesis, what he feels about it, etc. Neither could he himself have any knowledge of it. His thesis would result in *eliminating* the concept of 'comprehension' *from verbal communication.*[41]

I for one believe that it is indeed possible to comprehend what another person means who proposes such a thesis. That proposition appears to be an expression of fear when faced with the need of *dealing with* the strange and thus to see one's own underlying assumptions in a different light. And so the researcher tends toward a solipsism, be it with respect to his own 'scientistic' form of life,[42] or even as concerns his own person.

We are not Papuans, but that does not prevent us from access to the inner life of Papuans, just as it does not make it impossible for us to understand Mühlmann, although we are not Mühlmann. That Mühlmann is more intelligible to us than the Papuans is due to the fact that we can empathize more easily with the form of life of a professor or, expressed in fashionable terms, we are more easily socialized for it, than we can empathize with the people living at the Sepik river.

It is to be assumed that Professor Mühlmann would understand *himself* much better if he incurred the risk of comprehending what cannot be easily translated into the terms of his science.

By rejecting the *possibility* for understanding the other person, Mühlmann also renounces the likelihood of understanding himself, while the

anthropologist has precisely the privilege of gaining such an understanding. The professor does not realize that 'not being able to be the other person' is not a *hindrance* to, but rather the *prerequisite* for understanding the strange. In this, he resembles the philosophers who believe that knowledge of the essence of things is prevented by the 'crack in the cosmic egg', by 'alienation'. 'Absolute knowledge', however, is no knowledge,[43] an insight we have to thank Eve for, who reached out for the fruit.

As we noted, the 'riders on the fence' among the scientists, or as Simmel calls them, the 'people of a religious nature who have no religion', will sometimes be alone in their experience. Any person from whose soul the rain forest once rose in luxuriant growth is aware of what it means to get tangled in the lianas and the orchids of the subconscious once he has left the well-trodden paths of civilization and then realizes how difficult it is to find his way back. And if unexpectedly he then finds himself once more on this side of the fence, he is no longer who he was before. His home will have lost much of its homeliness. But just as a world *taken for granted* is not a world *understood,* he will *now* understand much of his own world for the first time, even if from then on he will at times experience what it is like to tell the blind what 'red' is.

No doubt the blind will be able to learn something of what Wittgenstein calls the 'grammar' or the 'logical form' of the colour term,[44] but in some very decisive aspects the blind are not going to know the meaning of the word. They will encounter situations, moreover, in which they will not be able to use the word, namely where we simply *see* something red, situations, that is, that prompt us to state that the respective person is blind.

But someone who at one time was sighted and then became blind, is going to know a lot about what it means to see, which is difficult for the person who takes sightedness for granted, as one capacity among many. Should someone like that regain his sight he can be expected to see things in a way he never thought of before becoming blind.

This seems to be the essence of the anthropologist's initiation. The Yaqui *brujo* is not so much intent on turning him into a witch or a 'neurotic';[45] what he really wants to do is to open the way for him so that he can start walking because he has learned to 'fly' and teach him what it means to talk with people on this side of the fence by first having him 'talk with the coyote'.[46]

But in some sense the researcher will always stay a bit 'between the worlds'. It is the price he has to pay for knowledge: to be forever excluded from the world of talking animals and from the world of talking anthropologists as well.

Mais écoutez – le coq chante, il est jour et mon livre est fini.

Notes

Chapter 1 Witches' Salves: for Flying to the Sabbat or into the Trap of the Demon?

1 F. Unger, *Die Pflanze als Zaubermittel* (Leipzig, 1911), pp. 44, 56. J.B. Holzinger, *Zur Naturgeschichte der Hexen* (Graz, 1883), p. 12, gives a somewhat different quotation, using as his source the book of a certain Nicolaus Beckmann, *Idea juris statutarii et consuetudinarii stiriaci et austriaci* (Graz, 1688). According to Beckmann, the witches found their flight as agreeable as if they had been travelling by caisson.

2 The Kaguru witches hang onto the belly of a hyena while they fly through the air; see T.O. Beidelman, Witchcraft in Ukaguru, in Middleton, J. and Winter, E.H. (eds) *Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa* (London, 1963), p. 64.

3 In 1590, Joanna Michaelis of Château-Salins stated that during the witches' sabbat her vision was disturbed and everything appeared unclear. At the same time her body, she said, was at home asleep; see B. Barnett, Witchcraft, psychopathology and hallucinations, *British Journal of Psychiatry* (1965), p. 443. This statement, as well as that of a fiddler from Styria (Steiermark) who said that he met the devil, whereupon a 'fog' descended upon his eyes and he was transported to a witches' orgy on Gleichenberg peak (F. Unger, *op. cit.*, p. 50), suggests the foggy vision of atropine intoxication.

4 J.R. Crawford, *Witchcraft and Sorcery in Rhodesia* (London, 1967), pp. 52, 54; M. Gelfand, *The African Witch* (Edinburgh, 1967), p. 48; also B.E. Ward, Some observations on religious cults in Ashanti, *Africa* (1956), p. 55; and M.D. Jackson, Witchcraft confessions among the Kuranko, *Man* (1975), p. 393. The salve was prepared by the witch Mazwita, using 'the powdered roots of a bush'. It was called 'medicine for night witching'. Other 'medicines', which they carry around at night, produce enormous and terrifying figures (J.R. Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 126). See I. Schapera, Sorcery and witchcraft in Bechuanaland', in Marwick, M. (ed.) *Witchcraft and Sorcery* (Harmondsworth, 1970), p. 111; P.E. Joset, *Les sociétés secrètes des hommes-léopards en Afrique noire* (Paris, 1955), p. 35; as well as S.F. Nadel, Witchcraft and anti-witchcraft in Nupe society, *Africa* (1935), p. 426. The *uarraninkalla* of the

Bambara, i.e. men with the ability to change into leopards, ate 'different powders which were called *baschi*'; see B. Lindskog, *African Leopard Men* (Uppsala, 1954), p. 146. The Anioto of the Eastern Congo used a 'secret ointment' for this purpose (B. Lindskog, *op. cit.*, p. 23). In other words, the data are quite deficient. M.J. Field, in *Search for Security* (London, 1960), p. 277, thinks that the frequent connection between dream mushrooms and sorcery, encountered not only with the Akan, but also with other African societies, might be due to the use of hallucinogenic mushrooms which was later forgotten. However, this seems pure speculation. African witches often use 'special medicines' in order to allay the sensibility of those sleeping next to them, so that they may fly away undisturbed; see E.H. Ashton, *Medicine, Magic and Sorcery among the Southern Sotho* (Cape Town, 1943), p. 8. What specific drugs the South African witches use is difficult to determine. J.W. Raum, in Die Jünglingsweihen der Süd-Sotho-Stämme, *Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen* (1969), pp. 10, 20, mentions that the initiates of the Tlokwa ingest a narcotic mush prepared from the onion of *leshoma* (*Buphane toxicaria*) or *bookgwe* (*Scilla lanceaefolia*) and *mafifimatsho* (*Phygelius capensis*). It does not seem to be known, however, whether the flying night witches of the Sotho use such drugs. The report of the Shona witches suggests thorn apple. The Zulu use iYoli, the 'common kraal-weed' (*Datura stramonium*) as an analgesic; see A.T. Bryant, *Zulu Medicine and Medicine-Men* (Cape Town, 1966), p. 73. In the Ulanga district a mush of boiled *Datura fastuosa* leaves is eaten as a narcotic – see F. Haerdi, *Afrikanische Heilpflanzen* (Basel, 1964), p. 175 – but the same substance is also used for poisoning; cf. R.O. Bally, *Heil- und Giftpflanzen der Eingeborenen von Tanganyika* (Dahlem, 1938), p. 66. From the sources it is not possible to state with certainty whether the 'medicine' of the Zulu medicine men, which they used 'to open the gate of distance' was indeed thorn apple. The British explorer David Leslie, who one day lost contact with some of his hunters and therefore went to consult a medicine man, writes, 'Finally the medicine man agreed to my demands, saying that he would open the Gate of Distance, and would travel through it, even although his body should lie before me. . . . The doctor then made eight little fires – that being the number of my hunters; on each he cast some roots, which emitted a curious sickly odour and thick smoke; into each he cast a small stone, shouting, as he did so, the name to which the stone was dedicated; then he ate some "medicine", and fell over in what appeared to be a trance for about ten minutes, during all which time his limbs kept moving. Then he seemed to wake, went to one of the fires, raked the ashes about, looked at the stone attentively, described the man faithfully, and said, "This man has died of the fever, and your gun is lost." To the next fire as before, "This man" (correctly described) "has killed four elephants," and then he described the tusks. . . . I took a particular note of all this information at the time, and to my utter amazement it turned out correct in every particular.' See A. Lang, *The Making of Religion* (London, 1898), p. 75; E. Bozzano, a notoriously unreliable author, gives a distorted version of this observation in *Übersinnliche Erscheinungen bei Naturvölkern* (Bern, 1948), p. 89. See also V.W. Turner, The waters of life, in

Neusner, J. (ed.) *Religions in Antiquity* (Leiden, 1970), p. 510. The Shona were rather appalled that under colonial jurisdiction the witches were not prosecuted since, according to the British, 'they did not exist'; see L. Gelfand, *Witch Doctor* (London, 1964), p. 48. It is not only judges, but also ethnographers who refuse to take seriously statements such as those of the three Shona women; see, for example, R.A. LeVine, Witchcraft and sorcery in a Gusii community, in Middleton, J. and Winter, E.H. (eds) *Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa* (London, 1963), p. 230; and M.D. Sahlins, *Tribesmen* (Englewood Cliffs, 1968), p. 109.

A classic explanation comes from the pen of the past-master Evans-Pritchard: 'A witch cannot do what he is supposed to do and has in fact no real existence'; E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Witchcraft, *Africa* (1935), p. 418; and *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the Azande* (Oxford, 1937), p. 119; as well as J.D. Krige, The social function of witchcraft, *Theoria* (1947), p. 9. It is interesting to observe the ambivalence on this matter of many African social scientists. Mbiti, for example, writes that of course there are no real witches; but then he points out that there are 'witches' who, without wanting to, meet at night, exchange experiences and concoct plans. This however makes him feel uncomfortable, and so he makes a U-turn and concedes that his information might sound like free invention; J.S. Mbiti, *Afrikanische Religion und Weltanschauung* (Berlin, 1974), p. 257. Occasionally, scholars of so-called socialist societies exhibit similar attitudes. Thus, V. Diószegi, *Tracing Shamans in Siberia* (Oosterhout, 1968), p. 72, writes, 'I have absolutely no faith in the supernatural power of the shaman and no faith in his spirits. . . . And still . . .' M. Douglas, in Thirty years after 'Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic', in Douglas, M. (ed.) *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations* (London, 1970), p. XXXIV, suggests cautiously that such things 'are difficult to understand within the terms of our analysis', and leaves it at that.

Actual covens or organizations of witches have apparently existed in Hungary up to the present day; T. Körner, Die ungarischen Hexenorganisationen, *Ethnographia* (1969), p. 211. According to Körner, the witches rubbed themselves with a 'magic ointment' in order to be able to fly. In *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1934), V. Klein published a highly informative article, entitled 'Der ungarische Hexenglaube', which unfortunately remained almost entirely unknown. She reported (p. 396) that a witch from Szeged, Kornélia néni, had told her that she often participated in witches' meetings on St Gellért mountain. 'At these meetings, we discussed difficult cases from our practice, and we prayed together. There were also diversions, we danced, sang, "and other things". What these "other things" were supposed to be, was something that Kornélia néni stubbornly and steadfastly refused to elucidate.' Kornélia had to go to the homestead of an old witch who was her teacher every night between eleven and one o'clock during her apprenticeship. Her teacher drew a circle about her and conjured up all sorts of 'apparitions'. 'These apparitions were the witches of the region, who had assumed the shapes of bulls, cats, lions etc., with enormous eyes and fearful appearance. Kornélia néni was afraid only the first time. But she hid her fear, for had she fled and stepped outside of the magic

circle, the apparitions would have gained power over her' (p. 381).

5 G. Róheim, Witches of Normanby-Island, *Oceania* (1948), pp. 282, 287, 288. The witch falls into a trance and, according to the interpretation of the natives, her 'soul' (*yaruyarua*) flies away.

6 See also J.C.W. Moehsen, *Geschichte der Wissenschaften in der Mark Brandenburg, besonders der Arzneiwissenschaft* (Berlin, 1781), p. 440. J. Brunnemann, in *Discours Von betrüglichen Kennzeichen der Zauberey* (Halle, 1727), p. 58, maintains that according to documents of the Inquisition women rubbed themselves with salves of 'henbane seeds, opio, nightshade', etc. However, we may assume that he took this information from the works of Weier, Porta and others. For when there is any indication at all of the use of nightshades in the records of witchcraft trials, this occurs only with reference to harmful magic. In 1611, for instance, near Leibnitz in Styria (Austria), the sorceress Lenggo Frauhelmbin confessed that she rendered a neighbour 'senseless' by using the juice of a black berry, which may suggest belladonna; F. Byloff, *Hexenglaube und Hexenverfolgung in den österreichischen Alpenländern* (Berlin, 1934), p. 416. In a witchcraft trial in the central Swiss canton of Schwyz in 1571, a boy told the judges that his mother had taught him how to paralyse people with a salve made from herbs; see A. Dettling, *Die Hexenprozesse im Kanton Schwyz* (Schwyz, 1907), p. 12; also O. Heilig, Zur Kenntnis des Hexenwesens am Kaiserstuhl, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* (1904), p. 416. Very probably, executioners used henbane seeds at times to stupefy their victims. In a Lucerne apothecary's bill submitted to the city in 1570, there is the entry, '8 shillings for henbane seeds, delivered on orders to the hangman's assistant on July 12', quoted in E. Gerhard, *Beiträge zur Geschichte einiger Solaneen* (Colmar, 1930), p. 39. We should remember, however, that henbane seeds were also used for other purposes, especially as executioners in those times worked as healers as well; see W.D. Hand, Hangmen, the gallows, and the dead man's hand, in Mandel, J. and Rosenberg, B.A. (eds) *Medieval Literature and Folklore Studies* (New Brunswick, 1970), p. 324. E. Stahl and R. Kunde, Pflanzliche Rauschgifte und ihre Erkennung, in Maas, K. (ed.) *Themen zur Chemie, Toxikologie und Analytik der Rauschgifte* (Heidelberg, 1975), p. 10, mention (without giving their source) that in the Middle Ages nightshades played a certain role as 'truth drugs' in obtaining confessions. Unfortunately, Professor Stahl could provide no information concerning the source when I inquired about it. Judging from my own experience with nightshades, I am not sure that they would be suited for such a purpose. Montanus, *Die deutschen Volksfeste, Volksbräuche und deutscher Volksglaube* (Iserlohn, n.d.), p. 145, asserts that St John's wort (*Hypericum perforatum*) was used to this end, but he does not document it. In Franconia it was expressly forbidden to administer opium drinks to witches to ease their pain during torture; see W. Reubold, Geschichtliche Notizen über Gerichts- und Gefängnislokale zu Würzburg, *Archiv des Historischen Vereins zu Würzburg* (1901), p. 203, quoted in F. Merzbacher, *Die Hexenprozesse in Franken* (München, 1970), p. 147. In later times 'truth drugs' have undoubtedly been used. This is indicated by paragraph 6 of article 58 of the *Constitutio Crimin-*

alis Theresiana, which forbids judges to use drugs to get the accused to confess. 'The administering of a drink, or the rubbing with all sorts of salves supposedly to loosen an obduracy caused by the Devil' is prohibited (cited from a copy kindly placed at my disposal by Professor Annelies Lägreid). Henbane was also used for divining. For instance, in 1648, the Puisterflickersche confessed that she gave nine 'henbane buttons' to a peasant, so he would be able to find his lost ox; see W. Hartmann, *Die Hexenprozesse in der Stadt Hildesheim* (Hildesheim, 1927), p. 52.

7 W. Crecelius, Auszug aus hessischen Hexenprocessakten, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* (1855), p. 65. Tansy (*Chrysanthemum vulgare*) contains an alkaloid and a highly effective volatile oil. In folk medicine, its leaves are used for dizziness and convulsions. At higher doses, tansy may cause paralysis and loss of consciousness. Black hellebore (*Helleborus niger*), a narcotic ranunculaceous plant, often caused poisoning in the Middle Ages, since its roots contain two glucosides, helleboreine and hellebrine, which are similar to telocinobufagine, a skin-gland venom of the toad, affecting the heart the same way as digitalis. Melampus administered hellebore to cure the descendants of Proteus who, because they failed to show respect to a statue of Hera, were smitten with insanity and ran wildly around the fields behaving like cows; see J.B. Friedrich, *Die Symbolik und Mythologie der Natur* (Würzburg, 1859), p. 260. Except for the statements made by Agnes Gerhardts, I have rarely found any mention in witchcraft trials of poisonous plants as ingredients of witches' salves. In the fourteenth century, a certain Anne-Marie de Georgel said that an enormous he-goat showed her poisonous plants; see J.C. Baroja, *The World of the Witches* (Chicago, 1965), p. 85. And in 1651 a woman stated on record that another woman, probably a witch, 'gave her some bitter almonds. She was to eat some of them, the others she was to chew and spit out on a cloth. This she was to use to rub herself with. The same evening, she became sick and went into epileptic seizures.' When asked if the Devil had had intercourse with her, she answered, 'The only thing she could say was that it might have happened during that sick spell which she had taken to be epileptic seizures. She could not tell how she felt while it was happening, because she was as if asleep. When she had come to herself again, it was as if she had been beaten with cudgels'; cited in G.C. Horst, *Zauber-Bibliothek* IV (Mainz, 1826), pp. 209, 213. Judging from the symptoms, the 'bitter almonds' may have been nightshade berries. It is said of Swedish witches that they collected poisons from flowers and herbs, and that they added toad's fat and snake foam to their salves; see K. Heckscher, *Die Volkskunde des germanischen Kulturkreises* (Hamburg, 1925), p. 110. It is not certain, however, that this information derives from the minutes of a trial. Fried toads and toad slime are often mentioned as ingredients, but mostly in legends and in folk tradition; see A. Wittmann, *Die Gestalt der Hexe in der deutschen Sage* (Bruchsal, 1933), p. 13. The skin secretion of the toad contains bufotenine, an indole compound, but its hallucinogenic properties are disputed in the pharmacological literature; see N. Alger, Comment on 'The influence of psychotropic flora and fauna on Maya religion', *Current Anthropology* (1974), p. 153. By contrast, R. Ludewig

and K. Lohs, in *Akute Vergiftungen* (Stuttgart, 1971), p. 181, contend that the skin of the common toad (*Bufo bufo*) and the green toad (*Bufo viridis*) contains psychoactive sterols. The skin of the fire salamander is said to contain two highly poisonous alkaloids, salamandrine and salamandaridine; see O. von Hovorka and A. Kronfeld, *Vergleichende Volksmedizin* I (Stuttgart, 1908), p. 369. Toads, when burned, were also valued as medicine. 'Although the toad is poisonous,' Albertinus wrote in 1612 in his book, *Der welt tummel vnd schawplatz,* 'when it is burned to ashes, it loses its poisonous power and becomes a medicine.' See H. Bächtold-Stäubli, Kröte, in *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* V (Berlin, 1933), column 619. According to a text of 1601, adder's grease is said to 'cause all the russhes strawed in the parlour, to seeme as if they were crawling snakes'. A certain Whitehead maintained 'that he coude turne all the rushes in a Roome into spirites and serpentes'; cited in G.L. Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (New York, 1929), p. 144. There are well-known legends in which the hero can understand the language of birds after eating a white snake. After drinking the blood of the dragon (snake) Fafnir, Sigurdr, as told in the *Fafnismal,* understood the nuthatches, and the snakes licked out the ears of Melampus for the same purpose; see R.T. Christiansen, *The Migratory Legends* (Helsinki, 1958), p. 39. According to A. Puharich, *The Sacred Mushroom* (Garden City, 1974), p. 94, bufotenine seems also to be present in the seeds and leaves of the mimosa, *Ahadenantera peregrina,* which in the past was used to prepare the drug snuff *cohoba,* and also in panther cap and fly agaric, although the latter is presently disputed; see C.H. Eugster, Über den Fliegenpilz, in *Neujahrsblatt der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Zürich* (Zürich, 1967), p. 34. Mimosa was a plant described by Christopher Columbus. According to B. de las Casas, in *Apologética historia de las Indias* I (Madrid, 1909), pp. 138, 445, it was ingested by the inhabitants of the Antilles in order to ask the Devil for advice, until they spoke gibberish, 'or as the Germans, in a confused manner'. In earlier times, the Mayas also seem to have used toads, as reported by an English traveller. 'First they put some water into a pitcher, then they add the juice of the sugar cane or some honey in order to sweeten the beverage, and to give it potency, they put in tobacco leaves and roots, and also other roots that grow in that country and about which they know that they have a similar effect. I saw myself at various places that they also threw in a live toad. Then the vessel is sealed, and the content is allowed to ferment for fifteen days or a month, until everything is well mixed and the toad is putrefied, and the drink has achieved its desired strength'; T. Gage, *Neue merckwürdige Reise-Beschreibung nach Neu Spanien* (Leipzig, 1693), p. 307. Even today, Indians of Guatemala seem to rub themselves with toad skin; cf. N.M. Hellmuth, Comment, *Current Anthropology* (1974), p. 155; P.T. Furst, Comment, *Current Anthropology* (1974), p. 154; and G. Tessmann, *Die Pangwe* II (Berlin, 1913), p. 145. M. Barnard, in *The Mythmakers* (Athens, 1966), p. 24, contends that in ancient China bufotenine was extracted from toad glands, but she gives no references. The pharmacologist Alger thinks that a toad decoction was most probably a single, i.e. one-way ticket to the grave, which Gage also confirms. He reports

that cases of death occur, especially in those areas where the Indians 'put toads in'. As Tessmann writes, the Fang specifically use crushed toads for poisoning.

8 J. Weier, *Von den Teuffeln/Zaubrern/Schwartzkünstlern/Teuffellsbeschwerern/Hexen oder Vnholden vnd Gifftbereitern* (Frankfurt/Main, 1575), p. 435. Cardan, the source Weier uses, mentions the fat of children exhumed from graveyards, celery, aconite and cinquefoil; cf. H. Cardanus, *De subtilitate* (Basel, 1554), p. 500. Quite possibly, Weier took his information from his famous teacher, for the latter suggests that the smoke of coriander, celery, henbane and hemlock will instantly cause the demons to assemble; see H.C. Agrippa von Nettesheim, *Magische Werke* I (Stuttgart, 1855), p. 198. D. Merezkowskij apparently used Weier's list, as well as De Lancre, when he wrote his classic description of the preparation for the witches' flight in his *Leonardo da Vinci* (Berlin, 1928), p. 121. Weier also mentions an oil, made primarily from darnel seeds, henbane, hemlock, red and black poppy seed, lettuce and portulaca.

9 F. Bacon, *The Works* II (London, 1876), p. 664.

10 Quoted in J. Tomeo and M. Estadella, *La brujería y la superstición en Cataluña* (Barcelona, 1963), p. 31. The authors write that rue, the witch's herb, was the most important ingredient of the witch's salve.

11 J. Valvasor, *Die Ehre des Herzogthumes Crain* I (Laibach, 1689), p. 359. See also E. Richter, Der nacherlebte Hexensabbat, *Forschungsfragen unserer Zeit* (1960), p. 99. G.W. Gessmann, *Die Pflanze im Zauberglauben und in der spagyrischen Heilkunst* (Berlin, 1922), p. 158, mentions similar salves, also containing darnel, but without giving his sources. Pierre de Lancre, in *Wunderbahrliche Geheimnissen der Zauberey* (n.p., 1630), p. 21, writes, 'some say that the salve, so to speak, paralyses the witches and emboldens them to fly through the air even in the darkest of nights, for the Devil mixes some substances [into the salve] such as mandrake and Memphis stone.' In 1626 Francesco-Maria Guazzo mentioned deadly nightshade, darnel, mandrake, castoreum and poppy; see R.H. Robbins, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology* (New York, 1959), p. 366. J.C. Frommann, in *Tractatus de fascinatione* (Nürnberg, 1675), p. 764, enumerates 'opium, crocus, storax, vinum, cicuta (i.e. Shakespeare's "root of hemlock digg'd i the dark"), coriander', and Porta gives 'celery-seed oil, monk's hood, poplar leaves, and soot. Or take celery, sweet flag (calamus), cinquefoil, bat's blood, soporific nightshade and oil'; I.B. Porta, *Magiae naturalis* (Amsterdam, 1561), in Lugdun's edition (1561), p. 180. 'Also the juice of celery, poplar leaves, calamus, nightshade, jimson weed, aconite' as an ointment (I.B. Porta, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 and 178). 'As to witch's salves there is something else that I need to mention. According to parliamentary documents, such a salve consists of the following ingredients: mandrake root; henbane seed; grey barley, hemlock; nightshade berries, badger and fox grease, mixed with the juice of poppy seeds'; J.F. Rübel, *Systematische Abhandlung von denen fast allgemein eingerissenen Irrthümern betreffend die Besizung des Menschen vom Teufel* (n.p., 1758), p. 136. 'The salve is prepared in a devilish manner,' writes Matthias von

Kemnat, chronicler and court chaplain of Frederick the Victorious of the Palatinate in the fifteenth century, 'of the fat of children who were broiled and fried, together with poisonous things such as snakes, lizards, toads, spiders'; quoted in H. Wirth, Hexenverbrennung zu Heidelberg, *Archiv für die Geschichte der Stadt Heidelberg* (1868), p. 107. M.J. Praetorius, in *Blockes-Berges Verrichtung* (Leipzig, 1668), p. 301, speaks of 'poppy, nightshade, sunflower, hemlock, and similar substances', and gives as his source Paracelsus, in whose writings, however, I have found only such information as cat's grease, wolf's grease, donkey's milk and the like; cf. T. Paracelsus, *Opera* II (Strassburg, 1616), p. 259. J.S. Halle, in *Magie, oder, die Zauberkräfte der Natur* I (Berlin, 1784), p. XXXIII, mentions henbane and aconite. The 'flying fat' of Hungarian witches, one of whose appellations was 'beautiful women', was said to have been prepared from the fat of bats, which were caught in the week preceding St George's day and which had just awoken from hibernation. It was rubbed on the soles of the feet. Other ingredients mentioned are the intestines of unbaptized children, placenta, nightshade and soot; see H. von Wlislocki, *Aus dem Volksleben der Magyaren* (München, 1893), pp. 90, 115, 140. According to G. Róheim, *Die Panik der Götter* (München, 1975, p. 246), Hungarian women rubbed a salve made of toad grease on the soles of their feet, on their hands and in their armpits. V. Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 38, says they rubbed a 'certain poisonous plant', most probably henbane, on their temples, their backs and their arteries. In Kärnten it was maintained in 1673 that witch's salve was prepared from arsenic and 'thunder rays', which perhaps stood for antimony or rock crystal; see F. Byloff, *op. cit.*, p. 105; and K. Reiterer, *Ennstalerisch* (Graz, 1913), p. 100. In the second chapter of his book, *De la lycanthropie, transformation et extase des sorciers* (Lyon, 1591), the physician Jean de Nynauld enumerates the following: 'Belladonna root, nightshade, the blood of bats and hoopoes, aconite, celery, soporific nightshade, soot, cinquefoil, calamus, parsley, poplar leaves, opium, henbane, hemlock, varieties of poppy, and crustaceans, which make it possible to see the shades of hell, that is, evil spirits, in the same manner as on the other hand, the anacrustaceans call forth the images of the holy angels . . .'; quoted in M. Préaud, *Les Sorcières* (Paris, 1973), p. 34; see also A.J. Clark, Flying ointments, in *The Witch Cult in Western Europe* (London, 1921), p. 279. Unfortunately, I have not had access to de Nynauld's essay, *Les ruses et tromperies du Diable*, published in Paris in 1611, which contains a chapter about 'the composition of their ointments', according to R. Yves-Plessis, *Essai d'une bibliographie française de la sorcellerie* (Paris, 1900), p. 126; or to the *Magiologia* (1674) of the Swiss minister B. Anhorn of Hartwiss, which is also said to cite salve recipes. According to de Nynauld, the witches prepared 'oils or ointments' from the ingredients mentioned, and 'they rubbed their entire body with them, in order for their pores to open up and to relax'. 'Thus it is no wonder that after having rubbed all parts of the body until it flushed, and using such an ointment, it should appear to them (as a result of their foolish belief and intention) that they were carried up into the air, so the ointment penetrated them and was carried to the brain.' (Translation by Goodman). Recipes of rather dubious quality and without any reference to

sources are given by C. Seignolle, *Les évangiles du diable* (Paris, 1964), p. 319. Aphrodisiac salves (*fattura d'amore*) prepared from mandrake root, henbane, black nightshade, thorn apple etc. are still used in southern Italy today; see M. Risso and W. Böker, Delusions of witchcraft, *British Journal of Psychiatry* (1968), p. 966. North of the Alps, vervain (verbena) is often mentioned in this context; see M. Busch, *Deutscher Volksglaube* (Leipzig, 1877), p. 149. The herbs which are called 'witches' herbs' in folk terminology do not generally bear this designation because of memory concerning their use in witches' salves, but rather because, for example, the dishevelled look of their syncarp suggests the tangled hair of witches. In the same way, the male fern in some German dialects is described as 'witch's wing' or 'druid's feather'; see H. Marzell, Hexen und Druden in deutschen Pflanzennamen, *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* (1962), pp. 108, 110. Whether the many recipes mentioned above were derived from a limited number of original ones is difficult to determine today. It is certainly nigh impossible to ascertain what the source of the original recipes was, or whether some of them were simply invented. Porta and Paracelsus, and probably also Cardan, give the impression that they received their information from witches or from herb-women directly. That one of them would have tried such a salve on himself was unthinkable in their time; see W. Shumaker, *The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1972), p. 79. There is a report about Gassendi that he pretended to ingest a substance that a shepherd took in his presence. In a few minutes, the shepherd was asleep and 'in his dream, he talked all sorts of nonsense'. When he awoke four or five hours later, 'he congratulated Gassendi, who lay next to him on the floor close to the fireplace, on the favourable reception that Gassendi was accorded during his very first visit with the he-goat'; M. Perty, *Die mystischen Erscheinungen der menschlichen Natur* (Leipzig, 1861), p. 378. As his source, the author gives the 'Lettres Juifs' of the Marquis d' Argent, which I had no access to. I have scanned the collected works of Gassendi, but can find no mention of the incident. Perhaps there were some very rare cases of self-experimentation during the Renaissance after all, for R. Scot, in *The Discouerie of Witchcraft* (London, 1584), p. 186, cites the following reason why he did not believe in the effect of salves: 'It were maruell, that when a stranger is annointed therewith, they haue sometimes, and yet not alwaies, the like operation as with witches.' H. Boguet writes in 1590 that people who were not witches had flown out of the chimney with the aid of the salve; see G. Parrinder, *Witchcraft: European and African* (London, 1958), p. 45. Baptista von Helmont carried out the first attested self-experiment in the seventeenth century with the dangerous aconite; see J. Ennemoser, *Geschichte der Magie* (Leipzig, 1844), p. 913. Folk tradition no longer preserves any memory of witches' salves. However, the various herbs given above are cited as ingredients of a 'great witches' smoke' from the seventeenth century, but used 'against evil'. There is mention of elderberry, henbane, vervain, fern, hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), nightshade, poppy seed (*Papaver somniferum*), mint (*Mentha pulegium*), rue, tansy, greater celandine and maidenhair; see L. Fischer, Ein 'Hexenrauch', *Bayerische Hefte für Volkskunde* (1917), p. 199. 'Another

poultice to the head to cure the witch's delirium: take ground white poppy seed, henbane seed, one-and-a-half fifth each, two-fifths of the outer skin of mandrake root, 15 gram of opium, 6 gram of saffron, and as much milk as needed. Of this, prepare a mush over the fire and apply warm'; A. Glorez, *Eröffnetes Wunderbuch* (Regensburg, 1700), p. 454.

12 J. Harttliepp, *Puch aller verpotten Kunst* (Halle, 1914), p. 20. The following instructions, quoted by H.B. Schindler in *Der Aberglaube des Mittelalters* (Breslau, 1858), p. 160, are apparently based on this mixture: 'Crescent-shaped fern (*Osmunda lunaria*), cut on Monday', see H. Marzell, Die Mondraute als Kraut des Mondes, *Schweizer Archiv für Volkskunde* (1931), p. 60; 'vervain (*Verbena officinalis*) collected on Tuesday; spurge (*Mercurialis perennis*) picked on Wednesday, houseleek (*Sempervivum tectorum*) fetched on Thursday; maidenhair (*Adianthum capillus veneris*) broken on Friday, sunflower (*Heliotropium Europaeum*) taken on Saturday, and henbane (*Hyoscyamus niger*) gathered on Sunday, in addition to belladonna (*Atropa belladonna*) and aconite (*Aconitum camarum*).' It seems that Harttliepp's recipe was combined with another one here.

13 This seems to be also supported by the frequently repeated assertion that the 'witches' had thrown away their salves; see, for example, M.R. Buck, Hexenprocesse aus Oberschwaben, *Alemannia* (1882), p. 130; and G. Olgiati, *Lo sterminio delle streghe nella Valle Poschiavina* (Poschiavo, 1955), p. 86. The judges simply assumed the existence of a salve; it was part of the stereotype they had formed of witches, and if a search of the home did not reveal one, then this fact needed to be explained. But why was it considered so important that these salves did indeed exist, if at the same time their 'hallucinogenic' effect was denied? The rubbing with salves was known mainly from eye-witness reports of women who undertook night travels, and it was probably considered as indicating authenticity. The function of a witches' salve was described, for example, by saying that the witches 'would not be able to bear the hard, cruel, and merciless touch of the Devil, and for this reason he hardened their limbs with this oil'. But the principal interpretation was that 'he does this also in order to ape the divine sacraments' (Praetorius, *op. cit.*, p. 422). In a similar vein, Del Rio is of the opinion that the Devil applied the salve, 'in order to imitate the sacred sacraments of the Church and in that way obviously to gain more respect and reverence for his abominable mysteries'; cited in M. Garçon and J. Vinchon, *Le diable* (Paris, 1926), p. 94. Later, the nightly flights were actually described as 'grease flights', and the witches were called 'grease birds' or 'lard wings'; see A. Praetorius, *Von Zauberey vnd Zauberern* (Frankfurt/Main, 1629), pp. 34, 37.

14 I cannot understand how N. Cohn, in *Europe's Inner Demons* (London, 1975), p. 220, can say that there are no eye-witness accounts.

15 The 'public prosecutor in matters of the faith' in the service of the Duke of Lorraine writes, 'Barbelina Rayel says that many times during such flights she became so exhausted that upon returning home she would have to spend three days in bed before being able to stand on her feet again'; see N. Remigius, *Daemonologia, Das ist Von Vnholden vnd Zauber Geistern* (Frankfurt/Main,

1598), p. 168. Another woman reported that during the return flight 'such a wind arose about her that she was hardly able to breathe and nearly choked to death'; N. Remigius, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Many women complained about dizziness and great tiredness the following day; see C. Meyer, *Der Aberglaube des Mittelalters und der nächstfolgenden Jahrhunderte* (Basel, 1884), p. 245. Similar after-effects can be observed in modern seers of spirits. 'Long journeys carried out during ecstasy especially strained her. . . . After one such ecstasy she suffered from hysterical blindness lasting half an hour. She staggered, felt her way hesitantly, and had to be led'; see C.G. Jung, *Frühe Schriften* I (Olten, 1971), p. 28. 'Poriomania' describes a condition where the person walks around in a disorientated state, feeling a strong urge to dance, and finally falls down from total exhaustion; see J. Schumacher, *Die seelischen Volkskrankheiten im deutschen Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1937), p. 13.

16 Pedro Cirvelo, in his book, *Reprobación de las supersticiones y hechicerías*, published in Salamanca in 1556, probably had similar women in mind when he wrote: 'The witches do not leave their homes. Rather, the Devil deprives them of their senses, and they fall to the floor as if dead, and in their fantasies and their dreams they see all that they afterwards tell as having happened to them'; cited in J. Jiménez Rueda, *Herejías y supersticiones en la Nueva España* (Mexico, 1946), p. 197. T. Szasz, for instance, entirely ignores such reports. He is not even willing to grant that such women experience 'hallucinations'. All statements, to him, are fabrications produced under torture; see T. Szasz, *Die Fabrikation des Wahnsinns* (Frankfurt M., 1976), p. 124 [*The Manufacture of Madness* (New York, 1970)]. The same can be said of N. Cohn, The myth of Satan and his human servants, in Douglas, M. (ed.) *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations* (London, 1970), p. 12.

17 *Absoluta Generalia Confessionem veneficarum,* the so-called *Kelheimer Hexenhammer* of 1487.

18 For this point, see L. Mejer, Hexenthum und Stechapfel, *Jahresberichte der Naturhistorischen Gesellschaft zu Hannover* (1894), p. 30.

19 Typical ingredients named in the documents are, for instance, 'seeds of the black fern', see H. Koch, *Hexenprozesse und Reste des Hexenglaubens in der Wetterau* (Giessen, 1935), p. 24. In a 'benevolent hearing' of 1602, we read 'for that, they should take rotten wood, which glows at night, human hair, pig's bristle, well water, a bit of flour, some lard, and a wafer'; see F. Byloff, *Volkskundliches aus Strafprozessen der österreichischen Alpenländer* (Berlin, 1929), p. 19. In 1549 Margreth Thüttinger of Brittnau stated on record that she and her companions 'rode on chairs and rubbed themselves with arbon salve'; see E. Hoffmann-Krayer, Luzerner Akten zum Hexen- und Zauberwesen, *Archives suisses des traditions populaires* (1899), p. 310. According to folk tradition, the witches of Münsterland rubbed themselves with the juice of the buckthorn (*Rhamnus cathartica*); see L. Strackerjan, *Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogtum Oldenburg* I (Oldenburg, 1909), p. 387. On the lower Rhine, glowworms are mentioned (Montanus, *op. cit.*, p. 35); and in Portugal, the dew collected during midsummer's night; see H. Urtel, *Beiträge zur portugiesischen Volkskunde* (Hamburg, 1928), p. 39; in Peru llama fat; see A.M.

Karlin, *The Death-Thorn* (London, 1934), p. 122; in other regions suet, wax, with possibly the addition of some honey; see P. Walther, *Schwäbische Volkskunde* (Leipzig, 1929), p. 77. In 1494 the hangman in the service of Count Philipp of Virneburg reported that he was told by 'women who were practising magic' that they 'took dwarf elderberry, powdered it, mixed it into a cake, prepared a salve with that and flew with it'; quoted in J. Hansen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns* (Bonn, 1901), p. 594. The dwarf elderberry (*Sambucus ebulus*) usually grows deep in the forest, and in many regions is thought to cause insanity. When searching the cell of the subprioress of Unterzell monastery near Würzburg, who was executed in 1749, the searchers found liniment boxes or at least what they thought to be such containers. There were also magic roots and the golden yellow skirt, in which she allegedly used to fly to the 'witches' dance'; see H.C. Schütze, *Vernunft- und Schriftmässige Abhandlung von Aberglauben* (Werningerode, 1757), p. 179. Usually the 'witches' stated that they did not know the composition of the salves; see, for example, J. Schmid, Ein Hexenprozess im Landgericht Hollenburg, *Carinthia* (1965), p. 752; or the statement simply read, as in a report on the *auto-da-fé* in Logroño in 1610, that the Devil came to the witches two or three hours before midnight and 'rubbed their hands, temples, chests, and private parts with a dark-green stinking liquid'; quoted in G. Zacharias, *Satanskult und Schwarze Messe* (Wiesbaden, 1970), p. 56. Ukrainian witches rubbed themselves with an 'unknown liquid', before they flew to the Lysaja Gora, the 'Bare Mountain', during midsummer's night; see D. Zelenin, *Russische Volkskunde* (Berlin, 1927), p. 394. As the witch represented everything that was contrary to the natural order, substances reversing that order were often quoted as being contained in witches' salves, such as cock's eggs. A cock was burned alive in 1474 in Basel, declared guilty of the 'infamous and unnatural crime' of having laid an egg; see J. Needham, Menschliche Gesetze und Gesetze der Natur, in *Wissenschaftlicher Universalismus* (Frankfurt/Main, 1977), p. 291. It seems that modern English 'witching sects' occasionally use ointments. According to G.B. Gardner, in *Ursprung und Wirklichkeit der Hexen* (Weilheim, 1965), p. 50, a hotch-potch of wild speculations, one such ointment consists of vervain or crushed peppermint, which is pressed through a cloth. Information provided by modern authors concerning the content of witches' salves should be treated with caution. Without giving any sources, G. Büscher, in *Buch der Geheimnisse* (Frankfurt/Main, 1952), p. 202, mentions foxglove (*Digitalis purpurea*), which I suspect he confuses with monkshood. Foxglove plays no role either in old folk medicine or in folk tradition. It is apparently mentioned for the first time in 1542 as a herb of folk medicine; see C. Posner, Volkstümliche Mittel in der modernen Medizin, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* (1913), p. 379; and H. Marzell, *Wörterbuch der deutschen Pflanzennamen* (Leipzig, 1951), p. 130. H.G. Wunderlich, in *Die Steinzeit ist noch nicht zu Ende* (Hamburg, 1974), p. 369, suggests that ergot, a parasite of the rye ear, was used in witches' salves. Nothing in the sources supports such an assumption. There is no basis for the contention either that an extract of the red-stem boletus (*Boletus erythropus*) was used; see F-M. Engel,

Die Giftküche der Natur (Hannover, 1972), p. 396. I. Strobl, in Wir Hexen, *Neues Forum* (Mayi, 1976), p. 61, and H. Freimark, in *Okkultismus und Sexualität* (Leipzig, 1938), p. 313, mention fly agaric as an ingredient of witches' salves. This assertion cannot be documented either. I found no indication for it in Strobl's alleged source, H. Marzell, *Zauberpflanzen und Hexengetränke* (Stuttgart, 1963), p. 47. Another author who is quite often unreliable, Robert Graves, in *The White Goddess* (London, 1961), p. 45, relates, without giving his sources, that to this day Portuguese witches use the 'hallucinogenic' mushroom *Panaeolus papilionaceus*. For what purpose, he does not say.

20 As indicated by an eye-witness report of the early fifteenth century, only the question was posed, and the matter was usually not explored any further. Thus a Roman 'were-cat' is reported as saying, 'speaking very loudly before the Capitol, that if only she had her salve, she would go flying away. Oh, how gladly myself and many another courtier would have seen them give her her salve. But then a doctor stood up and said that they should not give her the salve, for it being against the will of God, the Devil would create great confusion' (Harttliepp, *op. cit.*, p. 21).

21 As early as the fifteenth century, the Inquisition accused members of the Waldenses sect in Arras of putting into their flying salve a toad fed on the Host, pulverized bones of a hanged man, herbs and the blood of small children; see W.G. Soldan, H. Heppe and M. Bauer, *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse* (Hanau, 1912), p. 225. Similar accusations were also levelled against the Kathares sect.

22 Fern is frequently mentioned in the proceedings of witch trials; see H. Marzell, *Die heimische Pflanzenwelt im Volksbrauch und Volksglauben* (Leipzig, 1922), p. 32. It is often the 'herb of madness' of legends, and on occasion we hear that it will facilitate the understanding of the speech of animals; see P. Drechsler, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube in Schlesien* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 206; and A.V. Rantasalo, *Einige Zaubersteine und Zauberpflanzen im Volksaberglauben der Finnen* (Helsinki, 1959), pp. 59, 62, 65. In many cases, it is no longer possible to discover which plant is hidden under the term 'fern', which often meant simply, 'high grass'; see J. Hofbauer, *Die Grafschaft Neuburg am Inn* (München, 1969), p. 169. When 'magic texts' talk of 'fern seed', they probably do not mean the spores, but rather the 'magic seed', which allegedly can be seen only on midsummer's night. I suppose, as does Wasson, that in the same way as with mushrooms this 'absence of seeds' contributed to the mythical significance of ferns.

23 Partly quoted from H. Pollack, *Mittheilungen über den Hexenprozess in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1886), p. 13; and from W.G. Soldan et al., *op. cit.*, p. 375.

24 Of course, it sometimes happened, as in the famous witchcraft trial at Mora in Sweden in 1670, that the judge asked, 'whether they were quite sure that they had been carried away by the Devil, or whether it merely seemed to them that way in a dream or in a fainting fit?' (quoted in G.C. Horst, *op. cit.*, p. 218.) Later the *Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana* suggests, concerning alleged 'he-goat riders', that the 'experience' should be taken into consideration 'that melancholy persons, or persons subject to fainting fits or extraordinary ill-

nesses may have a vivid impression of all manner of fantastic matters'. William Penn, an American, took a less complicated stance as presiding judge in the trial of the 'witch of Ridley Creek', who was accused of having ridden on a broomstick. When she voluntarily confessed to these flights, he freed her since, as he said, he knew of no law forbidding flying about at night; see K. Knortz, *Hexen, Teufel und Blocksbergspuk* (Annaberg, 1913), p. 106.

25 See also L. Mejer, *Die Periode der Hexenprocesse* (Hannover, 1882), p. 69. Mejer over-exaggerates the role of the witches' salve, as do many present-day authors on the subject of witchcraft; see, for example, M.J. Harner, The role of hallucinogenic plants in European witchcraft, in Harner, M.J. (ed.) *Hallucinogens and Shamanism* (New York, 1973), p. 129; or W. Woeller, Zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenprozesse in Deutschland, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin* (1963), p. 885. It is simply not true that data on the use of belladonna and henbane 'abound' in the literature of witchcraft trials, as E. Gerhard (*op. cit.*, p. 38) maintains. The frequency of the use of 'hallucinogenic' drugs in central European folk culture is exaggerated at present mainly by the representatives of 'psychedelic folklore', such as Sergius Golowin. He smells a hallucinogenic drug in the most innocent little plant that happens to be mentioned in a fairy-tale or a legend. Even *if* such a plant should have a mind-altering effect, this still does not mean that because of this effect it will then also be imbued with mythical or 'magic' significance. Ergot (*Claviceps purpurea*), for instance, the mycelium of which contains lysergic acid and which has caused severe poisoning and blindness, as well as 'fornication'; see V.H. Bauer, *Das Antonius-Feuer in Kunst und Medizin* (Berlin, 1973), is thought to have some relationship to spirits such as the 'corn mother' or 'rye-wife'. But this may simply be due to the fact that the brown mycelium is reminiscent of the long nipples of a spirit called the 'tits-wife', something pointed out long ago by W. Mannhardt in *Roggenwolf und Roggenhund* (Danzig, 1865), p. 17. To cite another example, when Golowin points to the name 'Krütli', 'little herb', sometimes given to the Devil, he forgets that this term was widely used in Switzerland in a pejorative sense to mean a despicable person or 'rotten apple'; see W.K. Tantsch, *Deutsche Teufels-und Hexennamen aus Urgichten des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg, 1958), p. 219. That witches actually did fly to the sabbat was generally considered to be proved. Jean Filesac wrote in 1609 that anybody who still doubted the reality of the witches' flight was not only not a Christian, but also a dullard; see L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. 8 (New York, 1958), p. 540. And about a hundred years earlier, the Lombardy Inquisitor Sylvester Prierias Mozzolino stated that to doubt the witches' flight meant also to doubt the testimony of the senses, as for instance that at the moment he was composing a book about witches; see H.C. Lea, *Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft* I (New York, 1957), p. 257. In 1529 the Council of the Inquisition decided six to two that the witches of Navarre really did fly to their meetings, and not only in their imagination; see J.C. Baroja, *Vidas mágicas e Inquisición* II (Madrid, 1967), p. 60.

26 See H. Frischbier, *Hexenspruch und Zauberbann* (Berlin, 1870), p. 2. In rare

cases, the witches also flew in egg shells; see V. Newall, *An Egg at Easter* (London, 1971), p. 80.

27 J. Klélé, *Hexenwahn und Hexenprozesse in der ehemaligen Reichsstadt und Landvogtei Hagenau* (Hagenau, 1893), p. 21. It is of course conceivable that on occasion the salve did come in contact with the vaginal mucosa, especially if during her 'flight' the witch slipped back and forth on the broomstick or the fork; see P. Hughes, *Witchcraft* (Harmondsworth, 1965), p. 129. Usually, the witches rubbed 'their back, chest, arms, hands, bend of the knees and elbows'; see H. Tardel, Ein bremischer Hexenprozess vom Jahre 1603, *Niederdeutsche Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1938), p. 43; see also B. Wangner, Hexenprozesse aus den Jahren 1635–36, in Löffingen-Blumberg, *Oberdeutsche Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1935), p. 108; and E. Jones, *Der Alptraum* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 119. M.A. Murray, in *The God of the Witches* (London, 1931), p. 91, suggests that perhaps it was the stick that was anointed *first,* and only later did the witches rub themselves. However, in all probability the historical sequence was the other way around. Murray and her followers, e.g. C. Hole, *Witchcraft in England* (London, 1945), p. 97, cling to this view because they start from the assumption that the 'witches' walked to a real sabbat, and they do not want to accept that they might have flown. The view of these authors is supported by the fact that English witches were indeed quite lazy when it came to flying; see A. Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England* (London, 1970), pp. 6, 215; and K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London, 1971), p. 445. F. Donovan, in *Never on a Broomstick* (London, 1973), p. 60, contends that the witches' salves were also inhaled. I have found no hint of this practice in the sources.

28 Even 'white magicians' were often caught in the crossfire of opinion. It is interesting to note that the criticism levelled against the 'magia naturalis' at the time was less scientific than theological. It was unnecessary to sniff around in the 'book of nature', when you had the 'book of the Bible'; see N. Henrichs, Scientia magica, in Diemer, A. (ed.) *Der Wissenschaftsbegriff* (Meisenheim, 1970), p. 35. 'Scientific magic' was stimulated as a result of contacts which the West enjoyed with Arabic culture at the height of the Middle Ages.

29 'But in order that nothing be forgotten in getting them enthusiastic about the evil spirits, Satan told them about some natural medicine and salves and convinced them that if they would anoint and rub themselves with those, they would soon fly through the chimney and out into the open air' (J. Weier, *op. cit.,* p. 430). Weier was worried that he himself could be suspected of being in league with the Devil, and so he diverted any such suspicion to his source, Porta. 'Lest anybody might think that while I talk about dreams, I myself sleep and talk in such dreams, I thought it to be good and useful to quote, when necessary, of the keen and undaunted work on natural secrets by Johannes Baptista Porta Neapolitano' (*op. cit.,* p. 431). Weier was of the opinion that the Devil so weakened and confused the witches with the aid of drugs that they became his 'willing organ and tool' (*op. cit.,* p. 444). See also D.P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (London, 1958), p. 152.

30 See also J. Bodin, *Vom aussgelasnen wütigen Teuffelsheer* (Strassburg, 1591), p. 273. He thinks that the Devil indeed causes certain delusions in people, but these do not include dancing, flying and copulation. Rather, 'those are accomplished as a result of the words and the salves that he gives them' (J. Bodin, *op. cit.*, p. 118). He feels that Porta and Weier became the victims of such delusions, as they 'try with great effort to convince people that the natural power of a salve brought on the sleep, so that people feel animated to try it themselves' (*op. cit.*, p. 273). Anybody who expressed the opinion that it was the salve and not the Devil was suspected of considering that even Jesus Christ was capable of experimenting with narcotics. 'I hope they will not saie, that Christ had not made anie ointments' (R. Scot, *op. cit.*, p. 103). During the same period T. Hobbes, *The English Works* III (London, 1839), p. 641, even doubted whether Jesus had actually been carried to the desert by the Devil. M. Foucault, Les déviations religieuses et le savoir médical, in Le Goff, J. (ed.) *Hérésies et sociétés* (Paris, 1968), p. 21, thinks that men such as Weier had simply 'internalized' the demonic by emphasizing that the Devil affected the material world less than the soul; see also K.M. Michel, Schön sinnlich, *Kursbuch* 49 (1977), p. 14. This may be so, but in the sixteenth century such an interpretation had an entirely different meaning than Foucault assumes. Had it been taken seriously, then the Devil would not have retained any greater significance than the heathen deities of the witches, who at that time had lost most of their importance anyway. Besides, it was considered a clever strategy of the Devil to have his importance diminished through the mouths of physicians and magicians. That way, humans were lulled into a false sense of security, and the Devil could destroy them all the more effectively.

31 How the *interpretation* of spirits and demons as being devils penetrates into simple *descriptions* can easily be detected in reports of the rites of non-Western societies. This also illuminates the significance of the description of the appearance of the Devil in some European witchcraft trials. Thus, for example, J.B. Müller, in *Leben und Gewohnheiten des Ostjacken* (Berlin, 1720), p. 47, writes, 'The idolater, tied up, throws himself on the ground, and with contorted gestures expects the possession by Satan. . . .' In another text, we read about a shaman, '. . . and he answered that when he wanted to ask the Devil about some matters of the future, he would go about it in the same fashion; what he had done now was only done for our amusement, and in this instance, he had not spoken to the Devil . . .'; J.G. Gmelin, *Reise durch Sibirien* I (Göttingen, 1751), p. 283, quoted in J.U. Haas, *Schamanentum und Psychiatrie* (München, 1976), pp. 256, 264. In the course of the eighteenth century, the Devil migrated more and more into the interpretation, which was marked as such. D. Cranz, for instance, in *Historie von Grönland* (Leipzig, 1765), p. 273, writes of the Eskimo angakoks that 'it cannot be denied that the Father of Lies is capable of insinuating himself into their tricks, in order to increase the respect for these his supposed servants, who can then deceive the poor people'. While Gmelin describes matters as though the shaman had himself spoken of the Devil, some other authors at least indicate that they consider the deities of the natives to be the Devil. Thus Jacinto de la Serna, in

describing a religious feast which took place in Tenantzingo in July 1626, and during which the Indians ingested *teonanacatl* (not *peyotl,* as Gusinde assumes), states that it was certain 'that they had a pact with the Devil'. Cited from M. Gusinde, Der Peyote-Kult, in *Festschrift zum 50 jährigen Bestandsjubiläum des Missionshauses St Gabriel* (Wien, 1939), p. 424.

32 The devils, which in the Middle Ages appeared to monks and nuns in monasteries or convents, were also occasionally without backs; see Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum* I (Bonn, 1933), section 52. The enchantingly beautiful *x-tabai,* a being like a witch, or more like a fairy and the mistress of the animals, especially the deer, who lives in the trunks of old ceiba trees in the rain forest of Yucatán, see R. Redfield and A. Villa Rojas, *Chan Kom* (Washington, 1934) pp. 122, 207, has a hard, bony back, which a man does not notice until he embraces her during intercourse; see J.E.S. Thompson, Ethnology of the Mayas of southern and central British Honduras, in *Field Museum of Natural History* (Chicago, 1930), p. 65; as well as O. Smailus, El concepto de los espíritus del monte (aluxoob), in *Actas del XLI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* III (Mexico, 1976), pp. 219, 222. The Huldren who live in the mountains and in rocks, and who are led by a 'forest woman', have a hollow back, and the Nordic Skogsfru, a demon of death and mistress of animals with pendulous breasts, is equally alluringly beautiful from the front, but from the back she is as hollow as a baking trough. Until the end of the seventeenth century, copulation with her was usually punished by death; see H. Güntert, *Kalypso* (Halle, 1919), p. 71; and Å. Hultkrantz, Bachofen and the Mother Goddess, *Ethnos* (1961), p. 83. Such beings became part of the literature as 'dame world', whose back was eaten away by maggots and worms. In a Middle-Persian tract there is a story according to which Zarathustra is approached by a full-breasted, radiantly beautiful woman, who declares that she is willing to sleep with him. Luckily, Ahura Mazda whispers to him that he should first examine her back, and Zarathustra shudders as he sees that it is full of snakes and toads, and decayed with leprosy; see R. Bleichsteiner, Perchtengestalten in Mittelasien, *Archiv für Völkerkunde* (1953), p. 72. Many British fairies have their backs grown over with seaweed and shells. And of Venus it was said that she had a 'straw arse'; see E. H. Meyer, *Germanische Mythologie* (Berlin, 1891) p. 282.

33 This becomes even clearer when we study the manner in which the Holy Inquisition acted in the case of the Benandanti cult in Friaul. Although the peasants themselves maintained that they were carrying out their (nocturnal) journeys 'for the sake of Christ', and their antagonists, the witches, for the Devil, they were themselves branded as witches in the course of the trial; see C. Ginzburg, *I benandanti* (Turin, 1973), pp. 15, 50, 104, 133.

34 W. Crecelius, Frau Holda und der Venusberg, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* (1853), p. 273: '... then he lay down,' he said at the outset, 'and slept, and upon waking, he found that he was inside the mountain of Venus, and he saw many things there, such as that Frau Holle had a kettle of water hanging over the fire, and that there were some who were sitting in the fire; there were others sitting around the table, some were lying face down, they had food skewers and wine decanters in front of them, but bread was missing;

... nothing unseemly was going on, but he wished that he had never had anything to do with it.' There is a similar story in a letter written by the physician D. Andr. Libarius in 1608 and addressed to D. Sig. Schnitzerus; see O. Böckel, Zur Sage vom Venusberg, *Alemannia* (1885), p. 141. Böckel, who published this letter, was surprised with what candour people were allowed at that time to speak of a visit to the mountain of Venus, especially since Libarius permitted the letter to be printed in his book, *Cista media*. It is not clear from the documents whether Diel Breull made love to Venus. It is known from the Cavalese trials at the beginning of the sixteenth century, that those who did often reported that Venus was cool to the core; see F. Byloff (1929), *op. cit.*, p. 12. The coldness of the demonic penis is better known. 'There was all cold and frost,' a Verena Hornung confessed in 1632 about her copulation with a devil named Hölderlin; see E. Balzer, Die Bräunlinger Hexenprozesse, *Alemannia* (1910), p. 10. This coldness seems to have been transmitted to the witches themselves. In 1640 a man stated that his wife, who was suspected of being a witch, was 'quite often' as cold as a frog during intercourse; see W. Krämer, *Kurtrierische Hexenprozesse im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (München, 1959), p. 51. The demonic beings are often described as devoid of soul and feeling. In the past, masturbation was called 'cold peasant'. According to Thomas Aquinas, the Devil was incapable of ejaculation. But if he proceeded with dispatch, he could draw off a man's semen in the role of a succubus and pour it into a woman's womb, still warm, by acting as her incubus. At best, only the witch or the sorcerer derived pleasure from this sort of love-making. The satisfaction of the Devil resulted from the fact that he had gained one more soul for himself. At the time of the Reformation, increasing numbers of people believed that the Devil himself could make a woman pregnant. 'How else, asked the Catholic theologians, could the birth of Luther be explained?'; see H.R. Trevor-Roper, *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change* (London, 1967), p. 95. Later on, the feasibility of this manner of transport of semen began to appear less likely, for 'men whose penis is overly long have been found to be unable to sire their own kind, because in such a long channel the semen becomes cold'; see C. Thomasius, *Kurtze Lehr-Sätze Von dem Laster der Zauberey* (Halle, 1704), p. 200. If semen could not tolerate the passage through a long penis, the probability of it withstanding even a very rapid transit through air was certainly less. Journeys through the air and into mountains, such as those reported by Breull, by the way, seem to have been rather frequent at the beginning of the seventeenth century. A Hans Daniel of Rotenbuch, for instance,considered it necessary to emphasize that he had not participated in any journeys to 'Frau Holle'. See A. Kaufmann, Holda im fränkischen Hexenwesen, *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1891), p. 27.

35 That the Devil on occasion appeared as a woman, naked and with plump breasts, need not be explained by a contrived theory about a 'projection of one's femininity on the father surrogate', as S. Freud does in Eine Teufelsneurose im siebzehnten Jahrhundert, *Studienausgabe* VII (Frankfurt/Main, 1973), p. 304. There is a much less convoluted explanation available. Initially, female figures such as 'Frau Holle' deminated the scene, but their position was later assumed by the Devil. A male devil, however, would have had little

chance of luring large numbers of men to copulate with him. Freud's contention that female devils were exceedingly rare indicates his ignorance of the respective literature. The Devil appeared as a fashionably dressed woman to such saints as Victorinus and Antonius, and the beauties who populated the city of Constance and who 'in incredible numbers swarmed around the Fathers of the Council, were revealed to be disguised devils'. Quoted from Dr Karsch, *Naturgeschichte des Teufels* (Münster, 1877), pp. 6, 35. A devil with full mother's breasts adorned the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris; see F. Heer, *Abschied von Höllen und Himmeln* (München, 1970), p. 115. And a warlock of Willisau, in 1628, described the devil as 'a beautiful woman dressed in red'; see J. Schacher von Inwil, *Das Hexenwesen im Kanton Luzern* (Luzern, 1947), p. 9; see also H-J. Stebel, *Die Osnabrücker Hexenprozesse* (Osnabrück, 1969), p. 63. He appears under the name of 'Greta' (H. Pollack, *op. cit.*, p. 9), and as late as 1720 a Swedish witch calls him 'Frö', reminiscent of the goddess Freya, the mistress of sorcery; see A. Runeberg, *Witches, Demons, and Fertility Magic* (Helsingfors, 1947), p. 81. Possibly, however, the reference is to Freya's brother, Freyr. Adam von Bremen and Saxo report of his feast in Uppsala that it was very 'immoral' and orgiastic. Quite often in early times the Devil appeared in the shape of classical goddesses, such as Venus or Minerva, see E. Le Blant, Les premiers chrétiens et les dieux, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (n.p., 1894), p. 10; and to a Tobias Ohnmacht he showed himself in 1595 as an attractive woman, who gave him some pleasure, but who was 'cool up to the heart'; see F. Volk, *Hexen in der Landvogtei Ortenau* (Lahr, 1882), p. 13. Witches' guides were also sometimes reinterpreted as witches. In his book, *Die Hymelstrass* (Augsburg, 1484), p. 112, the provost of St Dorothea in Vienna, Stephanus Lanzkranna, speaks of '[people believing in] meeting animals, objects found, in Frau Brecht, and Frau Holle, in Herodiasis, in Diana, the heathen goddess or demoness, in the ones travelling by night and in witches'; quoted in V. Waschnitius, Perht, Holda und verwandte Gestalten, *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Wien, 1914), p. 47. Freya, called the mistress of the cats by the ancient Norse singers, see A.V. Ström, Germanische religion, in *Germanische und Baltische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1975), p. 152, and especially the 'mother of demons', such as Diana or Cybele, later turned into 'the Devil's grandmother'. See F.J. Dölger, Teufels Grossmutter, *Antike und Christentum* III (Münster, 1932), p. 174; and C. Schneider, *Geistesgeschichte der christlichen Antike* (München, 1970), p. 160.

36 The term signifies a spot where the fence can be crossed. Since time immemorial such spots were suspected as the place of the *hagazussa,* the witch.

37 See R. Weiss, Eine merkwürdige Luftfahrt nach Mailand im 16. Jahrhundert, *Schweizer Volkskunde* (1947), pp. 98, 100. F. Ranke, in *Kleinere Schriften* (Bern, 1971), p. 249, interpreted this journey as 'the journey of an epileptic in the confused state following a sensory and motor aura'. We will return later to the problem of such interpretations.

38 See chapter 2, note 18.

39 Cited in M. Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

40 See F. Byloff (1929), *op. cit.*, p. 100. J. Favret, Hexenwesen und Aufklärung, in

Honegger, C. (ed.) *Die Hexen der Neuzeit* (Frankfurt/Main, 1978), is probably somewhat hasty in her judgement when she says that the witches themselves speak to us across the centuries only through their silence. It is my impression that it is sometimes possible to distinguish their voices from demonologic insinuations. It was not just the Devil who was turned into a woman; female guides were also occasionally converted into men. In Mecklenburg, for instance, Frau Holle appeared as a sinister fellow in a green hunting jacket with a wide-brimmed hat; see V. Waschnitius, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

41 Quoted from J.G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* I (London, 1935), p. 151.

42 See I.A. Leonard, Peyote and the Mexican Inquisition, *American Anthropologist* (1942), p. 325.

43 See R.E. Schultes, An overview of hallucinogens in the Western hemisphere, in Furst, P.T. *Flesh of the Gods* (London, 1972), p. 5. If we take into consideration that Schultes, one of the best known ethnobotanists in the world, never experienced much more than vomiting and headaches during his drug experiments, see R.E. Schultes, A new narcotic snuff from the northwest Amazon, *Botanical Museum Leaflets* (1954), p. 248, and The plant kingdom and hallucinogens, *Bulletin of Narcotics* (1970), p. 25, then his attitude becomes a bit more intelligible. See also the somewhat innocent remarks of I.C. Jarvie, Comment on Rosengren on Malinowski's magic, *Current Anthropology* (1976), p. 678; or P. Tibbetts, Feyerabend's 'Against Method': the case for methodological pluralism, *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* (1977), p. 272.

44 See J. de Cárdenas, *Primera parte de los problemas y secretos maravillosos de las Indias* (Mexico, 1591), p. 234. On the other hand, Fray Diego Durán, who in the 1570s wrote about the Aztecs' use of salves prepared from *ololiuhqui* – probably the bindweed *Rivea corymbosa* or *Ipomea violacea,* not *Datura meteloides,* as has often been maintained, see R.E. Schultes, Teonanacatl: the narcotic mushroom of the Aztecs, *American Anthropologist* (1940), p. 429 – is of the opinion that people who smear themselves with that kind of 'tar' and become sorcerers, can only establish contact with the Devil *with its aid*; see D. Durán, *Book of the Gods and Rites* (Norman, 1971), p. 116.

45 W. Müller, *Indianische Welterfahrung* (Stuttgart, 1976), p. 54; and M. Chaves, Mítica de los Sionas del alto Putumayo, *Miscellanea Paul Rivet* II (Mexico, 1958), p. 133. Any fool can smoke pot, said my friend Wolf Brüggemann at a time when I did not want to understand what he meant. Ethnologists now and then do report on the drug experience with considerable arrogance and lack of understanding. Take S. Knecht, Indianische Götterpilze, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1967), p. 285, where she says, 'It would be interesting to find out what the Indians see during mushroom intoxication. Since their psyche is of a relatively simple structure, and they are on a primitive level of consciousness (disregarding some highly intelligent Indians), their experiences during intoxication are probably not very different from those in the conscious state – except for some colour effects and the perception of being without a body. Unfortunately, Indians will not entertain such questions, and they are not capable either of interpreting their spiritual or drug-induced experiences.' What W. Hopp, in *Sterben – wenn nötig, töten – nie* (Berlin, 1958), p. 141,

writes about the Omagua shamans and their visions is even more embarrassing. 'One could write a book about his sorcery and about the hypnotic influence he has on his fellow tribesmen, and it would be utter nonsense.' Although not valid for the shaman, the prognostication is certainly valid for Hopp's book! See also H.P. Duerr, Fröhliche Wissenschaft, *Unter dem Pflaster liegt der Strand* (1977). With remarkable naïvety, M. Dobkin de Rios, The anthropology of drug-induced altered states of consciousness, *Sociologus* (1972), p. 149, suggests that EEG investigations of experiences such as Castaneda's should be carried out, see, e.g., A. Kasamatsu and T. Hirai, An electroencephalographic study on the Zen meditation (Zazen), in Ornstein, I.E. (ed.) *The Nature of Human Consciousness* (New York, 1973), p. 503, because experiments of that nature would be a step in the right direction to make such interior states 'respectable' scientifically. See also H. Bergson, *Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion* (Paris, 1932), p. 232. E. Arbman, in *Ecstasy or Religious Trance* I (Uppsala, 1963), p. 200, writes as follows, 'In 1948 during one of his stays among the Wind River Shoshoni in Wyoming, my successor to the chair in Comparative Religion at the University of Stockholm, Professor Åke Hultkrantz, had an opportunity of participating in a peyote rite. His attempts to smuggle away some of the drug he was offered in order to keep his powers of observation intact were only partly successful, owing to the intentness with which he was observed by Indian participants in his immediate vicinity.' To think that his Indian hosts allowed him to participate in a sacred ceremony, and the professor had nothing more urgent to do than to 'smuggle away' some of the drug, presumably to have it analysed in the laboratory!

46 P. Bayle, *Oeuvres diverses* III (La Haye, 1729), p. 563. Jacquier, a Dominican, had long ago voiced the same opinion as Bayle, and for him therefore the question of the reality of the witches' flight was immaterial. See S. von Riezler, *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse in Bayern* (Stuttgart, 1896), p. 246. At the same time as the French sceptic, a German author wrote, with somewhat greater tolerance but actually with even greater cynicism, 'To be sure, people who use poisonous substances of the kind that the so-called witches' salves consist of, certainly deserve the rod and banishment. Why they should be burned, however, I do not understand; unless we want to admit that since they have already scorched their brain their body is now of no good except to be burned' (J.F. Rübel, *op. cit.*, p. 137). It was emphasized with increasing frequency in the seventeenth century that precisely for such reasons they were *not* suited to testify against themselves, as when, for instance they confessed without being pressured to have flown to the sabbat; see C. Hansen, *Witchcraft at Salem* (New York, 1969), p. 94. The interpretation of visionary and demonic experiences as illness was advanced with varying intentions. Early on, Isidor of Sevilla labelled as 'pestilence' any kind of heresy, which penetrated into the viscera in the form of bad air; see R.I. Moore, Heresy as disease, in Lourdaux, W. and Verhelst, D. (eds) *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages* (Leuven, 1976), p. 2. What was leprosy for the body, was heresy for the soul. Teresa of Avila, on the other hand, attempted to save visionary nuns from the Inquisition by ascribing their 'non-intellectual visions' to illnesses such as melancholy; see

T.R. Sarbin and J.B. Juhasz, The historical background of the concept of hallucination, *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* (1967), p. 343. The commission, set up by the Parliament of Dijon in 1661 to investigate the possession of the nuns of Auxonne, came to the conclusion that they were suffering from a 'uterine affliction'. The nuns were amorous and thought and spoke of nothing but love; see C. Ernst, *Teufelsaustreibungen* (Bern, 1972), p. 117. According to R. Mandrou, Die französischen Richter und die Hexenprozesse im 17. Jahrhundert, in Honegger, C. (ed.) *Die Hexen der Neuzeit* (Frankfurt/Main, 1978), p. 322, possession scandals of nuns, who usually came from better families, created much more of a furore than the mass burnings of poor women out in the countryside. On the basis of such occurrences the principle of 'a little illness, a lot of invention, and no demons' eventually gained more and more currency. How off-handedly even in recent times 'witches' were declared to be psychotic is demonstrated by O. Snell, in *Hexenprozesse und Geistesstörung* (München, 1891), p. 95, who speaks of some cases which could not be explained other than by 'the assumption that the witches were convinced of their participation in the Satanic cult with its flight through the air or, *which is the same,* that they were mentally ill' (my italics). The more rigid and closed the world view of people is, the more they are inclined to consider those who have different experiences or deviant opinions to be sick, and to treat them accordingly. 'I still remember,' writes Ignazio Silone, in A. Koestler, *Ein Gott der keiner war* (Zürich, 1950), p. 93, of an experience in Russia in the early 1920s, 'how once I tried for several hours to make clear to a director of the state publishing company that she should at least be embarrassed about the discouraging and humiliating circumstances under which Soviet authors were forced to work. She simply could not understand what I was talking about. "Freedom," I had to elucidate to her with examples, "is the possibility to doubt, the possibility to make mistakes, to search and to experiment; it is the possibility to answer nay to any kind of authority, be that a literary, artistic, philosophical, social, or even political one." "But that is just it," murmured the high functionary, "that would be counter-revolutionary." Then she added, in order to have a come-back of sorts, "We are happy that we do not have your kind of freedom. We have sanatoriums instead."' As is well-known, the sanatoriums of the Soviet Union act as hosts to such counter-revolutionaries to this day.

47 H.R. Trevor-Roper, *op. cit.*, p. 93, pays no attention to this.

48 U. Molitoris, *Von Hexen vnd Vnholden* (Strassburg, 1575), p. 56.

49 Very early, women undertaking 'night travels' and fence demons are mentioned in the same breath. In a poem probably composed at the beginning of the fourteenth century in Ghent, there is talk of 'fence demons, travelling women, spirit children, belief in spirits, hobgoblins, elves, goblins, and mares'; see J. Franck, Geschichte des Wortes 'Hexe', in Hansen, J. (ed.) *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns* (Bonn, 1901), p. 636. The clear separation between 'night travellers' and *striga*-like witches was so difficult, and the danger that the *Canon Episcopi* (cf. chapter 5), which declared the nocturnal flight of the night travellers to be an illusion, would also

protect the *striga*-like witches was so great that some experts knew no other way out than to cast doubt on the authenticity of the decision of the Council, although the Curia never dared to repeal it; see H-P. Kneubühler, *Die Überwindung von Hexenwahn und Hexenprozess* (Diessenhofen, 1977), p. 44. In a dialogue, which Pico della Mirandola wrote in 1523, the question was raised whether witchery was an old or a new kind of heresy. He lets one of his discussants answer, 'I certainly believe that part of it is ancient and part of it is replete with new superstitions, or you might say, in its essence, it is old, and by accident, also new (speaking in modern terms)'; G. Pico della Mirandola, *La strega* (Milano, 1864), p. 59. As we shall see, this opinion was not all that far from the mark.

50 J.G. von Kaisersperg, *Die Emeis, Dis ist das Büch von der Omeissen* (Strassburg, 1516), pp. 36, 54. The second quotation is almost verbatim from M. Plantsch, *Opusculum de sagis maleficis* (Pforzheim, 1507), p. c2a; cf. N. Paulus, *Hexenwahn und Hexenprozess* (Freiburg, 1910), p. 8. Geiler also reports of a knight who wanted to journey to Venus Mountain. But when he came to, he found himself in a dung puddle. 'That was Venus Mountain,' Geiler states laconically; see also P. Binsfeld, *Tractat Von Bekanntnuss der Zauberer vnd Hexen* (München, 1591), p. 30. (The *Emeis* was not published by Geiler himself: it was written from memory by the Franciscan Johann Pauli, who regularly went to listen to Geiler's Lenten sermons.)

51 See H.C. Lea, *Geschichte der Inquisition im Mittelalter* III (Bonn, 1913), p. 557. Jean Vineti, a Dominican and Inquisitor of Carcassonne, was probably the first to speak of a 'new sect' in 1450. Another Dominican, the Inquisitor Bernhard of Como wrote at the beginning of the sixteenth century, 'Thus the *strigas*' sect is not the same as the one where they profess and believe that they are riding on some animals with Diana, the pagan goddess, or with Herodias' (quoted in J. Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 282). Night travellers and the later witches are carelessly lumped together by most feminists whose works I have read; see, e.g., I. Strobl, Die Hexen, *Emma* (October 1977), p. 20. The sources lend no support whatsoever to Strobl's fantasy that the sabbats, that were insinuated into the confessions by the judges, were actually 'a kind of meeting of female physicians', where 'cult dances were performed, and sacrifices made'. A. Zindler's presentation, in Hexengesang, *Frauenoffensive* (January 1978), p. 27, is more analytical and less burdened by ideology.

52 In 1411 the Tyrolean nobleman Hans von Vintler wrote that 'there is sufficient evidence to show that the [witch's] body does not leave. They are removed in mind, so that they fancy that they are flying away. This is what Satan uses to deceive them, so they believe him'; H. von Vintler, *Die pluemen der tugent* (Innsbruck, 1874), V, 8174.

53 The government of Upper Austria in Innsbruck voiced the opinion as late as 1540 that the arrested women should be given their ointment boxes, so they could rub themselves, and common people could see for themselves that 'the matter was nothing and pure fantasy'; see F. Byloff (1929), *op. cit.*, p. 39. Since eye-witness reports were contradictory, a large number of authors came to the conclusion that the witches sometimes did actually fly, but of others one might

say that, 'These with Drake sail about the world, but it is on an ocean of their own phancies, and in a ship of the same: They boast of brave banquets they have been at, but they would be very lean should they eat no other meat'; see T. Fuller, *The Profane State* (London, 1562), p. 353, quoted from K.M. Briggs, *Pale Hecate's Team* (London, 1962), p. 43. See also G. Pico della Mirandola, *op. cit.*, p. 109, or J.N. Martius, *Unterricht von der wunderbaren Magie* (Frankfurt/Main, 1719), p. 21, who thinks that in case of an illusion as well as during a true flight the Devil merely 'imitates' nature, that is, that in no case does anything supernatural take place. Even early authors such as Poseidonius contended that demons could not affect the body; see L. Edelstein, *Ancient Medicine* (Baltimore, 1967), p. 223. Luther, on the other hand, was not at all sure whether witches flew or not, and sometimes took one position and then the other; see M. Luther, *Werke* VIII (Berlin, 1930), p. 257. Finally, towards the end of the sixteenth century, the Devil himself – who, after all, must have known what was going on! – said to Christoph Wagner, 'If people want to know what things are like in a foreign country, we can quickly transport them there, by talking them into preparing a salve of human fat and other substances, and if they rub themselves with that and take a broom or a stick between their legs, then we serve them and transport them away and take them where they desire to go. And when it is time, then we guide them home again. Sometimes we do not take their bodies into the air, but confuse their thoughts and turn them upside down in such a manner that they become convinced that they were at the place where they wanted to go, and see everything that is taking place there, and that they themselves were there and participated, although they actually are lying quietly in one spot and remain unmoving'; quoted in W-E. Peuckert, *Gabalia* (Berlin, 1967), p. 107.

54 Even in other areas of the world the natives seem to be in doubt about what exactly it is of the witch that does the flying. Is it her body, her 'double', her soul? See, for example, B. Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion* (Garden City, 1954), p. 169.

55 The baking trough was particularly considered to be a place of transformation. In many places the bride used to be dressed and fitted with her cap in a baking trough.

56 J.G. von Kaisersperg, *op. cit.*, p. 36. The report is paraphrased from J. Nyder, *Formicarivs* (n.p., 1517), p. 25, a book probably written in 1435. The eye-witness report supplied by the physician Augustus de Turre of Bergamo, cited by B. Spina, *Novus malleus maleficarum sub quaestione de strigibus* (Köln, 1581), p. 8, a work first published in 1459, is quite similar. See also A. Lercheimer, *Christlich bedencken vnd erinnerung von Zauberey* (Speyer, 1597), p. 119, as well as A. Castiglioni, *Incantesimo e magia* (Roma, 1934), p. 291. Bodin also reports of a woman whose body lay stiff during her 'excursion', but she herself was seen at the same time at another location: 'Soon, completely naked, she rubbed herself with a special salve. Then she sank down as if dead and without any feeling. After five hours, when she regained her senses and rose, she told of some fights that had taken place at various places: and which were found to be true' (J. Bodin, *op. cit.*, p. 115). Cysat, the

town-clerk of Lucerne, reports, 'I myself have known a peasant from the province, whose wife said that for a short while she had been to Einsiedel and to other places far from home; sometimes she also spoke of those who died in a foreign country, how she had been with them and had held their hand. But that they were dead, that was not known as yet in their homeland. But her body, he said, remained at home in bed, it was only her spirit or soul, that was going about'; see R. Brandstetter, *Renward Cysat* (Luzern, 1909), p. 36. The description which the 'witch' Cathrina Kellerin provided of her journeys closely resembles the above report; see J. Schacher von Inwil, *op. cit.*, p. 15. Comparable reports even appear much later. Thus, it was told of a Styrian 'witch' at the beginning of the nineteenth century that 'she rubbed herself at all the secret places, for a while turned around in a circle with furious gestures and then fell to the ground twitching convulsively. After lying stiffly for half an hour, she awoke tired and exhausted and maintained: that she had been on the Scheckelberg at a witches' gathering'; see C. Gräff, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Criminalgesetzgebung in der Steyermark* (Graz, 1817), quoted in H. Biedermann, *Hexen* (Graz, 1974), p. 84.

57 In his story *Lucius and the Ass,* Lucian tells how a woman is being observed through a small crack in the door. This is a scene often repeated in legends; see, e.g., P. Zaunert, *Rheinland Sagen* II (Jena, 1924), p. 143. The observer sees how she strips and, beginning with her toenails, rubs herself with something that appears to the onlooker like olive oil. Suddenly, feathers begin to sprout, her nose changes into a beak, and screeching she flies out of the window in the shape of an owl. 'I thought I was dreaming,' Lucian continues, 'and felt my eyelids with my fingers, for I did not believe that my own eyes were seeing this or were awake. When eventually I had barely convinced myself that I was awake, I then asked Palaestra to give me feathers too, and to smear me with that concoction and allow me to fly; for I wished to learn by experience whether, when my body was transformed from human shape, my soul would also become that of a bird'; Lucian, *Works* VIII (London, 1967), p. 73. Classical goddesses such as Hera or Aphrodite stripped, anointed themselves with a salve and flew away; see also F.J.M. de Waele, *The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco-Italian Antiquity* (Gent, 1927), pp. 133, 138. Lucian's narration, as well as a similar one in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses,* must have been well known at the time of the Renaissance. They are quite often used for comparison, as for instance when D. Durán (*op. cit.*, p. 116) draws a parallel between the Greek witch and the Aztec *nahualli,* who could change themselves into animals. Even Porta, who has a bad reputation with a number of modern scientists, see, for example, L. Olschki, *Bildung und Wissenschaft im Zeitalter der Renaissance in Italien* (Leipzig, 1922), p. 262, because of his interest in natural magic, seems to have put a classical garb on his experience, something often resorted to in his time. See, in this connection, L. Vajda, Traditionelle Konzeption und Realität in der Ethnologie, in *Festschrift für Ad. E. Jensen* II (München, 1964), p. 768. Even in classical times, similar stereotypes for the presentation of ritual ecstasy were available; see M. Dibelius, Die Isisweihe bei Apuleius und verwandte Initiationsriten, in *Botschaft und Geschichte* II (Tübingen, 1956), pp. 34, 40.

Not only Porta, but also Cardan calls the night travellers *striga*. 'One should, however, consider whether or not they are witches or demons (which women of the night are usually called *striga* for the nocturnal bird that portends misfortune)'; see H. Cardanus, *Offenbarung der Natur* (Basel, 1559), p. DCXLI. The witch as an owl is possibly not an importation from the south. In an eleventh-century manuscript from Tegernsee, there is mention of a '*witch holzmuoia* or a wild woman'. '*Holzmuoia*' was the customary name for this nocturnal bird, and it seems that its mention at this point in the text (J. Franck, *op. cit.*, p. 618) was not simply a translation into German of the word *striga*.

58 Porta, *op. cit.*, p. 85 (Antwerp edition) and p. 181 (Lugdun edition). Weier prepared the translation into German (*op. cit.*, p. 433). The first edition of the *Magia naturalis sive de miraculis rerum naturalium* appeared in Naples in 1558 without imprimatur. Two years later an Italian translation of the work was published in Venice, which, without comment, left out the episode with the *striga*. The recipes for the witches' salves (see note 11) were also deleted, with the following explanation, not marked as an insertion by the translator: 'But in order not to foment the curiosity of the people and of the impious who would make evil use of this matter, we will be silent on what the concoction was that wicked women of this kind employed, instigated by the Devil and with unbridled intention'; quoted in G. Bonomo, *Caccia alle streghe* (Palermo, 1971), p. 394. In other words, contrary to Porta's opinion, the Devil is made into the originator of the 'witches' experience'. Witches' episodes and recipes of salves are missing also in the Naples edition of 1589, and in an edition located at the library of the University of Heidelberg (without cover; according to the catalogue, it was published in Frankfurt/Main). However, both are included in the two editions mentioned above of 1561, and also in the French translation of Lyon, and in a German translation, published in Sulzbach in 1680. Unfortunately, I had no access to the latter. E.O. Haisch, in Das Hexenwesen, eine Drogen-Subkultur?, *Medizinische Welt* (1976), p. 339, which is regrettably full of inaccuracies, contends that Porta himself experimented with witches' salves, but this is without documentation. What would be called an empirical investigation of witchcraft today was rejected by many of the demonologists of the sixteenth century. For instance Bodin, in his work *Heptaplomeres*, has the Calvinist Curtius say something that most probably referred to himself instead: 'Certainly, I used to feel an inordinate desire to see with my own eyes the flight of the witches through the air and their meeting with the demons.' But considering the danger to life involved in such an enterprise, he finally preferred using classical tradition and the files of contemporary trials as a source for his conviction about the reality of such events; see F. von Bezold, Jean Bodin als Okkultist und seine Démonomanie, in *Aus Mittelalter und Renaissance* (München, 1918), p. 297. At the height of the Middle Ages, when the night-flying women were still protected by the *Canon Episcopi*, men such as Gervasius of Tilbury could afford to speak with them about their flights without further difficulty. At the time of the Renaissance, however, such a conversation could have fatal consequences for the participants, since they would have been termed bloodthirsty *strigas* without any

further ado. During the lifetime of Porta, a Domenica Barbarella of Novi, who flew with Diana by night, was condemned as a 'strega'. It had been observed that 'she had lain as if dead for two hours or thereabouts. When at last she came to her senses after having agitated those about her, she said these words: "I am sure that you are going to despise me." Then she told of many base acts which she said were being perpetrated in the said play' (quoted in C. Ginzburg, *op. cit.*, p. 26). At Pentecost in 1519 a woman called Ursula was banished for ever from Emmenthal, near Bern. Before that, she had been put in the pillory, and a note was attached to her which read as follows: 'This superstitious wench standing here so that she might overcome her foolishness has maintained out of folly and evil belief that she journeyed with Selden and Wútisher, and thereby she discovered many secret matters. And through this she caused suffering to many honest folk, denouncing them as witches. She realized, however, that the Devil, who appeared to her, deceived her in this manner. . . . And if the authorities had not exercised such great mercy and compassion, this heretic and evildoer would have been burned at the stake or drowned in the Aren'; quoted in H.G. Wackernagel, *Altes Volkstum der Schweiz* (Basel, 1956), p. 106. Many of Porta's contemporaries viewed his eye-witness report with scepticism. Although R. Scot, for instance (*op. cit.*, p. 184), believed that Porta had most likely been duped by the 'old witch', 'although he maie be ouertaken and cousened by an old witch, and made not onelie to beleeue, but also to report a false tale', he still cites his episode, mainly in order to refute the influential Bodin, who believed in the reality of the witches' flight. Bodin for his part had considered the *Magia naturalis* fit to be burned, and had called Porta a 'great sorcerer', which accusation Porta in a later edition of his work rather calmly rejected; see G. Bonomo, *op. cit.*, p. 397. How similar the moods of different times can sometimes be is demonstrated in the report of a modern descendant of Porta, who describes the ecstasy of an African witch and then adds, 'Shortly afterwards she began to describe her adventures which I shall call a "dream", though the Mambila would firmly resist any such interpretation and would argue that the events recalled were in fact true'; see F. Rehfisch, Death, dreams, and the ancestors in Mambila culture, in Douglas, M. and Kaberry, P.M. (eds) *Man in Africa* (London, 1969), p. 309. Witches flying about at night seem to have existed by the end of the Middle Ages only in dead space, as Thomas Platter expressed it, see E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Les Paysans de Languedoc* (Paris, 1969), p. 243, that is, in remote regions, and especially in mountainous areas. 'These are beggar women who shy from work,' says Cardanus (1559), *op. cit.*, p. DCXLI, 'who live in the valleys and eat chestnuts or wild herbs. If they did not also have a little milk, they would certainly die. They are skinny, mishapen, with sunken eyes, pale and black, so that even from their faces one can see that they are full of melancholy or black, burned gall. They do not speak much, are entirely mad, and there is little difference between them and those possessed by the evil spirit.' In the isolated valleys, especially during the winter, there was neither fruit nor fresh vegetables and hardly any butter, eggs or fresh meat. The resultant lack of vitamin C and B may in fact have favoured the occurrence of visionary and ecstatic experiences; see A.

Huxley, *Heaven and Hell* (Harmondsworth, 1959), p. 117. In the course of the Middle Ages, nutrition improved as a result of the increased cultivation of peas and beans, both rich in amino acids; see R. Tannahill, *Kulturgeschichte des Essens* (Wien, 1973), pp. 173, 197.

59 See E.H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion* (New York, 1961), p. 80.

60 Nowadays, we would be more inclined to compare these 'cunning folk' with the defenders against witchcraft (*Hexenbanner*) than with the witches themselves. According to a Scottish law of 1563, not only witches were condemned to death, but also those who consulted them; see G. Parrinder, The witch as victim, in Newall, V. (ed.) *The Witch Figure* (London, 1973), p. 128.

61 R. Holinshed, *Chronicles* (London, 1587) quoted in M.A. Murray, *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (London, 1921), p. 104. I do not intend to provide grist for the mill of those who reject the ideas of Murray out of hand. At least Murray saw *one thing*, i.e. that archaic cults represented the background for the excursions of the night travellers. However, she was not only mistaken about the nature of these cults and of the experiences which the women and to a lesser extent the men underwent. Her principal error was that she confused these night travellers with the later 'witches', and partly by manipulating the texts, she constructed a 'cult of Diana' which, if at all, existed only in the imagination of some inquisitors and demonologists. On this point see also J.B. Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1972), p. 25.

62 See G.F. Meyer, *Schleswig-Holsteiner Sagen* (Jena, 1929), p. 34; and W.Y. Evans Wentz, *The Fairy Faith in Celtic Countries* (Rennes, 1909), p. 104. The smearing with a 'troll salve' is also encountered very early; see E. Hartmann, *Die Trollvorstellungen in den Sagen und Märchen der skandinavischen Völker* (Stuttgart, 1936), p. 162. The Lithuanian *berstukai*, fairylike beings who sometimes danced in the heather in the moonlight, would rub humans with a herb salve so that they would change and be able to fly; see E. Veckenstedt, *Die Mythen, Sagen und Legenden der Zamaiten* II (Heidelberg, 1883), p. 14. Even the 'wild women' of the Russian forests, who lived in rock caverns, applied salves of 'forest roots' to make themselves invisible; see J. Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (New York, 1968), p. 79. Apparently, the Benandanti of Friaul used no drugs. When one of them was questioned in 1591 whether he had rubbed himself with any kind of salve or oil, he replied vehemently, 'No, by the Saints, God, and the Evangelists, I did not smear myself, neither did I say any words ...' (C. Ginzburg, *op. cit.*, p. 28). Not only the sorceresses of Thessaly, but also the Tantric ones are said to have used mind-altering drugs in order to fly; see H. Goetz, *Epochen der indischen Kultur* (Leipzig, 1929), p. 309.

Chapter 2 From the Lioness of Women to the Night Travellers

1 An archaic prototype of Artemis is often represented together with some lions. According to D. Sölle, Maria ist eine Sympathisantin, *Emma* (December 1977), p. 12, there is in Latin America a *madonna leona* who rides naked on a

lion. [Transl. note: the Venezuelan 'Maria Lionza'.]

2 See M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion* (Lund, 1927), p. 433; also W.F. Otto, Apollon und Artemis, *Die Antike* (1925), p. 357.

3 See L.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* II (Oxford, 1896), p. 429; J. Wiesner, *Olympos* (Darmstadt, 1960), p. 36; J.J. Przyluski, Ursprünge und Entwicklung des Kultes der Mutter-Göttin, *Eranos-Jahrbuch* (1938), p. 17; and H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos: Histoire du culte de Bacchus* (Paris, 1951), p. 22. Quite possibly the sacred column of Diana Nemorensis has its origin in a tree of that kind. Even the later Diana was worshipped in trees, as we see in an episode from the life of St Nicholas of Myra, to whom Diana appeared in the shape of a nun, after he had caused a tree to be felled, under which sacrifices had been presented to the goddess; see A. Wesselski, *Versuch einer Theorie des Märchens* (Reichenberg, 1931), p. 189. There was also an ancient custom where the hunter hung the antlers and the skins of game on the tree of Artemis or on corresponding club-shaped columns. W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart, 1977), p. 234, thinks that this custom 'without a doubt is as old as the paleolithic'. A Romanian poem, cited by O. Buhociu, *Die rumänische Volkskultur und ihre Mythologie* (Wiesbaden, 1974), p. 28, demonstrates that such an Artemis–Diana, venerated in trees, is alive in some regions to this day:

Sub un cer roşu răsărit,
Este un pom mare 'nflorit.
Cu vîrful pînă la ceri,
Cu poalele jos pe mari.
Cine'n măr ca îmi sedea?
Sedea Zîna Magdalina.

Under the red sky of dawn,
There is a large blooming fruit tree.
Its tip reaches into the sky,
Its trunk down to the ocean.
Who is sitting in the apple tree?
It is the fairy Magdalina.

4 See A. Thomsen, Orthia, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1906), p. 406. Into historical times in her cult, boys were scourged until they bled, in the presence of a priestess. The latter probably did the scourging herself in archaic times.

5 See I. Jucker, Artemis Kindyas, in Rohde-Liegle, M. (ed.) *Gestalt und Geschichte* (Bern, 1967), p. 140; and C. Christou, *Potnia Theron* (Thessaloniki, 1968), p. 23. Probably the word 'tame' is too weak here. The gesture of arms crossed over a woman's breasts may have been an expression of chastity. Adolescent girls in present-day Kabyle society must not only lace their breasts very tightly, but in the presence of their father and elder brothers, they are required to make themselves 'asexual' by crossing their arms over their breasts; see P. Bourdieu, 'The sentiment of honour in Kabyle society', in Peristiany, J.G. (ed.) *Honour and Shame* (London, 1965), p. 224.

6 Most sorceresses, such as Dido or Medea, wore their hair loose and their garments ungirded. Originally, they were probably entirely naked, as Cas-

sandra was during that night when the enemy warriors climbed out of the wooden horse; see G. Luck, *Hexen und Zauberei in der römischen Dichtung* (Zürich, 1962), pp. 19, 69; T. Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult* (Giessen, 1910), p. 22; E. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit, Tod* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 114; and A. Delatte, *Herbarius* (Liège, 1938), p. 57. The 'rain girl' is one of the last survivals of cult nakedness in the Balkans; see N. Kuret, Frauenbünde und maskierte Frauen, *Schweizer Archiv für Volkskunde* (1927), p. 346. As is well known, there were naked girls in the Middle Ages who prayed for rain with the aid of henbane.

7 See K. Dilthey, Archäologische Streifzüge, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* (1870), p. 328; and K. Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* II (Basel, 1975), p. 1048.

8 See M.P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 188. In the valleys of the Karakorum mountains during the feast of Murkum, a goddess reminiscent of Artemis, a naked priest carries out a wild dance, during which he is allowed to take sexual liberties with the women present, but is also mistreated by them. The women too had such a 'right to torture' the king of Gilgit on certain days; see K. Jettmar, Völkerkundliche Forschung im Haramoshgebiet, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1958), p. 253. It is probably incorrect to assume that orgiastic characteristics penetrated into the cult of Artemis from the East, as A. Leibbrand and W. Leibbrand suggest in *Formen des Eros* I (Freiburg, 1972), p. 93. On the other hand, such traits were preserved more clearly due to such influences, for instance in the cults of Ephesia in Asia Minor; see G. Thomson, *Forschungen zur altgriechischen Gesellschaft* I (Berlin, 1974), p. 220.

9 F.G. Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre* II (Göttingen, 1860), p. 392. The *tympana,* a kind of bongo drum dedicated to Artemis Limnatis, also suggests that wild dances were performed; see L.B. Lawler, *The Dance in Ancient Greece* (London, 1964), p. 92.

10 See E. des Places, *La religion grecque* (Paris, 1969), p. 55.

11 R. Zdansky, Die Feuertreter in Thrazien, in Haekel, J. (ed.) *Die Wiener Schule der Völkerkunde* (Horn, 1956), p. 557.

12 And not little girls, as is always alleged; see A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 453.

13 See L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932), p. 208. In an Athens sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis fragments of small craters were found with representations of 'she-bears', dressed in very dark chitons or entirely naked, presumably dancing or moving rhythmically; see F. Muthmann, *Mutter und Quelle* (Basel, 1975), p. 234.

14 See E. Curtius, Artemis Gygaia und die lydischen Fürstengräber, *Archäologische Zeitung* (1853), p. 151.

15 This is how she healed the daughters of Proitos, King of the Argives, whom Dionysus had stricken with madness, probably using opium for the cure, since as Artemis Hemera she is represented with poppy heads.

16 See F. Altheim, *Griechische Götter im alten Rom* (Giessen, 1930), p. 149. In some areas where Artemis was replaced by the Virgin Mary, the latter retained the role of the protectress of fugitives and outlaws; see C. Picard, *Ephèse et Claros* (Paris, 1922), p. 709.

17 See H. Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst* I (Berlin, 1908), p. 54; and G. Siebert, Artémis Sôteira à Delos, *Bulletin des Correspondance Hellénique* (1966), p. 457. Diana, often shown accompanied by Mars, was especially venerated by the legionaries; see G. Ristow, Götter und Kulte in den Rheinlanden, in Doppelfeld, O. (ed.) *Römer am Rhein* (Köln, 1967), p. 59. Even Diwia, a predecessor of Artemis, was a similar goddess of war, who flew over the battlefield in the shape of a crow and was later degraded to a witch.

18 Her birthday was also the day of the servants, and in popular parlance, slaves were called *cervi* or stags; see F. Altheim, *op. cit.*, p. 144; and E. Aust, *Die Religion der Römer* (Münster, 1899), p. 142. At the end of the sixth century BC, we see representations of Diana with antlers on her head; see G. Radke, *Die Götter Altitaliens* (Münster, 1965), p. 106. In Patrai, the priestess of Artemis travelled in a chariot drawn by stags, and the carriage of Artemis flew through the air, drawn by hinds. In a sanctuary of Rhetia, of the 'Artemis of Venetia', near the Val Camonica, twenty-one inscribed antlers were unearthed; see H. Miyakawa and A. Kollautz, Zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte des Schamanismus, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1966), p. 165. The stag masks, mentioned in the well-known report of Caesarius about the *Kalendae Januarii* (January calends) of the early Middle Ages, are usually interpreted as being the masks of the Celtic god Cernunnos. They could just as easily have been masks of the cult of Artemis, especially since the 'Celtic Diana' was often shown with a stag or a hind; see E. Krüger, Diana Tifatina am Limes, *Germania* (1933), p. 105. Petrus Chrysologus mentions that people had carried out hunts of Diana, which were said to have been quite bawdy; see M. Meslin, *La fête des Kalendes de janvier dans l'empire romain* (Bruxelles, 1970), p. 80. On the Iberian peninsula, Artemis was identified with a Lusitanian deer goddess, and in the fourth century St Pacianus, bishop of Barcelona, was upset about stag mummeries which took place in his diocese on New Year's Day, as we know from his work *Cervus,* now lost; see J-M. Blázquez, Die Mythologie der Althispanier, in Haussig, H.W. (ed.) *Götter und Mythen im alten Europa* (Stuttgart, 1973), p. 763. In the Neolithic and Hallstatt cultures the stag was an attribute of the Great Mother, who was mistress of life and death in nature; see H. Ladenbauer-Orel, Die kultische Hirschbestattung von Lang-Enzersdorf bei Wien, *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (1965), p. 257. According to Strabo, there was a small island near Colophon, dedicated to Artemis, where pregnant hinds would swim to in time for calving. Who can tell who those hinds were in archaic times? Especially if we remember the 'she-bears' of Artemis Brauronia, or the turning of Iphigenia into a hind. After all, Iphigenia was an aspect of Artemis as 'opener of the mother's body'. Women of Boeotia, who brought sacrifices to Aktaeon during fertility rites, dressed in hind skins and called themselves hinds. Right up to modern times there are said to have been secret 'witch festivals' in the forest sector of Lower Austria, in which participants wore deer masks; see W-E. Peuckert, Hirsch und Hirschmaske, in Bächtold-Stäubli, H. (ed.) *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* IV (Berlin, 1932), columns 101, 116. The famous 'Abbots Bromley horndance' in Staffordshire, which used to be performed during Twelfth Night

and which, in addition to Maid Marian and Robin Hood, also featured six men with homemade reindeer antlers, was probably part of this tradition. In former times, stags and hinds may have faced each other in this ritual (or reindeer bulls and cows), and probably cohabited; see R. Wolfram, Robin Hood and Hobby Horse, *Wiener Prähistorische Zeitschrift* (1932), p. 360; and K.H. Bouman, Little Brother, in *Forgotten Gods* (Leiden, 1949), p. 72. For a long time, the stag remained an 'other wordly animal'; see V. Kellermann, Der Hirsch im germanischen Volksglauben der Vorzeit, *Germanien* (1938), p. 19. Legends tell how Dietrich von Bern pursued a stag on the hunt, which led him straightway into 'hell'; see H.P. Pütz, Der Wunderer und der Herr der Tiere, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1977), p. 103. Hercules, who was hunting a hind of Artemis, was abducted by her, guided through Scythia and taken to the world beyond; see J. Wiesner, *Die Kulturen der frühen Reitervölker* (Frankfurt/Main, 1973), p. 75. The *x-tabai* (see chapter 1, note 32) was similar to Artemis, and declared to be a demon by the Spaniards. Originally, she was probably Suhui Dzip, a 'mistress of the animals', who protected the stag particularly against hunters and caused their shots to miss the mark; see D. de Landa, *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán* (Cambridge, 1941), p. 155.

19 As late as 942 Pope Marinus complained to the bishop of Capua that wild, unruly dances and hunts were tolerated at Mound Tifata, where an old sanctuary of Diana was located. Similar activities, however, were still observed in the nineteenth century; see K. Hoenn, *Artemis* (Zürich, 1946), p. 137.

20 The names of these goddesses have in part been preserved: Ancamna, see P.J. Schweisthal, Zur Mars-Inschrift aus Möhn, *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt* (1914), p. 90; Sirona, the goddess of springs, see F. Sprater, *Die Pfalz unter den Römern* (Speyer, 1929), p. 42, and R. Forrer, *L'Alsace Romaine* (Paris, 1935), pp. 155, 159; Abnoba, who among others was also a goddess of springs, see E. Krüger, Das römische Quellheiligtum in Baden-Baden, *Germania* (1918), p. 79, and F. Haug, Zu den römischen Altertümern von Baden-Baden, *Germania* (1919), p. 15; and Nantosuelta, see A. von Domaszewski, Die Schutzgötter von Mainz, in *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 131. Diana–Hecate was equated with a trinitarian Icovellauna; see H.F. Diesner, Zur Rolle der Religion unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Christentums, in Günther, R. and Köpstein, H. (eds) *Die Römer an Rhein und Donau* (Wien, 1975), p. 377. The cult of Diana was widely distributed in the Roman Empire. Usually, she was identified with the corresponding local goddess; see C. Patsch, Archäologisch-epigraphische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien, *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina* (n. p., 1899), p. 233. It is sometimes all too tempting to derive the Celtic Dianas *directly* from the mistresses of animals of Crete, as S. Reinach has done, for instance, in L'Artémis arcadienne et la déesse aux serpents de Cnossos, *Bulletin des Correspondances Helléniques* (1906), p. 158, with reference to the Diana holding two serpents in her left hand, which can be seen in a relief from Savigny-lès-Beaune at the Côte-d'Or. Such attributes are also known from Celtic tradition, even from such early representations as those of the Hallstatt culture; see P.

Lambrechts, *Contribution à l'étude des divinités celtiques* (Brugge, 1942), p. 62. Perhaps the Helvetian *dea* Artio, usually shown with a bear and with fruit, was also a Diana; see H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les druides et les dieux celtiques à forme d' animaux* (Paris, 1906), p. 157; and G. Behrens, *Germanische und gallische Götter in römischem Gewand* (Mainz, 1944), p. 31. J. Markale, *La femme celte* (Paris, 1977), p. 121, considers her to be an early Abundantia. Diana Arduinna was thought to hide the goddess Brig(a)it, a mistress of the animals, whose companion animal was the boar, or more properly the wild sow. Associated with the moon, this animal raged through the forest at night and could be pursued only at the peril of one's life; see R. Christinger and W. Borgeaud, *Mythologie de la Suisse ancienne* (Geneve, 1963), p. 45; D. Heubach, Nachklänge aus dem Heidentum im Mittelalter, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1925), p. 161; G. Lehmacher, Die Göttin Brigit, *Anthropos* (1951), p. 272; and J. Markale, *op. cit.*, p. 125. The well-known naked goddess seen riding on a galloping boar may be Diana Arduinna. Strabo reports orgiastic cults associated with these goddesses on an island near the mouth of the Loire, perhaps Le Croisic. These cults seem to have been replaced by more moderate ones, with the rites carried out by the nuns of St Brigit. Until the time of Henry VIII, these women guarded a sacred fire in Kildare; see T.D. Kendrick, *The Druids* (London, 1927), p. 139.

21 See K. Böhner, Romanen und Franken im Trierer Land nach dem Zeugnis der archäologischen Quellen, in Petri, F. (ed.) *Siedlung, Sprache und Bevölkerungsstruktur im Frankenreich* (Darmstadt, 1973), p. 381.

22 See E. Krüger, Diana Arduinna, *Germania* (1917), p. 4, and Ein neues Diana-Relief aus dem Neunhäuser Wald, *Trierer Zeitschrift* (1934), p. 101; Prof. Radtke, Der Dianastein von Oberbetschdorf, *Anzeiger für Elsässische Altertumskunde* (1912), p. 272; and concerning the latter, G. Wissowa, Interpretatio Romana: Römische Götter im Barbarenlande, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1916), p. 30. The later church fathers were indignant about representations of a completely naked Artemis, but this probably existed only in Ephesus, where Ephesia touched her naked breasts; see D.G. Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus* (London, 1908), Table XXIV, 2. We may wish to disregard the popular pictures of the scene where Aktaeon watches Artemis bathing; see the corresponding wall paintings in Pompeii, reproduced by F. Muthmann, *op. cit.*, p. 28; and by D. Le Lasseur, *Les déesses armées dans l'art classique grec* (Paris, 1919), p. 163. In her customary Roman representation Diana wears her chiton unbelted; see A. Alföldi, Diana Nemorensis, *American Journal of Archaeology* (1960), p. 137.

23 At Altrip, the base of a third-century statue of this goddess was found; see E. Schwertheim, *Die Denkmäler orientalischer Gottheiten im römischen Deutschland* (Leiden, 1974), p. 190.

24 See H. Gressmann, *Die orientalischen Religionen im hellenistisch-römischen Zeitalter* (Berlin, 1930), p. 90.

25 If Plutarch is to be trusted; see J. Weisweiler, Die Stellung der Frau bei den Kelten, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* (1939), p. 214. See also A. Bertrand, *La religion des gaulois* (Paris, 1897), p. 361. The Dianas were apparently for

Diana what the nymphs were for Artemis. In the sixth century, Martin of Bracara speaks of there being 'Dianas in the forests, which are all evil demons and spirits'; quoted in W. Boudriot, *Die altgermanische Religion in der amtlichen kirchlichen Literatur des Abendlandes vom 5. bis 11. Jahrhundert* (Bonn, 1928), p. 56. A votive offering found near Vicenza also speaks of 'Dianas'; see C.B. Pascal, *The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul* (Bruxelles, 1964), p. 149.

26 Sometimes, Diana was officially replaced by the Holy Virgin. For instance, A. Boissier demonstrates that the worship of the Virgin Mary at the Fraumünster church in Zürich had its origin in a Celtic Diana cult; see F. Stähelin, Aus der Religion des römischen Helvetien, *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde* (1921), p. 29. The cult of Diana was especially prominent in Ephesus, and later the cult of Mary was propagated from there; see S. Freud, Gross ist die Diana der Epheser, in *Gesammelte Werke* VIII (London, 1943), p. 361. Initially, the Artemis cult in Ephesus was particularly resistant to Christian attacks. It was Johannes Chrysostomos who finally routed it; see J. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums* (Heidelberg, 1929), pp. 102, 282. The Celtic Dianas were often accompanied by a rabbit, which was to become one of the most important animals associated with witches; see A. Weitnauer, *Keltisches Erbe in Schwaben und Baiern* (Kempten, 1961), p. 76; and P. Goessler, Statuetten der Diana und Victoria von Wannweil, *Germania* (1932), p. 201. Later we encounter the rabbit at the feet of Mary, who demonstrates her victory over sensual pleasures.

27 J. Zwicker, *Fontes historiae religionis celticae* II (Bonn, 1935), p. 265. The sixth-century life history of Caesar of Arles tells of a servant girl who was possessed by a demon 'whom the peasants called Diana' (J. Zwicker, *op. cit.*, p. 133). When St Wulfiliacus built a hut for himself near Trier, he found a statue of Diana, 'which the unconverted populace adored as if it were God'. He preached to these peasants that 'Diana was nothing, represented nothing, and should not be venerated'. He then attempted to topple the statue. But since it would not budge, he ran crying into the church and implored the Lord to help him, successfully, for soon the statue fell over, whereupon the saint 'reduced it to dust'. See G. von Tours, *Historiarum libri decem* II (Berlin, 1956), p. 178. Modern historians, though, are of the opinion that the story refers instead to the Northumbrian missionary Willibrord, who built an abbey in the late seventh century near the Sauer by Echternach; see E.M. Wightman, *Roman Trier and the Treveri* (London, 1970), p. 241. Anecdotes of this nature should not be taken too seriously, since they tend to recur; see, for example, Marcus Diakonus, *Vie de Porphyre* (Paris, 1930), p. 49; and H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1908), p. 518; and also H. Usener, *Kleine Schriften* IV (Leipzig, 1913), p. 197. In the *Passio Kiliani martyris Wirziburgensis,* written about the middle of the ninth century, the East Franks said to their missionary, 'We want to continue serving great Diana, as our fathers have done before us, and prospered, as we have to this day'; see C. Clement, *Fontes historiae religionis germanicae* (Berlin, 1928), p. 59. Which Germanic goddess was called 'Diana' by the priests in this case is not known.

28 K. Simrock, Heiden werfen, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* (1855), p. 132. In addition, they had even hung this statue of Diana so that it would not touch the ground; see L. Radermacher, Venus in Ketten, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst* (1905), p. 223. It was generally accepted in the Tyrol that witches should not come in contact with the ground. They had to be caught in copper kettles and burned hanging; see E. von Künssberg, *Rechtsgeschichte und Volkskunde* (Graz, 1965), p. 25. In the canton of Lucerne they were tied to carts; in the region of Solothurn, they set them on horses; see J. Schacher von Inwil, *Das Hexenwesen im Kanton Luzern* (Luzern, 1947), p. 37; H. Lewy, Zur Zauberkraft der Erde, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1933), p. 207; and J. Fresin, *Geschichte der Stadt Weinheim* (Weinheim, 1962), p. 68. The hangman of the count of Virneburg, already quoted, stated towards the end of the fifteenth century that the sorceresses 'needed to be lifted off the ground immediately and put into a cart' (see Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 593), and in the region of the Inn river it was maintained that, 'if the Imst witch got hold of as much as the smallest clump of earth that a wrathful spectator might perhaps throw into the cart as she was being taken to the gallows, she would be able to make herself invisible and escape death'; see N. Mantl, *Vorchristliche Kultrelikte im oberen Inntal* (Innsbruck, 1967), p. 187. In a similar vein, the kings of Hawaii were not supposed to touch the ground, for this would result in an intolerable increase of their power; see A.M. Hocart, Flying through the air, *Indian Antiquary* (1923), p. 80. In many places, as late as the eighteenth century there was a yearly ritual of mocking pagan deities. In Hildesheim young people would assemble and throw rocks and sticks at logs twelve feet long, which according to a late medieval register were called 'idols', and one of them 'Jupiter'.

29 Whether the name 'Diana' was still current in the late Middle Ages among people of the remote regions of central Europe is hard to decide. It is equally possible that learned writers or priests, familiar with the texts of Regino or Burchard, gave the designation to corresponding popular female characters. Even in rather early times, the name was no longer *commonly* known. This can be deduced from the fact that Burchard considered it necessary to give synonyms for it. Even the name 'Abundia', the *foremost of the women of the night,* who visited homes and stables, mentioned in Lenten sermons and tracts of the late Middle Ages, was probably taken from a text of William of Paris. One should not assume, therefore, that it was part of folk belief just because it did occur in some texts; see H. Naumann, Abundia, Bächtold-Stäubli, H. (ed.) *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* I (Berlin, 1927), p. 124. Another illustration is as follows. In the 1520s, Asmus Mayer, a Nuremberg hatter, prepared what amounts to a copy of Vintler's *Tugendblume,* but he left out the sentence, 'There are those who hold with the poetess Erodiana, and there are those who believe in Dyadema who is a false goddess', which may indicate that he did not know what to do with this 'Dyadema'; see O. Ebermann and M. Bartels, Zur Aberglaubensliste in Vintlers 'Pluemen der Tugend', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* (1913), p. 11. In the meaning of 'witch', 'Diana' survived in Old Toscanian and in Sardinian (*jana*), in the dialect of Naples

(*janára*), in Old French (*gene*), in Asturian (*săna*), and in Old Provençal (*jana*), as documented by F. Stähelin (*op. cit.*, p. 29). It can also be found in the Jura mountains around Bern (*djanātsch*); see E. Tappolet, La survivance de 'Diana' dans les patois romands, *Schweizer Archiv für Volkskunde* (1919), p. 225. Even the Rumanian *zîne* (see note 3) is a derivation or reflex of Diana; see M. Eliade, Some observations on European witchcraft, *History of Religions* (1974), p. 160. Unfortunately, I have not had access to the article by D. Lesourd, Diane et les sorcières: étude sur les survivances de Diana dans les langues romanes, *Anagrom* (1973). Until quite recently, peasants in Puy-de-Dôme swore by Diana, using the formula 'Per Diano neiro'; see P. Sébillot, *Le folklore de la France* IV (Paris, 1907), p. 327. Also the name of *Zâna* may come from Diana; see M. Lambertz and K-H. Schröder, Die Mythologie der Albaner, in Haussig, H.W. (ed.) *Götter und Mythen im Alten Europa* (Stuttgart, 1973), p. 508. *Zâna* is a fairy, who lives in the Albanian mountains, bathes naked in the springs, dances and flies about on the backs of sea gulls. In Kärnten the Pehtrababa was considered a *zĕne*. These beings live in wild rock faces and mountain caverns; see R. Dürnwirth, Deutsches Element in slovenischen Sagen des Kärntischen Oberrosenthales, *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1891), p. 202. Apparently in the late Middle Ages the term 'dyana' was especially chosen in Latin texts to designate all sorts of demons. Thus we read in a Viennese manuscript from the fourteenth century: 'For example this concerns someone being hit by Dyana's arrow, as they say in folk language, shot by a *bilwis* (witch), and then they actually take out some oakum, which the Devil had secretly inserted while deluding the senses.' This *bilwis,* originally a grain demon, was equated with 'those that travel by night' at the height of the Middle Ages, and by about the fourteenth century his (or her) name became a favourite synonym for 'witch'; see L. Mackensen, Bilwis, in Bächtold-Stäubli, H. (ed.) *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* I (Berlin, 1927), column 1314. Generally, however, the term indicated white women, good fairies and such like, and the related word *bilewit* means 'well-meaning'; see W.-E. Peuckert, *Deutscher Volksglaube des Spätmittelalters* (Stuttgart, 1942), p. 108. G. Hollen, *Opus sermonum dominicalium de epistolis* (Hagenau, 1517), cited in J. Staber, Ein altbayerischer Beichtspiegel des 15. Jahrhunderts, *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* (1963), p. 16, writes that at the birth of a child the people 'expelled female spirits of whom it was thought that they were dyanas'. Here also it seems that fairy-like beings were involved.

30 The text cannot, as was thought for a long time, be traced all the way back to the synod of Ancyra, but rather to Caesar of Arles. In his life story, there is mention of 'accursed women who after talking with Satan and deluded by the illusions and phantasms of the Demon, make use of the hours of the night and believe that they ride on some animals together with uncounted multitudes of women, following the pagan goddess Diana, and that during the night, they quietly traverse large parts of the world. They also obey the goddess, and during certain nights she calls them to her service' (J. Zwicker, *op. cit.*, p. 134). See also Regino von Prüm, *Libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis* (Leipzig, 1840, chapter CCCLXXI), p. 355; and H.J. Schmitz,

Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisziplin der Kirche I (Mainz, 1883), p. 446.

31 For the question of whether these instructions reflected popular belief at the time or simply preserved older canonical regulations, see M. Hain, Burchard von Worms und der Volksglaube seiner Zeit, *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* (1956). The author considers as proved the belief in Holda and her journeys at the height of the Middle Ages in the region of Rheinfranken (M. Hain, *op. cit.*, p. 46). See also E. Fehrle, Inwieweit können die Predigtanweisungen des hl. Pirmin als Quelle für alemannischen und fränkischen Volksglauben angesehen werden?, *Oberdeutsche Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1927), pp. 98, 108. In some regions at least the memory of Diana Arduinna, the wild goddess who rode on the back of the 'other-worldly' wild sow, must have been very much alive in the ninth century; see G. Jones, *Kings, Beasts and Heroes* (London, 1972), p. 108, for the monks of Andain monastery in the Ardenne mountains expressly imported the relics of St Hugbert, the later St Hubertus, in order to replace the old mistress of the animals with him; see J. Keiper, *Die christlichen Jagdschutzpatrone und Reisebilder aus Oberbayern* (Speyer, 1929), pp. 7, 16.

32 Herodias, who was inserted into the text by Burchard in order to elucidate Diana, and whose name was to appear again and again from then on; see G. Tartarotti, *Del Congresso Notturno delle Lammie* (Rovereto, 1749), p. 26, is most likely to be a combination of 'Hera' (in the meaning of Hera Dominica = Proserpina), and the name of the daughter of Herod, Salome Herodiana, who was condemned to dance forever; see W. Liungman, *Traditionswanderungen Euphrat-Rhein* II (Helsinki, 1938), p. 588. The southern slavs preserved her name as 'Irudica' (W. Liungman, *op. cit.*, p. 617). That Burchard inserted this name is possibly another indication of the fact that the name 'Diana' was passing into oblivion in the eleventh century in that area. At least one should not conclude without examining the evidence further that Diana lived in the memory of the people merely because her name keeps occurring in the texts of the sixteenth century, as W.-E. Peuckert does in Hexen und Weiberbünde, *Kairos* (1960), p. 100.

33 J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie* III (Berlin, 1876), p. 412. These texts are quite frequent in the late Middle Ages. The name of Bensozia or Bisazia (*bona satia?*) was often added in former Celtic countries, but we also encounter 'Pharaïldis' or 'Domina Abundia' (note 29); see S. Reinach, La religion des Galates, in *Cultes, mythes et religions* I (Paris, 1905), p. 276. Such women obviously were often imagined as being quite attractive, as we can see in the one night traveller with her curly red hair, who is flying over the north nave of the Schleswig Cathedral, her cape flapping behind her, her index finger pointing toward the nave (plate 23). Opposite her is another woman riding on a tiger-cat and holding a horn in her left hand (plate 24). The vault paintings were created by an unknown artist and date from around 1300; see F.H. Hamkens, Heidnische Bilder im Dome zu Schleswig, *Germanien* (1938), p. 178.

34 In a Bible commentary written in 1440 Alphons Tostatus, bishop of Madrigal, says, 'Therefore, to say that Diana is a goddess, is not only an error, it is infidelity,' and later on, 'Moreover, that Diana and that Herodias are demons, who are venerated in the form of goddesses' (quoted in J. Hansen, *op. cit.*,



Plate 23 Woman travelling by night. Schleswig Cathedral (c.1300).



Plate 24 Woman travelling by night on a tiger-cat. Schleswig Cathedral (c.1300).

p. 107). Even the Germanic deities were apparently considered to be demons of this kind. An eighth-century Saxon baptismal oath, for example, says, 'Will you forsake the demonesses? ... and all the devilish hordes? ... and all the works of the Devil? – and I will forsake all the works and words of the Devil, Thunaer and Uuôden and Saxnôte, and all those demons who are mentioned here'; quoted in R. Stumpfl, *Kultspiele der Germanen als Ursprung des mittelalterlichen Dramas* (Berlin, 1936), p. 269. Saxnôt is another apel- lation of Ziu (Tyr); see also *Episcopi Carnotensis Policratici* I (Oxford, 1909), p. 100, written by John of Salisbury, a friend of Becket's.

35 In contrast to the interpretation usually given to the *Canon Episcopi,* H.C.E. Midelfort, in *Witch Hunting in Southwestern Germany* (Stanford, 1972), p. 16, understood the text to mean that the *only matter* that was being doubted was that Diana was supposedly a goddess. 'Far from dismissing such simple people as visionaries or lunatics, as so many scholars have supposed, the canon condemned them as infidels.' If Midelfort's interpretation is correct, then every one of the commentators writing in the latter part of the Middle Ages would also have misunderstood the text, and Midelfort would agree with those who argue for the reality of the flight of the witches. Even Midelfort quotes (*op. cit.*, p. 118) a writer from the early seventeenth century, who in turn quotes Binsfeld, Del Rio and Spina, and who maintains that the latter authors said that the *Canon* did not refer 'to our witches'.

36 'If, deluded by the Devil,' says a Franconian royal law which was formulated at the Imperial Diet in Paderborn in 785 or a few years later for the suppression of Saxon religion, 'some men and also women according to pagan mores believe themselves to be witches and eat people, and to this end burn them or their flesh, or abduct them in order to eat them and then eat them, they shall be subject to capital punishment' (C. Clemen, *op. cit.*). 'Deluded by the Devil' is a formula used over and over again to characterize pagan religion. In this context, 'delusion' cannot therefore be taken to mean 'hallucination' in the narrower sense; see G. Zenker, *Germanischer Volksglauben in fränkischen Missionsberichten* (Stuttgart, 1939), p. 21. Zenker considers the allegation that the Saxons believed in the existence of a cannibalistic witch to be Franconian propaganda. The ruthlessness of Franconian Christian conversion of the heathens, see R. Drögereit, Die schriftlichen Quellen zur Christianisierung der Sachsen und ihre Aussagefähigkeit, *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* (1966), p. 12, makes this entirely likely. See also H. Jankuhn, Spuren der Anthropophagie in der Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae?, *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* (1968), p. 60. As far as women 'travelling by night' are concerned, they seem to have been more numerous in southern Europe in the latter part of the Middle Ages than in Germany. According to the statement of the Dominican Jacopo Passavanti, *Lo specchio de la vera penitenza* (Firenze, 1856), p. 318, cited in N. Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons* (London, 1975), p. 215, hordes of sorceresses swarmed through the Italian forests in the fourteenth century, led by Diana and Herodias. Towards the end of the same century two women were condemned in Milan because they had participated for many years in such twice-weekly

excursions. Their reports were taken to be entirely true and were not interpreted as figments of the imagination; see N. Cohn, *op. cit.*, p. 217. About a hundred years previously, Gervasius of Tilbury also tended towards the opinion that humans actually could participate in such journeys through the wilderness. The guide of those travelling by night was often called Befana or Berta in Italy; to indicate the distant past, a saying in many places was 'it is no longer the time when Berta was spinning'; see F. Herrmann, *Beiträge zur italienischen Volkskunde* (Heidelberg, 1938), p. 63. It was later often maintained in Germany that such 'journeys with Holle' were forced on the participants; see, for example, O. Schell, Der Volksglauben im Bergischen an die Fortdauer der Seele nach dem Tode, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1901), p. 306. At the height of the Middle Ages it was believed that large crowds of people participated in the journeys. In the *Roman de la Rose* it says:

Maintes gens par lor folie
Cuident estre par nuict estrées
Errant avecques Dame Habonde;
Et dient que par tout le monde
Li tiers enfant de nacion
Sunt de ceste condicion.

Many people in their folly
Believe that they are astray at night
Roaming with the Lady Habonde;
And it is said that everywhere
A third of the people
Are in this condition.

Such beliefs apparently remained alive in Ireland and Wales longer than elsewhere. As late as the nineteenth century, for instance, it was said that, 'A woman ... was commonly believed to have been with the fairies for seven years when she was a maiden. She married after coming back and had children; and she was always able to see the *good people* and to talk with them, for she had the second-sight. And it is said that she used to travel with the fairies at night'; see W.Y. Evans Wentz, *The Fairy Faith in Celtic Countries* (Rennes, 1909), p. 42.

37 Towards the latter part of the Middle Ages the Devil was increasingly victorious in his struggle for souls. This was the case in an Easter play presented by the Dominicans in Eisenach in 1322. It was related that the Landgrave Friedrich was so frightened by the end of the drama that he soon after died; see E. Diestel, *Der Teufel als Sinnbild des Bösen* (Berlin, 1921), p. 16. The power of the Devil was sometimes exaggerated to such an extent that demonologists in the Renaissance came close to becoming Manichaeists. They usually saved themselves by giving lip service to the conviction that the Devil needed the permission of the Lord for his machinations. His and the witches' tricks such as flying were *mira,* i.e. something that ordinary people could neither do nor explain, but not *miracula*: miracles were the exclusive domain of the Lord; see J.L. Teall, Witchcraft and Calvinism in Elizabethan England, *Journal of the History of Ideas* (1962), p. 25.

Chapter 3 The Vagina of the Earth and Venus Mountain

1 See E. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (Giessen, 1910), p. 203; J.G. Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* I (London, 1911), p. 36; and J. Markale, *La femme celte* (Paris, 1977), p. 170. Pindar and the Iliad use *parthenos* to mean an unmarried young girl, not necessarily a 'virgin' in the modern sense of the word. Concubines, that is, unmarried women, were called the same thing in Sparta. Their children were designated as *partheniai*; see C. Seltman, *The Twelve Olympians and their Guests* (London, 1956), p. 127. When the men were absent during long campaigns and their wives had children by neighbours, their offspring bore the same designation; see E.W. Klimowsky, *Das mann-weibliche Leitbild in der Antike* (München, 1972), p. 48. The fact that Rachel was described as an 'intact *betula*' (*virgo intacta*) perhaps also demonstrates that the Hebrew *betula* originally meant nothing more than 'unmarried woman', although *betulim* is translated as 'hymen'. Even *naara* and *almāh,* rendered in the Septuagint as *parthenos,* meant unmarried woman in earlier times, just as *virgo* did in Latin; see E. Buonaiuti, Maria und die jungfräuliche Geburt Jesu, *Eranos-Jahrbuch* (1938), p. 338. When in 1929 the Church of Scotland mounted its assault on the souls of the Kikuyu, and the missionaries wanted to forbid clitoridectomy, the dumbfounded Africans referred to their Bibles, where the concept of the '(Holy) Virgin' had been translated as *muiritu. Muiritu* means an 'initiated girl' who had had a clitoridectomy and was enjoying several lovers; see W.E. Mühlmann, *Chiliasmus und Nativismus* (Berlin, 1961), p. 118. Traits of the Greek rather than the pre-Greek Artemis were preserved in the virgin 'who had not mated' (*apeirogamos*). 'Without a consort' could now signify only 'chaste'. With the Greeks, 'Artemis Agrotera symbolized the belief that for women there was a nobler state than being mated with a husband'; see R.E. Witt, *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World* (London, 1971), p. 141.

2 See E. Kornemann, *Die Stellung der Frau in der vorgriechischen Mittelmeerkultur* (Heidelberg, 1927), p. 39. The baring of one breast probably originated in the exposure of their breasts by the god's nurses in Crete. It gave rise to the well-known legend that the Amazons burned off one of their breasts; see C. Picard, Die Ephesia von Anatolien, *Eranos-Jahrbuch* (1938), p. 62. Later on, bare-breasted witches were to appear over and over again, and it is interesting that one of the names given to witches was 'broom Amazons'; see H. Wirth, Zur Topographie des Hexenwesens, *Archiv für die Geschichte der Stadt Heidelberg* (1869), p. 36.

3 See G. Tzenoff, *Die Abstammung der Bulgaren* (Berlin, 1930), p. 99.

4 In addition to the full-figured statuettes, girlish ones were also discovered in Siberia. The latter type predominated in Greece at the turn of the fourth to the third pre-Christian millennium. cycladic female figurines have swollen glutei. Their thighs and buttocks are quite rounded, but their breasts are mere buds; see S. Weinberg, Neolithische anthropomorphe Steinidole aus Griechenland, in Thimme, J. (ed.) *Kunst und Kultur der Kykladeninseln im 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Karlsruhe, 1976), p. 55.

5 See R. Feustel, Statuettes féminines paléolithiques de la République Démocratique Allemande, *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française* (1965), p. 22. Even if some of the statuettes show a less pronounced abdomen and buttocks, the breasts are not usually neglected; see H. Delporte, La statuette féminine de Krasnii Iar (Sibérie), *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française* (1965), p. 128; and Problèmes d'interprétation de la Vénus de Tursac, *Quartär* (1960), p. 124; also E-G. Gobert, Sur les Vénus aurignaciennes, in Piveteau, J. (ed.) *La préhistoire* (Paris, 1968), p. 211. Occasionally, it is *only* the breasts that are fully represented; see K. Absolon, The diluvial anthropomorphic statuettes and drawings, especially the so-called Venus statuettes, discovered in Moravia, *Artibus Asiae* (1949), p. 201. Only the buttocks are completely shaped in the figurines of Petersfels. While the statuette of Tursac possibly represents a woman giving birth, and the woman on a reindeer fragment from Laugerie Basse, lying under a reindeer bull or a bison, is most probably pregnant, most of the pictures obviously do not represent pregnant women; see, for example, F. Bordes, P. Fitte and P. Laurent, Gravure féminine du Magdalénien IV de la Gare de Couze, *L'Anthropologie* (1963), pp. 273, 278; as well as G. Bosinski, Magdalenian anthropomorphic figures at Gönnersdorf, *Bolletino del Centro Camuno di Studi Preistorici* (1970), pp. 62, 70.

6 See, for example, V. Toepfer, Drei spätpaläolithische Frauenstatuetten aus dem Unstruttal bei Nebra, *Fundberichte aus Schwaben* (1965), p. 107. The dead were often buried near these hearths as, for instance, in Grimaldi, Duruthy, Predmost, Laugerie-Basse and other locations; see H. Müller-Karpe, *Geschichte der Steinzeit* (München, 1974), p. 253. The Altaic 'virgin mother' Kyz äna, mistress of fire, may be a late descendant of these Ice Age hearth Venuses; see O. Nahodil, Mutterkult in Sibirien, in Diószegi, V. (ed.) *Glaubenswelt und Folklore der sibirischen Völker* (Budapest, 1963), p. 500.

7 See R. Feustel, Sexuologische Reflexionen über jungpaläolithische Objekte, *Alt-Thüringen* (1970), p. 22. The lips of the vulva of the famous Venus of Willendorf are equally enlarged; see also K. Willvonseder, Die Venus von Drassburg, *Germania* (1940), p. 1. The pubic triangle and the *mons Veneris* are accentuated in the 'great goddesses' of the neolithic period. In early Crete there is a recurrence of the exhibition of the vulva; see S. Alexiou, *Minoan Civilization* (Heraklion, 1969), p. 85.

8 The Tukano Indians see the hearth as a uterus because it is the place for important transformations; see G. Reichel-Dolmatoff, The cultural context of an aboriginal hallucinogen: Banisteriopsis Caapi, in Furst, P.T. (ed.) *Flesh of the Gods* (London, 1972), p. 95. In the distant past, the Basques believed that there were underground passages leading from the ceremonial caves, used by the spirits dwelling there to travel to the hearths; see J.M. de Barandarián, Die baskische Mythologie, in Haussig, H.W. (ed.) *Götter und Mythen im alten Europa* (Stuttgart, 1973), p. 538.

9 As a good Marxist and friend of progress, S.A. Tokarev, Zur Bedeutung der Frauendarstellungen im Paläolithikum, in Drost, D. and König, W. (eds) *Beiträge zur Völkerforschung* (Berlin, 1961), p. 682, is of the opinion that the existence of beliefs in a goddess of fertility, who would have contributed to the increase of the group, can hardly be assumed given the 'meagre' subsis-

tence of humans during the Ice Age. However, we need to consider first of all that this goddess was probably a mother of *all* life, that is, also of game animals. Secondly, if present-day hunters and gatherers are any indication, those early hunters may not have lived in an 'original affluent society', but they certainly did not suffer from perpetual hunger. 'Ethnologists and archaeologists had become neolithic revolutionaries, and in their enthusiasm for the Revolution spared nothing denouncing the Old (Stone Age) Regime'; see M. Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (Chicago, 1972), p. 5; and also P. Clastres, *Staatsfeinde* (Frankfurt/Main, 1976), p. 185. Besides, the environmental conditions were probably not as terrible as the words 'Ice Age' suggest. Winters may even have been more clement than today, since the ice sheets acted as a barrier against the flow of polar air; see R. Claiborne, *Entscheidungsfaktor Klima* (Wien, 1973), p. 187. Still today, however, ethnologists continue to create an image of perpetual hunger and suffering for native societies. 'Humans in native societies are *oppressed* by the forces of the environment. And as oppressed, exposed beings, continually beset by physical and spiritual suffering, these humans are much more in need of salvation than eager for understanding'; see W.E. Mühlmann, Erfahrung und Denken in der Sicht des Ethnologen, *Paideuma* (1964), p. 15; and Ethnologie und Völkerpsychologie, in von Beckerath, E. (ed.) *Handwörterbuch der Sozialwissenschaften* (Tübingen, 1960), p. 350. G. Devereux takes a similar stance, although he formulates it much more arrogantly, in *Angst und Methode in den Verhaltenswissenschaften* (München, 1973), p. 230 [*From Anxiety to Method in the Behavioral Sciences* (The Hague, 1968)] by granting the 'primitives' that 'sometimes their ideas about what transcends their senses might approach scientifically tested findings, in the same way as a blind hen on occasion does find a corn'. (Translation by Goodman.) By contrast, see I. De Vore, Die Evolution der menschlichen Gesellschaft, in Schmidbauer, W. (ed.) *Evolutionstheorie und Verhaltensforschung* (Hamburg, 1974), p. 202; and P. Clastres, Über die Entstehung von Herrschaft, *Unter dem Pflaster liegt der Strand* (1977), p. 133.

10 Venus figurines, considerably stylized, and small stone discs with radial vulvas have also been discovered in the graves of men; see A. Marshack, *The Roots of Civilization* (New York, 1972), p. 317.

11 Even the dead who were later buried in large earthen jars, had their 'arms tightly pressed to the body, a natural fetal position'. The earthen jar was the uterus, to which humans returned; see M. Gimbutas, *The Gods and Goddesses of Old Europe* (Berkeley, 1974), p. 159. It was also used as storage container for harvested grain. The Corn Maiden was taken underground, and Pluto, her abductor, was the ruler over the dead as well as the guardian of the grain stores; see M.P. Nilsson, Die eleusinischen Gottheiten, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1935), p. 113. Fairly generally, the sarcophagus seems to take the shape of the uterus in many societies; see, for example, F. Termer, Die Kenntnis vom Uterus bei den Maya, *Ethnos* (1959), p. 197. In Egyptian pyramid texts we find, 'You are being placed into your mother Nut, she will surround you'; see J. Thimme, Die Kykladenkultur der frühen Bronzezeit, in

Frühe Randkulturen des Mittelmeerraumes I (Baden-Baden, 1968), p. 38. During the time of the New Kingdom, the dying man had intercourse with Isis in death, and the Eleusinian custom of touching a womb during the mysteries in order to be reborn may be a somewhat pale survival of that entrance into the maternal vagina. When the Peruvian rubber collector Manuel Córdova-Rios was abducted by Indians and adopted into their tribe, they made him assume a fetal position during his ritual induction and wrapped him tightly in a sheet, representing the uterus; see M. Córdova-Rios and F.B. Lamb, *Wizard of the Upper Amazon* (Boston, 1975), p. 21. Among the Asmat, a person to be adopted steps out of a birth canal formed by men and women lying on the ground with their legs spread. The woman last in the row writhes and moans in pain as the person emerges; see G. Konrad, Von den Asmat, in Harrer, H. (ed.) *Unter Papuas* (Innsbruck, 1976), p. 71. In Germany in the Middle Ages, death was viewed more as a weaning from the mother. Walther von der Vogelweide, for instance, sings, 'Lady World, I have sucked too much; the time has come, I should be weaned'; quoted in F. Vonessen, Die Mutter als Stiefmutter, *Symbolon* (1972), p. 127.

12 The Popot initiates, for instance, are taken to a cave called the 'hot Seku cave', rubbed with red ochre and called *ku mes-mes,* the red-red children, a term used to describe unborn children; see J-E. Elmberg, *The Popot Feast Cycle* (Lund, 1966), p. 107; and W. de Mahieu, Cosmologie et structuration de l'espace chez les Komo, *Africa* (1975), p. 244. 'To be hot' often means to be 'in the womb', in the spirit house, and 'to become cold' thus is 'to return to normality', or 'to become ineffective'; see P.A. Gerstner, Der Geisterglaube im Wewäk-Boikin-Gebiet Nordost-Neuguineas, *Anthropos* (1952), p. 207; and A. Capell, The word 'Mana', *Oceania* (1938), p. 93. Witches and yogis need to become 'hot' in order to be able to step out of their everyday world; see R.F. Fortune, *Sorcerers of Dobu* (London, 1932), p. 295; E.H. Zuesse, On the nature of the Demonic: African witchery, *Numen* (1971), p. 216; and R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* (The Hague, 1956), p. 534.

13 For the veils covering the faces of later fertility goddesses, see E.H. Guggenheimer, Magic textiles, *Dialectica* (1977), p. 195.

14 See H. Güntert, *Kalypso* (Halle, 1919), p. 63. The root *kel-*, also hidden in the German words 'Halle', 'Hehl', 'Helm', and 'Hölle' can also be encountered in the Greek *kalyptein* 'to hide', and in the Latin *celare, occulere* 'to hide' and *color* 'colour'; see F. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (Berlin, 1967), p. 297. On a Roman funerary urn there is a representation of the initiation of Hercules into the Eleusinian mysteries. Hercules sits on a throne covered with a lion skin, his head veiled; see F. Wehrli, Die Mysterien von Eleusis, *Archic für Religionswissenschaft* (1934), p. 79. The veiling of the head did not mean only the 'death' of the initiate. It was an old Roman and also a Frisian custom to veil the heads of certain *morituri,* those about to die or to be put to death; see L. Weiser-Aall, Zur Geschichte der altgermanischen Todesstrafe und Friedlosigkeit, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1930), p. 217. The guards, whose duty it was to kill gladiators

unwilling to fight, were called *larvae* and were disguised in the same manner. The cap conferring invisibility on its wearer and given to Hades by Hermes may have had its origin in this kind of veiling. G. Baesecke, *Vorgeschichte des deutschen Schrifttums* (Halle, 1940), p. 18, connects the name of Hecate with the German root 'hehlen'; see also W. Berg, Hecate: Greek or 'Anatolian'?, *Numen* (1974), p. 136. 'Percht' was derived from *bergan* 'to hide', 'Holda' from *helan* 'conceal'. Later on, 'Percht' was associated with *berht* 'bright'; see O. Paul, Zum Rauhnachts-Glauben und Brauch in Steiermark, *Germanien* (1938), p. 137.

15 According to K. von Spiess, *Bauernkunst* (Berlin, 1935), p. 25, Frau Holle is documented as appearing in the shape of a goat as well as being the dispenser of intoxicating drinks. In Greece the goat was also connected with other beings who were involved in earlier earth cults. The trembling of the goat in the Delphi sanctuary may have replaced the shivering of the Pythia as she descended into the crevice, the *adyton*; see W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (Berlin, 1972), p. 143. A horn of plenty was occasionally represented next to the *omphalos*, the navel of the world.

16 See M. Lurker, Zur Symbolbedeutung von Horn und Geweih, *Symbolon* (1974), p. 87. As early as Homer's time, there is indication of an ambrosia *salve*, used to rub oneself; see W.H. Roscher, Ambrosia und Nektar, in Roscher, W.H. (ed.) *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1884), p. 39. It must have been prepared from certain plants, since it was said that the horses of the gods grazed on ambrosia, and it seems to have had the property of conferring the ability to fly; see W. Schwartz, *Nachklänge prähistorischen Volksglaubens in Homer* (Berlin, 1894), p. 39. It is generally maintained that ambrosia was a kind of ointment and that nectar was more watery; see R.B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought* (Cambridge, 1951), pp. 296, 299. To differentiate between the two is of relatively recent origin, however; see R. Schmitt, Nektar – und kein Ende, in Mayrhofer, M. (ed.) *Antiquitates Indogermanicae* (Innsbruck, 1974), p. 158. It is popular to identify ambrosia with the Sanskrit word *amrita*; as we know, *amrita* is on occasion called *soma*; see R.G. Wasson, Fly agaric and man, in Efron, D.H. (ed.) *Ethnopharmacologic Search for Psychoactive Drugs* (Washington, 1967), p. 443. Wasson proposes the thesis that *soma* originally referred to fly agaric, and so the conclusion advanced by some is that *Amanita muscaria* is what is hidden in ambrosia; see R. Graves, What food the centaurs ate, in *Steps* (London, 1958). To my mind, there is no proof whatsoever for this thesis. The assumption of Graves that the maenads ate fly agaric seems to me to be even more improbable. Wasson thinks that the general reluctance of Greeks to eat mushrooms may go back to an old taboo, and that mushrooms were consumed only by initiates; see V.P. Wasson and R.G. Wasson, *Mushrooms, Russia, and History* I (New York, 1957), pp. 123, 152, 337, and II, p. 338; and also R. Graves, *The Greek Myths* (Harmondsworth, 1955), p. 18. The dislike of the Greeks for mushrooms is exaggerated, however, for the Greeks even imported them, probably from Italy, where mushroom dishes were very popular; see D. Brothwell and P. Brothwell, *Food*

in Antiquity (London, 1969), p. 90; and U.E. Paoli, *Das Leben im Alten Rom* (Bern, 1961), p. 112. Wasson seems to base his opinion on the fact that Porphyrios, according to Porta, *Villa* (Frankfurt/Main, 1592), p. 764, calls fly agaric *broma theon,* 'food of the gods', at one point in his work; see R. Heim and R.G. Wasson, *Les champignons hallucinogènes du Méxique* (Paris, 1958), p. 27. As is well-known, the Mazatecs had a similar term, 'flesh of the gods', for *Psilocybe mexicana* and other 'hallucinogenic' mushrooms. Mushrooms containing psilocybin have in the meantime also been discovered in Europe; see M. Semeredžieva and F. Nerud, Halluzinogene Pilze in der Tschechoslowakei, *Česka Mykologie* (1973), p. 42. I am grateful to Reinhard Greve for this information. There is, however, hardly any indication that even cult groups which were distantly related to the Haoma cults, such as the Mithras mysteries of the Roman legionnaires, drank anything but wine or similar drinks.

17 See J.M. Blázquez, Die Mythologie der Althispanier, in Haussig, H.W. (ed.) *Götter und Mythen im alten Europa* (Stuttgart, 1973), p. 735.

18 The swan maidens, who announced fate, gave a drink to heroes fallen in battle about to enter Valhalla. This drink was probably 'milk' from the udders of the sky cow Heidrun, the drink of oblivion; see A. Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks* (Gütersloh, 1886), p. 154. Also the *soma* came from the udder of the sky cow; see H. Lommel, König Soma, *Numen* (1955), p. 199. The water of wisdom, so attractive to Odin, was drunk by the giant Mimir from a well situated under the root of the world tree, Yggdrasil, which pointed in the direction of the land of the frost giants. He also used a horn, the *gjallar horn*; see W. Baetke, *Die Religion der Germanen in Quellenzeugnissen* (Frankfurt/Main, 1937), p. 145. The Celts spoke of a 'food of immortality', prepared from 'certain fragrant berries'; see J.A. MacCulloch, *Celtic Mythology* (New York, 1918), p. 54.

19 Quotation taken from Geibel's *Tannhäuser,* cited in H. Güntert, *op. cit.,* p. 155. See also his *Altgermanischer Glaube* (Heidelberg, 1937), p. 24. 'To play Dannhäuser' was a popular sixteenth-century phrase for sojourn in Venus Mountain – that is, for intercourse; see D-R. Moser, *Die Tannhäuser-Legende* (Berlin, 1977), p. 109. Even Odin needed to gain the affection of Gunnlod, the giant's daughter, before he could obtain the poet's intoxicating mead, which had magic runes mixed into it, and could escape with it, turning himself into an eagle; see E. Mogk, *Germanische Mythologie* (Strassburg, 1898), p. 115.

20 See H. Güntert, *op. cit.,* p. 154. As we know, not even Core was allowed to leave the realm of the dead forever, because, reminiscent of Snow White, she had bitten into a pomegranate there. During the Thesmophories festival, women ate pomegranate seeds; see W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart, 1977), p. 369.

21 See D. Coolidge and M.R. Coolidge, *The Last of the Seris* (New York, 1939), p. 94.

22 Also A. Leroi-Gourhan, *Préhistoire de l'art occidental* (Paris, 1965), p. 120, feels that the caves were considered female. He bases his conclusion on the

fact that 'narrow or oval passages, crevices, and caves were marked and sometimes painted red'. Vulvas are often scratched into their walls. In an essay attributed to Simon Magus, Christian paradise is likened to the uterus and the river of paradise to the navel cord; see H. Bergema, *De boom des levens in schrift en historie* (Hilversum, 1938), p. 406. In a witch trial of 1620 mention is made of 'travelling to Venus Mountain or to paradise'; see K. Amersbach, Zur Tannhäusersage, *Alemannia* (1895), p. 77.

23 See S. Giedion, *Die Entstehung der Kunst* (Köln, 1964), pp. 168, 240.

24 See also E. Holm, *Die Felsbilder Südafrikas* (Tübingen, 1969), p. 109.

25 The footprints discovered in the Tuc d'Audoubert cave were those of persons aged between eleven and thirteen years; see H. Begouën and H. Vallois, Les empreintes de pieds préhistoriques, in *Les cavernes du Volp* (Paris, 1958), p. 99. Oval discs made from reindeer antlers and provided with threading holes may have been parts of bull-roarers. This would lend support to the supposition that initiations were carried out here; see D. Peyrony, Sur quelques pièces intéressantes de la grotte de la Roche, *L'Anthropologie* (1930), p. 22; and J. Maringer, *Vorgeschichtliche Religion* (Zürich, 1956), p. 130; see also F.D. Klingender, Paleolithic religion and the principle of social evolution, *British Journal of Sociology* (1954), p. 145.

26 Since even the most stupid people are credited with being able to recognize that they are hungry; see M.E.P. König, *Am Anfang der Kultur* (Berlin, 1973), p. 15, many social scientists, especially Marxist ones; see S.A. Tokarev, The problem of totemism as seen by Soviet scholars, *Current Anthropology* (1966), p. 188, hold that the caves were places where 'hunting magic' was practised. A. Gehlen, for instance, Über die Verstehbarkeit der Magie, in *Studien zur Anthropologie und Soziologie* (Neuwied, 1963), p. 88, interprets the drawings of animals on the walls of the caves as demonstrating 'the craving for game and the dread of failure'. E.O. James, in Religion and reality, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (1950), p. 26, agrees, saying that such a supposition 'hardly needs arguing'. However, the 'hunting magic hypothesis' certainly does need arguing. For one thing, many of the alleged arrows and spears supposedly piercing the animals have been shown by microphotography to be reeds or branches; see A. Marshack, Le bâton de commandement de Montgaudier, *L'Anthropologie* (1970), p. 332. Or let us consider the bone fragment from Isturitz, which depicts on one side a woman with conical breasts being followed by, presumably, a man; on the other side, is a representation of a bison bull, also following a female, this time a cow, which lifts its tail in readiness for copulation; see R. de Saint-Périer, Deux oeuvres d'art de la grotte d'Isturitz, *L'Anthropologie* (1932), p. 19; and A. Lemozi, Fouilles dans l'abri sous Roche de Murat, *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française* (1924), p. 43. The woman has a design incised on her thigh, which again does not seem to me to be an arrow, as supposed by W.G. Haensch, in *Die paläolithischen Menschendarstellungen aus der Sicht der somatischen Anthropologie* (Bonn, 1968), p. 74, but rather a branch or a tree with seven needles or branches. If the man customarily approached the woman from behind for intercourse, then perhaps this explains the fact that

many women in cave drawings, especially, for instance, in Pech-Merle, tilt their posteriors backwards. It would also explain the so-called pseudo-steatopygia of the Venus figurines: the rump was sexually exciting. 'Never listen to unmarried anthropologists', counsels J. Greenway, *Verfluchte Wüste* (Hamburg, 1974), p. 20, 'when they try to tell you that the Venus of Willendorf and similar broad-hipped paleolithic sculptures are "fertility figurines"'. 'These innocent anthropologists seem to think that babies are carried in the arse.' In all innocence, however, I should like to propose that it is less the bottom than the voluptuous breasts (see plates 3–5) and the often ample abdomen that suggest the idea that fertility might be involved. The Venus figures may indeed have been representations of the earth mother, whose vagina was the yawning cavern into which the initiate penetrated. At the cave of Höll am Warscheneck one finds on the wall of the rock just past the crawl stone a small tree with a cross-shaped root. We are reminded how even much later the tree of the world, the *axis mundi,* guarded the entrance to the lower world. Representations of trees are seen quite often at entrances to caves. Trees with seven branches are frequently engraved, and on one wall in the Mausbündlloch cave we can see a figure probably passing into the other world by way of this tree. It is the picture of a two-legged being with bird's claws and a long beak, in all probability an Aurignacian shaman capable of flying; see E. Burgstaller, Schamanistische Motive unter den Felsbildern in den österreichischen Alpenländern, *Forschungen und Fortschritte* (1967), p. 109, 144; also Felsgravierungen in den österreichischen Alpen, *Ipek* (1968), p. 127; and further J. Hanika, Kultische Vorstufen des Pflanzenanbaues, *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1953), p. 62. The figures presumed to be shamans, such as the famous one of Lascaux, are sometimes represented with an erect penis; see H. Kirchner, Ein archäologischer Beitrag zur Urgeschichte des Schamanismus, *Anthropos* (1952), p. 254; and the comment of J. Maringer, Schamanismus und Schamanen in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit, *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* (1977), p. 117. This maybe means that his flight into the other world was above all a sexual event. Thus I am not sure whether H. Herter, in Hermes, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* (1976), p. 221; see also D. Fehling, *Ethologische Überlegungen auf dem Gebiet der Altertumskunde* (München, 1974), p. 7, is right when he maintains that the erect penis of the psychopomp Hermes originally had a 'defensive function'. Hermes, the trickster par excellence among those 'crossing the boundary', did not only overcome the boundaries of law as the god of thieves, but with his winged sandals, he also crossed over between life and death and knew the way back, just like the shamans. The penis of the shaman is also erect during ecstasy in other societies. The north-west Australian *bànman* sings to his penis, a spirit snake, until it rises. During ecstasy, a 'thin, fine thread' issues from it, on which his *yà-yari*-soul goes on a 'walkabout on top'; see H. Petri, Der australische Medizinmann, *Annali Lateranensi* (1952), p. 172. The 'clever men' of the Wuradjeri used to climb up on trees on their ejaculated semen. In these trees, there were the nests, the 'dreamtime' camp of the Eagle Man. From there, they would step through the air to other trees; see

R.M. Berndt, Wuradjeri magic and 'clever men', *Oceania* (1947), p. 340. The medicine man of the Unambal rode through the air on an *ungud* snake after having ejaculated his 'dreamtime' power. During the flight he then copulated with the snake; see A. Lommel, *Die Unambal* (Hamburg, 1952), p. 51. Secondly, spears or harpoons, or objects thought to be weapons of that kind, are found in less than ten per cent of known animal representations. In Gabillou, which has about 150 animal drawings, there are only two associated with these objects, as pointed out by L-R. Nougier in Le 'Grand Etre' de Rouffignac, *In Memoriam do Abade H. Breuil* II (Lisboa, 1966), p. 207. Nougier continues to uphold the hunting magic hypothesis, although without good reason, it seems to me. Thirdly, animals, especially reindeer which were the principal game during certain seasons of the year and which increasingly predominate in the art of the later Magdalenian period; see L. Vajda, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Hirtenkulturen* (Wiesbaden, 1968), pp. 124, 127, frequently exhibit rutting behaviour, a rutting posture, smelling, touching and pursuit. There are many pregnant animals; see W. Rätzel, Die Verhaltensweisen des Rentiers in der Kunst des Magdalénien, in von Uslar, R. and Narr, K.J. (eds) *Studien aus Alteuropa* I (Köln, 1964), pp. 53, 55. In addition, the 'mixed beings' are interpreted less and less as disguised hunters. We may hardly assume that the 'antelope men' of South African rock art were hunters wearing antelope masks, for such behaviour has never been observed with the Bushmen; see H. Pager, *Stone Age Myth and Magic* (Graz, 1975), p. 59. Authors inclined towards the hunting magic hypothesis, however, do pose the question why the hunters of the Ice Age also painted dangerous animals, e.g. lions and bears, whose propagation could hardly be in their best interest? See, for example, H. Begouën, The magic origin of prehistoric art, *Antiquity* (1929), p. 19; and A. Nitschke, *Soziale Ordnungen im Spiegel der Märchen* I (Bad Cannstatt, 1976), p. 13. On the other hand, scholars who reject the hypothesis also have difficulty dealing with this fact; see, for example, P.J. Ucko and A. Rosenfeld, *Felsbildkunst im Paläolithikum* (Verona, 1967), p. 234. And why is it that the frequency of animal representations does not seem to follow economic necessity? The saiga antelope was the most important game animal at least during the coldest periods, and one would think that its reincarnation should have been of the greatest significance to Ice Age hunters. However, to this day, no representation has been discovered that can be realiably identified as this antelope; see P.J. Ucko and A. Rosenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 181. We also know from the rock paintings of the Bushmen that they do not reflect the diet of the hunter; see P. Vinnicombe, Myth, motive and selection in southern African rock art, *Africa* (1972), p. 194. It has been observed that the Australian natives carry out their 'increase ceremonies' also for noxious and dangerous species, for mosquitoes and evil nocturnal birds, for spotted rock snakes and death otters, for centipedes and fleas, even for whirlwinds, for draughts, diarrhoea and dysentery, by rubbing the respective stones; see A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, Notes on totemism in eastern Australia, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (1929), p. 406; P.M. Kaberry, The Forrest river and Lyne river tribes

of northwest Australia, *Oceania* (1935), p. 433; and T.G.H. Strehlow, Geography and the totemic landscape in central Australia, in Berndt, R.M. (ed.) *Australian Aboriginal Anthropology* (Nedlands, 1970), p. 132. This only appears strange to us because in our culture we are much more used to thinking along the lines of *exploitative usefulness* than was ever the case in 'archaic' societies. Nietzsche was probably one of the last to make sense of the fact that in classical antiquity there were gods for thieves and criminals, and we can comprehend it even less if the Sioux maintain that *everything* is *wakan,* that is, sacred. This is the reason why we see such rites much too much as a 'procurement technique', as a 'magic of acquisition'. However, these rituals are not carried out before the hunt or when a particular animal is needed, but rather before the respective species 'becomes plentiful'; see R. Piddington, Totemic systems of the Karadjeri tribe, *Oceania* (1932), p. 377, or even 'when the species *is* especially plentiful or fat'; see A.P. Elkin, Totemism in north western Australia, *Oceania* (1933), p. 209. A ceremony for the wind, for example, is not carried out when wind is needed, but rather when it is already blowing or if it is stronger than usual during the year; see B. Spencer and F.J. Gillen, *Across Australia* II (London, 1912), p. 366; H. Petri, Rituelle Vermehrungshandlungen in den Kimberleys, *Paideuma* (1952), p. 193; L. Wittgenstein, Bemerkungen über Frazers *The Golden Bough,* in Wiggershaus, R. (ed.) *Sprachanalyse und Soziologie* (Frankfurt/Main, 1975), pp. 39, 48; and S.K. Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key* (New York, 1951), p. 162. Ethnologists who believe that the natives intend to produce rain 'magically' with the aid of their rites occasionally appear ridiculous. 'Once a band of !Kung Bushmen had performed their rituals, a small cloud appeared on the horizon, grew and darkened. Then rain fell. But the anthropologist who asked if the Bushmen reckoned the rite had produced the rain, were laughed out of court'; M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London, 1966), p. 58; see also L. Marshall, !Kung Bushman religious beliefs, *Africa* (1962), p. 249; T.O. Beidelman, Kaguru time reckoning, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* (1963), p. 19; and I. Blythin, Magic and methodology, *Numen* (1970), p. 47. P. Feyerabend, *Wider den Methodenzwang* (Frankfurt/Main, 1976), p. 83 [*Against Method* (London, 1975)], assumes that such rain dances are possibly 'petrified remnants of once successful meteorological manipulations'. In reality, the opposite may have been true, something for which Winch has shown a much more incisive understanding than Popper's disciples; see, e.g., T. Settle, The rationality of science versus the rationality of magic, *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* (1971), p. 190. After forgetting the sense of their rituals as being participation in *cosmic events,* many societies themselves began interpreting them as 'magic' acts, which then in turn were classed as 'proto-techniques' by Western scholars. J.C. Lawson, in *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Green Religion* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 49, saw such a magic rite on the island of Santorini at the beginning of this century. He met a witch who was sitting on a rock above the enormous crater and who answered his question about what she was doing there by saying that she was making rain. The wine-growers of the island had become impatient because there had been

no rain for two years and they had paid the witch in advance for her efforts. The Englishman also gave her some money, and indeed, she was successful. 'I must acknowledge,' he adds, 'that her charms were effectual, for before we parted, the thunder was already rolling in the distance, and the rain which I had bought spoilt largely the rest of my stay in the island.'

27 The Desana Indians of the Vaupés river possibly possess a similar view of the world. After aspirating the hallucinogenic *vihó* powder, the shaman climbs into a cave in the surrounding hills in order to meet with *Vihó-mahsë,* the master of animals. With him, he exchanges animals for the souls of dead fellow tribesmen who then enter into the cave in order to maintain the balance of nature, as it were. Simultaneously, however, he needs to pay with the souls of those still living, whose fate is thereby sealed. Generations of shamans covered the walls of the cave with pictures of animals, partly superimposing them on older ones; see G. Reichel-Dolmatoff, Rock-paintings of the Vaupés, *Folklore Americas* (1967), p. 107. The shaman 'shakes' the animals off the wall, stores them in baskets and carries them out of the rock uterus. Outside they awaken from their stupor and in pairs run away into the forest; see G. Reichel-Dolmatoff, *The Shaman and the Jaguar* (Philadelphia, 1975), p. 85. The shaman is called *ye'e,* a term related to *ye-éru,* 'penis'. In order to promote fertility, he penetrates into the uterus of the earth (*tulári*) and has intercourse with female animals. In the same manner, the master of animals balances matters by attacking young girls and raping them. This will increase the fertility of animals living in the environs of this event. Even hunting is called *vaímerä gametarāri,* 'having intercourse with the animals'; see G. Reichel-Dolmatoff, *Amazonian Cosmos* (Chicago, 1971), pp. 82, 126, 129, 132. This sort of information may shed some light on the apparently sexual scenes between animals and humans in Franco-Cantabrian Ice Age paintings; see, for example, E. Piette, Gravure du Mas d'Azil et statuettes de Menton, *Bulletin et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* (1902), p. 771; L. Capitan, H. Breuil and D. Peyrony, *Les Combarelles aux Eyzies* (Paris, 1924), p. 57; and L-R. Nougier and R. Robert, Scène d'initiation de la grotte de la Vache à Alliat, *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique de l'Ariège* (1968), p. 54. In many instances the contours of the animals are traced on the rock face, a fact which supports the assumption that the paleolithic shaman 'detached' the animals from the rock. The owner of Le Portel cave, Jean Vézian, was kind enough to show such tracings to some of my friends and to me in the summer of 1972; see also J. Vézian, Les utilizations de contours de la roche dans la grotte du Portel, *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique de l'Ariège* (1956), p. 87. The Australians do not paint to 'produce', either, but to 'give life'; see L. Sharp, Ritual life and economics of the Yir-Yoront of Cape York Peninsula, *Oceania* (1934), p. 30. The philosopher assists his partner in conversation in giving birth to an idea by applying Socratean maieutics; the Eskimo carver proceeds the same way when calling forth a shape from the ivory. He holds a piece of it up to his ear and whispers, 'Who are you?' 'Who is hidden there?' And soon he will, for example, free a seal from the material; see E. Carpenter, Ohnainewk, Eskimo hunter, in

Casagrande, J.B. (ed.) *In the Company of Man* (New York, 1960), p. 425. We are reminded in this context of the shaman who dives down to the bottom of the ocean to encounter Sedna, the mother of animals, also called Avilajoq, 'she who wants to stay unmarried', or Nuliajoq, 'she who quickens herself', to free game from her hair or her kettle; see W. Thalbitzer, Die kultischen Gottheiten der Eskimos, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1928), p. 401; and F. Boas, *The Central Eskimo* (Lincoln, 1964), p. 178. The intention of leaving the balance of nature undisturbed, as evidenced by the Desana, is also seen in the rites of the Indians of the Rain Forest along the Orinoco river. Stripped down to a hip cord, the Yanomámi hunter and his wife go on the hunt. When they find some tracks, the man snuffs *epéna,* a hallucinogenic powder. This drug is usually thought to be *Virola Calophylloidea Markgraf*; see S.H. Wassén and B. Holmstedt, The use of paricá, *Ethnos* (1963), p. 12. It may also be some other type of snuff, see N.A. Chagnon, P. Le Quesne, and J.M. Cook, Yąnomamö Hallucinogens, *Current Anthropology* (1971), p. 72, often containing *bole hena,* the leaves of an *Acanthacea.* The hunter gradually enters ecstasy, not too difficult for him, since Yanomámi men take rather high doses of this drug almost daily, making them into real drug freaks in comparison to other Indians; see also H. Valero, *Yanoáma* (Frankfurt/Main, 1972), p. 135 [in English New York, 1970]. With her legs apart, his wife then lies down on the tracks in such a way that they are under her vagina. If the tracks are those of a tapir, for instance, then the hunter progressively turns into the spirit (*hekurá* or *hekulá*) of the tapir and his wife into the female of the species. She loosens his penis sling, caresses the penis until erection occurs and then proceeds to intromission. Thus a new tapir is created to replace the one which he will soon kill during the hunt. The tapir will see with its own eyes that it will be reborn, since directly before the shot that will kill it, it will glance at the penis of the hunter, tied up in such a way that it parts the testicles, giving them the appearance of the vagina, from which it will arise anew; see H. Becher, *Poré/Perimbó* (Hannover, 1974), p. 53. The Navahos were so convinced of the necessity of equalization and balance that they believed that a shaman could only save the life of a patient if, in return, he sacrificed that of another person, earning him the reputation of a *brujo,* a witch, with the injured party; see L.B. Boyer, R.M. Boyer, and H.W. Basehart, Shamanism and peyote use among the Apaches of the Mescalero Indian Reservation, in Harner, M.J. (ed.) *Hallucinogens and Shamanism* (New York, 1973), p. 55.

28 Artemidor of Daldis wrote in his *Traumbuch* in the second century of the Christian era, 'To have intercourse with a goddess brings death.'

29 See A.J. Festugière, *Études de religion grecque et hellénistique* (Paris, 1972), p. 38.

30 The Ephesian Artemis was also called 'the bee';see M.C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica* (Leiden, 1965), p. 185. The three prophetic sisters who once lived at Parnassus, aroused themselves with wild honey and flew about in the mountain range. Without this honey they were said to have spoken mere gibberish; see H. Usener, Milch und Honig, *Rheinisches Museum für*

Philologie (1902), p. 179. They were the ones who probably gave Artemis her name *melissa*. The assumption that bees propagated without coition, that is, virginally may have been involved; see E. Fehrle, Die Keuschheit der Bienen im Volksglauben, *Alemannia* (1911), p. 46. They were believed to cause madness, which was also said of Artemis. The original Greek words for 'intoxication' were *methyein* and *methyskein*. The word *oinum* (from *oinos*, 'wine') is much more recent. It was said that Dionysus invented honey; see K. Kerényi, *Dionysos* (München, 1976), p. 45. Etymologically, *oinos* seems to be related to *soma,* which in the Vedas was called *vinas*; see J. de Vries, *Forschungsgeschichte der Mythologie* (München, 1961), p. 208; see also note 16. The pot in which wine was carried into the temple of the Bona Dea was called the 'honey pot' for a long time after the introduction of wine and the wine itself was called 'milk'; see A.B. Cook, The bee in Greek mythology, *The Journal of Hellenistic Studies* (1895), p. 21. No men were allowed to participate in this cult, and even male animals were eliminated; see L.R. Farnell, Sociological hypotheses concerning the position of women in ancient religion, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1904), p. 70. In the Middle Ages the honeycomb appears as an epithet of the Holy Virgin: 'Hail to you, nest of honey! dripping honey comb, Sancta Maria!', cited from F. Eckstein, Honig, in Bächtold-Stäubli, H. (ed.) *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* IV (Berlin, 1932), column 293.

31 See R.F. Willetts, *Cretan Cults and Festivals* (London, 1962), p. 215.

32 Later on, the wilderness of the forest seems to have replaced the cave. It is said of initiates of the Cretan Zeus that they spent three times nine days in the depths of Ida cave, dressed in black woollen garb; see L. Weniger, Theophanien: altgriechische Götteradvente, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1923), p. 37.

33 See P. Faure, Nouvelles recherches de spéléologie et de typographie, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (1960), p. 210. The word for bear is female in Greek. The wet-nurses of Zeus were said to have been changed into bears. The famous cave of Zeus on Ida mountain was once called the 'bear's cave'; see A. Alföldi, *Die Struktur des voretruskischen Römerstaates* (Heidelberg, 1974), pp. 44, 48. In Inatos Cave on the southern coast of Crete, statuettes were found of men and women having intercourse.

34 See G.R. Levy, *The Gate of Horn* (London, 1948), p. 291. He is supposed to have composed an essay entitled 'The birth of the Couretes and the Corybants'. In some regions of Mexico the *curanderos de aire* [Trans. note: 'healers of *aire*' a syndrome of Mexican folk medicine] 'die' twice a year, and their 'souls' depart to mountain caves, where they are instructed by spirits, called *enanitos,* 'little dwarfs', while their bodies lie stiff and lifeless at home; see W. Madsen, Shamanism in Mexico, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* (1955), p. 51.

35 See W.H. Roscher, *Über Selene und Verwandtes* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 25.

36 F.G. Jünger, in *Griechische Mythen* (Frankfurt/Main, 1957), p. 197, writes the following about Gaea: 'Her power to bring forth life is so great that she can give birth to children without a procreator. While her daughter Rhea is

called the Great Mother, Gaea by rights is the mother of mothers.' What role the man was accorded in procreation at these times is hard to determine. If ethnology is any guide, there is some support for the hypothesis that the soul of the child – or, to speak in post-Wittgensteinian terms, its persona – was thought to derive from the original, the *ur*-mother. The Latvians, for instance, speak of Màra in this context; see H. Biezais, *Die Hauptgöttinnen der alten Letten* (Uppsala, 1955), p. 179. On the other hand, the father was viewed more as the one contributing to its body. According to B. Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion* (Garden City, 1954), p. 223, the Trobrianders felt that *momona* (a term meaning both semen and also vaginal secretion) only had the purpose of increasing pleasure and lewdness. Besides, the penis was needed to widen the vagina of a virgin (*nakapatu,* 'the closed one'), so that the 'spirit child' could enter. According to the district official of the Trobriand Islands at the time, the women believed that they possessed 'ejaculatory powers', which enabled them to expel the male semen after intercourse; see A.C. Rentoul, Physiological paternity and the Trobrianders, *Man* (1931), p. 153. Research by H.A. Powell showed, however, that initially the children of the Trobrianders were told that the male semen produced the child. They did not find out about the 'spiritual' explanation until later; see R.M.W. Dixon, Virgin Birth, *Man* (1968), p. 633; and H.W. Scheffler, Kinship, descent, and Alliance, in Honigmann, J.J. (ed.) *Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology* (Chicago, 1973), p. 751. The confusion between the 'somatic' and the 'spiritual' aspect may give rise to very funny situations, as we hear from J.C. Goodale, in *Tiwi Wives* (Seattle, 1974), p. 136: 'I approached a group of men and women . . . and quite seriously asked them, "Who makes babies and how do they get inside the mother?" I was entirely unprepared for the reaction. The men and women stopped their talk and looked at me questioningly. When I said nothing, they looked at each other and began to giggle, then broke into uncontrolled laughter. They paused only to repeat my question to each other and to those who, hearing the uproar, came to investigate. Each time my question was repeated, the laughter resumed with renewed convulsions. Finally, one woman dried her streaming eyes and caught her breath enough to answer my repeated question. "Boy make him," she said and looked so contemptuous at my innocence that I feared for my future ability to get any useful information from these people.' In other words, the way the Tiwi had understood the question was that she had referred to the 'somatic' aspect. What we would call the soul of the child usually does not originate with the semen. The 'spirit children' or 'child germs' of the Bad of the Dampier Peninsula live in orchids or bandara trees before conception. They are called *rai,* meaning something like 'life', 'heart' or 'soul', but also 'hidden', or 'secret'; see E.A. Worms, Australian mythological terms, *Anthropos* (1957), p. 755. If a *rai* appears to a woman, she must ask it who is supposed to become its father. Should the 'spirit child' name a man other than her husband, she must sleep with that one. 'Everyone knows,' a Bad said to the ethnographer, 'that a child cannot come from nothing. It has to come from a father. I cannot comprehend how the Whites can tell such things about us, as

though we did not know that the child has to have a father.' The man takes in the *rai* and passes it on to the woman. As Baibab, an old Bad, remembered, 'My father said, "I take you into your mother"'; see E.A. Worms, Mythologische Selbstbiographie eines australischen Ureinwohners, *Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen* (1957), pp. 41, 46. Among southern Australian tribes, the 'spirit child' or *julan' didji* penetrates into the uterus of the pregnant woman and 'animates' the fetus; see R. Berndt and C. Berndt, A preliminary report of field work in the Ooldea Region, *Oceania* (1943), p. 374; and W.L. Warner, *A Black Civilization* (New York, 1958), p. 23. In Tibet it can happen that the soul of an ancestor slips into the womb of a woman. If there is no embryo expecting it for which it could become a 'soul', it becomes angry and makes the woman ill. Such a woman must be made pregnant as soon as possible; see M. Hermanns, *Die Familie der A Mdo-Tibeter* (Freiburg, 1959), pp. 45, 209. On the other hand, it seems that some societies are or were of the opinion at one time that the semen does not contribute anything at all to the creation of a child, or that at most it produces a kind of amniotic fluid in which the fetus floats like a water-lily; see P. Kaberry, Virgin birth, *Man* (1968), p. 312. The natives along the Tully River, just as the Trobrianders according to Malinowski, were of the opinion that animals needed their semen for procreation, but not humans, and this was considered to be the salient difference between the two; see W.E. Roth, *Superstition, Magic and Medicine* (Brisbane, 1903), p. 22. E. Leach, in Golden bough or gilded twig?, *Daedalus* (1961), p. 377, gives a critique of this point. The Unambal advance the idea that intercourse may be sufficient for animals and Whites, but not for them. Since the Whites arrived in their country this situation, they think, changed also for many Unambal; see Lommel, *op. cit.*, p. 27; also D.M. Schneider, Virgin birth, *Man* (1968), p. 127. The inhabitants of Bellona, one of the Solomon Islands, apparently thought that men and women slept with each other only because it tickled so nicely; see T. Monberg, Fathers were not genitors, *Man* (1975), p. 37. Others supposed that women were nothing but incubators, while *täll'äll,* the male semen, alone created the child. '"Mother nothing," my informant ... of the Ompelä tribe, declared with finality'; see D.F. Thomson, The hero cult, initiation and totemism on Cape York, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (1933), p. 506. The Marind-anim of New Guinea consider the sperm to be *the* essence of life. During the *sosom* initiation the neophytes are anally inseminated by the adult men, while the women are raped by up to a dozen men in the *otivbombari* ritual, supposedly in order to help the boys and the fetuses to grow; see J. van Baal, *Dema* (The Hague, 1966), pp. 815, 479, 493. In summary, one might say that most of the above views indicate that the *personality* of the child is not explained *biologically,* but rather, as it were, *socially.* It is not the sperm that imparts identity to the child, but the ancestor in the 'dreamtime' (see chapter 11). This is what Lévy-Bruhl may have had in mind when he says about the 'primitive mentality': 'It being orientated in the way it is, we may contend without fearing to go wrong that if its attention is focused on the fact of conception the principal matter of interest will not be its physical condition. Whether it

knows them or is more or less ignorant of them, does not matter much, since at any rate, it will ignore them and will instead seek its cause elsewhere, in the world of mystical forces'; L. Lévy-Bruhl, *La mentalité primitive* (Paris, 1947), p. 512; translation by Goodman. [*How Natives Think* (New York, 1966), p. 305 provides a truncated version of this quote.]

37 When Ulysses's ship was being crushed between Scylla and Charybdis, the hero hung on to a giant fig tree growing above the whirlpool on a rock, until Charybdis belched forth another one of the ship's beams to which he could cling; see K. Burdach, *Der Gral* (Stuttgart, 1938), p. 42. Scylla and Charybdis were thought to mark the entrance to the lower world, and the fig tree is often connected with the underworld or gods of the underworld such as Demeter or Dionysus; see A.J. Evans, Mycenean tree and pillar cult, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1901), p. 104; and K. Boetticher, *Zur Kenntnis antiker Gottesverehrung* (Berlin, 1898), p. 73. The mask of the lower-world god Dionysus of Naxos was carved of the wood of the black fig tree; see K. Kerényi, *Die Mysterien von Eleusis* (Zürich, 1962), p. 128. Satyrs liked to rest under fig trees, when they were not busy chasing women. It was thought to arouse voluptuous feelings, so much so that some scholars considered its fruit a narcotic; see O. Goetz, *Der Feigenbaum in der religiösen Kunst des Abendlandes* (Berlin, 1965), p. 28. For this reason it may have represented the womb of the earth or of woman. No wonder that early Christians believed it to be the forbidden tree; see R. Guénon, *Le symbolisme de la croix* (Paris, 1931), p. 86. At certain times the fig tree exudes an intoxicating fragrance, especially when its fruit is pierced by insects, so that its sticky juice drops on the leaves; see L. Rettenbeck, *Feige* (Basel, 1955), p. 61. Right into our times it was considered dangerous in Palestine to sleep in its shadow, because the demonic *maskŭn* slept in its leaves. The word *sykon,* 'fig', was a euphemism for vagina in ancient Greece, and *sykazo* meant to 'touch a woman in a lewd manner'; see Dr Aigremont, *Volkserotik und Pflanzenwelt* I (Leipzig, 1910), p. 75; and J. Murr, *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* (Innsbruck, 1890), p. 32. *Ficus ruminalis,* the name of the fig tree which stood in front of Lupercal Cave where Romulus and Remus were born, can be traced to *ruma* or *rumis,* meaning 'mother's breast'; see L. Cser, Der mythische Lebensbaum und die Ficus Ruminalis, *Acta Antiqua* (1962), p. 333. There was also a fig tree in Eleusis (Eleutho is thought to be related to Eileithyia) at the spot where Hades entered the lower world with Persephone; see O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (München, 1906), pp. 48, 792. In the late Middle Ages it was said that Tannhäuser slept under a fig tree when Venus approached him. And on the Isle of Bougainville people maintain that on the way to the other world there grows a wild fig tree, a giant sycamore with numberless stems and aerial roots, in which live the souls of the unborn; see H. Thurnwald, Jenseitsvorstellungen und Dämonenglaube des Buin-Volkes, in Tönnies, I. (ed.) *Beiträge zur Gesellungs- und Völkerwissenschaft* (Berlin, 1950), p. 347.

38 See P. Faure, *Fonctions des cavernes crétoises* (Paris, 1964), p. 84. As mentioned before, Calypso lived in a cave, where she kept a fire burning of cedar

and juniper wood. Its fragrance filled the entire island. Over the island of Circe (another aspect of Calypso) the sun always stood overhead, so that Ulysses could no longer tell where east or west was. The sun also stood perpendicular over Dikte or Lycaios mountain, the centre of the earth; see E.A.S. Butterworth, *The Tree at the Navel of the Earth* (Berlin, 1970), p. 28; and E.A. Havelock, Parmenides and Odysseus, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* (1958), p. 136.

39 In Basque country, stalagmites are still sometimes considered petrified saints (*arpekosaindu*), as for instance in Bidarray Cave; see Barandarián, *op. cit.*, pp. 523, 525, 544.

40 There is a Melanesian myth according to which a virginal ancestress went to a cave and lay under a stalactite in such a way that the water dropped into her vagina. There it 'hammered back' her menstrual blood, making it possible for a 'spirit child' to enter; see L. Austen, Procreation among the Trobriand islanders, *Oceania* (1934), p. 105; and B. Malinowski, *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* (London, 1927), p. 109. The water obviously performed the same function as the male semen in many Australian societies: it prepared the vagina for conception; see C. Strehlow, *Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme in Zentralaustralien* III (Frankfurt/Main, 1907), p. XI; see also M.F. Ashley-Montagu, Ignorance of physiological paternity in secular knowledge and orthodox belief among the Australian Aborigines, *Oceania* (1940), p. 111. Let us suppose that it is untrue what Spencer wrote to Frazer about Strehlow in a letter dated 9 December 1903, namely that 'what they have told him is just what they tell the women'; see B. Spencer, in Marett, R.R. and Penniman, T.K. (eds) *Scientific Correspondence* (London, 1932), p. 97; see also note 36.

41 There are survivals of this nature into this century, such as crawl stones for pregnant women in Christian chapels; see T. Zachariae, Durchkriechen als Mittel zur Erleichterung der Geburt, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* (1902), p. 112. The crack in the rock of the chapel at Falkenstein seems to be the best known crawlway. In other regions, if persons crawled through such a rock together, they were considered to be siblings; see S. Ciszewski, *Künstliche Verwandtschaft bei den Südslaven* (Leipzig, 1897), p. 4. As late as the nineteenth century, pregnant Athenian women crawled down a rock between the Aeropag and the Pnyx, calling to Diana (under the name of Lucina); see C. Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im neuen* (Bonn, 1864), p. 71; and O.F.A. Meinardus, Fertility and healing cult survivals in Athens: Haghia Marina, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1974), p. 271. Even today, childless Rif Kabyl women climb to a cave called Wigzen, situated at the foot of the highest peak in the Beni Warein. Inside this cave, there are three narrow cracks in the rock, just wide enough for a woman to be able to slip through. Behind the cracks, a subterranean river flows by; see W. Vycichl, Die Mythologie der Berber, in Haussig, H.W. (ed.) *Götter und Mythen im alten Europa* (Stuttgart, 1973), p. 636. The cleft stones in the Tyrol are also mentioned in connection with barren women; see H. Fink, *Verzaubertes Land* (Innsbruck, 1973), p. 16. Prayers for children were directed to the ancient earth goddess Gaea, and women dropped honey cakes into her rock cleft in Athens; see A.

Dieterich, Mutter Erde, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1905), p. 37. The fat-bellied Anatolian goddess who is often represented with legs spread apart and who was probably venerated in caves during neolithic times, may be the direct forerunner of Eileithyia; see J. Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük* (Bergisch-Gladbach, 1967), Table 67. Some researchers assume that the rites in Amnisos Cave concerned not only human, but also animal rebirth; see B.C. Dietrich, *The Origins of Greek Religion* (Berlin, 1974), p. 124; and P.V.C. Baur, *Eileithyia* (Chicago, 1902), p. 29. An oracle may also have been located there; see H.W. Parke, *Greek Oracles* (London, 1967), p. 27.

42 See J.C. Lawson, *op. cit.*, p. 164, who maintains that the goddess was called 'Diana' not by the local population, but by the Italian reporter Onorio Belli. What name was given to her by the Cretans is unknown. Until recently, sacrifices were offered to her at noon or at midnight on the island of Zakynthos, and she was addressed as the 'Great Lady'. On the islands of Chios and Skopelos, she was called 'Queen of the Mountains' (J.C. Lawson, *op. cit.*, p. 170). Spying on her or her Nereides could cause blindness or dumbness. Even today they are said to rob small children; see P. Faure (1964), *op. cit.*, p. 230. The *oi kalotyches*, 'ladies of luck', were greatly feared by the shepherds of the Epirus. There is a story of a woman who came upon a banquet of these 'ladies'. She was later found in the mountains, unconscious, but never quite regained consciousness and later died; see J.K. Campbell, Honour and the Devil, in Peristiany, J.G. (ed.) *Honour and Shame* (London, 1965), p. 160. To this day, Nereides are said to dwell in the large cave on the slopes of Mount Kamares in southern Crete. They sometimes dance in the moonlight in front of the cave. I visited the cave in 1971 with some friends, but witnessed nothing like that. It seems, though, that the Nereides interfered with our orientation: during our descent at midnight, we were so confused by a strange rustling sound in the air, coming from various directions, that we lost our way in the wilderness.

43 See A. Martin, *Badewesen in vergangenen Tagen* (Jena, 1906), p. 246; see also K. Weinhold, *Die Verehrung der Quellen* in Deutschland (Berlin, 1898), p. 25.

44 See E. Samter, *Volkskunde im altsprachlichen Unterricht* I (Berlin, 1923), p. 382.

45 See L. Rütimeyer, *Ur-Ethnographie der Schweiz* (Basel, 1924), p. 382; and also W. Jordans, *Der germanische Volksglauben von den Toten und Dämonen im Berg* (Bonn, 1933), p. 19.

46 See P-Y. Sébillot, *Le folklore de la Bretagne* II (Paris, 1968), p. 84; G. Charrière, *La signification des représentations érotiques dans les arts sauvages et préhistoriques* (Paris, 1970), p. 174; P. Sébillot, The worship of stones in France, *American Anthropologist* (1902), p. 79; and V.C.C. Collum, Die schöpferische Mutter-Göttin der Völker keltischer Sprache, *Eranos-Jahrbuch* (1938), p. 276. Compare a picture of the 'Druid rock' or 'rock rabbit' in Locronon in Brittany, into the depressions of which barren women sit, as shown in J. Michell, *The Earth Spirit* (London, 1975), p. 83. See J.W. Wolf, *Hessische Sagen* (Leipzig, 1853), p. 13. These rocks, trees or lakes often carry the prefix *titi-*. It is interesting that at Mount Cameroon *titi* is the children's

word for vagina; see S.G. Ardener, Sexual insult and female militancy, *Man* (1973), p. 422. In the Western world the word is used more for the female nipple. As to 'evil woman'; see E.H. Meyer, *Badisches Volksleben im 19. Jahrhundert* (Strassburg, 1900), p. 10; and R. Beitl, *Der Kinderbaum* (Berlin, 1942), p. 43. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, young people are said to have placed flowers and herbs for Frau Holle into the waters of Kammerbacher Cave in Mount Meissner. The earlier name of the cave was the 'Hollenloch'. Barren women used to bathe in these waters, presumably in order to receive 'the soul of a child'; see A. Häger, Der Meissner und seine Frau Holle, *Germanen-Erbe* (1940), p. 18. Tradition has it that the young people danced above the grotto and sang the following song:

Miamaide – steht auf der Heide
Hat ein grün's Röcklein an
Sitzen drei schöne Jungfern daran
Die eine schaut nach vorne
Die andre in den Wind
Das Weibsbild an dem Borne
Hat viele, viele Kind.

Miamaide – standing in the heather
Has on a little green skirt
Three pretty girls sit by there
One looks ahead
The other one into the wind
The woman at the well
Has many, many children.

However, see K. Löber, Kräuterholen und Bergzusammenkünfte an Christi Himmelfahrt im Kreis Eschwege, *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* (1969), p. 127. 'Old Woden' and his Wild Hunt seem to have risen from the lake in the cave in earlier times; see K. Paetow, *Frau Holle* (Kassel, 1952), p. 131. In former Celtic countries the 'white' or 'good' witches apparently learned their healing skills and other matters in such caves. About the year 1653 a man in Yorkshire reported that he met a beautiful woman during the night, who 'led him to a little Hill and she knocked three times, and the Hill opened, and they went in, and came to a fair hall, wherein was a Queen, and she said he was welcome, and bid the Gentlewoman give him some of the white powder, and teach him how to use it, which she did'; see J. Webster, *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* (London, 1677), p. 300, quoted in Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

47 See W. Mannhardt, *Germanische Mythen* (Berlin, 1858), p. 256.

48 This 'Stampe', feared in the lower Eisack valley into the nineteenth century as one who abducted the souls of children, did the same also to adults. It was believed that she rode after the Wild Hunt; see M. Rumpf, Spinnstubenfrauen, Kinderschreckgestalten und Frau Perchta, *Fabula* (1976), p. 221. Oluca, who robs children, haunts cemeteries in eastern Persia; see D. Bazzi, *Kleinkindererziehung bei den Bahluli* (Zürich, 1977), p. 62. I suspect that the conviction that the witches of the Renaissance used the fat of unbaptized

infants to prepare their flight salves may have its roots in the belief in these 'child abductors'. In the same way as Hecate, Percht flew over hill and dale during the night, followed by her unbaptized children in the shape of dogs; see I. von Zingerle, Berchta-Sagen in Tirol, *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1889), p. 261. These unbaptized children had no normal status, they belonged neither to the realm of the dead nor to that of the living; see J. Pentikäinen, *The Nordic Dead-Child Tradition* (Helsinki, 1968), pp. 182, 355. With the Bororo Indians, a child is not a person until given a name and with that a soul, the *aroe;* see C. Crocker, Les réflexions du soi, and P.H. Stahl, Soi-même et les autres: quelques examples balkaniques, in Lévi-Strauss, C. and Benoist, J-M. (eds) *L'identité* (Paris, 1977), p. 162 and p. 288. Among the Frisians, an infant had no rights until it had drunk of its mother's milk; see P. Diepgen, *Frau und Frauenheilkunde in der Kultur des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart, 1963), p. 51; and V.W. Turner, Three symbols of passage in Ndembu circumcision ritual, in Gluckman, M. (ed.) *Essays on the Ritual of Social Relations* (Manchester, 1962), p. 131. A motherly, fairy-like being, Maeae Syy, watches over the *khwan,* the soul of a child, in Thailand, which lives in a tree before being born. For a while after birth, the child belongs within the range of influence of this fairy; see J.R. Hanks, Reflections on the ontology of rice, in Diamond, S. (ed.) *Primitive Views of the World* (New York, 1964), p. 152. So that unbaptized children might not succumb to pagan beings, such as sprites or Percht (see M. Beth, Kinderraub, in Bächtold-Stäubli, H. (ed.) *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* IV (Berlin, 1932), column 1364) the Church decreed the very dangerous practice of private baptism, where a non-sterile syringe was introduced into the uterus in order to baptize the fetus with water. The narrow-minded opposition of the Roman Catholic Church to the interruption of pregnancy may in part derive from similar fears. Such notions are not specifically Christian, however. Those who died 'before their time' or outside the natural order of things, such as suicides or murder victims, were restless spirits flying abroad in the wind with Hecate; see E. Rohde, *Psyche* II (Freiburg, 1898), pp. 83, 411. Souls of dead infants of the inhabitants of the Arcadian Kaphyai haunted people together with an Artemis venerated in the region; see F. Altheim, *Griechische Götter im alten Rom* (Giessen, 1930), p. 73. In the course of the Middle Ages, angels usually assumed the *positive* role of sprite-like or fairy-like beings, acting as the protectors of infants and 'instilling' their soul into them while they were still in their fetal stage in the womb. The *negative* role was assigned to the Devil, who attempted 'to prevent them from ever seeing the loving face of our Lord'; see H. Vollmer, Über Engel und Teufel im deutschen Volksglauben des Mittelalters, *Berichte des Deutschen Bibel-Archivs Hamburg* (1941), p. 4. According to an early Church doctrine, the male semen was a homunculus. This would mean that wet dreams could provide the fairies with throngs of souls. Such was not a happy thought, so St Augustine found it necessary to state that the embryo did not have a soul until the fortieth day of pregnancy; see G. Becker, H. Brackert, S. Brauner and A. Tümmler, Zum kulturellen Bild und zur realen Situation der Frau im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit, in *Aus der Zeit*

der Verzweiflung (Frankfurt/Main, 1977), p. 91. By contrast the Golden of Eastern Siberia hold that up to the age of one year, the child has its own soul (*omija*), which returns to the soul tree (*omija muoni*) when the child receives its adult soul (*ergeni*). In other words, in this case a child that is not yet a member of the society, is not considered 'a nothing', but rather has its own identity; see I. Paulson, Die Religionen der nordasiatischen Völker, in *Die Religionen Nordeurasiens und der amerikanischen Arktis* (Stuttgart, 1962), p. 121. For Christians, an unbaptized infant was always potentially 'lost'. Thus Berthold von Regensburg argued that prostitutes deprived the Lord daily of many souls and delivered them up to the Devil; see T. Hampe, *Die fahrenden Leute in der deutschen Vergangenheit* (Leipzig, 1902), p. 62. Baptism, therefore, was of the utmost urgency. However, dead children could not be baptized. So everything imaginable was resorted to in order at least to create the illusion of life. Infant corpses were treated with hot coals or burning candles, so the arteries at the temples and around the neck would show some motion, or warm breath was blown into a dead child's nose, so when it came back out, it would blow away a small feather. Then it was baptized in a hurry and subsequently buried; see O. Vasella, Über die Taufe totgeborener Kinder in der Schweiz, *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* (1966), p. 30; and H. Boesch, *Kinderleben in der deutschen Vergangenheit* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 28. If this was not done, the omission represented a contribution to the continued existence of the Realm of Darkness; see also F. von Reitzenstein, *Das Weib bei den Naturvölkern* (Berlin, 1924), p. 284. For the 'Stampe'; see also Fink, *op. cit.*, pp. 235, 251. To this day, the midwife is called by this name. Particularly in Hungary, midwives were persecuted as witches and were called *bábaaszony*; see M. de Ferdinandy, Die Mythologie der Ungarn, in Haussig, H.W. (ed.) *Götter und Mythen im alten Europa* (Stuttgart, 1973), p. 223. Szépasszony ('beautiful woman'), the old Hungarian goddess of women lying-in, became in Christian times the epitome of the witch who threatened the infant; see B. Kohlbach, Der Mythos und Kult der alten Ungarn, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1899), p. 339. In the fifteenth century midwives were attacked in the *Unholdenhammer*; see also T.R. Forbes, Midwifery and witchcraft, *Journal of the History of Medicine* (1962), p. 264; and many of them were persecuted in the countries of the Alps; see J. Schacher von Inwil, *op. cit.*, p. 106. During the Thirty Years War nearly all the midwives of the city of Cologne were executed as witches. They mediated between the worlds, and some of their designations still retain the memory of where they fetched the souls of the children: *bomsmutter* 'tree mother', in the region of Osnabrück, or *wild wei(b)* 'wilderness woman', and *waldweib* 'forest woman', in the Bavarian Forest and upper Austria; see M. Virkkunen, *Die Bezeichnungen für Hebamme in deutscher Wortgeographie* (Giessen, 1957), pp. 63, 66.

49 Quoted in M. Murray, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 240; and H. Vorwahl, Deutsche Volksmedizin in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, in *Studien zur religiösen Volkskunde* (Dresden, 1939), p. 12. The fairies, who like Diana were 'motherly virgins', were the woman's helper during lying-in, placing the

infant at her breast when it was hungry and taking care of it during the mother's absence. Just as the witches, they came through the smoke hole or chimney; see H. Schreiber, *Die Feen in Europa* (Freiburg, 1842), pp. 5, 11, 34. The root *fa-* is often hidden in the names of these helpers at birth. The original meaning of *fatum* was 'the matter that has been said', later changing to 'fate'; see L.L. Tels-de Jong, *Sur quelques divinités romaines de la naissance et de la prophétie* (Delft, 1959), p. 86. Parca, 'the one giving birth', was originally a Roman birth goddess, and an author writing as late as Burchard of Worms warns women not to set the table for attendants of this goddess.

50 See W. Puchner, Spuren frauenbündischer Organisationsformen im neugriechischen Jahreslaufbrauchtum, *Schweizer Archiv für Volkskunde* (1963), p. 165. It was maintained that during such occasions 'actions with phalli' were carried out amidst obscene jokes; see F. Heeger, Frauenrechtliches im fränkischen Brauchtum, *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* (1963), p. 136. Women storming through the streets created a scandal in 1418: 'So old hags and married women behave as if they were children, and an honest man cannot pass through a street, for they will attack him and want to have intercourse with him'; see R. Grether, Frauen an der Basler Fastnacht, *Schweizer Volkskunde* (1972), p. 2.

51 Memories of similar activities must have also existed in Germany. As late as a hundred years ago, peasants stored their tools away carefully during the night of May Day for fear that the witches might break them or stack them against the ridge pole of the straw roof; see T. Wolff, Volksleben an der oberen Nahe, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* (1902), p. 425; see also W. Manz, *Volksbrauch und Volksglaube des Sarganserlandes* (Basel, 1916), p. 23.

52 See R. Wolfram, Weiberbünde, *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1933), p. 143.

53 See A. Becker. *Frauenrechtliches in Brauch und Sitte* (Kaiserslautern, 1913), p. 32.

54 See J. Hawkes, *Geburt der Götter* (Bern, 1972), p. 133; and M.L. West, The Dictaean hymn to the Kouros, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1965), p. 154. To this day, young shepherdesses in Zagori in the Epirus dance around the 'May boy', lying in the grass 'dead', and sing, 'Look, what youth has died here, what a young cypress.' Then they continue with, 'Rise, Zapheiri, rise', and all swarm over the meadows together; see G.A. Megas, *Greek Calendar Customs* (Athens, 1963), p. 119; and T. Dömötör, Whitsun mummers in Hungary, *Schweizer Archiv für Volkskunde* (1972), p. 66.

55 This *thyein,* 'swarming', occasionally intensified into flying. However, Artemis with wings had become unintelligible by the time of classical Greece; see W.S. Thompson, The Asiatic or winged Artemis, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1909), p. 305; and F. Studniczka, *Kyrene* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 156. Dionysus is also shown with wings in very ancient cult pictures; see E. Langlotz, Dionysus, *Die Antike* (1932), p. 180. On representations of the revelries of Dionysus, delicate girls float through the air, letting their legs dangle in the manner of birds; see F. Weege, *Der Tanz in der Antike* (Halle, 1926), p. 69.

56 See J. Hawkes, *op. cit.,* p. 128. It is said that Zeus and Hera made love under a

sycamore tree on the shores of the Theren river near Knossos, and that every year the populace re-enacted this event ritually. Zeus also approached Europa under a sycamore near Gortyn; see W. Schwartz, *Indogermanischer Volksglaube* (Berlin, 1885), p. 48.

57 In time, this nature *mother* increasingly became more a virgin, who merely *helped* during birth, but who could also bring about death. An ivory relief in the Cretan style, from the seventh century BC, shows two Eileithyias, one 'loosener' and one 'binder'; see K. Kerényi (1976), *op. cit.*, p. 315. This is the origin for the later 'ungirding' deities. They often carried the 'thread of life' in their hands, and in some regions of Austria the midwife braided a red-and-white cord during baptism.

58 The word *ekstatikoi* was free of value judgement. If a supernatural matter was to be expressed, concepts such as *entheoi* or *prophetoi* were used, if not, then the respective person was called *daimonontes*; see E.R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 53.

59 See K. Dilthey, Tod des Pentheus, *Archäologische Zeitschrift* (1874), p. 91. The author emphasizes that in the distant past, no distinction was made between the Bacchae and the Erinyes. All that was known was 'the raging swarm of the nymphs of Artemis'. Erinys was one of Artemis' names; see A. Dieterich, *Nekya* (Leipzig, 1913), p. 56. In the works of Aeschylus and Nonnos, the raging ones call themselves the maenads; see W.F. Otto, *Dionysos* (Frankfurt/Main, 1933), p. 105. Heraclitus maintains that Hades and Dionysus are one and the same, according to H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (Hamburg, 1957), fragment 15. The Erinyes or 'enrapturers' present a trait which was to become even more pronounced in the later Artemis–Hecate, but even these Erinyes helped with delivery; see E. Rohde, Paralipomena, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* (1895), p. 21. Quite often archaeologists are unable to distinguish between the orgiastic dances of Artemis and those of Dionysus. The two deities are closely related, and occasionally Artemis is even called *bromia*; see I. Jucker, Frauenfest in Korinth, *Antike Kunst* (1963), p. 58. Artemis and Dionysus were both at one time tree deities (*endendros*) and the latter was also called *Kissos*, 'ivy'. The Greek word for buds was *numphai*, so possibly the nymphs of Artemis were the 'swelling ones', the *parthenoi* bearing for the first time; see E. Peterich, *Die Theologie der Hellenen* (Leipzig, 1938), p. 294. As mentioned before, they were predominantly wet nurses. Those famous Cretan women who are exhibiting their bare breasts probably do not demonstrate everyday fashion as often maintained in cultural history books, but rather are wet nurses of the deity; see C. Picard, *Les religions préhelléniques* (Paris, 1948), p. 194. The maenads did not only offer their breasts to infants, according to Nonnos, or robbed them from the houses, according to Euripides, they also suckled wolf cubs and fawns. The Moroccan Aissâoûa brotherhood has a tradition according to which 'lionesses' (*lbhîat*) once suckled lion cubs and in that way created a kin relationship between themselves and the animals; see R. Eisler, Nachleben dionysischer Mysterienriten?, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1929), p. 183. Traces of this 'milk kinship' can be found to the present. In Dardistan,

people maintain that a woman can escape being raped if she succeeds in placing her nipple in her attacker's mouth. A great shaman is said to have attacked a demonic *ratash* from behind. She had thrown her breasts over her shoulder, but he stuffed both her nipples into his mouth. Thereupon she had to serve as his helper; see K. Jettmar, *Die Religionen des Hindukusch* (Stuttgart, 1975), pp. 228, 280; and M. Lüthi, *Das Volksmärchen als Dichtung* (Düsseldorf, 1975), p. 60. The story is told of the Arab hero Zaid al-Hail that he once refused to slay a camel thief because the man had previously drunk from the milk dish of Zaid's father; see W.R. Smith, *Die Religion der Semiten* (Freiburg, 1899), p. 207 [*Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (New York, 1969)]; also D. Bazzi, *op. cit.*, p. 70; and M.S. Filipović, Forms and functions of ritual kinship among south Slavs, in *VI^e Congrès International des sciences anthropologiques et ethnologiques II* (Paris, 1963), p. 79. If among the Berbers a fugitive succeeded in ripping open the garment of the mistress of the house and sucked at one of her breasts, he acquired the protection of the house; see E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* I (London, 1926), p. 518.

60 Originally, the maenads probably wore lynx or wildcat skins, as still told today of the wild women of the Tyrol, the *fanggen,* and just as these, they may have changed into such animals, as was maintained of the dancers of Brauronian Artemis who changed into bears; see R. Eisler, *Orphisch-dionysische Mysteriengedanken in der christlichen Antike* (Leipzig, 1925), p. 283. Lykurgos, who pursued the maenads, was characteristically called 'defender against wolves'.

61 The thyrsus, which is usually wound with ivy, must have developed from spreading branches or the like; see A. Reinach, L'origine du thyrse, *Revue d'Histoire des Religions* (1912), p. 47. The word has also been connected with the Ugaritic *tirsu,* 'intoxicating drink', or the late Hittite *tuwarsa,* 'grape'; see Burkert, *op. cit.*, p. 253. There have been numerous allegations that the maenads of Dionysus used 'hallucinogenic' drugs. Some researchers, especially Graves, believe that the maenads ate fly agaric. The reasons quoted are, for example, that Dionysus has been identified with the Aryan *soma*; see G.M.N. Davis, *The Asiatic Dionysos* (London, 1914), p. 134; *soma,* the elixir conferring immortality, is thought to be *Amanita muscaria,* mainly because it is said that *soma* has neither seed, nor roots or blossoms; see R.G. Wasson, *Soma* (New York, 1968), p. 18, and grew high in the Himalayas; see S.M. Gupta, *Plant, Myths and Traditions in India* (Leiden, 1971) p. 28. However, this supposition has little to recommend it. Even the Korean *yintsan,* the name for a mandrake-like root which we call ginseng, that is *sam,* has been related to *soma*; see A. Eckardt, Ginseng, die Wunderwurzel des Ostens, in Koppers, W. (ed.) *Festschrift für P.W. Schmidt* (Wien, 1928) p. 226. R. de Ropp, in *Bewusstsein und Rausch* (München, 1964), p. 225, assumes that the maenads mixed belladonna and henbane into their wine, but I know of nothing that would support such an assumption. Belladonna was very rare in Greece at the time and could only be found in a few scattered locations in the forested mountains of Thessaly; see H. Marzell, *Geschichte und Volkskunde der*

deutschen Heilpflanzen (Darmstadt, 1967), p. 216. According to Plutarch, the enthusiasm of the bacchantes derived from ingesting ivy, which they tore up by hand. Plinius says of ivy that it 'disturbs the mind'. In the Middle Ages it was considered to be a medicine for expelling gallstones. It was mixed into wine and caused many cases of poisoning, some fatal; see H. Görz, *Grosses Kräuter-und Gewürzbuch* (Wiesbaden, 1974), p. 91. We should note, however, that the Dionysian ivy was not the one native to Germany, but rather the variety growing in northern India, having yellow berries; see J.H. Dierbach, *Flora mythologica* (Frankfurt/Main, 1833), p. 65, of which it is said that it grows only on Mount Meros close to Nysa in India. The flesh of the ivy berry is toxic, due to its A-hederine content, and fatal poisoning from the ingestion of these berries is still reported; see O. Gessner and G. Orzechowski, *Gift- und Arznei- pflanzen von Mitteleuropa* (Heidelberg, 1974), p. 164. O. Brunnfelsz, an early writer, in *Contrafayt Kreüterbuoch* (Strassburg, 1532), p. 153, warns, 'The juice of the leaves or the berries of the black ivy sicken the body and confuse the senses if too much is taken.'

62 In his Latin sermons, the Minorite Berthold von Regensburg spoke of stupid country women, who believe that 'women of the night, night travellers come to them and they prepare the table and similar things for them.' By these 'night women', he means *felices dominae,* 'women bringing good luck'. They survive into the present in the naked *saligen* in the Tyrol and Carinthia as the mistresses of Alpine animals, especially goats. They are women of intoxicating beauty who dance in rock clefts and in front of caves, help women in need, but sometimes also abduct people; see W. Heiligendorff, *Der keltische Matronenkultus* (Leipzig, 1934), pp. 76, 79, 84; see also C. Vakarelski, *Bulgarische Volkskunde* (Berlin, 1968), p. 230. J. Herolt, in *Sermones discipuli de tempore* (Hagenau, 1518), p. 41, speaks of women who believe that Diana, whom they call 'the blessed Lady' or 'frauberthe' and 'frauhelt', travels about at night; quoted in J. Staber, Ein altbayerischer Beichtspiegel des 15. Jahrhunderts, *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* (1963), p. 18.

63 On this day, the young women of Athens went swinging. As we can see from various representations of this occasion, the Silenes, of the retinue of Dionysus, are the ones who 'push' the women. If we further consider that Dionysus had intercourse with the representative of the women of Athens, the wife of the *archon basileus,* in the Bucoleion, where this woman was probably touched on the vagina with a phallus made of fig wood; see K. Kerényi, *Dionysos* (München, 1976), p. 246, then we may see in the swinging a substitute for the earlier intercourse. It is reminiscent of the hitting of women on the abdomen during the Lupercalia or Carneval, which was a later replacement of having intercourse with the spirits of the dead. On a skyphos (K. Kerényi, *op. cit.,* figure 97) we can see how a Silene 'drags away' an elegant Athenian woman, and acts of this nature were probably not rare during the night in question.

64 Beyond Looz, its track is lost. Tradition has it, however, that the ship was taken to the Schelde at Antwerp; see K. Simrock, *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie* (Bonn, 1864), p. 388.

65 See C. Clemen, Der Ursprung des Karnevals, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*

(1914), p. 152; A. Spamer, *Deutsche Fastnachtsbräuche* (Jena, 1936), p. 52; and A. Lesky, Zum Schiffskarren des Dionysos, *Mitteilungen des Vereins für klassische Philologie Wien* (1925), p. 16. H. Rosenfeld, Fastnacht und Karneval, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* (1969), p. 181, points out that this procession took place in one of the core regions of the ancient 'mother cults'. 'Odin's wife,' it says in the *Edda,* 'rows the ship of the world, lusting for love.' In Scandinavian rock art, for instance, in a picture near Kalleby in the district of Tanum, a ship is represented, having a tree for a mast and carrying four *lure* (a bronze wind instrument shaped like an ox horn) players. A seal ring found on the Cretan island of Mochlos shows a female being on such a ship with a tree, in front of what appears to be a shrine. Around Judenburg in Styria it was believed that the Mistress of the Wild Hunt rode on a sled shaped like a ship; see O. Almgren, *Nordische Felszeichnungen als religiöse Urkunden* (Frankfurt/Main, 1934), pp. 9, 22, 33, 319.

66 See M. Foucault, *Wahnsinn und Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt/Main, 1969), p. 25 [*Madness and Civilization* (New York, 1973)]. Foucault contends that the mentally ill were frequently taken across the Rhine in a ship and exposed on the other side. However, this has been documented only in a few cases. The metaphor of a ship for the soul of the insane was employed for a long time. J.C. Reil, in *Rhapsodien über die Anwendung der psychischen Curmethode auf Geisteszerrüttungen* (Halle, 1803), p. 62, quoted in K. Dörner, *Bürger und Irre* (Frankfurt/Main, 1969), p. 263, for instance, writes, 'A stranger in her own home, where she finds everything in disarray, she has lost rudder and mast and is forced to float in strange worlds, times, and spaces on the waves of her creative imagination.' Initiations are described in a similar manner. Plutarch, for example, in his work *De genio Socratis,* describes the initiation in an oracle cave as the journey of the soul over the sea, after it expanded as a sail. R. Kloepfer, in Das trunkene Schiff, *Romanische Forschungen* (1968), p. 165, called attention to the fact that in Rimbaud's 'drunken ship' the same metaphor appears once more.

67 J.B. Long, in Shiva and Dionysus – visions of terror and bliss, *Numen* (1971), p. 188, thinks that in contrast to Dionysus, the dancing Shiva was a character belonging to the pre-Indo-European population. However, the same may be said also of Dionysus, whom the Greeks encountered as they entered the area. The later god of the Dionysian mysteries, Dionysus–Sabazios, was of Lydian–Phrygian origin; see E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen* (München, 1969), pp. 289, 291.

68 See especially I.M. Lewis, Spirit possession and deprivation cults, *Man* (1966), p. 307, and *Ecstatic Religion* (Harmondsworth, 1971), p. 100; also H. Sibisi, The place of spirit possession in Zulu cosmology, in Whisson, M.G. and West, M. (eds) *Religion and Social Change in Southern Africa* (Cape Town, 1975), p. 50; and E. Pressel, Umbanda trance and possession in São Paulo, in Zaretsky, I.I. (ed.) *Trance, Healing, and Hallucination* (New York, 1974), p. 216. In Lewis's terms, the Dionysus cult might be classed as a typical 'peripheral cult', in which the underprivileged, such as women and slaves, are able to express those concerns denied to them in normal life. 'To this extent

they are the authentic, if seldom recognized, founders of Women's Lib,' writes Lewis about the members of these cults; see I.M. Lewis, The anthropologist's encounter with the supernatural, in Angoff, A. and Barth, D. (eds) *Parapsychology and Anthropology* (New York, 1974), p. 27, and Spirits and sex war, *Man* (1967), p. 626. To become an ascetic *samnyasi* is sometimes the only chance of changing one's own social status in rigid caste societies. 'Hence mobility is allowed, but only with a complete denial of all secular interests', N. Yalman, The ascetic Buddhist monks of Ceylon, in Middleton, J. (ed.) *Gods and Rituals* (Garden City, 1967), p. 301.

69 M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I (München, 1941), p. 544 [*A History of Greek Religion* I (Oxford, 1947)]; and C.I. Gulian, *Mythos and Kultur* (Wien, 1971), p. 39.

70 J.C. Lawson, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

71 See J. Zafiropulo, *Apollon et Dionysos* (Paris, 1961), p. 26. The Roman Senate was considerably more brutal against the bacchanalias. As F. Cumont says, in *Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum* (Leipzig, 1931), p. 196: 'They carried out a war of annihilation' against its members. Apparently though, the cult survived in remote valleys of Crete and in the Balkans.

72 Even comparatively puritanical societies, such as the Mayas, had their 'times between the times', when the incest rule did not obtain; see D. de Landa, *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán* (edited by A.M. Tozzer) (Cambridge, 1941), p. 91; also R.L. Roys, Lowland Maya native society at Spanish contact, in Wiley, G.R. (ed.) *Handbook of Middle American Indians* III (Austin, 1965), p. 666. In later times, it was maintained that witches, 'mix carnally, the father with his daughter, the brother with his sister, and they do not obey the natural order;' see H. Wirth, *op. cit.*, p. 106. But statements of this kind need not *necessarily* indicate the memory of such cults. We may be dealing simply with fantasies about the witches as women abolishing all order.

73 Ishtar was actually addressed as 'whore'; see E. Harding, *Frauenmysterien* (Zürich, 1949), p. 90. It is sufficiently known that the relationship between orgasm and cognition played a role in the Middle Ages and beyond, and that in addition, Jesus sometimes exhibited clearly incubus-like traits. Swabian woman heretics reported in the thirteenth century that 'they knew Christ carnally', or that 'they had been unchaste with the body of Christ.' Mechthild of Magdeburg speaks of God, who loved her soul 'with great passion in the bed of love', and who 'wants to enter the conjugal bed with the soul that yearns for love, there to kiss it all over and to embrace it with his naked arms.' 'Oh you God resting at my breasts,' Mechthild exclaims, and it is left to the reader whether she means the baby Jesus or a somewhat more mature one. The quotations are taken from H. Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter* (Hildesheim, 1961), pp. 412, 414. Bernini's picture of the enraptured St Theresa may also be the representation of a woman in orgasm; see A. Ariès, *Studien zur Geschichte des Todes im Abendland* (München, 1976), pp. 44, 100; also S. de Beauvoir, *Das andere Geschlecht* (Reinbek, 1968), p. 632 [*The Second Sex* (New York, 1968)]. A friend of Jacob of Vitry

identified so intensely with the Virgin Mary that every year she had a phantom pregnancy and her breasts secreted milk; see J. Schultz, *Wandlungen der Seele im Hochmittelalter* II (Breslau, 1940), p. 184. An English nun describes Jesus as 'feirnesse lufsum neb. flesch hwit under schrud' ('beauty with a lovely face and white flesh under the garment'); and another one moans, 'hwi ne fele ich the in my breostes swo swote ase thu art' ('Why do I not feel you in my breasts, as sweet as you are?'), quoted in J. Bugge, *Virginitas* (The Hague, 1975), pp. 100, 105. Jesus himself, apparently, was not always prudish. Thus he beguiled the Nuremberg lady Adelheid Langmann in the fourteenth century with the words, 'My beloved, your mouth is sweeter than honey ... my love, my tender one (etc.) ...', quoted in W. Preger, *Geschichte der deutschen Mystik im Mittelalter* II (Leipzig, 1881), p. 274. *Female* mystics were not the only ones to write in this vein. A man such as Angelus Silesius says, 'The soul yearns for her Jesus as the lonely turtle dove for its mate,' quoted in R. Holland, Zur Typik der Himmelfahrt, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1925), p. 219. Possession is frequently described in sexual terms. Among the Amhara of Gondar, the *zar* spirit mounts the women, who are called 'horses', but also 'brides of the spirits'; see M. Leiris, *Die eigene und die fremde Kultur* (Frankfurt/Main, 1977), p. 205. Also among the Hausa, the spirits mount them, or they mount the spirits; see M. Onwuejeogwu, The cult of the Bori spirits among the Hausa, in Douglas, M. and Kaberry, P.M. (eds) *Man in Africa* (London, 1969), p. 285. According to Cicero, Apollo raped Cassandra, although she resisted him. In return for the gift of prophecy, she lost her virginity; see H. Stumfohl, Zur Psychologie der Sibylle, *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* (1971), p. 91. As one might expect, the early church fathers made a lot of fuss about all this.

74 See W.M. Ramsey, Studies in Asia Minor, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1882), p. 55.

75 See H. Hepding, *Attis* (Giessen, 1903), p. 194. The Greeks occasionally called Hades 'the bridal chamber to bed all'; see L. Klages, Die Magna Mater, in Heinrichs, H-J. (ed.) *Materialien zu Bachofens 'Das Mutterrecht'* (Frankfurt/Main, 1975), p. 115. J.M. Allegro, in *Der Geheimkult des heiligen Pilzes* (Wien, 1971), p. 44 [*The Sacred Mushroom and the Cross* (New York, 1970)], is of the opinion that the ancient oriental shrines represent the womb of the earth. Accordingly, the priests enter through the gates of the entrance hall, i.e. the lips of the vulva, pass through a veil, that is, the hymen, and into the hall, representing the vagina, and proceed from there to the holy of holies, that is the uterus; see also G. Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie* (Berlin, 1969), p. 329. In 1921 Hermann Finsterlin, an architect, returned to this type of conceptualization. 'In the interior of this new house, people will not feel inside a fairytale-like grotto. Rather, they will become the internal inhabitants of an organism, walking from organ to organ, symbionts, giving and receiving within a giant fossilized maternal body. ... Tell me, were you never irritated by the overbearing scheme of your six walls and by the coffins injected to contain your thousand-and-one necessities? Were you never accosted by a secret longing to change everything, obeying the rhythm of your breathing

soul . . .?'; quoted in U. Conrads and H.G. Sperlich, *Phantastische Architektur* (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 149. See also E. Neumann, *Die Grosse Mutter* (Zürich, 1956), p. 276. Conceptualizations involving the uterus played a considerable role also in alchemy. Since mother earth was so slow in carrying her embryo ores to term, alchemists attempted to speed up the process of maturation in artificial wombs; see W. Schneider, *Geschichte der pharmazeutischen Chemie* (Weinheim, 1972), p. 50. These ideas were based on the scholastic principle later taken up once more by Herbert Marcuse, that the essence of a matter coincided with its perfection, that is with *what it was not yet*. In addition, the assumption prevailed that all bodies consisted of *one* original matter, the *mercurius philosophorum,* and so it was thought that base metals could be transformed into precious ones, for instance, into gold, by a process in the artificial uteri; see M. Berthelot, *Die Chemie im Altertum und im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1909), pp. XI, XIX, XXIII.

76 The *yajé* plant (*Banisteriopsis caapi*), also called telepatina; see C.V. Morton, Notes on yagé, a drug of south-eastern Colombia, *Journal of the Academy of Sciences* (1931), p. 487, seems to be specifically a 'drug for flying', although it does have its dangers; see R. Spruce, *Notes of a Botanist on the Amazon and the Andes* II (London, 1908), p. 424; M. Villavicencio, *Geografía de la República del Ecuador* (New York, 1858), p. 373; S.H. Wassén, *The Use of Some Specific Kinds of South American Snuff and Related Paraphernalia* (Göteborg, 1965), p. 29; and R.E. Schultes, The botanical origins of South American snuffs, in Efron, D.H. (ed.) *Ethnopharmacological Search for Psychoactive Drugs* (Washington, 1967), p. 302. The story is told of the Indians from the Ucayali river in the Peruvian lowland, who with the aid of *yajé* wanted to *see* the place where their white visitors came from. They then proceeded to ask what those strange 'aparatos' were that slipped so rapidly across the streets. They had never seen any cars before; see T. Roessner, El ayahuasca, planta mágica del Amazonas, *Revista Geográfica Americana* (1946), p. 14, quoted in J. Perez de Barrados, *Plantas mágicas americanas* (Madrid, 1957), p. 293; and M.J. Harner, Common themes in South American yagé experiences, in Harner, M.J. (ed.) *Hallucinogens and Shamanism* (New York, 1973), p. 169. 'Several informants who have never been to or seen pictures of Pucallpa, the large town at the Ucayali river terminus of the Central Highway, have described their visits under the influence of *ayahuasca* to the town with sufficient detail for me to be able to recognize specific shops and sights. On the day following one *ayahuasca* party six of nine men informed me of having seen the death of my *chai,* "my mother's father". This occurred two days before I was informed by radio of his death'; K.M. Kensinger, Banisteriopsis use among the Peruvian Cashinahua, in Harner, M.J. (ed.) *Hallucinogens and Shamanism* (New York, 1973), p. 12. M. Córdova-Rios (*op. cit.,* p. 157) reports of a yajé session with Indians, when various animals suddenly stepped into their circle. 'There was a tawny puma, several varieties of the smaller spotted ocelot, then a giant rosetta-spotted jaguar. A murmur from the assembly indicated recognition. This tremendous animal shuffled along with head hanging down, mouth open and tongue

lolling out. Hideous, large teeth filled the open mouth. An instant change of demeanor to vicious alertness caused a tremor through the circle of phantom-viewers. From a memory recess in my brain there emerged with the stimulation of the cats an experience from my past. On a trip to the Rio Putumayo a year before coming to the Jurua to cut caucho, I had come face to face on a forest path with a rare black jaguar. It had been a terrifying experience, but I had dominated the flashing eyes of the beast and we had gone our separate ways without violence. This mighty animal now intruded on our visions and a shudder passed through us all.' Because of this event, Córdova-Rios was called Ino Moxo, 'Black Panther' from then on. The alkaloids of *yajé,* banisterine, telepathine and yajeine, are assumed to be identical to harmine, an alkaloid of the wild rue, which grows on the shores of the Mediterranean; see A.L. Chen and K.K. Chen, Harmine: the alkaloid of caapi, *Quarterly Journal of Pharmacy and Pharmacology* (1939), p. 30; C. Naranjo, *The Healing Journey* (New York, 1975), p. 119; and V. Haas, *Magie und Mythen im Reich der Hethiter* (Hamburg, 1977), p. 141. This plant, mentioned in cuneiform texts; see R.C. Thompson, *The Assyrian Herbal* (London, 1924), p. 270, and which is thought to be identical to the legendary *moly*; see A. Lang, Moly and mandragora, in *Custom and Myth* (London, 1885), p. 151, and W.D. O'Flaherty, The post-Vedic history of the soma plant, in *Soma* (New York, 1968), p. 108, is said to have been used by witches in the later Middle Ages; see T.F.T. Dyer, *The Folk-Lore of Plants* (London, 1889), p. 56. Generally, it was considered an anti-toxin in those times, useful *against* the demonic. Thus we read in the proceedings of a witch trial in Alsace of 1589 about a defendant, 'But when she noticed that her lover, the Devil, would not relent and was going to work much and great evil with her, she took rue, blessed salt and wax, and chased her lover away, and he could not return to her'; Quoted in H. Marzell, *op. cit.,* p. 121. Salt, with its ability to confer permanence and guard against decomposition; see V. Hehn, *Das Salz* (Leipzig, n.d.), p. 13, and Sun Chief, *The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian* (New Haven, 1942), p. 436, was considered to be an antidemonic par excellence; see J. Grimm and W. Grimm, *Irische Elfenmärchen* (Stuttgart, 1962), p. 48; W.Y. Evans Wentz, *The Fairy Faith in Celtic Countries* (Rennes, 1909), p. 47; J.G. Schmidt, *Die gestriegelte Rockenphilosophia* II (Chemnitz, 1709), p. 362; and G. Neckel *Deutsche Sagen* II (Leipzig, 1935), pp. 87, 91. The *moly,* which Ulysses received from Hermes, is also identified with other plants. E.D. Phillips, Odysseus in Italy, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1953), p. 62, suggests that it might be *Atriplex halimus,* a plant with whitish leaves and a dark root, which is still in use as a protection against snakes. Its relative, *Atriplex hortensis,* is highly valued in German folk medicine as an emetic and laxative; see also A-M. Tupet, *La magie dans la poésie latine* (Lille, 1976), p. 123. R. Kleinpaul, in *Die Lebendigen und die Toten* (Leipzig, 1889), p. 172, thinks that without the garlic umbel, one more pig would have grunted in Circe's sty. Since one of the appellations of Hermes was *hypnodotes,* so that he was probably connected with poppy (*Papaver somniferum*); see J. Wiesner, Mohn, in *Kulturgeschichte-Lexikon der Antike* II (München,

1971), p. 40, this plant may also have to be considered. A 'fixer' was kind enough to provide me with the information that he succeeded several times in stopping horror trips by using opium. Quite possibly opium reduces the effects of the alkaloids of nightshades, provided that Circe's *kykeon* was mandrake. B. Stern also believes that garlic was involved; see *Medizin, Aberglaube und Geschlechtsleben in der Türkei* I (Berlin, 1903), p. 315. W. Mannhart's candidate is St John's wort; see *Zauberglaube und Geheimwissen* (Leipzig, 1897), p. 57. By classical Greek times, the information about what exactly *moly* was, seems to have been lost; see H. Güntert, *Von der Sprache der Götter und Geister* (Halle, 1921), p. 92, and it was generally assumed that it was not an identifiable plant; see A. Clay, The planktai and moly: divine naming and knowing in Homer, *Hermes* (1972), p. 129. The same also holds true for other legendary plants; see A.L. Willson, The 'Blaue Blume', *The Germanic Review* (1959), p. 50. What argues for rue is the fact that it has been used for purification since very ancient times. *Yajé* fills the same function in some Indian societies. Women who accidentally saw the sacred musical instruments, cleansed themselves with the juice of the plant, mixed with the resin of *Amyris carana*; see M.M. Ypiranga, Cariamã: Pubertätsritus der Tucano-Indianer, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1960), p. 37.

77 When the 'soul' of the Samoyed shaman changes into a reindeer, it remains connected to its body by a leather thong. G. Róheim, in *Hungarian and Vogul Mythology* (New York, 1954), p. 52, sees the navel cord in this thong.

78 See G. Reichel-Dolmatoff, Notes on the cultural extent of the use of yajé among the Indians of the Vaupés, *Economic Botany* (1970), p. 33. The kivas of the Pueblo Indians are also uteri, and the *sipápuni,* the small hole in the kiva floor, is the *omphalos,* the navel. 'I've always been struck,' says F. Waters, in Lessons from the Indian soul, *Psychology Today* (May 1973), p. 69, 'by the difference between the Indian church and the Christian church. The Christian church with its masculine phallic spire points up toward the sky, while the underground *kiva* sinks down into the feminine earth.' The large communal dwellings of the Tucano Indians are considered to be the 'uterus' of the sib, and its door is the vagina. For the Cogi, all caves and rock crevices lead into the body of the mother goddess. Their sacred buildings open toward the top in the shape of a funnel: the female sex organs. Through it, the earth mother is inseminated by sacrificial offerings; see G. Reichel-Dolmatoff, Die Kogi in Kolumbien, in Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (ed.) *Bild der Völker* V (Wiesbaden, 1976), p. 173.

79 See B. Myerhoff, *Peyote Hunt* (Ithaca, 1974), p. 139; and P.T. Furst, Huichol conceptions of the soul, *Folklore Americas* (1967), p. 39.

80 See P.T. Furst, To find our life, in Furst, P.T. (ed.) *Flesh of the Gods* (London, 1972), p. 158.

81 See M. Eliade, *Yoga* (Princeton, 1969), p. 318.

82 See L. Bayard, Pytho-Delphes et la légende du serpent, *Revue des études grecques* (1943), p. 27. In Semitic, the corresponding expression is *pŭth.*

83 See W.H. Roscher, *Omphalos* (Leipzig, 1913), p. 43.

84 See G. Roux, *Delphi* (München, 1971), p. 105. The grotto of the earth

goddess in Olympia was probably also a man-made one; see L. Weniger, Olympische Forschungen, *Klio* (1906), p. 155; and H-V. Herrmann, *Olympia* (München, 1972), p. 30. According to the legend, a shepherd by the name of Koretas one day noticed that his goats gambolled about madly and bleated strangely when they grazed near a particular crevice in the earth. When Koretas remained for a while near that chasm, he began to develop prophetic capabilities, but it did him little good: soon after, he jumped into the crevice during an ecstatic spell and was never seen again. It was said that a divine *pneuma* rose from the crevice. Later authors did not hesitate to see carbon dioxide fumes in this *pneuma,* which was assumed to have reduced the oxygen reaching the brain of the Pythia. However, in the first place, the goat was treated with cold water to make it tremble, in order to determine whether Apollo was inclined to speak through the Pythia. If such fumes had risen, this would have been unnecessary; see A.P. Oppé, The chasm at Delphi, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1904), p. 221; and E. Will, Sur la nature du pneuma delphique, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (1942), p. 168. Secondly, the region around Delphi is not volcanic; see P. Birot, Géomorphologie de la région de Delphes, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (1959), p. 267. Thirdly, the crevice was man-made. And fourthly, the concept *pneuma* covers a great deal of territory from the concrete all the way to 'cognition' and 'inspiration'; see H. Leisegang, *Der Heilige Geist* I (Leipzig, 1919), pp. 16, 19, 23. For the Neoplatonists, it seems to have meant something like 'astral body'; see O. Geudtner, *Die Seelenlehre der chaldäischen Orakel* (Meisenheim, 1971), p. 22. Something similar may be involved when we read that Apollo raped the Pythia. Apparently, the Pythia spent the night in a semi-conscious state in the cauldron of the tripod. This cauldron may correspond to the one in which young Dionysus, in the manner of a shamanistic experience, was dismembered and cooked by the titans; see P. Foucart, *Les mystères d'Eleusis* (Paris, 1914), p. 452. There is possibly some justification in calling the trance of the Pythia a 'stunted shamanism'; see E.R. Dodds, Telepathie und Hellsehen in der klassischen Antike, in Bender, H. (ed.) *Parapsychologie* (Darmstadt, 1966), p. 9. In the distant past, the priestess of Dodona was also apparently 'boiled' in a cauldron of hot water; see A.B. Cook, *Zeus* II (Cambridge, 1925), p. 218; and C. Uhsadel-Gülke, *Knochen und Kessel* (Meisenheim, 1972), p. 49. The tripod of the cauldron comes from Mycenae and was placed over the fire for cooking. As Herodotos reports, the Triton sat on such a tripod during the journey of the Argonauts, while he was giving his prophecies; see K. Schwendemann, Der Dreifuss, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* (1923), pp. 152, 163. According to one myth, Apollo Hyperboreos was butchered, cooked, and then assembled again in a cauldron of this sort, while part of him, just as in the case of Siberian shamans, remained in the cauldron; see A.B. Cook (1925), *op. cit.*, p. 225. In more recent representations Apollo, but not the Pythia, sits on a tripod cauldron; see A.D. Nock, Religious attitudes of the ancient Greeks, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (1942), p. 473. Eventually, the tripod was equipped with wings and increasingly became a 'celestial chariot';

see P. Wolters, Der geflügelte Seher, *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaft* (1928), p. 10; and O. Schroeder, Hyperboreer, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1905), p. 83. There are a number of different versions about what the Pythia did after awakening from her semiconscious state. There is a tradition, for instance, that inside the temple she drank from the Cassotis spring early in the morning. However, during excavations the necessary water conduits were never discovered; see J. Pouilloux and G. Roux, *Enigmes à Delphes* (Paris, 1963), p. 93; and M.F. Courby, *Fouilles de Delphes* II (Paris, 1927), p. 174. This is reminiscent of how ox blood was drunk in a crevice in earlier times by the priestess of Gaea at the oracle near Aigeira in Achaia; see A. Dieterich, *Mutter Erde* (Leipzig, 1925), p. 60, as well as by the priestess of Apollo Deiradiotes in Argos; see F. Rüsche, *Blut, Leben und Seele* (Paderborn, 1930), p. 63. Similarly, the priest of the Apollonian oracle at Claros near Colophon descended into a cave in order to drink of the water of a subterranean spring; see G. Rosen, *Madness in Society* (Chicago, 1968), p. 81. There is also the tradition that the Pythia bathed in the Kastalia, held on to a laurel tree originally belonging to Gaea, and trembled all over. She inhaled the smoke of laurel leaves and barley flour before entering the adytum, probably not in order to get intoxicated, but for purification; see T. Hopfner, *Griechisch-Ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* II (Leipzig, 1924), paragraph 276; P. Hoyle, *Delphi und sein Orakel* (Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 53; and J. Pollard, *Seers, Shrines and Sirens* (London, 1965), p. 29. The chewing of laurel leaves was considered by the ancient Greeks to be an effective repellent against demons, so much so that some people kept a laurel leaf in their mouth all day. It is attested for priests and prophets from about the fifth century BC; see H.W. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 75, but for the Pythia not until the second century AD. L.B. Holland, The mantic mechanism at Delphi, *American Journal of Archaeology* (1933), p. 214, believes that the Pythia may have chewed the poisonous oleander, called *rhododaphne* now, which has an effect similar to digitalis. He further suspects that it might have been mixed with Thracian cannabis; see V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien nach Griechenland* (Berlin, 1911), p. 190, but this is mere speculation. Laurel has hardly any 'hallucinogenic' properties, provided we are dealing with *Prunus laurocerasus*; see P. Amandry, *La mantique apollinienne à Delphes* (Paris, 1950), p. 128; and H.W. Parke and D.W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* I (Oxford, 1956), p. 26. It is very poisonous, containing hydrocyanic acid. In folk medicine, it was valued for its tranquillizing and analgesic properties. The famous seer of Prevorst used it to achieve a half-sleep. This woman also had extreme reactions to other drugs. If a fragment of a belladonna root was placed in her hand, her pupils dilated, she choked and became dizzy. Henbane leaves dazed and paralysed her, and the touch of poppy capsules put her to sleep; see J. Kerner, *Die Seherin von Prevorst* (Stuttgart, 1958), p. 58. Possibly, the Pythia possessed a similar sensitivity. Many authors maintain that the Pythia ate henbane or even thorn apple leaves; see M.K. Opler, Cross-cultural uses of psychoactive drugs, in Clark, W.G. (ed.) *Principles of Psychopharmacology* (New York, 1970),

p. 41, but this is an even more speculative assertion. The only justification for this assumption comes from the fact that the Romans called henbane *apollinaris*. They were familiar with it as a medicinal plant; see E. Lange, *Botanische Beiträge zur mitteleuropäischen Siedlungsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1971), p. 72. It seems, however, that the name of Apollo was associated with henbane by a rather circuitous route. The plant, given as *belinuntia* by Dioscurides, bears the name of the Celtic god Belenus, who in turn was identified with Apollo. In other words, *apollinaris* seems merely a translation of *belenion*. The Indo-Germanic root *bhel-* means 'whitish', and the petals of the henbane flower are dirty-white to yellow; see J. Grimm and W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* II (Leipzig, 1860), p. 30. The word *bilwis* for 'witch' has nothing to do with *Bilsenkraut*, meaning 'henbane', although this is often maintained. Rather, the root of *bilwis* is related to *wissen*, 'know'; see F. Kluge, *op. cit.*, p. 78. The present name of henbane, 'Apollonienkraut', used especially in Austria, can probably be traced back to St Apollonia, the patron saint of those suffering from a toothache. In the past, henbane smoke was inhaled for toothache; see also W. Bulk, *St Apollonia* (Bielefeld, 1967), p. 52. Although in classical times, the region of Parnassus provided large numbers of medicinal plants; see A. Schmidt, *Drogen und Drogenhandel im Altertum* (Köln, 1924), p. 65, there is not sufficient evidence to indicate that the Pythias ingested any kind of mind-altering drug with the exception of laurel.

85 See J. Fontenrose, *Python* (Berkeley, 1959), p. 414; and M. Delcourt, *L'oracle de Delphes* (Paris, 1955), p. 142.

86 See B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* (Leipzig, 1871), p. 103. The Wild Hunt of Dionysus also roamed the environs of this cave; see L. Weniger, Feralis exercitus, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1906), p. 236.

87 B. Collinder, Pytho, der theriomorphe Apollo, *Tidskrift för Nordisk Folkminnesforskning* (1967), p. 167. In later times, the tripod is said to have been covered with his skin. A being similar to Pytho was apparently known until the recent past among the descendents of the Celts. Thus J. Loth, in L'omphalos chez les celtes, *Revue des études anciennes* (1915), p. 194, quoted in W.H. Roscher, *Der Omphalosgedanke bei verschiedenen Völkern* (Leipzig, 1918), p. 92, reports, 'There was a tremendous scream that could be heard each May Day night under every hearth of Brittany. It shot through the heart of every person and caused such alarm that people blanched and lost their strength. . . . The scream was uttered by the dragon of the Bretons,' who was fighting with a strange dragon 'at a place where you will find the exact centre of Brittany. There a hole should be dug and a tub of mead deposited. . . .' There were cave oracles with snake gods, to whom the medicine man descended, in other parts of the world as well, for instance in Fernando Poo; see A. Friedrich, *Afrikanische Priestertümer* (Stuttgart, 1939), p. 58. The ones known best are probably the cenote rituals of the Lowland Mayas. We will return to these later on.

88 J-L. Brau, *Geschichte der Droge* (Frankfurt/Main, 1969), p. 12, maintains that it contained opium, but this is simply an assumption.

89 Pausanias, *Beschreibung von Griechenland* (Berlin, 1911) IX, p. 39, 7

[*Description of Greece* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961–66)]. In order to discover the future, Odin descended into the depths of Wala, 'he went right down to the Home of the Mist'; A. Mayer, *Erdmutter und Hexe* (München, 1936), p. 42. As late as the nineteenth century, people descended the stairs into a grotto in the church of St John, erected over the grave of the sibyl of Cumae. There, they drank water from a spring and asked an echo oracle; see M. Hamilton, *Incubation* (London, 1906), p. 187. In later times, the trance of the Pythia seems to have been quite dangerous; sometimes she would turn up her eyes and shake her loose hair while foaming at the mouth. One died when she was placed on the tripod against her will; see A. Bouché-Leclerq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* III (Paris, 1880), p. 203. Generally, the Pythia's trance seems to have been rather tranquil; see E.R. Dodds, *The Ancient Concept of Progress* (Oxford, 1973), p. 197. The ecstasy of the 'virginal' sibyl, whose words were not yet interpreted by a male prophet, was probably of a different quality. At least Heraclitus says in Fragment 92, 'The voice of the sibyl who with raging mouth speaks unlaughed, undisguised, and unanointed words, will be heard a thousand years'; see also W.F.J. Knight, *Elysion* (London, 1970), p. 71.

90 See U.E. Paoli, *Die Geschichte der Neaira* (Bern, 1953), p. 30.

91 See H.R. Willoughby, *Pagan Regeneration* (Chicago, 1929), p. 62; P. Foucart, *op. cit.*, p. 401; F. Speiser, Die eleusinischen Mysterien als primitive Initiation, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1928) pp. 367, 270; A. van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (London, 1960), p. 90; and L.R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford, 1921), p. 373. Into historical times, the mysteries retained much of their original character. This is indicated by a passage in Lucian's *Kataplus,* where Kyniskos, on his travels through the underworld, is asked by Mikyllos, 'Tell me, after all, you were initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, doesn't what we see here resemble them?' and Kyniskos agrees; see F. Wehrli, *op. cit.*, p. 85. G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, 1961), p. 268, argues that the telesterion was much too small for wandering about in 'twisted subterranean passages', as assumed by K. Seligmann, in *Das Weltreich der Magie* (Stuttgart, 1958), p. 80. This presupposes, of course that the journey through the underworld was carried out *on foot.* Basing himself on Wasson's research, Graves among others; see also H. Smith, Do drugs have religious import?, *The Journal of Philosophy* (1964), p. 518, contends that the *kykeon,* which was taken by Demeter and also by the initiates in emulating her, contained a 'hallucinogenic' drug, but he does not make the point very clearly. There is the tradition that Circe mixed some sort of 'bewitching juices' into the *kykeon,* which was prepared from grated cheese, flour, honey and Pramnic wine, so that Ulysses' men forgot their homeland and changed into pigs; see T. Hopfner, *op. cit.* (1924) I, paragraph 464. In the later literature we read on occasion that poppy, mint, rue (see note 76) and coriander were mixed into the *kykeon*; see A. Delatte, *Le cycéon* (Paris, 1955), p. 716; also W. Schmidbauer, Halluzinogene in Eleusis? in Scheidt, J. vom (ed.) *Drogenabhängigkeit* (München, 1972), pp. 132, 139. Mint, named after Minthe, a lover of Hades; see J.

Murr, Die geographischen und mythologischen Namen der altgriechischen Welt in ihrer Verwertung für antike Pflanzengeographie, *Programme des k. k. Ober-Gymnasiums der Franciscaner zu Hall* (1890), p. 30, was used as a drug in very early times. It contains a glucoside, as well as a volatile oil with the fragrance of wine, 'which is often blamed for causing fatal poisoning', and which can bring about 'a central, narcotic-like paralysis'; see O. Gessner and G. Orzechowski, *op. cit.*, p. 299. Perhaps this *Oleum pulegii* has a 'hallucinogenic effect' as well; see K. Kerényi, Voraussetzungen der Einweihung in Eleusis, in Bleeker, C.J. (ed.) *Initiation* (Leiden, 1965), p. 63. Whether the poppy, which is sometimes mixed with the *kykeon,* indicates the presence of opium; see, for example, A. Hayter, *Opium and the Romantic Imagination* (London, 1968), p. 20, is not certain as far as I can see. Demeter is often shown with poppies as attributes, but the respective poppy capsules show no opium incisions, as those known from Crete do. Nicander records that Demeter once changed a boy into a lizard, but opium can hardly qualify as a changing drug. It is more likely, however, that those Cretan mysteries from which the Eleusinian ones took their origin, actually did involve the use of mind-altering drugs. K. Kerényi (1976), *op. cit.*, p. 56, is of the opinion that in the Cretan cult caves a narcotic beverage was prepared from honey, using leather pouches or skins for containers. Opium was probably produced very early in Anatolia and in the Fertile Crescent; see S.M. Kramer and M. Levy, First pharmacopeia in man's recorded history, *American Journal of Pharmacy* (1954), p. 76. If it was used in classical Egypt; see A-P. Leca, *La médicine égyptienne au temps des pharaons* (Paris, 1971), p. 436, it was perhaps brought there from Cyprus; see R.S. Merrillees, Opium trade in the Bronze Age Levant, *Antiquity* (1962), p. 290. The ancestors of the Cretans apparently brought opium with them from Asia Minor, and it is to be assumed that it was used rather early in religious cults; see G. Kritikos, Der Mohn, das Opium und ihr Gebrauch im Spätminoicum III, *Praktika tēs Akadēmias Athēnon* (1960), p. 71. The goddess of Gazi, who was possibly venerated in the cave of Eileithyia near Amnisos and perhaps also in Psychro in the Lassithi, wears a circlet of poppy capsules exhibiting the opium incisions; see figure 108 in N. Platon, *Kreta* (Genf, 1968). On the other hand, an enlargement of the signet ring of the 'Great Goddess', found by Schliemann in Mycenae castle; see figure 207 in S. Marinatos, *Kreta und das mykenische Hellas* (München, 1959), indicates that we are most likely not dealing with poppy capsules, as assumed by Burkert. Rather, it seems that the seed of the lotus is represented (*Nymphaea lotus*), whose 'hallucinogenic' properties are disputed; see F.A.S. Butterworth, *Some Traces of the Pre-Olympian World in Greek Literature and Myth* (Berlin, 1966), p. 175. The 'Island of the Souls of the Dead' of the Etruscans is decorated with poppy capsules in pictures; see A.J. Pfiffig, *Religio etrusca* (Graz, 1975), p. 169. *Papaver setigerum* seeds were found in pile dwellings; see G. Buschan, *Vorgeschichtliche Botanik* (Breslau, 1895), p. 246; E. von Tröltsch, *Die Pfahlbauten des Bodenseegebietes*(Stuttgart, 1902), p. 46; and H. Reinerth, *Das Pfahldorf Sipplingen* (Leipzig, 1932), p. 108. It is also present in the ribbon-ware settlements

excavated in Germany; see K-H. Knörzer, Prähistorische Mohnsamen, *Bonner Jahrbuch* (1971), p. 34; see also E. Neuweiler, Die Pflanzenwelt in der jüngeren Stein- und Bronzezeit der Schweiz, *Mitteilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* (1924), p. 248. It is assumed that these were used for extracting opium, since at that time plants were available from which oil could be extracted much more easily than from poppy seeds; see C. Hartwich, *Die menschlichen Genussmittel* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 144. On the other hand, J.M. Renfrew, in *Paleoethnobotany* (New York, 1973), p. 162, contends that the seeds of *Papaver setigerum* did not contain any opium. During excavations in southern English settlements, seeds of *Papaver somniferum* were discovered which do contain it; see H. Helbaek, Early crops in southern England, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* (1952), p. 222. Helena's famous *nepenthes,* which banished worries, has also been held to be opium; see O. Schmiedeberg, *Über die Pharmaka in der Ilias und Odyssee* (Strassburg, 1918), p. 9, after its interpretation as henbane was rejected; see L. Lewin, *Phantastica* (Berlin, 1924), p. 127; and W.A. Emboden, Ritual use of *Cannabis sativa* L., in Furst, P.T. (ed.) *Flesh of the Gods* (London, 1972), p. 218. By contrast, see also F. Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque* (Paris, 1956), p. 327.

92 See A. Körte, Zu den eleusinischen Mysterien, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1915), p. 122.

93 According to W. von Uxkull, *Die Eleusinischen Mysterien* (Büdingen, 1957), p. 68, the initiates were shown a cedar nut, which was to remind them of the pineal gland, the 'third eye of the Cyclops'. With its help, it is said to have been possible to eliminate the separating walls between people and the distance between them. 'The hierophant instructed the initiates in the meditative exercises, which led to the development of this capacity.'

94 According to the conceptualization of the To Bada' on Celebes, trees and bushes are the abode of the earth mother. When burning over a field, one tree is always left standing, just as a bunch of hair is left when a man shaves his head; see J. Woensdregt, De landbouw bij de To Bada' in Midden-Selebes, *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (1928), p. 164.

95 See I. Hori, Mountains and their importance for the idea of the other world in Japanese folk religion, *History of Religions* (1966), p. 19. 'As we trudged up the mountainside through the cedar forest, we were all embryos in the womb of the mother mountain'; see C. Blacker, Initiation in the Shugendō, in Bleeker, C.J. (ed.) *Initiation* (Leiden, 1965), p. 108.

96 See Byloff, *op. cit.,* p. 55. This was apparently done not because people believed her to be a witch, but because she had a bad reputation. The name 'Venus Mountain' has been attested since the fourteenth century; see W. Pabst, *Venus und die missverstandene Dido* (Hamburg, 1955), p. 99. According to other authors, the designation appeared for the first time in a work by Johannes Nyder of 1411; see D-R. Moser, *op. cit.,* p. 108.

97 Itinerant students or students expelled from the universities frequently made the peasants believe that they came directly from Venus Mountain; see R. Reuss, *La sorcellerie au 16ième et au 17ième siècle, particulièrement en Alsace* (Paris, 1871), p. 146.

98 See D.D.R. Owen, *The Vision of Hell* (Edinburgh, 1970), p. 215. This orientation toward sensual pleasure seems generally to be more of Celtic than of Germanic origin; see O. Löhmann, Die Entstehung der Tannhäusersage, *Fabula* (1960), p. 238. Christianized versions of such 'journeys to the mountain' remained alive even during the dominance of Christian ideology, although they were more reminiscent of the Trophonius oracle than of a journey into the motherly womb of the earth. In the Augustinian monastery Lough Derg in County Donegal, a man had to purify himself for seven days by fasting. On the eighth day he entered a cell, where he had to lie down in a narrow casket. On the ninth day, he received the last blessing and was then guided into a cave, the 'purgatory of St Patrick', where he had to stay for a day and sometimes for ever. One Louis Ennius reported the following about his visit to this purgatory. 'Hardly had I taken up this position than frightful howls were heard and from all sides terrible monsters rose up out of the earth. They seemed to be under the command of a black man whose head and feet were those of a goat, beating his enormous bat's wings exactly as one sees Satan depicted by painters. . . . Then I felt myself carried as if by a great wind across freezing clouds of fog into an immense and gloomy plain, black as a burnt-out forest. It seemed to me as if I were flying at some considerable height over this desolate plain and thus I was able to contemplate the most terrible of scenes. A host of men and women of every condition peopled this plain. All these wretches were being submitted to all kinds of torture, the forms varying according to the crimes they had committed in their lifetime. Some were chained face-downwards to the earth, their bodies studded with huge red-hot nails which demons were driving in with hammers. Others were being eaten away by lizards and serpents'; quoted in N. Mackenzie, *Dreams and Dreaming* (London, 1965), p. 69. A different author describes the walk into the cave as follows. The pilgrim first goes to the bishop of the diocese who warns him, describing the horrors that await him. If he cannot be dissuaded from his intention, he receives a letter of recommendation to the prior of Lough Derg monastery. This prior also warns the pilgrim in the strongest terms to give up his plan. He then will have to fast and pray for fifteen days. After taking holy communion, and with the recitation of lengthy litanies, he is guided to the entrance of the 'purgatory', where for a last time the monks try to convince him to turn back. Finally he is allowed to enter the cave, and its door is locked behind him. If after a day he does not return to the entrance, the door closes forever on the pilgrim, and his name will never be mentioned again; see W.Y. Evans Wentz, *op. cit.*, p. 233. Evans Wentz thinks that this purgatory was probably the Christianized version of the subterranean dwelling place of the fairies, which were called *Tuatha De Danann* or *sidhe* (W.Y. Evans Wentz, *op. cit.*, p. 210).

99 See A. Rüegg, *Die Jenseitsvorstellungen vor Dante* I (Einsiedeln, 1945), p. 319. Some elves or fairies seem to have been less interested in a long-term relationship than in short affairs, what some feminists call today a 'spontaneous fuck'. Gerbert, for instance, who is so infatuated with a whore of Reims that he gives up scholarly life and turns into a layabout, meets Meridiana in the forest at noon. She is a woman of indescribable beauty, who

assures him that she is no succubus, for after all, she does not want security, only his love; see F. von Bezold, *Das Fortleben der antiken Götter im mittelalterlichen Humanismus* (Bonn, 1922), p. 73.

100 See H. Zimmer, *Abenteuer und Fahrten der Seele* (Zürich, 1961), p. 93.

101 See A.C. Winter, Birkenverehrung bei den Jakuten, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1899), p. 42. Other Siberian societies tell that the cradle of the ancestor of the shamans stood under a birch tree, and birch juice dripped into his mouth.

102 That such trees and their drinks conferring wisdom and eternal life were guarded by giantesses, as held by the Germanic societies, or by *gandharves* as in the Veda, probably indicates their origin in pre-Indo-European times.

103 Even modern mythical characters, such as Jules Verne's travellers, search for such a point. Thus we read in a dialogue about the pole: 'What is special about it, my dear Johnson? It is the only point of the globe that does not move, while all others run around in a circle at break-neck speed'; quoted in H. Harth, Literatur im Dienste des Fortschritts?, in Born, N. and Schlaffer, H. (eds) *Die Literatur und die Wissenschaften* (Hamburg, 1976), p. 39.

104 The sun never sets over the island of Calypso, just as it always shines on Mount Lykaios, where men change into wolves. In a Hungarian witch trial at the beginning of the eighteenth century a witness stated that a *táltos* explained to him that 'the sun shone also at night on the tall tree that he knew well. He would climb up on it and turn the judge into a dog'; V. Diószegi, Die Überreste des Schamanismus in der ungarischen Volkskultur, *Acta Ethnographica* (1958), p. 121; see also B. Gunda, Totemistische Spuren in der ungarischen *táltos*-Überlieferung, in Diószegi, V. (ed.) *Glaubenswelt und Folklore der sibirischen Völker* (Budapest, 1963), p. 46.

105 See U. Holmberg, *Der Baum des Lebens* (Helsinki, 1923), p. 58. The 'mother of *yajé*' lets the shaman drink milk from her breasts; see M. Chaves, Mítica de los Siona del alto Putumayo, in *Miscellanea Paul Rivet* II (Mexico, 1958), p. 131. In a Gospel composed around the year 1000 in Reichenau there is an illustration of a young man, presumably Jesus, approaching a tree situated between the sun and the moon. A bare-breasted woman peeps out from between its roots, visible to the waist. L-I. Ringbom, in *Graltempel und Paradies* (Stockholm, 1951), p. 498, thinks that this picture comes from Iran. Nut or Hathor emerge from the sycamore (*Ficus sycomorus*) in a similar manner and offer their breasts for sucking. The 'motherly' mummy coffins were produced from the wood of this tree; see W. Grandjot, *Reiseführer durch das Pflanzenreich der Mittelmeerländer* (Bonn, 1962), p. 79. Egyptian spirits of the dead used to sit in its branches. The Mesopotamian 'divine mistress of Eden' was called Tintir-Kî, translated as 'place of the tree of life'; see G. d'Alviella, *The Migration of Symbols* (New York, 1894), p. 153. It is difficult to decide which tree the tree in paradise might have been. It obviously acted as an aphrodisiac, so it could not very well have been fly agaric, an idea which historians have picked up from Wasson; see C. Lévi-Strauss, Les champignons dans la culture, *L'Homme* (1970), p. 12. A more likely candidate is the Semitic 'love apple', the *tuphac el sheitan*, that is, the 'devil's apple'

of the mandragora; see H. Gressmann, Mythische Reste in der Paradieserzählung, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1907), p. 354, or the fruit of some other nightshade. In the past, the term 'apple' has been used for any kind of round fruit; see A. Golowin, *Die Magie der verbotenen Märchen* (Hamburg, 1974), p. 144. In the forest on the boundary between Bohemia and Moravia, the mossy outgrowths on wild rose bushes were called 'sleep apples'; see P. Piger, Zaubermittel aus der Iglauer Sprachinsel, *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde* (1897), pp. 271, 273. The rather sweet fruits of the *Mandragora vernalis* are the size of plums and look like apples. Plinius called them *mala* for this reason; see C.J.S. Thompson, *The Mystic Mandrake* (London, 1934), p. 23. Whether the *dûdâ'im* of the Septuagint hides the mandragora is being disputed. The same can be said also of *dedmet* and *djdj*, plants of ancient Egypt; see W.R. Dawson, The substance called *didi* by the Egyptians, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1927), p. 497. At Mount Carmel, *Mandragora officinalis* was called 'narcotic apple', *tuffāh emģen*; see I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden* III (Leipzig, 1924), p. 355.

106 See U. Holmberg, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

107 See U. Holmberg, *op. cit.*, p. 28; and J. Partanen, A description of Buriat shamanism, *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja* (1941), p. 17. In New Guinea the 'shaman' (*tawakamine*) guides the initiates to the *kombu*, the lineage tree. Together, they climb it. Once in its crown, they smoke long cigars made from pandanus leaves and scrapings of opossum bones (*datndap kwatan*). The 'shaman' closes the body orifices of the young men, so that the smoke cannot escape. Soon the initiates enter a trance, and the *datndap* spirit possesses them; see C.A. Schmitz, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie des Wantoat Tales* (Köln, 1960), p. 163. The *abasy-oibono*, the 'spirit hole', parallels the 'smoke-hole of the earth', the opening to the lower world of the Tartars from the Altaic Mountains, through which the shaman passed in the shape of a diver bird. An iron plate with holes in it symbolized this entry on the garments of the Yakut shaman; see U. Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker* (Helsinki, 1938), pp. 26, 518, 551. The Chukchee shamans flew on the backs of eagles or thunderbirds through various worlds that were connected by openings, which were piled up under the North Star, so that the axis of the world passed through them; see W. Bogoras, The folklore of northeastern Asia, *American Anthropologist* (1902), p. 590; and *The Chukchee* (New York, 1904), p. 331. One also encounters similar conceptualizations with a number of Indian societies. Some Mayas believed that there were seven layers of sky above the earth with gaping holes in them, arranged in a perpendicular fashion. Through these, a ceiba tree connected the earth with the zenith. The first people received their nourishment from this tree. There are representations extant where the Chaaks, deities of fertility, sit in its branches. The dead climb it up until they finally reach the great god, and the shaman most probably took the same path; see A.M. Tozzer, *A Comparative Study of the Mayas and the Lacandones* (New York, 1907), p. 154; and W. Cordan, *Götter und Göttertiere der Maya* (Bern, 1963), p. 87; as well as N. Fock, *Waiwai* (Copenhagen, 1963), p. 101. At the beginning of time, the four

bacabs erected four *imix* trees, one for each cardinal direction, which supported the sky. In the middle they placed a fifth tree, 'the green tree of plenty'; see R.L. Roys, *The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel* (Washington, 1933), p. 100. Such a tree is said to have once grown in Valladolid, on the Yucatán Peninsula, a city erected on the former religious centre of Saci. Characteristically, this was the centre from which the Cupul fomented their insurrection against the Spanish Conquistadors in 1533 and 1543; see R.S. Chamberlain, *The Conquest and Colonization of Yucatán* (Washington, 1948) p. 239. 'The first tree of the world', in the shape of a stone cross, could still be seen towards the end of the seventeenth century in Tayasal, the last Maya refuge; see A.M. Tozzer, *Chichen Itzá and its Cenote of Sacrifice* (Cambridge, 1957), p. 109; and J.E.S. Thompson, The Itzá of Tayasal, in *Homenaje al Doctor Alfonso Caso* (Mexico, 1951), p. 392. *Imix yaxche,* the red ceiba of plenty, is probably not *Bombax ceiba,* which is native to Asia and serves as a sacrificial pole for buffalos for the highland Mnong Gar in Vietnam; see G. Condominas, *Wir assen den Wald des Geistersteins Gôo* (Frankfurt/Main, 1969), pp. 95, 98, 309. More likely, we are dealing with the cottonwood *Ceiba pentandra,* which is considered the axis of the world in the Sudan also ; see V. Pâques, *L'arbre cosmique dans la pensée populaire et dans la vie quotidienne du nord-ouest africain* (Paris, 1964), p. 60. The latter ceiba is without leaves in the dry season, but covered with blood-red blossoms and flowers, which point toward the sky, drooping only when they are dead. Within a short time, the ground under the tree is covered with a red carpet, the blood sacrifice of the tree; see E.P. Dieseldorff, *Kunst und Religion der Mayavölker* III (Hamburg, 1933), p. 32. Its stylized representation in the form of a cross is quite ancient, and it has preserved much of its original significance through the ages. Towards the end of 1850, one José Maria Barrera led his Maya revolutionaries to a cenote, a natural well in the rain forest. This cenote was called Chan Santa Cruz, 'Small Holy Cross', and there the Indians found a small mahogany cross in a grotto, which instructed their religious leader, Manuel Nahuat, that they should continue fighting against their enemies, 'those White people'. Nahuat was said to be a ventriloquist; see E. Ancona, *Historia de Yucatán* IV (Barcelona, 1889), p. 305, and can be considered a descendant in spirit of the shaman-like *chilanes* ('mouthpieces of the earth'), who are called *ahmen* nowadays, and who have always been popular, since they represented the interests of the people against the nobility; see N. Reed, *The Caste War of Yucatán* (Stanford, 1964), p. 135. I am grateful to Gisela Heese for drawing my attention to this. Newly discovered manuscripts, however, cast doubt on the idea that Nahuat was that leader. It may have been Juan de la Cruz Puc instead, the 'personification of Jesus'; see G.D. Jones, Revolution and continuity in Santa Cruz Maya society, *American Ethnologist* (1974), p. 668, who spoke of himself as 'I, Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Holy Cross', who maintained that he had entered heaven and spoken to God, and who was at the same time the first 'high priest' of the previous tree of the world; see F.W. Scholes and R.L. Roys, *The Maya Chontal Indians of Acalan-Tixchel* (Washington, 1948), p. 347. Even today, the mahogany cross functions as the

connection between God and the people, mediated by Jesus, who is called John of the Cross; see A. Villa Rojas, *The Maya of East Central Quintana Roo* (Washington, 1945), pp. 21, 97. The Mixe shamans also continue hearing the 'voice of the earth' through wooden crosses; see S. Hoogshagen, A sketch of the earth's supernatural functions in Coatlan Mixe, in *Summa antropologica en homenaje a Roberto J. Weitlaner* (Mexico, 1966), p. 314. In Mexico, we also encounter 'our Lord of the Tree', a wooden Jesus whose head is the crown of a tree and whose arms end in the tree's branches; see figure on p. 170, in E. Wolf, *Sons of the Shaking Earth* (Chicago, 1959), reminiscent of Jesus as the tree of life at the height of the Middle Ages; see R. Bauerreiss, *Arbor Vitae* (München, 1938), p. 14. Some specialists, such as A.K. Bennett in La cruz parlante, *Estudios de cultura Maya* (1970), p. 235, maintain that the symbol of the cross was predominantly a Christian one. This is obviously doubtful. Francisco Hernandez de Cordoba, who discovered Yucatán 'officially' in 1517, saw in Campeche 'signs in the manner of crosses', quoted in F.D. Lopez de Cogolludo, *Los tres siglos de la dominación española en Yucatán* I (Campeche, 1842), p. 5; see also B. Díaz del Castillo, *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico* (New York, 1956), p. 10. The Spanish also wore the cross, and there was a big surprise on both sides, for in Yucatán, there circulated the prophecy that some day, Kukulcan would return from the direction from which the Spanish caravels had arrived. In the Spanish crosses, the Mayas saw the conventionalized *imix* tree; see R.L. Roys, *The Indian Background of Colonial Yucatán* (Washington, 1943), p. 77. There was also another prophecy, according to which some strangers were to arrive who would preach to the people about *one* god and the 'power of the tree', the *uahom che*. The Franciscans promptly exploited the prophecy by interpreting this tree as the cross of the Lord; see D. de Landa, *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán* (edited by A.M. Tozzer) (Cambridge, 1941), p. 42. Later conquistadors found Indian crosses particularly on the island of Cozumel, the site of a 'talking shrine' of the Mayas; see J.L. Stephens, *Incidents of a Travel in Yucatán* II (Norman, 1962), p. 243; and J.E.S. Thompson, *Maya History and Religion* (Norman, 1970), p. 189. Similar crosses were also found in Palenque; see J.H. Caddy, Description of the ruins of Palenque, in Pendergast, D.M. (ed.) *The Walker–Caddy Expedition* (Norman, 1967), p. 135; and D. Charnay, *Ancient Cities of the New World* (London, 1887), p. 214. Prophetic crosses are still known in the region of Jacaltenango; see O. La Farge and D. Byers, *The Year Bearer's People* (New Orleans, 1931), p. 186. These trees of the axis of the world usually stood next to cenotes, the entrances to the lower world, which replaced the caves of the highland; see E.Z. Vogt, Human souls and animal spirits in Zinacantan, in *Échanges et communications* II (The Hague, 1970), p. 1152; also J.B. Johnson, The elements of Mazatec witchcraft, *Ethnological Studies* (1939), p. 140. The most famous of these maws was the sacred cenote of Chichen Itzá, the abode of the rain gods. Female slaves used to be pushed into it, especially if the corn fields were in danger of drying up, so that they could seek advice from the deities. If the slaves came up dead, the Indians had an unequivocal answer. One young girl, who would

most likely have died in this manner, and who was told to ask the gods for corn, answered that she would ask them nothing of the kind. For fear that the girl might embarrass them in front of the deities, the priests procured another victim; see A.M. Tozzer, *Chichen Itzá and its Cenote of Sacrifice* (Cambridge, 1957), p. 223. A distinction should be made, however, between oracle rituals with their often fatal outcome, and the proper cenote sacrifices; see K. Helfrich, *Menschenopfer und Tötungsrituale im Kult der Maya* (Berlin, 1973), p. 35. Originally, the two kinds of human sacrifice may both have been based on the common idea that this was the only way in which to establish contact with the rain gods, whose abode was in the depth of the earth. These deities were represented as snake-like monsters without any jaws, whose heads sprouted lotus or maize; see F. Anders, *Das Pantheon der Maya* (Graz, 1963), p. 167. The intention then was to send messengers to them to the lower world via the cenotes. The sacrifices in that case would have been something like a shamanistic journey to the beyond, carried to its bitter conclusion, a journey undertaken only once. In later times, the victims were tied or nailed to stylized world axes, and their hearts were torn out. Such people were called 'children of God', or 'children of Jesus'; see D.E. Thompson, Maya paganism and Christianity, in *Publications of the Middle American Research Institute* (New Orleans, 1954), p. 16. To this day, a cross clothed in green guards the journey of the souls of the dead to the beyond in Tzotzil Indian society; see C. Guiteras-Holmes, *Perils of the Soul* (New York, 1961), p. 294. It appears that the Indians were attempting to create their own Jesus, influenced by the Christian model, but also using ancient tradition; see D.E. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 20. As late as 1859 humans, predominantly women, were sacrificed to a large wooden cross in an 'oracle cult' in Bacalar; see T.W.F. Gann, *The Maya Indians of Southern Yucatán and Northern British Honduras* (Washington, 1918), p. 41; also F.V. Scholes and E.B. Adams, *Don Diego Quijada* I (Mexico, 1938), p. 152. During their war against the Whites in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Mayas frequently cited ancient tradition, such as the Chilam Balam; see, for example, C.B. Heller, *Reisen in Mexiko* (Leipzig, 1853), pp. 286, 293. Consequently, it stands to reason that the symbol and source of inspiration of the resistance, the 'talking cross' of men like Nahuat and Juan de la Cruz, was equally a direct descendant of the old connection between the worlds, the tree of the world. To this day Maya villages erect an *imago mundi*, a representation of the world, by placing crosses on the four corners and one in the centre by the cenote; see R. Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatán* (Chicago, 1941), p. 119. Crosses are also placed in the middle of the corn harvest; see, e.g., M. Nash, *Machine Age Maya* (Chicago, 1967), p. 95; M. Oakes, *The Two Crosses of Todos Santos* (New York, 1951), p. 234; and K. Jäcklein, *San Felipe Otlaltepec* (Göppingen, 1970), p. 263. This centre is *zuhuy*, 'virginal', like the girls who used to be pushed into the cenote at this spot, which was situated at the 'heart of the earth' (*yolcab*), as it says in the *Dresden Codex*. Those sacrificed at the ceiba pole were also *zuhuy*. The green-blue colour (*verde cielo*) was associated with this centre, with the cenote and the tree; see J.E.S. Thompson, Sky bearers, colors and directions in

Maya and Mexican religion, in *Contributions to American Archaeology* (Washington, 1934), p. 22. This was the colour of what was new and chaste, but also unexpected; see O. Stoll, Die Ethnologie der Indianer-Stämme von Guatemala, *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* (1888), p. 36. For instance, the new sun was called the 'green sun'. People who were drowned in the cenote were painted blue, as was the stone on which the victim was pressed whose twitching heart was to be torn out. Even the unlucky iguanas may have been sacrificed only because of their bluish colour; see D. de Landa, *op. cit.*, p. 117; K.A. Nowotny, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Weltbildes* (Horn, 1970), p. 165; and E. Seler, *Altmexikanische Studien* (Berlin, 1899), p. 72. The Aztecs spoke of the 'blue rain of noon', which brought with it fertility from Tlalocan; see C.A. Burland, *The Gods of Mexico* (London, 1967), p. 138. Originally, we may assume, Tlalocan was situated in the lower world, the same as the dwelling place of Maya rain gods, and could be reached by way of the caves; see T.D. Sullivan, Tlaloc, in *Atti del XL Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti* II (Genova, 1974), p. 216. As we know, many languages have only one term for green and blue (in Greek for 'blue' and 'black'). This observation should not tempt anyone to jump to the conclusion that the respective societies cannot make or barely make a distinction in perception between the two colours; see M.H. Bornstein, The influence of visual perception on culture, *American Anthropologist* (1975), p. 786; and earlier, F. Ratzel, *Völkerkunde* I (Leipzig, 1885), p. 26. O Stoll, in Zur Psychologie der indianischen Hochlandsprachen von Guatemala, *Jahresberichte der Geographisch-Ethnographischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* (1912), p. 51; as well as G. Koch, Farbenindifferenz bei pazifischen Völkern, in Schmitz, C.A. and Wildhaber, R. (eds) *Festschrift Alfred Bühler* (Basel, 1965), p. 240, draw attention to the fact that within the range of the coral reefs on the Yucatán coast the sea is light green, while it appears cobalt blue further out, in the same way as, depending on the incidence of light, the tail feathers of the quetzal bird may have a metallic blue or green sheen. The same seems to be true also of the skin colour of the iguana. The 'tree of the centre' is still thought to be related to fertility. Young girls are not supposed to play with its fruit, lest their breasts become too voluptuous; see R. Redfield and A. Villa Rojas, *op. cit.*, p. 207. When a girl becomes pregnant among the Tzotzil in Chiapas, but steadfastly and convincingly denies having slept with anyone, then it is believed that the shade of the tree cross made her pregnant; see C. Guiteras-Holmes, *op. cit.*, p. 102. At the moment there is no evidence to show that a 'hallucinogenic' mushroom cult was ever connected with this 'tree of the centre'. In Mexico, mushrooms of the genus *psilocybe* were connected with Tlaloc and thus with rain as the provider of fertility, in a similar complex as that associated with *Amanita muscaria* in Europe; see R.G. Wasson, Ololiuhqui and the other hallucinogens of Mexico, in *Summa antropologica* (Mexico, 1966), p. 336; as well as R. Escalante and A. López, Hongos sagrados de los Matlatzincas, in *Atti del XL Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti* II (Genova, 1974), p. 245. The Mayas were earlier thought not to have taken mind-altering drugs, but recently the Lacandones were

observed using the mushroom *Stropharia cubensis* in a ritual context; see P.T. Furst, Comment, *Current Anthropology* (1974), p. 154. According to A.J. Rubel, Comment, *Current Anthropology* (1974), p. 159, M. Greene Robertson writes about a group of Lacandones that *Psilocybe cubensis* and *Panaeolus venenosus* 'are placed in the ritual bowls on small stone altars in ancient Maya *oratorios*. The purpose of their use . . . is to contact the gods.' It is a matter of dispute whether this mushroom cult is based on ancient Maya culture or on Mexican influence. In San José Pinula and in Kaminaljuyú zoomorphic figures, such as jaguars and birds, as well as anthropomorphic mushroom sculptures were discovered, made of grey vulcanic rock; see S.F. de Borhegyi, Miniature mushroom stones from Guatemala, *American Antiquity* (1961), p. 498. There is a reference in the books of *Chilam Balam* to a *chilan* lying on the ground and receiving a 'hidden message'. J.E.S. Thompson (*Maya History and Religion* (Norman, 1970), p. 186) suggests that this man might have ingested 'some narcotic', but this is not in any way indicated in the text. U. Köhler, in Mushrooms, drugs and potters, *American Antiquity* (1976), p. 147, who rejects the usual interpretation of the mushroom stones, warns that a 'deification and worship of mushrooms [cannot] be derived from recent reports of ritual intoxication'. It is of course correct that the *mushrooms themselves* are not deified, but no one ever suggested that. Rather, such 'hallucinogenic' mushrooms are the *medium* of the gods; see H. Munn, The mushrooms of language, in Harner, M.J. (ed.) *Hallucinogens and Shamanism* (New York, 1973), p. 97, and this makes it intelligible why they would be represented with human or animal faces, for beings of the other world showed themselves *through them.*

108 See E. Emsheimer, Schamanentrommel und Trommelbaum, *Ethnos* (1946), p. 177. In the Peruvian lowlands some shamans use *yajé,* or even the thorn apple to become 'light' and so to climb into the land of the *saankariite,* the 'invisibles', over a ladder or a pole; see G. Baer and W.W. Snell, An Ayahuasca ceremony among the Matsigenka, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1974), p. 70. See also A. Butt, Réalité et idéal dans la pratique chamanique, *L'Homme* (1962), p. 27; and T. Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoko* III (Stuttgart, 1923), p. 213.

109 See L.J. Sternberg, Die Auserwählung im sibirischen Schamanismus, *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde* (1935), p. 251.

110 As late as in the medieval *Raparius* the protagonist boasts that he acquired great wisdom hanging in a sack from a tree; see R. Stumpfl, *Kultspiele der Germanen als Ursprung des mittelalterlichen Dramas* (Berlin, 1936), p. 281. As is well known, Zeus was suspended from a tree as a protection from Chronos. Another 'shamanic' characteristic of Odin is his 'bisexual' component. Loki calls him 'unmasculine', and Thor says that he is 'effeminate'. Saxo says that during certain occasions, he ran around in women's clothing; see R.L. Auld, The psychological and mythic unity of the god Odinn, *Numen* (1976), p. 150.

111 After their victorious battle against the Romans, the Cimbri hung their prisoners in trees, according to Orosius. This was probably a sacrifice to

Odin; see R. von Kienle, Das Auftreten keltischer und germanischer Gottheiten zwischen Oberrhein und Limes, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1938), p. 267. Sacrifices to Odin were usually hung. This is the reason why he was also called Hangatýr, the 'god of the hung'. Or the victims were killed by spearing them, which was also done to old warriors who were about to die 'in bed', so that they would be spared a shameful 'straw death'. This was termed 'drawing Odin's attention to oneself'; see G. Schütte, *Dänisches Heidentum* (Heidelberg, 1923), p. 123. It is also possible that Odin was originally dedicated to a god named Yggr, with whom he later became one; see W. Steller, Zum Wodanglauben, *Mitteilungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde* (1925), p. 105. This would make the formula, 'Dedicated to Odin, I myself to me myself' intelligible. Yggdrasill was later identified with the cross of Jesus, as seen for instance in a monument in Bewcastle, which is said to have been erected in the seventh century; see A. Wünsche, *Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser* (Leipzig, 1905), p. 55. This process was facilitated by the fact that in the Middle Ages the Christian cross was often represented as a tree anyway; see F.J. Dölger, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kreuzzeichens, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* (1967), p. 18; G.B. Ladner, Pflanzensymbolik und Renaissancebegriff, in Buck, E. (ed.) *Zu Begriff und Problem der Renaissance* (Darmstadt, 1969), p. 253; and L. Boyle, *Kurzer Führer durch die St Clemens-Basilika in Rom* (Rome, 1973), p. 29.

112 See E. Neumann and H. Voigt, Germanische Mythologie, in Haussig, H.W. (ed.) *Götter und Mythen im alten Europa* (Stuttgart, 1973), p. 96.

113 See C.L. Wrenn, Magic in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery, in Davis, N. and Wrenn, C.L. (eds) *English and Medieval Studies* (London, 1962), p. 318; K. Schneider, *Die germanischen Runennamen* (Meisenheim, 1956), p. 278; and H.R.G. Davidson, Scandinavian mythology, in Blacker, C. and Loewe, M. (eds) *Ancient Cosmologies* (London, 1975), p. 178.

114 Of *y*, the last letter of the runic alphabet, as well as of the yew, a Norman jingle says, 'Yr contains everything', all of wisdom; see M. Ninck, *Wodan und germanischer Schicksalsglaube* (Jena, 1935), p. 306.

115 Even yews that are rotten and seemingly dead still often send forth new shoots; see W. Bartels, Pflanzen in der englischen Folklore, *Berichte der Realschule auf der Uhlenhorst* (1900), p. 21. Its leaves are evergreen. Neither *circius,* the north wind, nor *boreas,* the north-east wind, or even *chaurus,* the south-east wind, it is said, can defoliate it; see E. von Erhardt-Siebold, Die lateinischen Rätsel der Angelsachsen, *Anglistische Forschungen* (1925), p. 164. All this may have contributed to seeing the tree of the world in the yew, particularly because it is also thought to live for as long as three thousand years. These days, however, over-felling, lowering of the ground water level and industrial waste gases have brought about the demise of this *axis mundi.*

116 See O. Gessner and G. Orzechowski, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

117 It was maintained that people who slept in a room with furniture made of yew wood felt severely ill afterwards. The smoke from burning yew was thought

to drive away mice. However, the wood contains neither toxins nor other alkaloids, such as milossine or ephedrine; see P. Schauenburg and F. Paris, *Heilpflanzen* (München, 1970), p. 39. The red and slightly sweet-tasting aril or fruit flesh of the yew is not toxic and is sometimes eaten by lumbermen. Yew berries, therefore, can hardly have contributed to the toxic effect of the arrow poison which, according to R. Graves in *The White Goddess* (London, 1961), p. 194, was prepared by the old Irish from such berries, together with white hellebore (see chapter 1, note 7) and devil's-bit (*Helonias dioica*). A bow was also called *yr,* and the Greek words *toxon,* 'bow', and *toxicon,* 'arrow poison', are related to the name of the yew tree (*Taxus*). Long yew spears have been found at sites from the middle paleolithic age, and our forebears hunted the now extinct forest elephant with it; see H. Müller-Karpe, *op. cit.,* p. 57. In Swabian, the crossbow was called *aip* (see F. Kluge, *op. cit.,* p. 154). The Teutonic bow (*ybogr*) was made of yew wood, and the Gauls were convinced that a mere drink from a yew-wood beaker could cause death. The dwelling place of Ullr, the god of death and the 'bowman' (*bogmadr*), the winter aspect of Odin, who every year drove out Odin in his summer aspect, was called *Ydalir heita,* 'Yew Valley'; see E. Lemke, Die Eibe in der Volkskunde, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* (1902), p. 192. The Vedic god of the dead, Yama, who stayed under the world tree, which provided *soma,* corresponds to this Teutonic deity. The yew as a numinous tree also played an important role among Celtic societies. The witches in *Macbeth* used yew juice as a magic drink; see J. de Vries, *Keltische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 187; and T.G.E. Powell, *Die Kelten* (Köln, 1959), p. 149. Thus we read:

> Willst zum Eibenforst Du gehn,
> Sieh nicht Dich um, bleib nicht stehn,
> Hüt den Fuss auch vor den Ringen,
> Wo die Feen im Grase springen.
>
> *If you want to go to the yew forest,*
> *Do not turn around, do not stop,*
> *Be careful not to step into the circles,*
> *Where the fairies jump in the grass.*

The story is told that in Cyveillioc in Wales, in the middle of the nineteenth century, two young men slept under a yew tree, and so were captured by the fairies; see R. Neumann, Aus Leben, Sage und Geschichte der Eibe, *Abhandlungen zum Jahresbericht des Bautzner Gymnasiums* (1908), p. 21. In poems dating from the height of the Middle Ages, the heroes and heroines are usually abducted by fairies under *ympe* trees and then become mad. This tree is often identified with the yew; see A.H. Krappe, *The Science of Folklore* (London, 1930), p. 238; and G.L. Kittredge, Sir Orfeo, *American Journal of Philology* (1886), p. 189. In the fourteenth century, it was believed in Hesse that 'white girls' lived in old yews (see E. Lemke, *op, cit.,* p. 193), and to this day in many places in Germany the yew is called the 'miraculous tree'; see M. Höfler, Zum Sagenschatze des Isarwinkels, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* (1908),

p. 182. If the yew that grew in the Bavarian 'devil's kitchens' was cut, it gave off sparks; see E.H. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 173. Later on, the yew was often credited with the ability to *ward off* witches; see H. Appel, *Die Wechselbalgsage* (Berlin, 1937), p. 19. It seems that the Frau Holle trees, the *pilbis* or *philliwis,* the abode of divining women; see W-E. Peuckert, *Die grosse Wende* I (Darmstadt, 1966), p. 179, were often yews. 'The complaint is that you together with your sons bring offerings at the trees called pilbis trees and that you are not making an offering to God, but to the evil spirits that are said to fly around them,' it says in the fifteenth-century work of Thomas Ebendorfer, entitled *De decem praeceptis.* The Virgin Mary is sometimes introduced into this tradition, as in the case of 'Mary in the green'. The '*Arbor Fatalium,* gallice des Faées,' also called *Arbor Dominarum,* may have been similar to the *pilbispawm* or the *ympetree.* It stood not far from Dompremi, right next to a medicinal spring. Joan of Arc danced under it during the day and sometimes also during the night. She hung wreaths of blossoms and leaves in it, and St Catherine and St Margaret spoke to her for the first time from this magic tree; see J.E.J. Quicherat, *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc* I (Paris, 1841), p. 67; and H. Dietschy, Der Maibaum von Domremy, *Schweizer Volkskunde* (1936), p. 27. At those times, the fairies often appeared in the garb of Christian characters; see R. Schröder, *Glaube und Aberglaube in den altfranzösischen Dichtungen* (Erlangen, 1886), p. 95. J. Huizinga, in *Herbst des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart, 1952), p. 177, has drawn attention to the fact that it was not until towards the end of her trial that the saints assumed the appearance of Christian saints in Joan's statements. It is quite possible that initially she had been in contact with bona fide fairies. When she was asked whether the fairies were good spirits or evil ones, she refused to answer; see J.E.J. Quicherat, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

118 See E. Magnússon, *Odin's Horse Yggdrasil* (London, 1895), p. 4.

119 There may be versions extant according to which Odin flew. His appellation *Arnhofdi,* 'the eagle-headed one', seems to point in this direction.

120 See K. von Spiess, *Deutsche Volkskunde als Erschliesserin deutscher Kultur* (Berlin, 1934), p. 223. Mohammed used a ladder for similar purposes; see J.R. Porter, Muhammad's journey to heaven, *Numen* (1974), p. 64. Perhaps those old village trees whose branches used to be trained horizontally were originally 'world trees'. In Billingen, in Hesse, there was an old linden tree of this kind. During the *kermis,* the village fair, a ladder was placed against it, and there was dancing on the 'second storey', while the musicians sat on the third; see F. Mössinger, Die Dorflinde als Weltbaum, *Germanien* (1938), p. 388.

121 See W. Schmidt, *Das Mutterrecht* (Mödling, 1955), p. 42. See also U. Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Mordwinen* (Helsinki, 1952), p. 140; and M. Eliade, *Occultism, Witchcraft and Cultural Fashions* (Chicago, 1976), p. 35.

Chapter 4 Wild Women and Werewolves

1 An exchange of clothes between men and women also took place at the festival of the *barbata Venus* of Cyprus; see A. Bertholet, Weibliches Priestertum, in *Beiträge zur Gesellungs- und Völkerwissenschaft* (Berlin, 1950), p. 46.

2 H. Schnabel, *Kordax* (München, 1910), pp. 41, 62. Dionysus, the 'man–woman', the 'effeminate stranger', and 'equalizer', often appears in woman's clothing. Plato called him *androgynos,* because during intercourse he used his penis, but also engaged in anal copulation. This most un-Greek of all the Greek gods was represented by the Orphics as *protogonos,* one who fertilized himself through the anus by using a long penis; see E. Bornemann, *Das Patriarchat* (Frankfurt/Main, 1975), p. 285. For a more lyrical portrayal, see F.G. Jünger, *Griechische Götter* (Frankfurt/Main, 1943), p. 62. Consecration during the Roman bacchanalia consisted in part of 'suffering' a homosexual act; W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart, 1977), p. 436. E. Bornemann (*op. cit.*, pp. 287, 202) points out that the bisexual Greek deity is biased in favour of the male side. It is the fulfilment of every pederast's dream, who finds the vulva ugly, but who considers the penis, the bosom and the buttocks to be beautiful. Unclad women in classical vase pictures usually have a boyish figure with a small pelvis and narrow waist. Androgynous statuettes have been found from the Ice Age. With an 'aspect switch', the breasts in these figurines were transformed into testicles and the head into a penis; see R. Richter, Paläolithische Sexualdarstellungen und ihre Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Sexualforschung, *Quartär* (1953), p. 79. In many cases the cult of Dionysus seems to have replaced the related cult of Artemis. In the Dionysian cult as well, the phallus is in the hands of the maenads. During the celebration of Methymna, the men were allowed to participate only in the rituals of the first day; see W-E. Peuckert, *Geheimkulte* (Heidelberg, 1951), p. 238. In many societies, the clitoris is considered a kind of penis – in other words, a male organ – and is therefore excised when girls become fully women. As an analogy, the reason given for cutting off the foreskin is often that it is the same as the lips of the vulva; see V.W. Turner, Symbolization and patterning in the circumcision rites of two Bantu-speaking societies, in Douglas, M. and Kaberry, P.M. (eds) *Man in Africa* (London, 1969) p. 236. Hypotheses first formulated by van Gennep; see M. Gluckmann, Les rites de passage, in Gluckmann, M. (ed.) *Essays on the Ritual of Social Relations* (Manchester, 1962), p. 5, seem to agree with what many societies practising these rites consider to be their significance. 'As long as a child keeps its foreskin and its clitoris,' says the Dogon Ogotêmmeli, for instance, 'that is, the supports for the contrasting principle of the respective sex, maleness and femaleness are equally strong. It is not correct, therefore, to compare the uncircumcized boy with a woman. Rather, just as the unexcised girl, he is male and female at the same time. In other words, the clitoris of the girl is a symbolic twin, a male obstacle. She cannot beget with it, and it would even prevent her from uniting with a man ... [The latter] would be "stuck" by it. The organ,

which considers itself to be his equal, would dispute his right to cohabitation'; see M. Griaule, *Schwarze Genesis* (Freiburg, 1970), p. 148; also G. Dieterlen, *Essai sur la religion bambara* (Paris, 1951), p. 71; and D. Zahan, L'univers cosmo-biologique de l'Africain, in Portmann, A. and Ritsema, R. (eds) *Correspondences in Man and World* (Leiden, 1975), p. 210. In a male-orientated society, the man usually *experiences* sexual pleasure and the woman *grants* it. One need not be a feminist to understand that excising the sensitive organ of the clitoris, which is capable of erection, and which in German used to be called the 'tickler of voluptuousness', makes a woman to a large extent sexually dependent on the man. At the same time, she becomes to a considerable extent the *granter* of pleasure. The Nandi hold that clitoridectomy will put a stop to the 'wild doings' of mature girls; see F.R. Lehmann, Bemerkungen zu einer neuen Begründung der Beschneidung, *Sociologus* (1957), p. 67; and the Nubians believe that the operation will tame the natural 'wildness' of women; see J.G. Kennedy, Circumcision and excision in Egyptian Nubia, *Man* (1970), p. 181. Quite generally in Arabic countries women are considered to be unbridled in their desires; see R.T. Antoun, On the modesty of women in Arab Muslim villages, *American Anthropologist* (1968), p. 678. During corroborrees in north-west Australia the role of the clitoris in female lustfulness is emphasized over and over again; see R. Rohrlich-Leavitt, B. Sykes and E. Weatherford, Aboriginal women, in Reiter, R. (ed.) *Toward an Anthropology of Women* (New York, 1975), p. 122. Polls of Sudanese women indicated that eighty per cent of the clitoridectomized women had never had an orgasm, against seven per cent of those who had not been subjected to the operation; see M. Janssen-Jurreit, *Sexismus: Über die Abtreibung der Frauenfrage* (München, 1976), p. 549. Another relevant point mentioned is that circumcision and clitoridectomy will allow the 'remainder' of the male and female 'bad blood' to run out of the initiate; see A. Schäfer, Zur Initiation im Wagi-Tal, *Anthropos* (1938), p. 421; F. Herrmann, Die Beschneidung, in Drost, D. and König, W. (eds) *Beiträge zur Völkerforschung* (Berlin, 1961), p. 248; and G. Höltker, Die Knaben-Jugendweihe bei den Bosmun am unteren Ramu, *Abhandlungen des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde Dresden* (1975), p. 559. Among the Bena-Bena of the New Guinea Highlands, a society known for being anti-women, the adult men regularly submit to such a treatment; see L.L. Langness, Sexual antagonism in the New Guinea highlands, *Oceania* (1966), p. 165. The Ngulu contend that by means of circumcision the glans loses its moisture (*sika*), which they feel is typically feminine; see T.O. Beidelman, Notes on boys' initiation among the Ngulu of East Africa, *Man* (1965), p. 144. The idea behind many of these customs seems to be the conceptualization of man and woman as having been one originally, in their 'natural' state. In the course of 'cultural' differentiation, they were separated from each other. Initiation serves to eliminate the vestiges of the other sex, such as blood, labia, clitoris, vaginal secretion etc., which might still adhere to the individual.

3 Typically, the Dionysians were often mentioned together with the Cronians; see S. Luria, Die Ersten werden die Letzten sein, *Klio* (1929), p. 423.

4 See Wolfram, Weiberbünde, *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1933), p. 145, as well as R. Andree, *Braunschweiger Volkskunde* (Braunschweig, 1901), p. 228. It is said that those men who spied on what the women were up to during the Thermosphories in Cyrene had their genitals cut off. The men greatly feared the so-called *Brechlerinnen* of the Gail valley of Upper Carinthia. If these women managed to catch a man servant or the son of a householder, they held him, tied him up with tow, and 'planed' him on a felled tree. In the region of Feldkirch, the men had to lie down on the ground and the Brechlerinnen stepped over them. The 'Bettlerhalsn' consisted of the women catching some more or less unsuspecting man, embracing and kissing him and giving him a painful rubbing down with flax chaff until he ransomed himself. 'Höseln' was even rougher. If a man was caught, the women pulled off his trousers, filled them with chaff, until he finally fled, usually without the garment. God, who after all was also a man, did not care for such doings and so temporarily emigrated to the neighbouring Valais region; see G. Graber, Alte Gebräuche bei der Flachsernte in Kärnten, *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde* (1911), p. 156; and K. Vilkuna, *Volkstümliche Arbeitsfeste in Finnland* (Helsinki, 1963), pp. 93, 87. A 'planing', as described above, seems to have been a typical feature of many rites of passage, and is also described for the initiation of the *bachants* or *beanus* (from the French word *bec jaune,* 'yellow beak') at many medieval universities. Such 'young foxes' were dragged into the courtyard of the university by the older students. They blackened their faces, attached horns and long ears to their heads, stuffed hog's teeth into their mouths, so they could only grunt and then stretched them out on the ground. They then proceeded to 'plane' them by handling their genitals. This ritual, much feared, which was a precondition for awarding the bachelor's degree, was forbidden everywhere at the beginning of the eighteenth century; see E. Reicke, *Magister und Scholaren* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 90. Stepping across men, as mentioned above, seems to have been a reversal of the customary posture during intercourse. Lilith, one of the 'founding mothers' of modern feminism, and also one of the original images of the medieval succubae, was chased into the wilderness mainly for two reasons. Not only did she want to lie on top of Adam during intercourse, but she was also ready with the ideology to justify this choice. She maintained that since they were both created from dust, it stood to reason that they were also equal; R. Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess* (New York, 1967), p. 210. The Accadian 'demonesses of nocturnal emission', who flew to their assemblies on 'pieces of wood' were probably related to such Lilith figures; see C. Kiesewetter, *Geschichte des Occultismus* II (Leipzig, 1895), p. 432. The poet Stricker, at the height of the Middle Ages, called those women witches who rode on a calf, a stick or a broom, or who stepped over a man and stuffed straw into his body; see G. Baesecke, *Vorgeschichte des deutschen Schrifttums* (Halle, 1940), p. 17. Up to recent times, the 'spinning-room woman' was thought to do something similar. Supposedly, during Percht Night, she cut open the belly of lazy girls and stuffed it full of rubbish. On the days when the 'wild women' ruled, the lord preferred to leave the region, as mentioned above. Such times of the year were generally considered the pagan

periods. From Bulgaria we have reports about the *rusalki* or *viles*. These were enchantingly beautiful, winged women, similar to the ancient sirens, who roamed about in spring. During these days, the peasants performed wild, twirling dances interspersed with high jumps. If anybody prayed during this time or crossed himself in the Christian manner, he fell ill with the 'Rusalka sickness'; see B.A. Rybakov, The Rusalii and the god Simargl-Pereplut, *Soviet Anthropology and Archaeology* (1968), p. 42.

5 As male readers in particular are probably aware, fondling of that sort may sometimes cause what is called 'groom's pain'. A story from the fourteenth century suggests that such customs may be related to certain behaviour of the women travelling by night. According to this report, an old woman said to her priest, 'You have good reason to befriend me, sir, since I have saved your life. I and other "good wives" went into your house with torches at midnight and found you naked and asleep. When I saw you like that, I covered you up so that our good wives should not see you naked. Had they done so they would have whipped you to death' (quoted in J.C. Baroja, *The World of the Witches* (Chicago, 1965), p. 63).

6 W-E. Peuckert, *Ehe* (Hamburg, 1955), p. 51; as well as A. Wrede, *Rheinische Volkskunde* (Leipzig, 1922), p. 245; and H.E. Schneider, Ostpreussischer Frauentanz, *Niederdeutsche Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1940), p. 102. The latter mentiones in passing that such ecstatic dances are to this day called 'witches' dance' in the Pyrenees. Women assumed 'postures of a dubious nature', as the ethnographer put it, and showed their vulva to the flax plants. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, Wendish girls used to dance naked in the fields, while singing the following ditty:

Flasken, Flasken Druse
Wachs bis an die Fuse
Bis an meine Titten,
Dann bliw sitten.

Flax, flax hollow
Grow up to my cunt,
Grow up to my tits,
Then stop.

See H. Marzell, Lein, in Bächtold-Stäubli, H. (ed.) *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* V (Berlin, 1933), column 1186. The 'women's Thursday' was well-known, and Thursday was also the favourite day for the flight of the witches and that of the Benandanti; see C. Ginzburg, *I benandanti* (Turin, 1973), p. 36. It was the day on which the women could cut loose against the men; see F. Woeste, Spuren weiblicher Gottheiten in den Überlieferungen der Grafschaft Mark, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* (1853), p. 386. A report about a 'women's day' in Alsace records that the women met in the market wearing masks and every baker and innkeeper had to give them a loaf of bread and some wine. From the community, they received twelve guilders. 'With that, they bought a large billy goat and decorated it; one of the women put bells on it. With a band of musicians, they went to the dairy, where

they had to be given butter. They ate on the highway, baked small cakes, and forced the travellers to dance with them around the billy goat. The men had to hide until the evening. They rioted in the streets and broke the windows. This was on 24 February 1681', quoted in A. Becker, *Frauenrechtliches in Brauch und Sitte* (Kaiserslautern, 1913), p. 27. See also F. de Barghon Fort-Rion, *Le druidisme au moyen âge* (Bruxelle, 1874), p. 20, who also mentions a comparable 'billy goat festival' of the same period, but does not give his source. It is interesting in this context that the magician Cardan believed that these orgiastic rites were the origin of the witches' sabbat. 'Without a doubt these things took their start from the old orgies, where the women behaved in a wild and senseless manner in public. When this was forbidden by law, they gathered in secret. When this was also forbidden, they assembled only in thought'; see H. Cardanus, *Offenbarung der Natur* (Basel, 1559), p. DCXLV. Not so long ago it was maintained in Chaibar that after women rubbed themselves with cow's milk and renounced Islam, they flew through the air on their palm sticks. They raped those men whom they spied from above, and after intercourse they blew into their penis until they went mad and roamed around in the desert; see J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1897), p. 158.

7 See O. Lodge, *Babin Den*: midwives' day in Bulgaria, *Man* (1947), p. 85.

8 See R. Stumpfl, *Kultspiele der Germanen als Ursprung des mittelalterlichen Dramas* (Berlin, 1936), p. 22; and E. Fehrle, *Feste und Volksbräuche im Jahreslauf* (Kassel, 1955), p. 99.

9 See also M. Lexer, Volksüberlieferungen aus Kärnten und Steiermark, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* (1855), p. 300.

10 See K. Haiding, Berchtenbräuche im steirischen Ennsbereich, *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (1965), p. 332. Nowadays, the 'Perchtls' are represented only by youths. When I was in Styria during Twelfth Night in January 1977, I saw no female Perchtls, nor was I able to find out whether they were known at all.

11 See P. Rigby, Some Gogo rituals of 'purification', in Leach, E.R. (ed.) *Dialectic in Practical Religion* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 172. Men often turn into women during such rituals. It has been suggested that this observation refutes Gluckman's idea that in these festivals the women are able to express their rebellion by stepping outside the prevailing social order; see E. Norbeck, African rituals of conflict, *American Anthropologist* (1963), pp. 1256, 1270. Of course, one may contend that men will also give up their everyday behaviour and engage in a 'reversal'; see M. Gluckman, The role of sexes in Wiko circumcision ceremonies, in Fortes, M. (ed.) *Social Structure* (London, 1949), p. 153; and V.W. Turner, *The Ritual Process* (Harmondsworth, 1974), pp. 173, 177. However, in an expressly patriarchal society the task inherent in the normal roles of women, although *formally* identical, will still be quite different with respect to *content*. For a brief interval, the women *take over* and dominate the scene while the men go into hiding. There is a recurrent theme in the mythology of many non-Western societies concerning this distinction. The women, it is thought, at one time actually possessed a higher status, but the men cheated them out of it, a fact they now need to hide from the women; see F.E. Williams,

Drama of Orokolo (Oxford, 1940), p. 392; B. Blackwood, *Both Sides of the Buka Passage* (Oxford, 1935), p. 216; C.H. Wedgwood, Report of research in Manam Island, *Oceania* (1934), p. 399; F. Speiser, Die Frau als Erfinderin von Kultgeräten in Melanesien, *Schweizer Zeitschrift für Psychologie* (1944), p. 51; F. Huxley, *Affable Savages* (London, 1956), p. 152; H.I. Hogbin, Pagan religion in a New Guinea village, in Middleton, J. (ed.) *Gods and Ritual* (Garden City, 1967), p. 56; and E. Krämer-Bannow, *Bei kunstsinnigen Kannibalen der Südsee* (Berlin, 1916), p. 269. The fear that one day the social order might be reversed, with the women seizing power while the men are in the bush gathering roots, plays a decisive role in the Kurangara cult of the Unambal; see M. Eliade, *Australian Religions* (Ithaca, 1973), p. 173. This is reminiscent of the anxiety that Aristophanes experienced as he watched the women's feast of the Athenian skira: what if all of a sudden the women were to assume power in the state? Quite possibly, such women's celebrations acted as a safety valve, atoning somewhat for the sin of the men having deprived them of power. For the attacks of Asmat women on their men while the men are in the process of carving the *bis*-pole; see A. Kuruwaip, The Asmat *bis*-pole, *Irian* (1974), p. 51. (I am grateful to Walter Böhning for this reference.) Malinowski gives similar examples in his work on the sexual life of savages, to which I have no access at the moment. For reasons not quite intelligible to me, readers keep stealing it from the library shelves!

12 See M. Gluckman, *Order and Rebellion in Tribal Africa* (London, 1963), pp. 113, 117. See also E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Some collective expressions of obscenity in Africa, in *The Position of Women in Primitive Society* (London, 1965), pp. 78, 82; and R.P. Werbner, Atonement ritual and guardian-spirit possession among Kalanda, *Africa* (1964), p. 216.

13 See M.J. Herskovits, *Dahomey* II (New York, 1938). Similar actions often took place during male initiations. Men acquire a 'vagina' in the same way as the women have a 'penis'. During *ngallunga,* an Australian initiation ritual, the incised penis is called 'vagina'; see G. Róheim, Psychoanalyse und Anthropologie, *Psyche* (1974), p. 1103; or W.E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies Among the Northwest-Central Queensland Aborigines* (Brisbane, 1897), p. 180. In a ceremony called *karwadi,* the Murinbata initiates crawl through the legs of the grown men. In other words, they are born by men *as* men. In the *kunapipi* ritual, the young men are released from a 'male uterus'; see L.R. Hiatt, Secret pseudo-procreation rites among the Australian aborigines, in Hiatt, L.R. and Jayawardena, C. (eds) *Anthropology in Oceania* (Sydney, 1971), p. 85. In his work *Das Zweigeschlechterwesen* (Leipzig, 1928), p. 39, J. Winthuis suggests that a 'double being' arises in this manner, something familiar to the myths of numerous societies, where man and woman are thought to have been one originally, before differentiation set in. Such a myth as an expectation for the end of time can be found not only in modern American feminism. It also occurs in the writings of E. Cleaver, *Soul on Ice* (New York, 1968), p. 178, a man who experienced his sexuality as dominant and who tried to escape it by wishful thinking about an 'ur-mitosis': 'The people within that society are motivated and driven, by the perennial quest for Apocalyptic Fusion, to achieve this

highest identity, or as close as they can come to the perfection of the Unitary Sexual Image. All impediments to realization of this image become sources of alienation, obstacles in the way of the Self to realize its ultimate identity. Since each society projects its own sexual image, the Unitary Society will project a Unitary Sexual Image.' The passage recalls figures from the horror chamber of biologically unified humans, imagined as ideal by the Russian revolutionaries of the nineteenth century. Samjatin criticized their intellectual descendants for the same imagery.

14 See E. Hoffmann-Krayer, Luzerner Akten zum Hexen- und Zauberwesen, *Archives suisses des traditions populaires* (1899), pp. 25, 27.

15 See W. Grosse, Der Blocksberg, in Sieber, F. (ed.) *Harzland-Sagen* (Jena, 1928), p. 266. We are also reminded of the well-known 'witches' burning' during Walpurgis Night in Bohemia and other regions; see J.G. Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful* II (London, 1913), p. 159; and W. Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarstämme* (Berlin, 1875), p. 502. 'Walpern' dwarfs pursued girls dressed as 'witches' in Schmalkalden in Thüringia; see E. Fehrle, *op. cit.*, p. 137; and M. König, Bäuerliche Burschenschaften, *Niederdeutsche Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1938), p. 208. According to people in the northern Harz Mountains, the witches had the task of dancing away the snow on 1 May and during the subsequent twelve days; see J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie* III (Berlin, 1876), p. 307. Walpurgis Night, 'one of the holiest in all pagandom' according to Grimm and called Beltane by the Celts, signalled the beginning of the growing period: the earth sent her new-born up to the surface, while maid servants of the earth mother danced; see A. Mayer, *Erdmutter und Hexe* (München, 1936), p. 45. The designation 'Blocksberg', the place for the witches' dance in the Harz Mountains, is not a name for a specific place. Any mountain may be called that if the witches select it; see W-E. Peuckert, Der Blocksberg, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* (1956), p. 350.

16 Latvian peasants used to call December 'wolf's month'. A goat was sacrificed to the wolves amidst dancing and singing. Hunting was a privilege of the German nobility of the Baltic. The peasants were forbidden to bear firearms or to possess hunting dogs, and they were hard put to control the marauding wolves. Especially in the winter, wolf packs attacked herds of cattle and even broke into the barns. It may have been difficult under such conditions to distinguish between werewolves and real wolves; see H. Strods, Die Einschränkung der Wolfsplage und die Viehzucht Lettlands, *Ethnologia Europaea* (1970), pp. 126, 129. See also O. Clemen, Zum Werwolfaberglauben in Nordwestrussland, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* (1922), p. 142.

17 Ecstatic Latvian sorcerers were called *burwis* or *burtneeks*. In 1640 the minister of Behrsauna bemoaned the fact that nearly one-quarter of the peasants were sorcerers and that even small boys were being tutored in the art for the fee of two pieces of silver; see E. Kurtz, *Heilzauber der Letten in Wort und Tat* (Riga, 1937), pp. 20, 22.

18 A woman declared in 1647 that the Devil had taken her to a swamp which, she said, 'was similar to hell'; A. Johansons, *Der Wassergeist und der Sumpfgeist* (Stockholm, 1968), p. 62. I have not been able to locate Lemburg on contemporary maps of Latvia.

19 Before his transformation, the Estonian werewolf (*libahunt*) rubbed himself with a salve. The warlocks committed all sorts of mischief in the homes and barns of the peasants during Midsummer's Night, the 'middle of the year'; they smeared 'witches' butter' on the wells and gates and tied the grain into sheaves, causing the harvest to fail. The Devil called them to a feast and treated them to food and drink; see M.J. Eisen, *Estnische Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1925), pp. 15, 33. Of the 'dogs of St George' (*püha Jüri Kutsikad*) people said that once a month during the winter they lay down on their bellies and directed a strange howl towards the sky, whereupon the sky fed them; see J. Wiedemann, *Aus dem inneren und äusseren Leben der Ehsten* (St Petersburg, 1876), p. 499. In Courland on the Baltic, people disguised as *miežvilki* or 'barley wolves' (?) and headed by the 'barley wolf father' and the 'barley wolf mother' roamed about even in later times, driving away demons and bringing fertility. In Latvia, these same figures were called *spalvainie mārtini*, the 'hairy Martinians'; see J.A. Janson, *Die lettischen Maskenumzüge* (Riga, 1933), pp. 16, 19, 30, 38; and J. Balys and H. Biezais, Baltische Mythologie, in Haussig, H.W. (ed.) *Götter und Mythen in alten Europa* (Stuttgart, 1973), p. 427. The mistress of the 'rye wolves' raging through the fields of grain was the *Tittenwîf*, a rye wife with pendulous breasts and nipples of glowing tips of iron, which she allowed those who had lost their way to suck; see W. Mannhardt, *Die Korndämonen* (Berlin, 1868), p. 20. There are indications that changing into wolves was also known in Greece. It took place during the Anthesteries, that is, precisely at the time when life once more returned from the swamps; see W.H. Roscher, *Das von der 'Kynanthropie' handelnde Fragment des Marcellus von Side* (Leipzig, 1896), p. 63.

20 See H. von Bruiningk, Der Werwolf in Livland und das letzte im Wendenschen Landgericht und Dörptschen Hofgericht 1692 deshalb stattgehabte Strafverfahren, *Mitteilungen aus der livländischen Geschichte* (1924), p. 163. Other sources indicate that the werewolves usually met in the forest, or on small islands, such as those in the Brasla, a river in Latvia. They were led by a chieftain, who was usually called *Meža tēvs*, 'forest father'. Their time was around New Year, and they usually met during the full moon; see A. Johansons, Kultverbände und Verwandlungskulte, *Tidskrift för Nordisk Folkminnesforskning* (1974), p. 155. In northern France, remnants of such rites have been preserved to this day, such as the celebration of the 'green wolf' of Jumièges on the banks of the Seine or in Montreuil-sur-Mer, all of them orgiastic in character; see C. Gaignebet, *Le folklore obscène des enfants* (Paris, 1974), pp. 41, 61; as well as F. Herrmann, Zu einem verbreiteten Verwandlungsrequisit europäischer Kultbünde, *Tribus* (1961), p. 112. In the sixteenth century, a werewolf was caught by the peasants in Masuren and taken to the court of Duke Albrecht in Königsberg, The man was unkempt and sparsely clad and apparently resembled a wolf more than a human. He confessed bluntly that twice a year he turned into this animal, 'first shortly before the holy Christmas days, then around the day of John the Baptist [see note 19]. At the same time of the year, nature drove him to become wild and to associate with the wolves in the forest; however, he felt quite faint and suffered from a sudden fright before he grew wolf's hair and his shape began to change'; see M.

Toeppen, *Aberglauben aus Masuren* (Danzig, 1867), p. 31. This werewolf was treated rather mildly. Another one, also caught by peasants in 1541 near Patauium, fared much worse. 'Finally the people caught him with a great deal of trouble. He tried to convince them that he was really a wolf, only his skin was turned inside-out, being rough inside. Thereupon some people, even more foolish than the wretched man, hacked off his arms and legs to see if this was so. When they found that it was not the case, they took him to a physician so he could be cured, but he died a few days later'; quoted in A. Beurmann, *Der Aberglaube der Jäger* (Hamburg, 1961), p. 123. In 1557 Philipp Melanchthon reported a letter he had received from a reliable source, a *vir dignissimus* ('a most worthy man') from Livland. According to this letter, a man executed for sorcery confessed to having roamed the forests with other werewolves during the days between Christmas and Twelfth Night, mauling cattle; see O. Höfler, *Verwandlungskulte, Volkssagen und Mythen* (Wien, 1973), p. 146. 'He runs around like someone wearing a wolf's skin at Christmas,' says a well-known Polish proverb; see G. Bilfinger, *Untersuchungen über die Zeitrechnung der alten Germanen* II (Stuttgart, 1901), p. 71.

21 Quoted in J. Klapper, *Schlesische Volkskunde* (Stuttgart, 1952), p. 111. That witches will prevent the milk from flowing in cows and lactating mothers is a common accusation, recurring frequently in witchcraft trials; see, for example, E. Hermann, *Die Hexen von Baden-Baden* (Karlsruhe, n.d.), p. 11. Witches and warlocks of that kind were often called *Lachsner,* derived from *lachsnen,* 'doing magic', originally 'to cure'.

22 C. Ginzburg (*op. cit.,* p. 4) interprets the word *sbilfoni* as meaning *folletti.* According to Langenscheidt's dictionary, the term encompasses the meaning of 'fool' all the way to 'goblin', 'imp' and the like.

23 See J. Grimm, *op. cit.,* pp. 898, 905. When a Serbian witch (*vjeschtitza*) falls asleep, her 'soul' flutters away in the shape of a butterfly (J. Grimm, *op. cit.,* p. 901). Later, after 1600, the statement often reads, 'in soul and body'; see C. Ginzburg, *op. cit.,* p. 101. In the course of the seventeenth century, the Holy Inquisition increasingly diabolized the Benandanti. The *Springer* ('Jumpers') or *Werfer* ('Throwers') fared similarly. This was a religious movement that started around 1590 in Krain and spread into Lower Styria. Its adherents carried out ecstatic dances 'in the late hours of the evening at the time of the new moon on high mountains, in the forest, or in the valleys, in among the bushes, by the light of a burning lantern or the pale luminosity of rotting wood'. In the same way as the famous Camisards, who came later, they rolled in convulsions on the ground and had visions. Witchcraft trials became especially prevalent in the regions where this movement flourished; see F. Byloff, *op. cit.,* p. 16.

24 The *Perchten* were often divided into handsome and ugly ones; see I. von Zingerle, *Sitten, Bräuche und Meinungen des Tiroler Volkes* (Innsbruck, 1857), p. 88. The division may have had its origin in the struggle of two such groups. The latter, who often jumped around in fetters, were in most places forbidden by the authorities in the course of the nineteenth century. In the minutes of an interrogation from the year 1791 in Kolber of the District of

Rosenheim, we read that two men had the temerity 'on 5 January during the night to run around in devil's costumes as so-called Perchtl, and it was the sacristan who had handed out the garments'. One of the culprits was arrested, and the sexton was given an hour in the stocks, where his wife, willing to sacrifice herself, also spent some time in his stead; see H.W. Zipperer, *Das Haberfeldtreiben* (Weimar, 1938), p. 147. It thus seems that the warlocks of Livonia, as well as the *malandanti* and the 'ugly Perchts', represented those beings which during the days 'between the times' threatened life and fertility and therefore needed to be combated and finally driven away. In his work, *Contra insulam vulgi opinionem de grandine et tonitruis,* written in the ninth century, Agobard, Archbishop of Lyon, reports that the people believed in the existence of a demonic society 'which stole grain in large quantities, transporting it on ships through the air to the fabled land of Magonia'; see G. Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels* I (Leipzig, 1869), p. 299; and P. Riché, *La vie quotidienne dans l'empire carolingien* (Paris, 1973), p. 217. In more recent times, such a society's place is taken up by a *single* demonic being. In southern Moravia, for instance, young girls made a 'Morana' from a bundle of straw. She was carried through the village on a pole, later thrown into the water and pelted with stones until she sank. If no one was able to hit her, she was fished out of the river and burned on a meadow; see W. Liungman, *Traditionswanderungen Rhein-Jenissei* II (Helsinki, 1945), pp. 273, 288. The name Morana hides the root *mer,* 'press', 'crush' and later 'kill'; see F. Ranke, Mahr und Mahrt, in Bächtold-Stäubli, H. (ed.) *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* V (Berlin, 1933), column 1508. The origins of Morgan, the fairy of the King Arthur cycle can be traced to the Old Irish Morrigane or Morrigu, a wild goddess of war resembling the furies, who flew through the air and brought death. She appears later as the guide of the *Tuatha De Danann*; see J. Markale, *La femme celte* (Paris, 1977), p. 149; and O. Löhmann, Die Entstehung der Tannhäusersage, *Fabula* (1960), p. 238. In addition, we get the impression that originally these fairy-like beings were also in charge of the initiation of girls. Many legends tell of orphaned girls and women being taken to a cave or a mountain, where for a number of years they had to perform a variety of services, such as stoking the fire under the pots and other typical women's tasks; see, for example, J.A. Heyl, *Volkssagen, Bräuche und Meinungen aus Tirol* (Brixen, 1897), p. 35. The fairy-tale about Frau Holle is well known, and similar traits also appear in later witchcraft trials. Thus J.C. Frommann, *Tractatus de fascinatione* (Nürnberg, 1675), p. 756, reports two young girls of Silesia who, obeying the Devil's instructions, left their stiff and senseless bodies, while they themselves took part in a merry banquet of *strigas* on a lovely meadow assuming, however the role of servant girls, for they had to spin, grind, wash and scrub. In the meantime their bodies, lying at home in bed, performed the corresponding movements.

25 See C. Ginzburg, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 36. In the Harz Mountains a struggle was carried out in the past which ended in the defeat of a furry devil, who was then tied up and carried away as a weak old man. On the third Sunday before Easter two youths, one representing 'summer', the other 'winter', fought each other.

They would hold each other under the cold water of the brook for such a long time that, occasionally, there were fatal accidents; see W. Liungman, *Der Kampf zwischen Sommer und Winter* (Helsinki, 1941), pp. 69, 18. An old man wearing a fur coat and called Mamurius Veturius used to be whipped out of town in ancient Rome on 14 March; see T.C. Worsfold, *The History of the Vestal Virgins of Rome* (London, 1934), p. 41. In the later Middle Ages, representatives of the north side and the south side of the city of Pisa fought each other on a bridge over the Arno, and this custom continued into Baroque times with the weavers and the dyers as antagonists; see W. Liungman, *op. cit.*, p. 151. A custom performed during a feast of Henry VIII during the period between Christmas and Twelfth Night of 1515 appears even more archaic: 'Eight wyldemen, all apparayled in green mosse with sleved sylke, with ugly weapons and terrible visages there foughte with eight knyghtes'; quoted in R. Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 71.

26 Calling the witches *larvae* may have its origin in the Roman spirits of the dead, which were also termed *nocturnae*; see E. Jobbé-Duval, *Les morts malfaisants* (Paris, 1924), p. 28. The person wearing the mask (*larvatus*) was considered by the Romans to be possessed by these *larvae*; see K. Meuli, Altrömischer Maskenbrauch, *Museum Helveticum* (1955), p. 220. The executioners whose task it was to despatch the gladiators who were unwilling to fight, and who represented the beings of the lower world, were disguised and were also named *larvae*; see F. Altheim, Griechische Götter im alten Rom (Giessen, 1930), p. 57. 'Witches' of the sixteenth century reported of the sabbat that they always wore *laruen,* i.e. 'masks', there, but this word may refer to a survival of those masks which were worn by Old Nordic sorcerers in order to remain invisible during their flights. These masks were designated as *grîma* or *trollsham*; see J. Grimm, *op. cit.* II, p. 873. *Laruaria* was a general term for disguised devil dancers and similar characters. According to the *Edictum Rothari* of the Langobards, of the year 643, it was a punishable act to kill a woman 'as a striga, who is called a mask'. Originally, *masca* may have been a word meaning a disguised walking dead, who consumed the 'life substance' of people. In early Anglo-Saxon glossaries *masca* is equated with *grîma* and *egesgrîma*; see K. Meuli, Maske und Maskereien, in Bächtold-Stäubli, H. (ed.) *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* V (Berlin, 1933), column 1759.

27 To be more exact, the transported ones were not dead; they lived a kind of 'half existence'. For instance, it was maintained that Emperor Frederick did not die in the Kyffhäuser mountain, but that he was *lost.* The 'dying into the mountain', in other words, need not to be taken literally in such cases; see E. Hartmann, Der Ahnenberg, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1937), p. 203; as well as G. Neckel, *Walhall* (Dortmund, 1913), p. 65; and J. Kroll, *Himmel und Hölle* (Leipzig, 1932), p. 448.

28 R. Brandstetter, *Renward Cysat* (Luzern, 1909), p. 40. Renward Cysat, town clerk of Lucerne, reports of those 'flying souls' that 'they are very kindly disposed towards people; during the night, they come into the houses of those who speak well of them and believe in them. There they start a fire in the kitchen stove, cook and eat, and then leave again without causing any damage;

of the food, nothing seems to be missing.' Clearly there was a distinct difference between those who were carried along in the Wild Hunt against their will and those who took part voluntarily in such flights. 'And where one encountered a person of that kind, he was highly honoured and considered much more pious than other people, reverent, and almost holy. Within my memory, there was an old married couple here in this city who had this call, and who were venerated by the simple folk for spending time in such exalted company' (R. Brandstetter, *op. cit.*, p. 41). Of those swept along without their consent, it was often maintained that they appeared confused afterwards; they felt dizzy whenever they remembered the experience, or even that from then on they could feel neither joy nor sorrow; see K. von Leoprechting, *Aus dem Lechrain* (München, 1855), p. 36. Persons who on the Scottish islands had been carried along by the *Falbh air an t-Sluagh*, and then returned, were described as 'pale and awestricken'; see J.L. Campbell and T.H. Hall, *Strange Things* (London, 1968), p. 267. About a woman who returned from a *bergtagning*, i.e. who had been transported into the mountain by fairies, it was often said that, 'She returned, but since then she has been strange'; see E. Hartmann, *Die Trollvorstellungen in den Sagen und Märchen der skandinavischen Völker* (Stuttgart, 1936), p. 100.

29 See A. Lutz, *Jünglings- und Gesellenverbände im alten Zürich und im alten Winterthur* (Affoltern, 1957), p. 87.

30 If such youths behaved too wildly during the Renaissance, they were frequently put in jail, or they had to pay heavy fines. This happened to fifteen young citizens who during carnival time in 1532 danced naked through the streets and disported themselves in an unseemly manner 'as if rioting'; see H.G. Wackernagel, Vom Totentanze in Basel, *Schweizer Archiv für Volkskunde* (1936), p. 204. Perhaps these young men were nothing more than the ancestors of modern 'streakers'. Others, however, disguised themselves in an archaic manner, as we read in the report from the year 1586 of a scandalized citizen of Zürich by the name of Ludwig Lavater, 'Some wanton youths put on devil's costumes or shrouds and scare people, for simple folk may think that it is the evil spirit or some other monster that appeared to them in human shape'; quoted in J. Schacher von Inwil, *Das Hexenwesen im Kanton Luzern* (Luzern, 1947), p. 8. It is to be assumed that the *danse macabre* of the late Middle Ages was also an actualization of the Wild Hunt of the dead during the plague. In such dances death, playing the fiddle or the pipe, led the roundelay of the dead at midnight during Twelfth Night and 'overcame with his appearance the laws both of the Church and of the world', as we read in a text about the dance of death from Würzburg, written in the fourteenth century; see H. Rosenfeld, *Der mittelalterliche Totentanz* (Köln, 1968), pp. 49, 313.

31 In 1459 a woman accused of being a witch at Andermatt near St Gotthard confessed that 'she turned into a wolf and mauled one of the cows of Jost Bennet'; quoted in Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 573.

32 See L. Zehnder, *Volkskundliches in der älteren schweizerischen Chronik* (Basel, 1976), p. 313. H.G. Wackernagel (*op. cit.*, p. 258) mentions that in the spring of 1525, during the Peasant Wars, a carnival carriage, the 'ornate

carriage', was carried along in Breisgau. He also emphasizes that the attack of the Swiss on Einsiedeln, as well as the outbreak of the well-known Trinkelstier War, where the warriors of the Valais attacked wearing cattle masks, took place on 6 January (G.H. Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, p. 240). The 'Saupannerzug', a 'campaign of rebuke' fought in Welschland in 1477, also started as the result of a carnival; see K. Meuli (1933), column 1819. The *Haberer* are said to have played a major role in the peasant uprising of 1705 in Upper Bavaria; and the 'Smith of Kochel', who became known because of a painting Defregger did of him, was rumoured to have been the leader of such a gang.

33 See Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 405. In the seventh century Langobardic mummers called 'Walapauz', who probably represented the ghosts of fallen warriors, were deprived of their privilege which gave them the right to rob and assault the population; see K. Meuli, *op. cit.*, column 1757.

34 Quoted in E. Hoffmann-Krayer, *Kleine Schriften zur Volkskunde* (Basel, 1946), p. 153; see also J.R. Dieterich, Eselritt und Dachabdecken, *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* (1902), p. 103; L. Feichtenbeiner, *Altbayrischer Bauernbrauch im Jahreslauf* (München, 1938), p. 11; K. Meuli, Hauswüstung in Irland, *Schweizer Volkskunde* (1951), p. 17; E. Buss, Volksjustiz der Nachtbuben im Kanton Bern, *Schweizer Archiv für Volkskunde* (1906), p. 162; and H.E. Cromberg, *Die Knabenschaftsstatuten der Schweiz* (Winterthur, 1970), p. 122. In 1395, the 'ghosts' held a trial in Oetenbach Convent in Zurich 'and broke the doors and the roof of the nuns'; see K. Meuli, *op. cit.*, column 1768.

35 G. Queri, *Bauernerotik und Bauernfehme in Oberbayern* (München, 1911), p. 74, quoted in R. Wolfram, *Schwerttanz und Männerbund* (Kassel, 1936), p. 227. As late as 1886, the *Haberer* called out at night:

Mir san zwar heut sehiba nit z'nein,
Und that'n viel liaba a ganz dahoam bleim.
Aba wenn hoit da Kaisa Karl sogt:
Jatz machts Enk am Weg,
So müassma glei auf und aussi
Über Berg und Thoi,
Und Wassa und Steg.
A Nieada bewaffn't
Ois wiea beinara Schlacht,
Und a so müassama durchwandan
Dö finstere Nacht . . .

We are not really willing tonight
And would rather stay home,
But if Emperor Karl says,
Now you start on your way,
We have to get up and sally
Over mountain and dale,
And water and path.
Each one of us armed
As if for battle,
And in this manner we will travel
Through the dark night . . .

They then finished their riotous activities with the words:

So Leit', für heunt is jatzt gor,
Jatz gebts enk in d'Ruah,
Mir Hobera müassn jetz
Schöi wieda an Untaschberg zua.

Now, you people, all is over for today,
Go back to sleep,
For now we, the Haberer, need
Forthwith to return to the Unterberg.

It is not difficult to realize that this is the Wild Hunt, with its leader, Emperor Karl of the Unterberg, standing for the Wild Hunter and Master of the Dead. Some Haberer actually said of themselves that they were the 'Night Hunt'; see R. Wolfram, *op. cit.*, p. 230. The carryings-on of the Haberer had their counterpart in the French *charivari* of the wild hunter called Hellequin. The following is the description of such an event from the early fourteenth century:

Puis faisoient une crierie
Onques telle ne fut oïe
Li uns montret son cul au vent
Li autre rompet un auvent
L'un cassoit fenestres et huis
L'autre getoit le sel ou puis
L'un getoit le bren au visage
Trop estoient lès et sauvaige
Es tetes orent barboères
Avec eus portoient deux bières
Ou il avoit gent trop avables
Pour chanter la chanson au diable.

Then they started up a clamour
Such as had not been heard before
Some of them turned their arses to the wind
Another one smashed a roof
One broke windows and doors
Another one scattered salt where he could
Most of them were offensive and wild
Their heads edged with beards
They carried two biers with them
The people on those were too affable
To sing the song to the Devil.

Once more, in different words, we hear of the tearing off of the roof, the breaking of windows and doors, and of hairy and bearded masks. Occasionally, there was manslaughter or murder 'under the cover of night', as we read in a fifteenth-century decision of the Ecclesiastical Council, and measures were therefore taken against the *charivari*; see O. Driesen, *Der Ursprung des Harlekin* (Berlin, 1904), pp. 106, 121. The term *wütend* (wild) as an adjective for the Wild Hunt cannot be derived directly from Wotan. However, the southern Germanic name for the god, as well as *wuotigez*, 'furious' or 'wild',

contain the Old Norse root *odr*, 'violent, stormy movement', but also 'passion' or 'poetry', related, longer ago, to the Latin *vātēs*, 'singer inspired by the divine', and the Old Irish *fáith*, 'poet'. The oldest record for *wuotigez her*, 'Wild Hunt', can be found in the *Song of Roland*, written in the twelfth century by the priest Conrad, where Jesus's arrest by the soldiers is described in the words,

> Er lie sich vinden ane wer,
> do daz wütende her
> also dort chom mit schalle her.
> *He allowed himself to be found without defending himself*
> *when the Wild Hunt*
> *came there with great noise.*

See J. Vonbun and R. Beitl, *Die Sagen Vorarlbergs* (Feldkirch, 1950), p. 230. According to F. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (Berlin, 1967), p. 870, an Old High German concept of *Wuotanes heri* has been located.

36 See W. Liungman, *Traditionswanderungen Euphrat-Rhein* II (Helsinki, 1938), p. 801. If a man was killed who was wearing the Percht's devil mask, he could not be buried in the cemetery; see M. Andree-Eysn, *Volkskundliches aus dem Bayrisch-österreichischen Alpengebiet* (Braunschweig, 1910), p. 163; and A. Tille, *Die Geschichte der deutschen Weihnacht* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 14. Legends were told of actors who impersonated the devil in medieval mystery plays, who later had some misfortune befall them, such as dying on the gallows or committing suicide; see R. Warning, *Funktion und Struktur* (München, 1974), p. 76.

37 In the past, it was said in the region of Hanover that at certain times, when 'Rôds or Herodis with his warriors' roamed the land, everything should be locked and barricaded, for otherwise the Wild Hunt would rage through the house; see A. Kuhn, Hackelberg-Rôds und sein Hund Alke, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* (1853), p. 100. Contrary to all custom, some barns in the Odenwald used to have two doors, so that after entering, the Wild Hunt could also exit; see O. Huth, Der Durchzug des Wilden Heeres, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1935), p. 205.

38 L. Rütimeyer, *Ur-Ethnographie der Schweiz* (Basel, 1924), p. 365, and Über Masken und Maskengebräuche im Lötschental, Kanton Wallis, *Globus* (1907), p. 204; K. Meuli, Bettelumzüge im Totenkultus, Opferritual und Volksbrauch, *Schweizer Archiv für Volkskunde* (1927), p. 6; O. Höfler, Der germanische Totenkult und die Sagen vom Wilden Heer, *Oberdeutsche Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1936), p. 36; as well as G. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran* (Uppsala, 1938), p. 329. It appears that even the fools' associations had roots of this nature. St Lieven's Guild, which had considerable political influence in Ghent, organized nightly processions during the height of the Middle Ages, where its members, the *woestards*, plundered and robbed; see R. Stumpfl, *op. cit.*, pp. 343, 394. During seventeenth-century mystery plays, presenting the life of John the Baptist, the 'devils', who had to torture the soul

of Herod, as well as the 'Sarrasins', belonging to his retinue, marauded in the homesteads and markets during their 'promenades'. In 1663 these abuses, much feared and hated by the population, were finally forbidden; see L. Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères* II (Paris, 1880), p. 77. In a demonized condition, such masked individuals were capable of extraordinary performances. Gilg Tschudi of Glarus, writing in 1538, tells of the 'Stopfer' of the high country of Bünden that 'they perform high jumps and strange things, and they say that in truth they would never be able to jump that high and far after taking off their armor and completing their undertaking.'; see K. Meuli, *Schweizer Masken* (Zürich, 1943), p. 17; and R. Wolfram, *Die Volkstänze in Österreich* (Salzburg, 1951), p. 45. In Igls in the Tyrol twelve men wearing devil's masks suddenly observed a thirteenth dancer among them who, as if enraged, jumped over the column of the village fountain, something no mortal could possibly have accomplished; see J.A. Heyl, *op. cit.*, p. 107. That all of a sudden the Devil sometimes stood on the stage himself is also reported of medieval miracle plays. And there are tales of mummers stopped frozen in their tracks because a train of real demons came rushing toward them; see W-E. Peuckert, Der Schodüvelstein, in Lang, W. (ed.) *Von fremden Völkern und Kulturen* (Düsseldorf, 1955), p. 129; and G. Dumézil, *Le problème des centaures* (Paris, 1929), p. 49. In the villages at the northern edge of the Western Karawanks a rule still prevails today that there must never be more than eleven mummers, for the twelfth would 'go up into the air'; see L. Kretzenbacher, Freveltanz und 'Überzähliger', *Carinthia* (1954), p. 859. It may be an allusion to the understanding that true demons cannot only run, they can also fly. The food-offering for the Percht was placed on the roof in the Tyrol; see A. Schipflinger, Die Percht im Brixental, *Wiener Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1939), p. 28. An old woman from Gastein told of a Percht runner who had jumped from the well up on a roof. From there, he bounded upward and remained drifting in the air with exceeding pleasure, until a priest was called to the scene, who with his blessing put a sudden end to the man's floating; see V. Waschnitius, Perht, Holda und verwandte Gestalten, *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Wien, 1914), p. 58. It seems inappropriate, especially in view of these accounts of witnesses, to conclude from 'flying' of this nature that the legends about the Wild Hunt do not deal with ancient customs, as suggested by F. Ranke, in Das Wilde Heer und die Kultbünde der Germanen, *Niederdeutsche Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1940), p. 6.

39 See L. Radermacher, Aus altchristlicher Predigt, in *Beiträge zur Volkskunde aus dem Gebiet der Antike* (Wien, 1918), p. 114. The author took this information from the 'Acts of Timotheus'. W.F. Otto (*Das Gefühl des Überweltlichen* (München, 1932), p. 109) writes that the women who during the Boeotian Agrionies were unable to flee from the priests of Dionysus, were killed by them.

40 See L. Weniger, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 67. The word for Titans may be derived from *títanos*, 'gypsum'.

41 See S. Azombo, *Séquence et signification des cérémonies d'initiation So* (Lille, 1971), pp. 284, 295; as well as F.B. Welbourn and D.K. Kiprono, Keyo

initiation, *Journal of Religion in Africa* (1968), p. 223. The initiates of the Monumbo-Papuas crawl through a door (the vagina of the mother of the tribe) into a hut (her body). From then on, they are obliged to steal or secretly watch the women while they bathe; see H. Reschke, *Linguistische Untersuchungen der Mythologie und Initiation in Neuguinea* (Münster, 1935), pp. 90, 129. During their stay in the wilderness as 'spirit children', the initiates of the Bushong rape any woman that happens to come near them. Formerly, any woman who saw the initiates after they disappeared in a subterranean tunnel, before their rebirth, was killed; see J. Vansina, Initiation rituals of the Bushong, *Africa* (1955), pp. 142, 147. Usually, matters were much less violent; see for instance, J.C. Buxton, Initiation and bead-sets in western Mandari, in Beattie, J. and Lienhardt, R.G. (eds) *Studies in Social Anthropology* (Oxford, 1975), p. 319. In Dahomey, children were separated from their mothers at a tender age ('Woman, what business do I have with you?') and raised far away from their native village, in order to give them an entirely new personality. As a result, they were barely recognized later by their parents; see S. Diamond, Plato and the definition of the primitive, in Diamond, S. (ed.) *Primitive Views of the World* (New York, 1964), p. 173.

42 See A. Alföldi, *Die Struktur des voretruskischen Römerstaates* (Heidelberg, 1974), p. 122. Similar reports are extant about the initiates of the Lucanes ('wolf men'), a branch of the Samnites. According to Justin, they lived in the forests at the onset of puberty, and their forays represented a threat to the people of the region. The 'wild people' of the Shona, however, who also live in the wilderness and sometimes attack or kill people in the settled areas, are of a different kind. They are the mentally ill, who are permanently expelled from society; see M. Gelfand, Psychiatric disorders as recognized by the Shona, in Kiev, A. (ed.) *Magic, Faith, and Healing* (Glencoe, 1964), p. 165.

43 Quoted in H.G. Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, p. 235. In 1555, the Swedish Archbishop Olaus Magnus wrote of the Prussian and Baltic werewolves that in the winter they would gather at nightfall, would wildly penetrate into beer cellars and 'would drink a number of kegs of beer or mead'; see O. Höfler, *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen* (Frankfurt/Main, 1934), p. 23. Break-ins at beer or wine cellars were frequently blamed on witches or gangs of youths. A statement of P. de Lancre, in *Wunderbahrliche Geheimnisse der Zauberey* (n.p., 1630), p. 79, indicates that a clear distinction was made at the time of the Renaissance between the werewolf *illness* (lycanthropy) and the werewolf *institution*: 'There does exist an illness, and those suffering from it are called werewolves (*insania lupina*) but these people appear as werewolves only in their own eyes, while the sorcerers are werewolves also in the eyes of other people.' In Naga society also, persons affected by lycanthropy are strictly separated from true were-leopards; see J.H. Hutton, Leopard-men in the Naga hills, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (1920), p. 50. In contrast to the belief in the flights to the witches' sabbat, the idea that people can change into animals has remained alive in some regions of Germany; see A. Bach, *Deutsche Volkskunde* (Heidelberg, 1960), p. 293. Mr Pintschovius of the Helms-Museum in Harburg, who has for years investigated sorcerer beliefs in

the region of Lüneburg, was kind enough to inform me that occasionally, he has encountered such convictions in that part of the country. Of a representative sample of university students from ten West African countries, seventy-two per cent believed that humans could change into were-animals; see G. Lischke, Bericht über den XI. Kongress der Parapsychological Association, *Zeitschrift für Parapsychologie* (1968), p. 93; also W. Brüggemann and H.P. Duerr, Sunt homines nostri oder Wie 30 akademische Seelen vor der Auferstehung und dem ewigen Leben gerettet wurden, wohingegen 70 andere denselben wohl anheimfallen müssen, *Forum Academicum* (1967), p. 16. P. van Paassen writes in *Days of Our Years* (London, 1939), p. 235, quoted in R. Eisler, *Man Into Wolf* (London, 1951), p. 147, 'We had a werewolf scare in the winter of 1930 through the disappearance of a farmer named Richard who had a bad reputation as a sorcerer, blighting the corn through his evil eye. He prepared love-philtres. Upon his death there were found in his cabin bottles, various herbs, magic stones, amulets with "druidic" inscriptions, the head of a calf, assorted powders, waxen manikins labelled with the names of various persons in the neighbourhood long deceased, dried salamanders, a pair of leather gloves. There was one statuette with the name of a prominent landowner with a pin traversing its throat from end to end. The landowner died of cancer of the larynx. Other manikins had pins stuck in the stomach, backs, heads. He had been paid for these magic practices by estranged relatives of the prospective victims. The man was believed to walk by night in the shape of a wolf.'

44 F. von Zimmern, *Zimmerische Chronik* IV (Freiburg, 1882), p. 122. The one who had called out was a warrior, whose head had been split in half down to his neck in a war. He told the night watchman that now he journeyed about with the Wild Hunt. 'The watchman went home, became ill and lay down. He remained confined to his bed for sixteen whole weeks.'

45 It is sometimes quite difficult to distinguish whether we are dealing with the rampages of demonic people or with an elaboration of the belief in hordes of demons. Praetorius, for instance, supplies such a contraversial report when he writes, 'In our Thuringia it happens quite often, but especially around holy Christmas and during carnival time, and not only in the fields, which is the customary place, but also in the towns and the villages, that one may behold a rather considerable number of ghosts, deceptions, and demonic delusions. Among these, the faces of the dead as well as of the living have been recognized in large numbers. Sometimes they appear as a squadron of riders, then again as a troop of musketeers, the way they roam or march around. . . . It is said that a respectable looking old man with grey hair whom they call the loyal Eckhard, heads their march. He has a stick, which he moves to and fro. He warns the people who gather around from their inborn curiosity and love of the unusual that they should clear the road or step aside, or better even to go home, lest they might incur unnecessary misfortune by their boldness or recklessness'; M.J. Praetorius, *Blockes-Berges Verrichtung* (Leipzig, 1668), p. 15. He adds that the dwelling place of this ghostly assemblage is supposed to be the Hörsel mountain and that Eckhard (we are reminded of Lady Venus's dwarf) is 'the doorkeeper or guard of Venus Mountain'. On the basis of this quotation, one

might be inclined to picture a throng of demons, yet, one would hesitate soon after, when the author proceeds to speak of the 'carnival army (which is the way the common people are wont to call the Wild Hunt), which in early times, every year on Shrove Thursday, used to pass through Eissleben and other localities of the county' (M.J. Praetorius, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 27). An Eckhard similar to the one above also appears in the 'spring plays' at the height of the Middle Ages in connection with Morgan le Fay. In the *Jeu de la feuillée* ('Play About the Arbor'), written by the troubadour Adam de la Halle in 1262, which starts at dusk, a table is set for Morgan le Fay and her companions. Then Croquesos appears on the scene, the servant of Hielekin, the leader of the Wild Hunt, who is supposed to bring an amorous message to the fairy; see H. Kindermann, *Theatergeschichte Europas* I (Salzburg, 1957), p. 403. According to the Norman historian, Ordericus Vitalis, on 1 January 1091 a priest saw this Wild Hunt, which he called the 'familia Hennequin'; see O. Driesen, *op. cit.*, p. 27. To this day, the Wild Hunt is called 'chasse Hennequin' in Normandy, and will-o'-the-wisp is referred to as 'arliquins' in the Champagne region.

Chapter 5 The Bedevilling of the Senses, especially those of Women

1 Christian ideology was opposed from the start to any kind of 'Dionysian' or 'ecstatic' experience. To this day, 'sober analysis' is the favourite slogan of critics of a positivistic or Marxist leaning. As to Christian attitudes, a good example is provided by the appeal of Clemens of Alexandria to Dionysus, *Le Protreptique* (Paris, 1949), p. 188: 'Come now, insensible one, but no longer leaning on your thyrsus, or crowned by ivy. Reject your turban, reject your fawn's skin, become healthy of spirit. I shall show you the Word, and the mysteries of the Word, to use your images. Here is the mountain beloved of God; it is not the setting for the presentation of tragedies such as Cithaeron; instead it is consecrated to the dramas of truth; it is a mountain of sobriety, shaded by the forest of purity; you will not see there the bacchic cavorting of the sisters of Semele, the one "struck by lightning", of the maenads who receive their impure initiation in the dispensing of sensuality; but instead, the daughters of God, pure lambs who reveal the venerable mysteries of the Word and who form a choir replete with chastity.' A society where stresses and conflicts are to a large extent piled on the head of a scapegoat, or which for whatever reason demands a large amount of renunciation of drives, would hardly be disposed favourably toward mind-altering drugs. These substances, as the Indians are wont to say, tend to 'shake up' those attitudes which we consider socially self-evident. L.B. Boyer, R.M. Boyer and H.W. Basehart, Shamanism and peyote use among the Apaches of the Mescalero Indian Reservation, in Harner, M.J. (ed.) *Hallucinogens and Shamanism* (New York, 1973), pp. 56, 61, demonstrate the point by citing the Mescalero Apaches. The latter consider peyote 'evil' because it will reveal 'antisocial impulses' in a manner unacceptable to them. Many people with whom I have discussed the

matter reject the use of drugs for exactly this reason. They are afraid – and possibly justly so – that drugs would crack the armour of their identity, so that their 'innermost being' would gush forth uncontrollably.

2 See Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum* (edited by A. Hilka) (Bonn, 1933), paragraph 271.

3 See also N.O. Brown, *Love's Body* (New York, 1966), p. 47.

4 A. Gehlen, in *Urmensch und Spätkultur* (Frankfurt, 1964), p. 119, maintains that, 'In our times, we have lost the feeling for the possibility that there might be experiences which cannot be anticipated by the imagination.' As we know, Norbert Elias outlined the process of internalization. What nowadays is termed 'critical self-reflection' is another illness which considers itself therapy, according to R. Spaemann, Philosophie als institutionalisierte Naivität, in Baumgartner, H.M. (ed.) *Philosophie, Gesellschaft, Planung* (München, 1974), p. 97. Because of its irrelevance to our lives and our experiences, it has produced such a loathing that the now fashionable turn towards a science that is relatively free of theory becomes entirely intelligible. See A. Naess, Warum Wissenschaft nicht auch für Anarchisten?, *Unter dem Pflaster liegt der Strand* (1976), p. 40. The typical 'academic perspective' seems a product of such 'internalization', where the manner in which scientific conflicts are settled, be it in the Starnberg circle or the Popperian merry-go-round, is dignified as a model for the settling of social conflicts of interest; see, for example, H.F. Spinner, Thesen zum Thema Reichweite und Relevanz der Wissenschaftstheorie für die Einzelwissenschaften, in *Bericht über den I. Kongress Kritische Psychologie in Marburg* II (Köln, 1977), p. 568. See also K. Aram, *Magie und Zauberei in der alten Welt* (Berlin, 1927), p. 311.

5 See F. Bardon, *Diane de Poitiers* (Paris, 1963), p. 7.

6 See A. Becker, *Pfälzer Volkskunde* (Bonn, 1925), p. 122. In and around Mannheim, brash young children are still called 'Glenni Elwedridsch', 'a little one kicked by an elf'.

7 This is an idea especially attractive to Marxists; see, for example, J.D. Bernal, *Science in History* I (New York, 1954), p. 46; or G. Thomson, *Forschungen zur altgriechischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin, 1974), p. 16. They have so appropriated the Renaissance idea of humans as *homo faber* that they need to exert considerable effort even to imagine a different type of person. For instance, according to two Marxist authors, 'A man can only speak meaningfully of something that he can grasp. He interacts with it [nature] by taking possession of it and changing it to his own ends'; see E. Romøren and T.I. Romøren, Marx und die Ökologie, *Kursbuch* 33 (October, 1973), p. 176. This perspective is simply the 'materialistic' variant of the idealistic epistemological model that can best be summarized in Kant's famous thesis, 'He who wants to come to know the world, needs to create it first within himself'; see K. Löwith, Vicos Grundsatz: verum et factum convertuntur, in *Aufsätze und Vorträge* (Stuttgart, 1971); as well as G. de Santillana, *Reflections on Men and Ideas* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 210. The answer of a modern Kiowa Indian to this is, 'You say that I *use* the land, and I reply, yes it is true; but it is not the first truth. The first truth is that I *love* the land; I see that it is beautiful; I delight in

it; I am alive in it'; taken from N.S. Momaday, A first American views his land, *National Geographic* (July, 1976), p. 18. The fact that the Indians did not in the European sense of the word use (i.e. plunder) their land, or rather the land of which they were a part, was actually considered by the White intruders to justify their seizing it. 'This world, they added, belongs to us. God, who denied the original inhabitants the gift to acquire civilization, thus destined them from the start to inevitable annihilation. The true owners of this continent are those who know how to make use of its riches'; A. de Tocqueville, *In der nordamerikanischen Wildnis* (Stuttgart, 1969), p. 34. The Indian experienced himself as one creature of nature among many others, and not as their master and user. W. Müller in Sprache und Naturauffassung bei den Sioux, *Unter dem Pflaster liegt der Strand* (1977), p. 162, traced the 'accepting' attitude of the Indians towards the world back to their language which he termed 'pathocentric': 'The predominance of neutral forms shapes the Dakota language in a *decidedly passive mould.* As soon as the mass of roots consists of words describing a condition, the tongue acquires a passive character.' In contrast to Whorf, Müller draws attention to the analogy between the peculiarities of the linguistic structure of Dakota and other ranges of the respective culture. Concerning the disastrous over-emphasis in our civilization of the 'creative' and 'labouring' type of person; see also L. Mumford, *Mythos der Maschine* (Wien, 1974), p. 124 [*The Myth of the Machine* (New York, 1967)]; J.B. Cobb, *Der Preis des Fortschritts* (München, 1972), p. 122; H. Cox, *The Feast of Fools* (Cambridge, 1969), p. 11; and G. Leval, Marxisme et anarchisme, in *Anarchici e Anarchia nel mondo contemporaneo* (Torino, 1971), p. 489. See also chapter 3, note 26.

8 M. Horkheimer and T.W. Adorno, *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (Frankfurt/Main, 1969), p. 22.

9 According to a Bern ordinance of the year 1480, 'The throwing of young girls into the brooks is henceforth to be stopped'; Zehnder, *Volkskundliches in der älteren schweizerischen Chronik* (Basel, 1976), p. 311. It seems that the young girls established contact with the world beyond and with the souls of children in these brooks. See also chapter 3, note 46.

10 In an expressly masculine society such as the Aranda, the maturing girls are raped by the men after having their vulva enlarged with a stone knife. The Aranda distinguish between two kinds of women: the *nguanga* or 'quiet' ones, i.e. the women who without opposition submit to the demands of the men, and *alknarintja,* the 'wild' ones, i.e. those who do not. In a certain sense, every woman is 'wild' before marriage, that is, she has not yet been rendered 'quiet'. During that time 'wild' women, usually cross-cousins, satisfy each other using an artificial penis (*iminta*), beet-like roots or by lying on top of each other in such a way that they can rub their clitorises together; see G. Róheim, Women and their life in central Australia, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (1933), p. 234.

11 As a prophylactic measure, the Nyakyusa become 'mad' in order, as they say, not to become truly insane. 'There is much idiocy (*ubulema*) if you do not perform the ritual, and madness (*ikigili*)'; see M. Wilson, *Rituals of Kinship*

Among the Nyakyusa (London, 1957), p. 48; and *Religion and the Transformation of Society* (Cambridge, 1971), p. 59; as well as V.W. Turner, Aspects of Saora ritual and shamanism, in Epstein, A.L. (ed.) *The Craft of Social Anthropology* (London, 1967), p. 203. See also E.R. Dodds, *Die Griechen und das Irrationale* (Darmstadt, 1970), p. 48 [*The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley, 1951)]. The Lugbara also consider 'witchcraft sentiments' to be natural, only they need to be channelled in such a way as to become supportable; see J. Middleton, The concept of 'bewitching' in Lugbara, in Middleton, J. (ed.) *Magic, Witchcraft, and Curing* (Garden City, 1967), p. 65.

12 See E. Ardener, Belief and the problem of women, in La Fontaine, J.S. (ed.) *The Interpretation of Ritual* (London, 1972), p. 143.

13 If what E. Massonneau writes is true, namely that the rampaging of the Luperci was to ward off the danger of lycanthropy; see *La magie dans l'antiquité romaine* (Paris, 1934), p. 61, then we see something similar in this case: some men become werewolves as representatives of the entire community.

14 See O. Lauffer, Die Hexe als Zaunreiterin, in Götze, A. and Koch, G. (eds) *Volkskundliche Ernte* (Giessen, 1938), p. 119; K. Helm, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* II (Heidelberg, 1953), p. 157; J.A. MacCulloch, *Eddic Mythology* (New York, 1930), p. 300; and S.C. Blaffer, *The Black-man of Zinacantan* (Austin, 1972), p. 99. 'A witch is born on the boundary,' is a Dinka saying; see G. Lienhardt, Some notions of witchcraft among the Dinka, *Africa* (1951), p. 315. The word *hagazussa,* 'the one riding on the fence', has its counterpart in the term *zûnrite,* customarily applied at the height of the Middle Ages, which in turn is reminiscent of the Old Norse *tûnridur,* 'fence rider', and the Low German *walrîderske,* 'wallrider'. Such witches were frequently designated as *stria.* Originally, *stria* and *malefica,* 'witch' and 'evil witch' were kept separate. In Alemannian legislation, we read of a *stria aut herbaria,* i.e. a 'witch *or* herbal woman'; see H. Vordemfelde, *Die germanische Religion in den deutschen Volksrechten* I (Giessen, 1923), p. 146. At the height of the Middle Ages, the law of the Hungarian king Kálmán also made a clear distinction between the *striga* and the *malefici.* The meaning of the sentence, 'De strigis vero quae non sunt, nulla quaestio fiat' (No judicial inquiry is to be made about witches, which really do not exist) has been much argued. László and István I, the predecessors of Kálmán, sentenced convicted *strigas* to fasting and instruction in the Christian faith. Repeated offenders were punished by branding their foreheads, between their breasts and between the shoulderblades with a red-hot church key. These measures indicate at least that the *strigas* were considered to be human. Most probably, we are dealing with night travellers, diviners and sorceresses; see A. Szendrey, Hexe – Hexendruck, *Acta Ethnographica* (1955), p. 130; and F. Müller, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Hexenglaubens und der Hexenprocesse in Siebenbürgen* (Braunschweig, 1854), p. 9. It seems then that Kálmán, just as modern ethnographers, considered that those who said they were witches were humans who believed that they were something that did not exist; see A.

Graf, *Naturgeschichte des Teufels* (Jena, 1890), p. 272. In an Alemannian confessional from the fourteenth century it says, 'Do you believe in witches, in [female] necromancers or diviners? And do you do what they advise?'; quoted in J. Franck, Geschichte des Wortes 'Hexe', in Hansen J. (ed.) *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns* (Bonn, 1901), p. 633. This indicates that there was no question as to the existence of such women. All the questioner wanted to find out was whether the respective person believed and trusted such women. In other words, these 'witches' were humans, and must often have been convicted, as we may conclude from Salic law, according to which women suspected of witchcraft and also their male helpers (*herburgius*) were heavily fined; see *Pactus Legis Salicae* (Hannover, 1962), LXIV, paragraph 1; see also *Lex Salica* (Hannover, 1969), XCV, p. 96. Accepting Grimm's analysis, philologists took *herburgius* to mean a man who carried the witch's cauldron (Old Franconian *chver,* 'cauldron'; *burjo,* 'bearer'). Later, *chereburgius* was read to mean *hēraburgio,* from *hár,* 'witch', and burgio, '*informant*', that is, 'witch's servant'; see V. von Geramb, Kessel und Kesselhaken, in Bächtold-Stäubli, H. (ed.) *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* IV (Berlin, 1932), column 1264; and H. Vordemfelde, *op. cit.,* p. 137. It is thought that the provisions of Salic law go back to the fifth century; see R. Buchner, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter* (Weimar, 1953), p. 17. In the northern parts of Europe, it was not exactly a compliment to call a woman a *qveldriga* ('night rider') or a *myrkrida* ('rider in the dark'). The wording of the older Law of Västgötaland, (about 1170), had been still ruder: 'Woman, I saw you riding on a fence switch, your hair and belt loose, in the garment of a troll, at the time when day and night were equal.' The Norse text is quoted by J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer* II (Leipzig, 1899), p. 209. This fence switch may well be related to the Old Norse *gand* or *gandr* ('magic wand'); see L. Weiser-Aall, Hexe, in Bächtold-Stäubli, H. (ed.) *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* III (Berlin, 1931), column 1850. This word probably designated a magical animal, an *alter ego,* before it acquired the meaning of 'rod'; see L. Weiser-Aall, Zum Hexenritt auf dem Stabe, in Ritz, J.M. (ed.) *Festschrift für Marie Andree-Eysn* (München, 1928), p. 64. See also Å. Ohlmarks, *Studien zum Problem des Schamanismus* (Lund, 1939), p. 312. In 1518, when Benvegnuda Pincinella was tried for witchcraft in Valcamonica and charged with unseemly acts on Mount Tonal, she stated that her 'own special devil', called Juliano, had taught her how to change sticks into animals, on which she afterwards flew through the air; see J. Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* II (Leipzig, 1908), p. 374. Similar accounts are reported even more frequently from Celtic countries; see G. Lehmacher, Die irischen Elfen, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1951), p. 127. In Chaldean texts excavated in Ninive, there is talk of a *gusur,* which is interpreted as *rakabu sa kasipti,* i.e. 'a piece of wood, which witches use to ride on'; see E. Kiessling, *Zauberei in den germanischen Volksrechten* (Jena, 1941), p. 22.

15 See W-E. Peuckert, Traufe und Flurgrenze, *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1953), pp. 80, 83; as well as G. Duby, *Krieger und Bauern* (Frankfurt/Main, 1977),

p. 29. Peuckert points out that the boundary around a field corresponds to the hedges surrounding the Slavic village built along a single street, which were also a barrier against demons. The line demarcated by the water dripping from the eaves delineates the Teutonic homestead, the living space of the extended family, and also the line beyond which demons could not go. In the Mediterranean region, a furrow was often made around the settlement as a border against demons; see L. Deubner, Mundus, *Hermes* (1933), p. 284. The Evenk shamans constructed a 'mythical fence' around the territory of their tribe. Spirits had difficulty getting over it, and it disappeared with the death of the shaman; see Z. Rudy, *Ethnosoziologie sowjetischer Völker* (Bern, 1962), pp. 124, 128. A large number of the medicinal herbs associated with Teutonic culture grew in their sacred groves; see A. Helbok and H. Marzell, *Haus und Siedlung im Wandel der Jahrtausende* (Berlin, 1937), p. 127. In later times, when the fences consisted of dead wood, herbs designed to ward off witches were woven into them, especially juniper (*Juniperus sabina*) which in Bohemia was used to smoke out witches on Walpurgis Night; see K. von Leoprechting, *Aus dem Lechvain* (München, 1855), p. 97; as also I. von Zingerle, Wald, Kräuter, Bäume, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* (1853), p. 326. According to an old proverb, the Devil disliked oak leaves and juniper. It seems, however, that originally the demonic beings lodged *in* junipers. In the region of Waldeck, people used to place offerings into a juniper bush, saying,

Ihr Hollen und Hollinnen,
Hier bring ich euch etwas zu spinnen,
Und was zu essen;
Ihr sollt spinnen und essen
Und meines Kindes vergessen.

You elves and fairies,
Here I bring you something to spin,
And something to eat;
Go on, spin and eat
And forget my child.

There is a legend in the Obersimmen valley of Switzerland that some boys caught a little dwarf from a group. His fleeing friends quickly called out to the captive:

Sie möge mit dir fürnäh
Was sie wei,
Verrat nit,
Was d'Reckholderstude
Z'behüete hei.

Let them do with you
What they will,
Do not betray,
What the juniper bush
Has to protect.

In many legends, the juniper bush marks the spot where the entrance to the other world is situated. According to an Estonian legend, Jesus ascended to heaven from a juniper bush; see H. Marzell, *op. cit.*, p. 48. Pharmacologists maintain that juniper can bring about 'tetany-like conditions and loss of consciousness', as well as a reduction in sight; see O. Gessner and G. Orzechowski, *Gift- und Arzneipflanzen von Mitteleuropa* (Heidelberg, 1974), p. 250. *Juniper communis,* which contains many volatile oils, used to be added to many theriaca. Among the Kafirs, those able to see the spirits enter a trance by inhaling juniper smoke and then watch the fairies dance, who sometimes sit on *Juniperus macrocarpa* bushes and eat its leaves; see E. Friedl, *Träger medialer Begabung im Hindukusch und Karakorum* (Wien, 1966), pp. 13, 33, 49; as well as U. Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Mordwinen* (Helsinki, 1952), p. 433; and G. Muhammed, Festivals and folklore of Gilgit, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1905), p. 104. Among the Nakhi of Yünnan, finally, the juniper is actually considered to be the connection between the worlds, the *axis mundi*; see G. Prunner, Die Religionen der Minderheiten im südlichen China, in *Die Religionen Südostasiens* (Stuttgart, 1975), p. 149.

16 Sorcery (*sejdr*) was obviously practised principally by women. This becomes clear from a section in the *Lokasenna,* where Loki derides Odin by saying, 'It is said, however, that on Samsey you practised *sejdr,* and that you drummed on a wooden lid, the way the *volur* are wont to do; you travelled around the world in the guise of a sorcerer. That, it seems to me, is not male behaviour'; quoted in Å. Ohlmarks, *op. cit.*, p. 339; see also chapter 3, note 110. *Sejdr* men (in contrast to *sejdr* women) 'were punished like passively homosexual criminals and were put to death', their activities were considered shameless (Å. Ohlmarks, *op. cit.*, p. 316). See also L.C. Faron, Shamanism and sorcery among the Mapuche in Chile, in Manners, R.A. (ed.) *Process and Pattern in Culture* (Chicago, 1964), p. 130. The older Gulathing Law of Norway radically prosecuted the ecstatic seers; see J. Simpson, Olaf Tryggvason versus the powers of darkness, in Newall, V. (ed.) *The Witch Figure* (London, 1973), p. 177.

17 Attitudes to the witch figure are also ambivalent among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. The Zuni, for instance, credit them with bringing death, but also maize. The arch trickster Coyote is their teacher; see E.C. Parsons, Witchcraft among the Pueblos, *Man* (1927), pp. 106, 127. In the early Middle Ages, the punishment for evil witches was relatively mild. According to an ordinance of Remedius, the bishop of Chur, the *malefica* had her hair cut, tar was poured on her head and a donkey dragged her through the village. In case of a repeat offence, they cut off her tongue and her nose. After a third offence, the judge could do with her as he pleased; see I. Müller, Zum heidnischen Brauchtum im rätischen Mittelalter, *Schweizer Volkskunde* (1971), p. 18. According to the law of the Spanish Visigoths, those who 'practise evil witchcraft, who use twine or something written to hurt others or to cause damage to people, to chattels, fields and vineyards; all those who as weather makers attract hail with their song; and all those who by their conjuring of

evil spirits confuse the senses of people and who bring nocturnal offerings to those spirits, are to be punished by 200 strokes of the lash, by having their hair cut off, and by being taken through the village in disgrace'. According to an ecclesiastic of Charlemagne, if evil witches and augurers made their appearance, it was the duty of the arch-priest of the diocese to 'have them arrested, questioned, and instructed. If they remained obdurate, they should be sentenced and locked in the dungeon until they promised a change of heart'; quoted in G. Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels* (Leipzig, 1869), I, pp. 288, 298. In 1009, at the Council of Anham, it was decided simply to banish witches. We need to remember, of course, that in societies where 'shaming' was an important tool of social control, such punishment was much more severe than it would be today, and that banishment at that time does not compare with being sent into exile by a society where the basic punitive principle is one of declaration of guilt.

18 See P. Herrmann, *Das altgermanische Priesterwesen* (Jena, 1929), pp. 17, 44, 46. In *Die germanische Frau im Lichte der Runeninschriften und der antiken Historiographie* (Berlin, 1974), p. 161, R. Bruder points out that in the documents available there is no case mentioned where a Teutonic woman filled the role of a priest in any way comparable to what was reserved for men. The female seers were ambivalent characters outside of the official hierarchy. Nor did the Celts have any female druids; see F. Le Roux, *Introduction générale à l'étude de la tradition celtique* I (Rennes, 1967), p. 57.

19 In all probability, the *sejdhjallar* was not a chair, but rather a supporting framework, taller than the average person. Tripods as magic stools endured for a long time. In many legends, witches sit on them while conjuring with their herbs. In a codex from St Florian in Austria, probably from the fourteenth century, we read 'before she goes to the dance, she will sit on a tripod. . . . Then, if a man dances with her, she runs back to her house and sits on the tripod, the same as if someone will take an offering to the church because he wants a house, and then the man will be hers'; see V. von Geramb, Dreifuss, in *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* II (Berlin, 1929), column 446. For the tripod of the Pythia, see chapter 3, note 84.

20 German fairy-tales retain the memory of the demonic witch with cannibalistic desires; see L. Röhrich, Die deutsche Volkssage, in Petzoldt, L. (ed.) *Vergleichende Sagenforschung* (Darmstadt, 1969), p. 232.

21 This motif recurs even today. The Andalusian witch placed a weaver's reed on her head, turned her skirt up over it, and flew through the night sitting on a bewitched man 'in a very pleasurable manner'; see G. Brenan, *South from Granada* (Harmondsworth, 1963), p. 120.

22 See H.R. Ellis, Hostile magic in the Icelandic sagas, in Newall, V. (ed.) *The Witch Figure* (London, 1973), p. 25.

23 See H. Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana* (Kumasi, 1959), p. 20; E.H. Winter, The enemy within: Amba witchcraft, in Middleton, J. and Winter, E.H. (eds) *Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa* (London, 1963), p. 292; and L. Makarius, The magic of transgression, *Anthropos* (1974), p. 549.

24 See K. Schlosser, *Zauberei im Zululand* (Kiel, 1972), Table 39; and A-I.

Berglund, *Zulu Thought-Patterns and Symbolism* (London, 1975), p. 276. In legends of more recent origin, this 'reverse sitting' is no longer properly understood: 'The old Krautenkaspar of Arzbach at one time flew along with the Durl witch of Hohenwies, sitting on a rolling pin. But he sat on it with his back toward the direction of flight, otherwise he would have choked, they went so fast'; see M. Höfler, *Volksmedizin und Aberglaube in Oberbayerns Gegenwart und Vergangenheit* (München, 1888), p. 22. There is also the story of a man called the 'old Deharr'. According to this account, 'He got up one night at the hour of twelve, and he saw the old Fischer woman come over the bridge, sitting front to back on a calf, her hands on its behind, and she came riding boisterously up the street. Next morning he went to her house and found her lying on her bed, complaining about her head hurting. And the old Deharr said, "My girl, next time keep your nose off the calf's behind"'; see L. Strackerjan, *Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogtum Oldenburg* (Oldenburg, 1909), I, p. 389; and also J.N. Sepp, *Orient und Occident* (Berlin, 1903), p. 158.

25 See H. Findeisen, *Dokumente urtümlicher Weltanschauung der Völker Nordeurasiens* (Oosterhout, 1970), p. 33; H. Berger, Bericht über sprachliche und volkskundliche Forschungen im Hunzatal, *Anthropos* (1960), p. 661; L. Honko, Finnische Mythologie, in Haussig, H.W. (ed.) *Götter und Mythen im alten Europa* (Stuttgart, 1973), p. 328; and R. Needham, Introduction, in Durkheim, E. and Mauss, M. *Primitive Classification* (Chicago, 1963), p. XXXIX.

26 See R. Tonkinson, Aboriginal dream-spirit beliefs in a contact situation, in Berndt, R.M. (ed.) *Australian Aboriginal Anthropology* (Nedlands, 1970), p. 280. For the 'upside-down' language in the Kankalu ritual; see K. Hale, A note on a Walbiri tradition of antonymy, in Steinberg, D.D. and Jakobovits, L.A. (eds) *Semantics* (London, 1971), p. 472. As to a reversal of ordinary behaviour; see also D.F. Thomson, The joking relationship and organized obscenity in North Queensland, *American Anthropologist* (1935), p. 460; and A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, On joking relationships, *Africa* (1940), p. 197.

27 See Petronius, *Satyricon* (München, 1961), pp. 63, 69.

28 See O. Kurtz, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des volkstümlichen Hexenglaubens in Schlesien* (Anklam, 1916), p. 44. In *Die Liebeselegien* (Darmstadt, 1965), p. 42 [*The Loves, the Art of Beauty, the Remedies for Love, and the Art of Love* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1957)], Ovid writes, 'It is conjecture and rumour; the eyes from which double lightning flashes, and doubled light issues from their orb.' (Translation by Goodman.) Witches are characterized in the same way in other parts of the world; see M.E. Spiro, *Burmese Supernaturalism* (Englewood Cliffs, 1967), p. 25; see as well S. Seligmann, *Die Zauberkraft des Auges und das Berufen* (Hamburg, 1922), p. 249.

29 Quoted in J.P. Cutts, Le rôle de la musique dans les masques de Ben Jonson, in Jacquot, J. (ed.) *Les fêtes de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1956), p. 285. The works of Remigius and de Lancre contain similar examples; see also G. Correa, El espíritu del mal en Guatemala, in *Publications of the Middle American Research Institute* (New Orleans, 1955), p. 83.

30 'The Demon knew her carnally both ways, deflowered her, and she suffered much pain'; quoted in G. Zacharias, *Satanskult und Schwarze Messe* (Wiesbaden, 1970), p. 61. Needless to say, anal intercourse was considered a mortal sin. Only very rarely did the Devil derive pleasure from intercourse, even if he was given the ability to feel pleasure. After having slept with a mistress Moeller, a woman 'rather of age', he afterwards said with a remarkable lack of gallantry that 'he did not really care for it and wanted to look for a younger one'; see W. Hartmann, *Die Hexenprozesse in der Stadt Hildesheim* (Hildesheim, 1927), p. 12.

31 It seems to me rather unfair for this reason that modern women authors criticize Pierre de Lancre for his 'inability to see the sabbat as anything but a reversal of a usual gathering'; see I. Brenner and G. Morgenthal, Sinnlicher Widerstand während der Ketzer- und Hexenverfolgungen, in *Aus der Zeit der Verzweiflung* (Frankfurt/Main, 1977), p. 215. This imagery of a reversed world can be found in the distant past, in present non-Western societies and even among modern ethnologists. They serve to illustrate what V.W. Turner has called the 'anti-structure', in his Witchcraft and sorcery, *Africa* (1964), p. 323; see also J.Z. Smith, Birth upside down or right side up?, *History of Religions* (1969), p. 290. On the East-Indonesian island of Lembata, for instance, the soul of an ordinary person escapes through his mouth, that of a witch (*maq-molan*), however, through her anus; see R.H. Barnes, *Kédang* (Oxford, 1974), p. 210. In *Le rêve, la transe et la folie* (Paris, 1972), p. 117, R. Bastide reports that similar perceptions and imagery also occur during certain forms of insanity. As is well known, the 'golden age' is imagined in many places as a reversal of the present one. On the island of Biak near New Guinea the natives believed not only that upon the arrival of this golden age there would be no *kompeni,* that is, no more Dutch administration, but also that tubers, such as yams and potatoes, would henceforth grow on trees, and the fruit of trees on the ground. The fish would run around on dry land, and the terrestrial animals would swim in the water, the Papuas would rule, and the White colonial masters would weed the gardens. The era was inaugurated by turning the Dutch tricolor upside down. As a first setback, however, the Japanese Occupation Forces during World War II did not want to give recognition to this 'flag of the reversed world'; see P. Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound* (New York, 1968), pp. 130, 139, 141.

32 What M.E. Spiro says is, of course, correct, namely that in contrast to the Australian aborigines, the Christians consider the 'virgin birth' as something extraordinary, a miracle; see M.E. Spiro, Virgin birth, *Man* (1968), p. 249. It is still possible, however, that this miracle is simply a late variant of the archaic concept that the soul of the child has nothing to do with the semen, but rather penetrates into the uterus of the woman coming from an 'ur-mother' or some other supernatural being; see chapter 3, note 36. As late as 1517 the Parliament of Grenoble, acting on the basis of an expert opinion of the University of Montpellier, declared the child of a Mme Montléon to be legitimate, because four years after the death of her husband, she conceived it of him in a dream; see R. Needham, Virgin birth, *Man* (1969), p. 458.

33 See P. Piehler, *The Visionary Landscape* (London, 1971), pp. 59, 61. In Honour and shame in a Cypriot highland village, in Peristiany, J.G. (ed.) *Honour and Shame* (London, 1965), p. 182, J.G. Peristiany describes the ideal Mediterranean woman as a 'married mother virginal in sensations and mind'; see also A. Parsons, Besitzt der Ödipuskomplex universelle Gültigkeit? in Muensterberger, W. (ed.) *Der Mensch und seine Kultur* (München, 1974), pp. 218, 223.

34 It is therefore wrong to speak of '*regressive* tendencies' in those times, or of a '*revival* of a belief in witches', as done by N. Luhmann, *Funktion der Religion* (Frankfurt/Main, 1977), p. 259. This would suggest that during the late Middle Ages or at the onset of the modern era there was a return to an earlier stage of development.

35 Since such arguments left many dissatisfied, some authors of the time, such as Binsfeld, denied the authenticity of the decision of the Council concerning 'those that travelled by night', but they did not prevail.

36 Even in very early times apparently, Teutonic tribes considered the burning of a corpse to be a 'declaration of infamy of the deceased'; see H. Dörries, *Germanische Religion und Sachsenbekehrung* (Göttingen, 1935), p. 3.

37 See H. Jacoby, *Die Bürokratisierung der Welt* (Neuwied, 1969), p. 65; as well as A. von Martin, *Soziologie der Renaissance* (Stuttgart, 1932), p. 26. 'We do not need all manner of things, all we want is usefulness', is a statement of the Great Trading Company of Ravensburg; quoted in E. Maschke, Das Berufsbewusstsein des mittelalterlichen Fernkaufmanns, in Haase, C. (ed.) *Die Stadt im Mittelalter* III (Darmstadt, 1976), p. 181. The early middle class of traders used to squander its profit on amusements and pleasures of the senses. The later manufacturing class, however, was more likely to invest it in the production of goods; see L. Kofler, *Zur Geschichte der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Neuwied, 1966), p. 299.

38 Especially, see N. Elias, *The Civilizing Process: the History of Manners* (New York, 1978).

39 See F. Siebert, *Der Mensch um Dreizehnhundert im Spiegel deutscher Quellen* (Berlin, 1931), p. 105.

40 As an example of the unaffected and artless mores of an earlier age, N. Elias (*Uber den Prozess der Zivilisation*, Köln, 1969, p. 233 [*The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners*, New York, 1978]) cites the report of a Tyrolian physician who says, 'How many times have I not seen girls of ten, twelve, fourteen, sixteen or eighteen years of age, as in the middle of the day they run down a long street from their homes to the bath-house! They are practically naked, wearing only a short linen bathing robe, often badly torn, which covers them somewhat in front, but which is open in the back, exposing their buttocks and legs. All they do is hold their hand modestly over their behind.' (Translation by Goodman.) Elias quotes this account from a secondary source. This may be the reason why he is obviously unaware of the context and thus does not mention that this physician, not exactly an adherent of cultural relativism, prefaced the above statement in addressing the city judges and the mayor of Hall with the following words: 'Consider, if

you will, whether you have not had occasion to see and still see every week how your decently raised burghers of both sexes expose themselves in their homes and are allowed to pass naked in the view of everyone along the public streets to the bath-house or the whorehouse?' Besides, the text is not from the late Middle Ages, as Elias apparently assumes, but rather from a time when, according to Elias, such lack of concern was already fairly restricted. It appears in the book, *Die Grewel der Verwüstung menschlichen Geschlechts* (p. 948) by H. Guarinonius, published in 1610 in Ingolstadt. We can assume that the people frequenting the bath-house ran across the streets half naked because their clothes were often stolen there, something pilloried as early as in the *Sachsenspiegel.* Guarinonius, a man trained by the Jesuits, must have been extremely straight-laced, for he was even incensed about washerwomen tucking up their skirts at the well: 'Then there is the indecency of washing clothes in public by many lewd women who, when they wash their horrid laundry, expose themselves about the chest, arms and thighs up to their knees, and more shamelessly than common whores let themselves be seen in the open streets and squares, at the brooks and wells, and who do not even wear a shift' (H. Guarinonius, *op. cit.*, p. 950). Elias would have done better to quote the 1417 letter of the papal secretary Giovanni Francesco Poggio, who, with remarkable benevolence, writes about the baths in Baden in the Aargau, 'It is a happy picture when careworn little old women and young girls equally enter the baths before everyone's eyes and expose to the glances of the men that which is usually carefully hidden. This gay spectacle amused me more than once. I remembered the Floralia plays, and I admired the ingenuousness of the people, who neither paid attention to it, nor thought or said anything evil about it'; quoted in W.A. Luz, *Das Büchlein vom Bad* (Berlin, 1958), p. 53. In another part of the letter, however, Poggio mentions that the women wore bathing shirts, so that probably only the young girls were allowed to go naked. In the late Middle Ages the latter were often allowed to go 'topless'. By the sixteenth century, these customs were encountered more rarely. For instance, the 1550 bath ordinance for the Glotterbad states, 'Fourthly, all users of the bath, be they men or women, must cover their private parts, and if someone neglects to do so in an indecent manner or is reported to the court for doing so, he or she will be liable for punishment'; quoted in E.W. Zeeden, *Deutsche Kultur in der frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt/Main, 1968), p. 304.

41 See G.L. Kriegk, *Deutsches Bürgerthum im Mittelalter* II (Frankfurt/Main, 1871), p. 28; as well as S. Harksen, *Die Frau im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1974), p. 27. At the height of the Middle Ages, it became the custom, with France leading the way, that men and women ate together; see Marianne Weber, *Ehefrau und Mutter in der Rechtsentwicklung* (Tübingen, 1907), p. 266.

42 See J. Nohl, *Der schwarze Tod* (Potsdam, 1924), p. 277. Brunhild of the Nibelungen legend is described as lying in bed in a 'fine white nightgown'; see J. Scherr, *Geschichte der deutschen Frauenwelt* I (Leipzig, 1879), p. 190. Nightgowns made of linen seem to have come back in use toward the end of the fifteenth century; see J. Evans, *Dress in Medieval France* (Oxford, 1952), p. 66.

43 Some pictures, however, are doubtless pornographic. See, for instance, figure

94B in L. MacKinney, *Medical Illustrations in Medieval Manuscripts* (London, 1965), p. 252.

44 The situation was similar in ancient Rome; see S. Schall, *Eine Kulturgeschichte vom Bad und vom Baden* (Berlin, 1977), p. 24. An ordinance concerning bathing from Baden in the Aargau, directed at the city employees, orders them to refuse a priest only if he wants to get into a tub with an unmarried woman; if the woman is a whore, they should not prevent him from doing so (S. Schall, *op. cit.*, p. 41).

45 See Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 90. In the fifteenth century, for example, we read, 'The bath master and his servants are whores and villains full of conceit' (Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 87). On the other hand, we must not forget that, in contrast to earlier and later times, a more permissive attitude towards prostitution had developed during the late Middle Ages 'in order to avoid greater evil in Christendom', as it says in a police ordinance in Nuremburg; see G.K. Schmelzeisen, *Die Rechtsstellung der Frau in der deutschen Stadtwirtschaft* (Stuttgart, 1935), p. 25. The prostitutes had their own guild in Paris and Geneva. The special position that the bath-houses continued to enjoy was also due to the fact that they had originally been places of sanctuary. Even as late as the Middle Ages, debtors could not be arrested as long as they were in the bath-house; see W. Danckert, *Unehrliche Leute* (Berlin, 1963), p. 86. The fact that naked or scantily clad women hurried to receive Charles V at his entrance into Antwerp and scattered flowers on him, should not be emphasized too much. Those were harlots, who at any rate were outside the social order. To sleep with them did not constitute adultery; see L. Bassermann, *Das älteste Gewerbe* (Wien, 1965), p. 120. There was no problem with women showing themselves naked when they represented heathen beings, as was the case with the 'sirens' who met Philip the Good at his entrance into Geneva in 1457. An observer, Jean de Roye, wrote about them, 'And there were also three very beautiful girls, representing sirens in the nude, and one could see their straight, separate round and firm breasts, which was a very pleasant thing'; quoted in J. Huizinga, *Herbst des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart, 1952), p. 339. Bacchus processions were presented at the royal courts at the time of the flowering of the Middle Ages, where Christian women appeared as Venus, Semele or Diana, although that was considered quite scandalous; see H. Reuter, *Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung im Mittelalter* I (Berlin, 1875), p. 74. Lucrecia Borgia showed her naked breasts when playing Flora, so did Diane de Poitiers, the mistress of Henry II of France, in the role of Nero's wife Sabina Poppaea. Agnes Sorel, the mistress of the French King Charles VII, 'bared her shoulders and her breasts down to the middle of her chest', we are told in a contemporary report (J. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 53). She also had herself painted as the Virgin Mary with her bodice unbuttoned, about to suckle the infant Jesus; see H. Norris, *Costume and Fashion* II (London, 1927), p. XI.

46 H. Licht, *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* I (Dresden, 1925), p. 103; and *Lebenskultur im alten Griechenland* (Wien, 1925), p. 93. With evident disapproval, Plutarch notes that the Dorian peplos of the Spartan women was

not sewed together below the waist, so that it fluttered while they walked, baring the thighs; see C. Seltman, *Geliebte der Götter* (Stuttgart, 1958), p. 65. The Ionians censured only the nakedness of their women, although in some instances, the maenads were represented with a transparent chiton; see V. Zinserling, *Die Frau in Hellas und Rom* (Stuttgart, 1972), p. 40. Sculptures of naked women were not created until the sixth century, and the naked Aphrodite may have had her origin in oriental influence; see also R. Carpenter, Die Formung der archaischen griechischen Plastik, in Kraiker, W. (ed.) *Archaische Plastik der Griechen* (Darmstadt, 1976), p. 194. It is reported, for instance, that legal proceedings were brought against the *hetaera* Phryne, the mistress of Praxiteles, the accusation being that during the feast of Aphrodite she supposedly entered the water of the sea naked, an offence punishable by death. We are informed, however, that her clever lawyer tore her garment from her body during his plea, so that the judges acquitted her because they were afraid of her nakedness; see E. Burck, *Die Frau in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (München, 1969), p. 77. The reaction of the Greek judges is somewhat reminiscent of what happened to Profesor Adorno during the student uprisings of the late 1960s. Startled by the naked breasts of some members of the SDS, the socialist German student organization, he fled in the middle of his own lecture. The rebellious woman displaying her breasts is not an invention of Delacroix. In Saarlouis and also in Paris, a naked woman walked through the streets, representing the 'goddess of reason'; see N. Fox, *Saarländische Volkskunde* (Bonn, 1927), p. 247. In Erotik und Mode, in *Soziologische Orientierungen* (Köln, 1965), p. 555, and in *Macht und Reiz der Mode* (Düsseldorf, 1971), p. 143, R. König draws attention to the fact that only men felt the baring of the breasts by a low neckline to be shameless. Women hardly ever viewed it in the same light. The reason for this difference may be that, especially in Indo-European cultures, women tend to be accustomed to exhibiting their more or less attractive bodies. It is noteworthy that I. Eibl-Eibesfeldt, one of the leaders of modern ethological research, in *Menschenforschung auf neuen Wegen* (Wien, 1976), p. 166, interprets the filliping of the penis sheath of Eipo men in the mountains of West Iran to constitute a 'phallic threat'. But when the women of the same region bare their breasts, he considers that to be a 'soothing' gesture. He argues for this opinion by citing H. Basedow, who reports that an aborigine woman from Northern Australia when surprised by a White patrol, in her terror lifted her breasts and sprayed him with her milk. The police afterwards declared that the woman had merely 'intended to show that she was a mother so that she would not be harmed'. To take such a statement at face value, especially when made in the presence of White police, seems to me to be rather naive. Eibl-Eibesfeldt apparently takes it for granted that in very 'masculine' societies women cannot threaten anyone. On the other hand, numerous observations indicate that especially 'wild' and aggressive women of the Artemis-type tend to exhibit their naked breasts. Obviously in such cases the intended effect on men is not one of allurement or even less of a 'soothing' gesture. This is further demonstrated by the fact that popular pornography rarely pays

attention to covered breasts without brassiere or undergarment, to breasts dangling freely or to nipples being visible, as G. Greer remarks in *Der weibliche Eunuch* (Hamburg, 1974), p. 32 [*The Female Eunuch* (New York, 1971)]. In our own society, I have frequently observed that men react at least with ambivalence to an unrestrained bosom or to one shown with self-confidence. It may not be felt to be an aggressive challenge, but it will at least be viewed as a rejection of the role of 'the little woman'. To be sure, many an inhibited leftist will not be able to see much more in such things than what capitalist advertisement tries to palm off on him. Thus, for instance, J. Hermand writes in *Pop International* (Frankfurt/Main, 1971), p. 123, 'When the wildest freaks wave the black flag and embrace freedom as if it were a full-breasted, naked woman, what they are doing there is entirely immanent within the system. Capitalism as known to date simply has not yet had the courage to realize its own essence.' When in 1967 we introduced 'mixed showers' in our student dormitory, this was interpreted by many professional Marxists as being 'anarchistic' and 'counter-revolutionary'.

47 Roman literature generally speaks of nakedness rather disparagingly; see O. Kiefer, *Kulturgeschichte Roms* (Berlin, 1933), p. 145. Care was taken that the glans was not exposed in pugilists, wrestlers, athletes and certain actors, where nakedness could not be avoided. For this purpose, the foreskin was often tied together with a string, or a metal ring was pulled through it, which was then soldered. Removable penis sheaths were also used; see O. Stoll, *Das Geschlechtsleben in der Völkerpsychologie* (Leipzig, 1908), p. 496.

48 See J.Z. Smith, The garments of shame, *History of Religions* (1965), p. 219. The Essenes demanded that bathing should only be done fully clothed. There was, of course, the nakedness of the anchorites, who penetrated into the desert, the realm of the demons, the 'homeless' ones, who left the social order; see P. Nagel, *Die Motivierung der Askese in der alten Kirche* (Berlin, 1966), p. 91. In a similar manner, the naked Indian *sadhu* does not sacrifice his hair, the way an ordinary Hindu does. He stands outside the social order and the same as the gods, he allows his hair to grow long and become matted; see P. Hershman, Hair, sex and dirt, *Man* (1974), p. 287; as well as V.W. Turner, Betwixt and between, in Helm, J. (ed.) *Proceedings of the Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society* (Seattle, 1964), p. 6. Christian culture was only familiar with the nakedness of Adam and Eve before the fall, usually hidden partially by leaves, and that of the 'newborn', such as Jonas. Prudishness is hardly a strong enough word to describe some of the excesses that cropped up within the ambient of Christian ideology and its rejection of life. It is reported, for instance, that when St Agnes was publicly disrobed as a punishment, a young man, who happened to glance at her naked charms, instantly became blind. The sister of St Gregorius of Nyssa, who suffered from breast cancer, refused to let the surgeon see her breasts. As a reward for her decorum, the Lord is said to have cured her; see W.E.H. Lecky, *Sittengeschichte Europas von Augustus bis auf Karl den Grossen* (Leipzig, 1904), p. 670.

49 See J. Ledit, *Marie dans la liturgie de Byzance* (Paris, 1976), p. 280. The

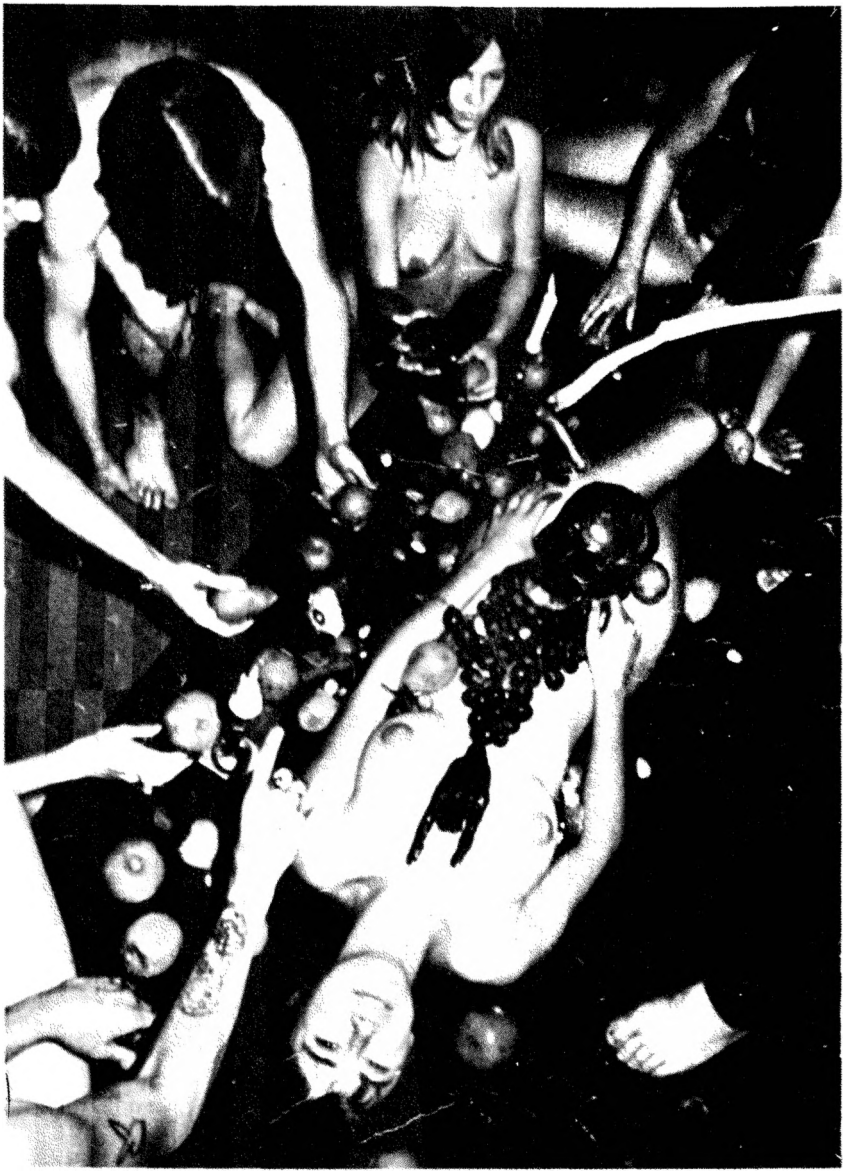


Plate 25 Hippie witches' cult, California.

woman in Gnosticism was faced with an even more extreme alternative. However, ideals that are totally alien to real life are frequently ignored altogether, to the benefit of everyone concerned. Either the Gnostic woman

was supposed to be *entirely* spiritual, and as such a Sophia she could then also become a priestess. Or the principle was that, 'if the Gnostic woman was not one of the perfected ones she would be better employed, it seems, in infertile or perverse sexual behaviour than in the normal sexual functions which replenish the material world' (P. Piehler, *op. cit.*, p. 61).

50 S. von Riezler, *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse in Bayern* (Stuttgart, 1896), p. 78. Apparently, bare breasts were quite generally considered a sign of an 'absence of culture', of 'wildness'. When actresses played the role of 'wild women' and wore skins, their breasts were exposed; see R. Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 82. Tacitus says the following about the Teutonic adulteress, 'Her hair is shorn, she is stripped, is expelled from her home in the presence of the neighbourhood, and with lashes, her husband also drives her through the entire village'; see Tacitus, *Germania,* edited by E. Fehrle (München, 1935), pp. 25, 89. To this day, the Kabyles consider nakedness (*ijayi âaryan*) to be an extreme expression of dishonour; see P. Bourdieu, The sentiment of honour in Kabyle society, in Peristiany, J.G. (ed.) *Honour and Shame* (London, 1965), p. 224.

51 C.D. Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* I (Niort, 1883), quoted in O. Stoll, *op. cit.*, p. 698.

52 See K. Clark, *The Nude* (London, 1956), p. 303; and G. Bäumer, *Die Frauengestalt der deutschen Frühe* (Berlin, 1940), p. 83. A. Zacharias, *Kleine Kunstgeschichte abendländischer Stile* (München, 1957), p. 38, is of the opinion that showing Eve naked at 'such a spot', that is, a church, was still quite daring. This prudishness survived in folk art, where Adam and Eve were frequently forced to hide their nakedness with a bunch of leaves, under loin cloths and short skirts, or even dressed in costumes of the Biedermeier style; see L. Röhrich, *Adam und Eva* (Stuttgart, 1968), p. 9.

53 This situation did not change until the fifteenth century, with such artists as Jan Van Eyck or Hugo Van der Goes. But even in the paintings of Van Eyck or Lukas Cranach, the navel is shown about four inches too high. Although naked, the woman was obviously still wearing the fashion of the time, especially the hard corset.

54 See K. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

55 W. Bargmann, *Anatomie und bildende Kunst* (Freiburg, 1947), p. 10; G. Bammes, *Der Akt in der Kunst* (Leipzig, 1975), p. 8; and B. Schweitzer, Die spätantiken Grundlagen der mittelalterlichen Kunst, in Hübinger, P.E. (ed.) *Kulturbruch oder Kulturkontinuität im Übergang von der Antike zum Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 1968), p. 271. For instance, in the illustrations of the *Sachsenspiegel,* which were prepared about 1330, naked subjects are presented in a most decent manner, always hiding their abdomen behind a bunch of leaves, and even those resurrected on Judgement Day wear knee-length loin cloths; see W. Koschorreck, *Der Sachsenspiegel in Bildern* (Frankfurt/Main, 1976), nos 23, 28, 30, 49. In 1316, Modino published his famous work on anatomy without any illustrations; see B. Haendcke, *Der unbekleidete Mensch in der christlichen Kunst* (Strassburg, 1910), p. 39. Illustrated surgical manuscripts of the late Romanesque period indicate that patients bared

only those sections where they were being examined. N. Elias (*Uber den Prozess der Zivilisation*, Köln, 1969, p. 233 [*The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners*, New York, 1978]) cites the casual manner in which women attended medieval knights when the latter bathed, but even in this instance, reality was probably quite different. The literature of the time usually avoids the description of uncovered body parts, and rose petals were strewn in the bathtub mainly so that the naked body could not be seen in the water. Percival was reluctant to leave the tub while there were still young women in the room:

> Man bôt ein badelachen dar:
> des nam er vil kleine war.
> sus kunder sich bî frouwen schemm,
> die juncfrouwen muosn gên.
> *They offered him a bath towel:*
> *But it seemed to him to be too small.*
> *He did not want to be ashamed in front of the women,*
> *So the young women had to leave.*

See R. Gelse, *Über die Nacktheit des Menschen in der mittelhochdeutschen Literatur* (Heidelberg, 1977), pp. 13, 29. I am grateful to Dietrich Harth for this reference. See also G. Grupp, *Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters* III (Paderborn, 1924), p. 347. If we remember the stir caused at the beginning of the fourteenth century by the Adamites, who wanted to return to the conditions before the Fall of Man, or by the Turlupins, who defended their nakedness with the argument that one need not blush about something natural, N. Cohn, *Das Ringen um das Tausendjährige Reich* (Bern, 1961), p. 170 [*The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London, 1957)], then we realize that there was not much to the lack of inhibition of those times, as described by Elias. The Carmelite father Willem von Hindernissen, head of the *Homines intelligentiae* was tried before the bishop's court in Kameryk, accused of having carried out services of worship in the nude. Similar ideals were also represented by the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Swan (*Liebfrauenbrüderschaft zum Schwan*). One of the members of this organization, the painter Bosch, illustrated these ideals in his work, 'The Garden of Delight'; see W. Fraenger, *Hieronymus Bosch: Das Tausendjährige Reich* (Amsterdam, 1969), p. 17; and B. Brehm, *Das Ebenbild* (München, 1954), p. 171. J. Huizinga (*op. cit.*, p. 339) relates that sometime during the same period, the burghers of Paris were incensed about a robbery that had taken place, not so much because the victims were murdered, but more because their shirts and trousers had also been taken, leaving them naked in the gutter.

56 J.C. Flugel, *The Psychology of Clothing* (London, 1930), p. 106.

57 See E.G. Grimme, *Europäische Malerei im Mittelalter* (Frankfurt/Main, 1963), p. 40.

58 G. Krahmer, in his *Figur und Raum in der ägyptischen und griechisch-archaischen Kunst* (Halle, 1931), p. 7, makes a distinction between 'paratactic' art, where pieces are joined together 'without the artist being conscious of the centre that moves everything in a unifying manner', from art forms

where parts are, as it were, 'controlled from one point'. In parataxis, each part is 'added on from the outside' to each other part, and thus Krahmer speaks of 'paratactic *imaginings* of an additive nature' (G. Krahmer, *op. cit.*, p. 74). See also R. Hamann, *Griechische Kunst* (München, 1949), p. 95. The representation of human figures is an 'aggregate' in this sense, instead of being a 'gestalt'; it is *read* rather than *seen*. Feyerabend combines this understanding with that of Snell's, according to which the ancient Greeks considered *thymós, nóos* and *psyché* not as being modalities of *one* soul or *one* consciousness, but rather as separate 'organs'; see B. Snell, *Die Entdeckung des Geistes* (Hamburg, 1946), p. 22; Göttliche und menschliche Motivation im homerischen Epos, in Delius, H. and Patzig, G. (eds) *Argumentationen* (Göttingen, 1964), p. 254; and *Die alten Griechen und wir* (Göttingen, 1962), p. 46; K.H. Niebyl, Scientific concepts and social structure in ancient Greece, in Seeger, R.J. and Cohen, R.S. (eds) *Philosophical Foundations of Science* (Dordrecht, 1974), p. 371; C. Warnke, Das Problem der Seele und die Anfänge der Psychologie, in Kröber, G. (ed.) *Wissenschaft und Weltanschauung in der Antike* (Berlin, 1966), p. 289; and H. Rahn, Tier und Mensch in der homerischen Auffassung der Wirklichkeit, *Paideuma* (1954), p. 433. On the basis of these arguments and other similar ones, Feyerabend concludes that the archaic Greeks probably lacked the conceptualization and the perception of a 'basic substance' or of a 'higher unit', and that these did not develop until the time of the pre-Socratics. 'The archaic world,' he writes in P. Feyerabend, *op. cit.*, p. 336, 'is constructed much less solidly than the one surrounding ourselves, and it is also experienced in that manner. Archaic humans lack the "physical" unit, their bodies consist of many parts, members, surfaces, connections; they lack the unity of "consciousness". Their "consciousness" is composed of a large number of processes, some of which are not even "conscious" in our sense, but rather live within the body shape as additional parts, or are brought into it from the outside.' We may argue against this position that the 'unit' which Feyerabend sees as being absent, with satisfaction, it seems, may well have been one that was present in thought or, more precisely, it was one that was seen with the 'eyes of the soul'. The fact that, for instance, the world is registered with great specificity in many Indian languages, but that general terms, which are familiar to us, are lacking, has not prevented the Indians from knowing the one, the unit, the *wakan* or *orenda* in all matters, a unit which we moderns have largely forgotten. In fact, to name another example, the 'soul' or the 'alter ego' of the shaman can fly away, while some other 'souls' remain in his body. Or the 'hearth soul' of the Sedang Moi sits under the hearth stones of the family, while the respective person roams through the wilderness; see G. Devereux, *op. cit.*, (1973), p. 59. But in neither case is there any violation of the 'unity' of the person. On the contrary, it seems that societies of that kind, as also the archaic Greeks, were familiar with parts or aspects of their own person, the knowledge of which has become lost to our civilization. *They,* for instance, still knew those profound layers of the personality, which *we* have long ago

sloughed off. Also, paratactic representations need not be lacking in 'unity' *because* they were less seen than 'known'. When we see a word, we do not perceive a sequence of letters either, but rather, a word.

59 See J.B. Deregowski, Illusion and culture, in Gregory, R.L. and Gombrich, E.H. (eds) *Illusion in Nature and Art* (London, 1973), p. 187; and Difficulties in pictorial depth perception in Africa, *British Journal of Psychology* (1968), p. 195; B.M. Du Toit, Pictorial depth perception and linguistic relativity, *Psychologia Africana* (1966), p. 1; P.L. Kilbridge and M.C. Robbins, Pictorial depth perception and acculturation among the Baganda, *American Anthropologist* (1969), p. 293; and C.G. Liungman, *Der Intelligenzkult* (Hamburg, 1975), p. 135.

60 As late as 1501, the stage of the Alsfeld theatre showed on the left side the houses of Herod and Pilate, on the right those of Annas and Caiphas, the city of Jerusalem and the synagogue. The throne of God was in the centre, together with the three crosses and the garden of Gethsemane; see H. Knudsen, *Deutsche Theatergeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1959), pp. 10, 41. See also F. Stählin, Der geometrische Stil in der Ilias, *Philologus* (1923), p. 296. E.S. Carpenter, in *Eskimo* (Toronto, 1959), p. 31, writes that for the Aivilik carver the object that he is working on has 'its own space', having no spatial relationship to other subjects. 'They aren't intended to be set in place and viewed' (E.S. Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 46). The observation may offer a key to understanding the superimposition of animal figures of Franco-Cantabrian Ice Age paintings. Compositions are extremely rare in this sort of art. It may be something of a 'principle of simultaneousness' that also operates in the conceptualization of the Hopi Indian who is said to have asked an ethnographer to close her eyes and to describe what she saw in the Grand Canyon. 'With enthusiasm I described the brilliantly colored walls of the canyon, the trail that winds over the edge of it, reappearing and crossing a lower mesa and so on.' The Indian smiled and said, 'I see the colored walls too, and I know what you mean all right, but your words are wrong. The trail does not cross, nor disappear, nor do anything. It is only where the mesa has been changed by feet. The trail is still there even when you do not see it, because *I can see all of it*. My feet have walked on the trail all the way down'; see D. Eggan, Hopi dreams in cultural perspective, in von Grunebaum, G.E. and Caillois, R. (eds) *The Dream and Human Societies* (Berkeley, 1966), p. 253.

61 Quoted in E. Thiel, *Geschichte des Kostüms* (Berlin, 1963), p. 206.

62 See K. Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen in dem Mittelalter* II (Wien, 1882), p. 276.

63 See M. Garland, *The Changing Face of Beauty* (London, 1957), p. 71.

64 See E. Fuchs, *Die Frau in der Karikatur* (München, 1928), p. 284.

65 See M. von Boehn, *Menschen und Moden im Mittelalter* (München, 1925), p. 179.

66 See L.C. Eisenbart, *Kleiderordnungen der deutschen Städte zwischen 1350 und 1700* (Göttingen, 1962), p. 94. A little while before, Robert de Blois composed the following rhyme:

Aucune lesse differmée la poitrine
Une autre lesse tout degré
La chair apparoir au costé,
Une ses jambes trop descouvre
Prud homme ne loue pas ceste oeuvre.
Anyone of them reveals her bosom
Another one lets the flesh appear
To any degree on the side,
One leaves her calves too much uncovered
A prudent man does not praise such work.

Quoted in A. von Gleichen-Russwurm, *Die gotische Welt* (Stuttgart, 1922), p. 241. In the course of the general economic upturn during the late Middle Ages, such changes in fashion did not remain restricted to the nobility and the urban middle class; see J. Schwendimann, *Der Bauernstand* (Einsiedeln, 1945), p. 92. That the other classes did not approve of the peasants' participation in this development can be seen, for example, in a statement of the canon Felix Hemmerlin of Zurich, who wrote, 'It would be salutory if every fifty years or so the houses and homesteads of the peasants would be destroyed in order to sever the lavish branches of arrogance'; quoted in A. Waas, *Die Bauern im Kampf um Gerechtigkeit* (München, 1964), p. 24. Such voices made themselves heard throughout the late Middle Ages, right up to the beginnings of the Peasant Wars; see W. Andreas, *Deutschland vor der Reformation* (Stuttgart, 1932), p. 428.

67 Quoted in E.W. Zeeden, *op. cit.*, p. 347. In his *Tantzteuffel* (Frankfurt/Main, 1567), p. 38, Florian von Fürstenberg writes, 'There is such indecent, shameless swinging, throwing, turning and casting of the dance devils, so fast, even high up like the peasant swings the flail that sometimes the clothes of the young women, the girls and maids fly up to their belt, nay, clear up over their heads'; quoted in J. Scherr, *op. cit.*, II, p. 40. This was not only the opinion of inhibited theologians, as demonstrated by dance codes which proliferated everywhere. A police regulation from Nuremburg states, 'As to indecent dances: since every day, many unusual, shameless, unseemly dances have been coming up and are practised . . . it is forbidden to play music for them . . . also, neither man nor woman dancing these dances will be allowed to put their arms around their partner's neck or embrace each other'; quoted in A. Hagelstange, *Süddeutsches Bauernleben im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 262. 'You have your bosom and your sides open for the sake of voluptuousness, and the spouse Jesus suffered his sides to be pierced and so death for your sake and he does not ask any more of you than that you once more return to him'; quoted in P. Strauch, Von der Sünde des Tanzens, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1925), p. 356. Apparently, not much restraint was exercised at such village festivities. Heinrich von Wittweiler, for instance, tells in a humorous verse about a peasant girl dancing so hard that her nipples jutted out from her breasts. Things got so hot that she ripped her dress off, which made many men happy; see S. Epperlein, *Der Bauer im Bild des*

Mittelalters (Leipzig, 1975), p. 103. In the *Landfeste von Hattnegge,* impotent peasants are actually advised to send their wives to the next village festival, 'nicely got up and bedecked, and provided with a purse of money ... if she then returns without having been helped, then only the devil can help her' (S. Epperlein, *op. cit.*, p. 93). The knights of the late Middle Ages increasingly considered the peasant dance as an expression of unbridled sensuality and artlessness, which was represented as the opposite of knightly *mâze,* that is, courtly polish and affectation; see O. Brunner, Die ritterlich-höfische Kultur, in Borst, A. (ed.) *Das Rittertum im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 1976), p. 160.

68 V.J. Willi, Kulturgeschichte der Mode, in König, R. and Schuppisser, P.W. (eds) *Die Mode in der menschlichen Gesellschaft* (Zürich, 1958), p. 57. Even in the last years of her reign, Elizabeth I of England, as the 'virgin queen', wore a deep *décolleté* neckline; see G. Reynolds, England zur Zeit Elisabeths und Jacobs I, in Laver, J. (ed.) *Das Kostüm* (München, 1951), p. 134.

69 Among the Nuer of the southern Sudan a woman is not subject to the control of her husband until after the birth of her first child. At that time, she leaves the homestead of her parents and may no longer show herself nude in public. From then on, only her husband may see her naked; see T.O. Beidelman, Some Nuer notions of nakedness, nudity, and sexuality, *Africa* (1968), p. 118. See also E.J. Krige, Girls' puberty songs and their relation to fertility, health, morality and religion among the Zulu, *Africa* (1968), p. 174. It is considered indecent if Zulu girls cover their breasts in the European manner. In some other regions of Africa, the widow used to remove her skirt after the death of her husband and went naked once more; see R. Briffault, *The Mothers* (London, 1959), p. 394. No man has the exclusive right to contemplate the charms of either a girl or a widow.

70 Quoted in H. Heckendorn, *Wandel des Anstands im französischen und deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Bern, 1970), p. 39. A dress code of Strasburg specifically orders that, 'The opening for the neck should be such that the breasts cannot be seen'; quoted in J. Scherr, *op. cit.*, I, p. 290.

71 See R. Rocker, *Die Entscheidung des Abendlandes* I (Hamburg, 1949), p. 140.

72 See C. Piton, *Le costume civil en France du XII^e au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, n.d.), p. 122. 'It used to be that the women of Venice bared their arms and bosom, now they cover themselves with a wide garment and big sleeves,' according to a report by Sebastian Franck; quoted in A. Schultz, *Das häusliche Leben der europäischen Kulturvölker* (München, 1903), p. 247. As is well known, many contemporaries of Michelangelo were greatly upset about his 'Judgement Day'. Pietro Aretino, for instance, pointed out to the Pope that the Sistine Chapel was not a brothel, and in an open letter to the master, he wrote, 'Pagan sculptors may not have created a fully dressed Diana. But when they produced a naked Venus, at least they had her cover her private parts with her hand, never allowing them to be uncovered. Even a Christian who prefers art to faith, would still regard the decorative negligence with which the martyrs and the virgins are painted, as a forbidden spectacle, as also the gesture of seduction by a touch to the genitals. This is taking things so far that even in a

brothel a person would want to close his eyes in order not to see it. Your manner is more suited to an immoral bath-house than an exalted choir loft'; quoted in R. Lewinsohn, *Der ewige Zeus* (Hamburg, 1955), p. 339. The Congregation of the Council decided on 21 January 1564 that the nudity and gestures should be painted over. Michelangelo refused to do it, so the job was entrusted to one Daniello da Volterra, who henceforth was nicknamed *braghettone,* 'the maker of breeches'; see G. Papini, *Michelangelo und sein Lebenskreis* (Düsseldorf, 1952), p. 433. Two centuries later even the antique statues of deities were provided with tin loin cloths, or at least the male ones had their member covered by glueing marble grape leaves over it. At the beginning of the New Age, the wearing of *décolleté* necklines that were too deep, as well as excessively luxurious attire, was punished by the city governments by high fines or temporary banishment. The Church also intervened, chastising the women by refusing them communion, and excommunicating the husbands who did not take measures against such licentiousness; see G. Hampl-Kallbrunner, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kleiderordnungen* (Wien, 1962), p. 31.

73 See B. Reade, Die Vorherrschaft Spaniens 1550–1660, in Laver, J. (ed.) *Das Kostüm* (München, 1951), p. 194; and R. Scholz, *Das ewig Weibliche: Eine Kulturgeschichte des Schönheitsideals* (Hamburg, 1968), p. 45.

74 Comtesse d'Aulnoy, *Relation du voyage d'Espagne* II (La Haye, 1715), p. 128; quoted in O. Stoll, *op. cit.*, p. 567. The 'ultimate favour' consisted of a woman showing the man her foot. According to K. Weinhold (*op. cit.*, p. 145) it was a terrible disgrace for a lady of the early Middle Ages for a strange man to see her barefoot.

75 See F. Braudel, *Die Geschichte der Zivilisation* (München, 1971), p. 355. In the seventeenth century, there were bitter complaints at a Zurich synod that, 'The young people go bathing together without any restraint in rivers and lakes, and at the time of the harvest, lie next to each other in the forest'; quoted in H. Métraux, *Schweizer Jugendleben in fünf Jahrhunderten* (Zürich, 1942), p. 36. Somewhat later there was still the possibility of both sexes bathing together; however, we are now told, 'Both sexes bathe together without distinction at the same time and at one location, because people have bath clothing that covers everything. The women are well groomed, and their skirts have lead in the seams so that the weight will keep them down'; quoted in W. Hofstaetter, H. Reichmann and J. Schneider, *Ein Jahrtausend deutscher Kultur im Bilde* (Leipzig, 1929), p. 29. With some justification an analogous development can also be seen in ancient Rome. During the time of the Republic, a senator was rebuked for having kissed his wife in the presence of her daughters. Under the Caesars, 'nude women of pleasure' ran races during the Floralias, and people enjoyed themselves in mixed bath-houses. Soon, however, mixed bathing was suppressed, initially under Hadrian and Alexander Severus, and definitely by Constantine, precisely at the same time when 'demons' became more prevalent; see W.E.H. Lecky, *op. cit.*, pp. 653, 656, 664.

76 See G. Freytag, *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit* II (Leipzig, n.d.), p. 388.

77 See P. Ziegler, *The Black Death* (London, 1969), p. 271; and H. Reincke, Bevölkerungsprobleme der Hansestädte, in Haase, C. (ed.) *Die Stadt des Mittelalters* III (Darmstadt, 1976), p. 267. The 'dance on the vulcano' may have meant a life of sensuous pleasure in the present:– *après nous le deluge.* But the considerable drop in the number of inhabitants also contributed to women gaining an importance that they knew neither before nor after this time.

78 See A. Borst, *Lebensformen im Mittelalter* (Frankfurt, 1973), p. 202. Even the Japanese, for whom both sexes bathing in the nude together was something taken for granted, were incensed about the 'aggressiveness' of the *décolleté* style; see M. Scheler, Über Scham und Schamgefühl in *Schriften aus dem Nachlass* I (Bern, 1957), p. 92.

79 The sexual morality of the preceding period was distinctly patriarchal and restrictive. Prostitution was tolerated more or less in most places, but masturbation was punished, and the penalty for 'sins against nature', such as homosexuality, sodomy etc., was more severe than that for seducing young girls or raping nuns. Intercourse was allowed only for those married, but even for them merely for the purpose of procreation and not for pleasure. If a woman became pregnant, she was forbidden any enjoyment of sex; see R. Delort, *Life in the Middle Ages* (London, 1974), p. 116. The representation of nudity and obscenity was stringently disapproved of as long as the subjects treated were humans 'within the culture'. Matters were different for demonic figures in or on the outside of Romanesque churches. They often grabbed for breasts or private parts, and on the exterior of the church of St Martin in Isle-Adam, there was a curly-headed devil engaging in cunnilingus. Other direct expressions of emotion were equally unpopular with the Church. Johannes Chrysostomos expressed the opinion that Jesus never laughed. Later, in the twelfth century, Petrus Cantor felt constrained to admit that maybe he had, but the only reason was that together with the guilt of mankind, Jesus had also taken upon himself human failings; see R. Warning, *Funktion und Struktur* (München, 1974), p. 109.

80 In this epoch, even the Virgin Mary occasionally forgot herself. For instance, in a French mystery play, she 'helped an abbess out of a difficulty she had got herself into because she had become pregnant by her father confessor; she then deprived an inquisitive woman of her hands for wanting to assure herself that the mother of God was really a virgin; and finally let a bishop drink milk from her own breasts' (J. Scherr, *op. cit.*, p. 245). In another play, St Barbara was hung head down and left suspended in that position until everyone in the audience had gained some deep insights. Even the Lord himself was not particularly squeamish. When an angel drew his attention to the fact that down on earth his son was dying on the cross, he answered sullenly, 'The Devil take me, I know nothing about it!' (J. Scherr, *op. cit.*, p. 246).

81 K. Bücher, *Die Frauenfrage im Mittelalter* (Tübingen, 1910), p. 45.

82 See K. Bücher, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 15, 79. 'Between 1389 and 1497, there is documentary evidence that Frankfurt had no fewer than fifteen female physicians whose names are known. Among them there were four Jewish physicians and three ophthalmologists' (K. Bücher, *op. cit.*, p. 23). According

to Schmelzeisen, professional organizations with exclusively female membership of twine makers, gold spinners and silk weavers existed in Germany only in Cologne. See D. Schuster, *Die Stellung der Frau in der Zunftverfassung* (Berlin, 1927), p. 6. The representation of the guilds towards the outside world was done by men, however, as was the handling of the professional seal and the policing of the trade; (see G.K. Schmelzeisen, *op. cit.*, p. 6). There are tendencies towards making women more independent and increasing their status as early as the late Middle Ages; see R. Manselli, *La religion populaire au moyen âge* (Montréal, 1975), p. 118. As we know from tax lists of the late Middle Ages, there were considerably more women than men in the cities, and in Paris, a significant number of trades were the monopoly of women; see K. Bosl, *Die Grundlagen der modernen Gesellschaft im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1955), p. 78. It is now common knowledge that the houses of the Beguines and the nunneries had in part developed into centres of learning even earlier than that. The Church soon viewed them with some suspicion, but they trained noblewomen who later were much more educated than their husbands. The latter became squires at a young age, and as pages at court had other things on their minds than reading books; see K. Biedermann, *Deutsche Volks- und Kulturgeschichte* II (Wiesbaden, 1885), p. 98. Mark Twain, in his work, *A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court,* provided a classic description of the anti-intellectualism of medieval knights. The reading of books, according to them, was at that time only for women and clerics.

83 See E. de la Boëtie, *Über die freiwillige Knechtschaft des Menschen* (Frankfurt/Main, 1968), p. 43.

84 See also M. Erdheim, *Ethnologie und Psychoanalyse* (manuscript), p. 254.

85 See J-P. Desaive, Le nu hurluberlu, *Ethnologie française* (1976), p. 219. During or shortly after the Thirty Years' War, fashion became somewhat aggressive once more. Around 1650, it was said in North Germany that the daughters of the burghers asked:

> Worum scholde wi den unse schmucke Titten
> Verbergen und laten im düstern sitten?
> We hebben se even so wenig gestahlen,
> Ick kan dem Schnider dat Makelohn betahlen,
> Dat he my dat Wams so deep scheret uth,
> Dat men my sehn kan de Titten und blote Huet.
>
> *Why should we hide our neat tits*
> *And let them sit in the dark?*
> *We certainly did not steal them.*
> *I can pay the tailor his wages*
> *So that he will cut the neckline so deep*
> *That people can see my tits and my naked skin.*

Quoted in H. Heckendorn, *op. cit.*, p. 38. For the ups and downs of fashion, see J. Richardson and A.L. Kroeber, Three centuries of women's dress fashions, in Kroeber, A.L. (ed.) *The Nature of Culture* (Chicago, 1952), p. 258. In his disappointing book, *Sexualität und Wahrheit* (Frankfurt/Main, 1977), p. 40 [*The History of Sexuality* (New York, 1978)], M. Foucault

describes in a convoluted manner how, during the subsequent period, sensual pleasures were rejected but at the same time increasingly desired and sought out. 'Innumerable searching questions directed at a person articulate the sensations of pleasure and provide them with a profile. They are fixed by his glance, concentration isolates them and gives them soul. Power plays the role of a siren who lures the strangeness that she is supposed to guard and calls it to attention' (M. Foucault, *op. cit.*, p. 60). (Translation by Goodman). This should not be construed to mean that stifling, inhibition and anxiety are necessary for sensuous pleasure. They may be required for the pleasure felt by the sadist, the voyeur, the masochist etc. But the lust of the voyeur is something different from that of those who in an uninhibited way find pleasure in seeing a naked body. The step from the hedonism connected with a girlie magazine to that of Auschwitz – lust is lust – may be smaller than one might think.

86 F. Agricola, *Gründtlicher Bericht, Ob Zauberey die argste vnd grewlichste sünd auf Erden sey* (Köln, 1597), p. 70. 'The Romanesque male,' says E.W. Klimowsky, in *Das mann-weibliche Leitbild in der Antike* (München, 1972), 'had no need to struggle against female elements within himself. Male characteristics were almost exclusively dominant in his sexual type. The man of the Gothic era, however, found in the distorted image of the witch the incarnation of everything that he felt germinating within himself and which he experienced as being new, strange and sinister.' Take Tristan, for instance. He was what might be called a 'softy'. His hands were 'soft and gentle, small, and long'. His body is described as one would describe a woman: lips like rose petals, a beard-less chin and long locks falling on his shoulders, an image familiar previously only in Celtic men; see J. Weisweiler, Die Stellung der Frau bei den Kelten, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* (1939), p. 243. In the later Middle Ages, Thomas Ebendorffer writes that noble men had nothing in their heads except the desire to ape the clothing, voice and gait of women. They wore long bleached locks and shaved off their facial hair; see F. von Bezold, Die 'armen Leute' und die deutsche Literatur des späten Mittelalters, in *Aus Mittelalter und Renaissance* (München, 1918), p. 54. In *Geschichte der deutschen Kultur* I (Leipzig, 1913), p. 188, G. Steinhausen writes that the adventurous Ulrich von Lichtenstein, who occasionally went to the lists in the role of Venus, 'bawls like a boy when his mistress says goodbye to him. His friend, the dean of Vienna Cathedral, and without a doubt a man used to combat, bawls with him, although he does not even know yet what about'; see also J. Hashagen, *Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Hamburg, 1950), p. 444. Bruno von Köln wept bitterly when he had to mete out severe punishment, and Adalbert von Bremen's tears flowed as he passed out the sacrament. The basic mood alternated between extreme joy and excessive sorrow in rapid succession. As civilization advanced, it may not have brought about an 'atrophying of spiritual functions'; see F. Herr- mann, *Symbolik in den Religionen der Naturvölker* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 11; and G. Simmel, *Philosophie des Geldes* (Berlin, 1930), p. 484. [*The Philosophy of Money* (London, 1978)]. But it certainly led to a decrease in the intensity of

emotional expressions. Women were usually somewhat less affected than men. Often it is the woman with characteristics of a maenad that works against the deterioration of civilization. Thus J.J. Bachofen says in *Der Mythus von Orient und Occident* (München, 1956), p. 380, 'Every erotic, sensuous civilization will lead to the same result, namely that women will be exalted over men and will lower men to a tool of their lust. Women will become equipped with all the charms of a refined existence, and men will be rendered strangers to the essence of their male nature.' Male fashion became more and more lascivious and glaring during the course of the late Middle Ages, the armour was luxurious and bombastic, the tournaments lost their danger, and etiquette became more affected; see A. Borst, Das Rittertum im Hochmittelalter, in *Das Rittertum im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 1976), p. 245. At the same time, lyric poetry emerged as more refined, artificial and exaggerated. 'Sweet' was one of the favourite words of the period, and people experienced their adventures increasingly in the fantasy land of literature; see O. Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 158. Reason was supposed to control drives. Petrarch saw its function as regulating the 'rebellious motions of the soul', and the humanists of the late fifteenth century were also striving for 'new ties'. However, since 'voluntary restriction' was not much trusted; see G. Weise, Der Humanismus und das Prinzip der klassischen Geisteshaltung, in Buck, A. (ed.) *Zu Begriff und Problem der Renaissance* (Darmstadt, 1969), pp. 294, 297, the authorities helped things along with a heavy hand, using decrees and threats. In a police order of Lower Austria of 1542, unseemly dancing, using foul language, getting drunk, 'casual intercourse', and even 'drinking to each other's health' were forbidden under penalty of law; see G. Hampl-Kallbrunner, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

87 Quoted in J. Michelet, *Die Hexe* (München, 1974), p. 133. The quote seems somewhat unlikely to me, but if not true, it is well invented.

88 See J. Berger, *Sehen* (Hamburg, 1974), p. 47.

89 Nudity is often connected with wildness and demons in other societies as well. For instance, among the Raji, women are always clothed and never dance, but the naked witches do dance, preferably with their hair loose during the nights of the full moon; see J.G. Reinhard, *Deskriptive Analyse von Schamanismus und Hexerei bei den Purbia Raji Südwest-Nepals* (Wien, 1973), pp. 68, 81. See also J. Thaliath, Witchcraft and witches in central India, *Anthropos* (1949), p. 892; and B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (London, 1922), p. 242.

90 J.G. Dalyell, *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1835), p. 452; quoted in O. Stoll, *op. cit.*, p. 168. Supposedly, the executioner often cut off the hair of witches because it was thought that there were amulets hidden in it, making the witches insensitive to torture. This was, however, if true at all, most probably of secondary significance.

91 The custom was retained into the peak of the Middle Ages; see G. Demay, *Le costume au moyen âge* (Paris, 1880), p. 100.

92 See G. Girke, *Die Tracht der Germanen* II (Leipzig, 1922), p. 103.

93 See V. Kellermann, *Germanische Altertumskunde* (Berlin, 1966), p. 101.

94 See D.W.H. Schwarz, *Sachgüter und Lebensformen* (Berlin, 1970), p. 103; and J. Dieffenbacher, *Deutsches Leben im. 12. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 129.

95 See *Lex Baiuvariorum* (München, 1926), VIII, 5. Among the ancient Hebrews, it was a great disgrace *for the husband* if the wife loosened her hair in public, that is, in front of other men; see J.D.M. Derrett, Religious hair, *Man* (1973), p. 101.

96 See G. Grupp, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

97 See W. Krämer, *Kurtrierische Hexenprozesse im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (München, 1959), p. 51. The accusation of illicit love-making was often raised against the members of medieval heretic sects. Occasionally, tendencies toward promiscuity may indeed have been present, and in Lombardy, men and women slept together in one bed; see G. Koch, Waldensertum und Frauenfrage, *Forschungen und Fortschritte* (1962), pp. 23, 36. During the Middle Ages, there were repeated attempts to enhance the status of women, usually on the basis of early Christian tradition; see, for example, E. Werner, Zur Frauenfrage und zum Frauenkult im Mittelalter: Robert von Arbrissel und Fontevrault, *Forschungen und Fortschritte* (1955), p. 269. As so often in history, as soon as the movement became organized as a church, equal rights for women advocated by the heretics were scaled down.

98 Unkempt, blowing hair had been the hallmark of witches even before the Christian era; see A. Ross, The divine hag of the pagan Celts, in Newall, V. (ed.) *The Witch Figure* (London, 1973), p. 161. Loose hair was the sign of a *percht*. 'You are a true *percht*,' people in the Tyrol used to say to girls who had not combed their hair; see I. von Zingerle, Perahta in Tirol, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* (1855), p. 204. Quite generally in antiquity, sorceresses used to loose their hair if they wanted to get in contact with other-worldly beings. In Germany, the belief used to be that demons could assert their hold over women whose hair was loosened.

99 'Cutting the hair equals social control. Dressing the hair may also be ceremonially equivalent to cutting it'; C.R. Hallpike, Social hair, *Man* (1969), p. 260. Not until the youths of the Chatti had slain an enemy were they allowed to cut off their long hair; see Tacitus, *op. cit.*, paragraph 31. Before then, they were dedicated to Odin, god of death, and were 'outside' in contrast to modern, shorn soldiers, who are even more 'within' the social order than normal citizens. The Masai also allowed their hair to grow freely as long as they were warriors; see O. Stoll, *op. cit.*, p. 166. At the height of the Middle Ages, letting one's hair and beard grow meant either the deepest mourning or it betrayed barbarian manners; see G. Grupp, *op. cit.*, II, p. 300.

100 Towards the end of the 1960s, Hamburg marines, men subject to comparatively rigid discipline, engaged in hunting down hippies, or men whom they considered to be hippies, to cut off their hair by force. 'If long, all right, but then only if well groomed,' is still a slogan of 'straight' society. K. Theweleit, in *Männerphantasien* I (Frankfurt/Main, 1977), p. 98, quotes nightmares of soldiers of 'Spartacist women riding on small scruffy horses, their hair flying, and two pistols in each hand.' Cutting off a person's hair was in many places

a sign of submission. When Karl Martell sent his son Pippin for adoption to the Langobard king Luitprand, he asked him that he cut off the hair of the youth as a sign of having adopted him. In contrast to the 'bound' women, the young girls wore their hair long and went without a cap; see A. von Heyden, *Trachtenkunde* (Leipzig, 1889), p. 99; W. Arens, Der Baum als Symbol der Frau, *Volkswerk* (1943), p. 260; and K. von Potkanski, Die Ceremonie der Haarschur bei den Slaven und Germanen, *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Krakau* (1896), p. 245. In Transylvania, a woman's hair was cut before she was fitted with the cap; see H. Bächtold-Stäubli, Haar, in *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* III (Berlin, 1930), columns 1264, 1267. The short hair of the young girls among the mountain people of Assam and Burma seems to be an exception. According to E.R. Leach, in Magical hair, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (1958), p. 154, it is to express that their sexuality is subject to restrictions. At the height of the Middle Ages, more than a hundred knights had their hair cut short in order to demonstrate their submission to the attractive countess Guida von Rodes; see K. Weinhold, *op. cit.*, I, p. 271. At the court of the Merovingian kings, losing one's long hair was equivalent to losing your claim to the throne; see E. Zöllner, *Geschichte der Franken bis zur Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts* (München, 1970), p. 242.

Chapter 6 Wolves, Death and the Island of Ethnographers

1 See E. Welsford, *The Fool* (London, 1935), p. 201.

2 See M. Bachtin, *Literatur und Karneval* (München, 1969), p. 37; and L. Kretzenbacher, Kulturbedingungen und Funktionen der mittelalterlichen Legende, *Ethnologia Europaea* (1976), p. 61. To be neutralized in this manner also seems to be the fate awaiting modern jesters or fools (I am not using the word in the pejorative sense, as does Agassi), as is happening, e.g., to Feyerabend for his work on the theory of science; see H.P. Duerr, In defense of Paul Feyerabend, *Inquiry* (1974). Other aspects of the events of youth festivals are also similar to those of fools' festivals. According to Meuli (*op. cit.*, column 1831), most of the fools' customs were taken over from peasants and the lower middle class. The aping or reversal of church rites does not seem to have played a large role, but did become a major annoyance for the authorities. The looting forays of the fools occasionally assumed threatening proportions. On Christmas Day 1249, a group of them broke down the doors of a convent, beat up the servants and drove the cattle away from the stables, so that even Pope Innocent IV had to intervene; see K. Meuli, *op. cit.*, column 1833.

3 See E. Hoffmann-Krayer, Die Fastnachtsgebräuche in der Schweiz, *Schweizer Archiv für Volkskunde* (1897), p. 184. See also F. Behrend, Das Erler Passionsspiel, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* (1913), p. 66.

4 E. Hoffmann-Krayer, *op. cit.*, p. 185. Gerhoh von Reichersperg was of the opinion that nobody could possibly play the role of the Devil, who was not related to him inside; see L. Röhrich, Teufelsmärchen und Teufelssagen, in

Sagen und ihre Deutung (Göttingen, 1965), p. 35. Violations of accepted standards of morality were especially singled out for punishment. Thus it was said of a 'devil' that he 'behaved in an unseemly manner toward the women, falling against them and pissing on them like a dog'; see K.S. Kramer, Volksglauben in Nördlinger Urfehdebüchern, *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* (1957), p. 43. 'Wanton and shameless touching, buffoonery, and other offences' are reported of the Saxon 'Christ masks', which were abolished in 1722; see R. Stumpfl, *Kultspiele der Germanen als Ursprung des mittelalterlichen Dramas* (Berlin, 1936), p. 361.

5 Quoted in E. Mudrak, Herr und Herrin der Tiere, *Fabula* (1961), p. 169.

6 See E.H. Meyer, *Mythologie der Germanen* (Strassburg, 1903), p. 88.

7 See W-E. Peuckert, Germanische Eschatologien, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1935), p. 4.

8 See L. Weiser-Aall, Zur Geschichte der altgermanischen Todesstrafe und Friedlosigkeit, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1930), p. 255; and L. Schmidt, Niemandsland, in *Voksglaube und Volksbrauch* (Berlin, 1966), p. 56.

9 See M. Rowling, *Everyday Life of Medieval Travellers* (London, 1971), p. 76. The severe banishment was called *skoggangr,* 'forest walk' in old Icelandic; see H. Kuhn, *Das alte Island* (Düsseldorf, 1971), p. 137. If somebody disparaged another person's honour, he was called *vargr,* a wolf. The cattle rustler, who was often punished more severely than a murderer, was called *gorvargr,* a 'cattle wolf'; see V. Grønbech, *Kultur und Religion der Germanen* II (Hamburg, 1939), p. 20. 'Defenders against wolves' that ride on wolves and maul the neighbour's cattle are frequently mentioned in witchcraft trials of Alpine countries; see F. Byloff, *Das Verbrechen der Zauberei* (Graz, 1902), pp. 75, 369.

10 Another name for Odin was *Herjann*; see E. Boehlich, Feralis exercitus, *Mitteilungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde* (1925), p. 57. The warriors who were members of men's clubs and who are mentioned in the *Bahman Yašt* also painted themselves black; see G. Widengren, *Der Feudalismus im alten Iran* (Köln, 1969), p. 35. According to tradition, some berserkers blackened their faces, and in the legends, they are occasionally referred to as *blá-menn,*i.e. Moors.

11 See F. Schwenn, Der Krieg in der griechischen Religion, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1922), p. 61.

12 See L. Weniger, *op. cit.,* p. 222. We are also reminded of the *Schutz-Staffel,* the SS, who wore black.

13 See H. Kuhn, Kämpen und Berserker, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* (1968), p. 222. It says in the *Heimskringla* that Odin's men went into battle *brynju lausir,* 'without a coat of mail'. F. Kluge, in *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (Berlin, 1967), p. 68, rejects this new derivation of the term. *Bjorn, Bjarki* and possibly also *Hrammi, Hrjótr* and *Jólfr,* all names for Odin, and all signifying 'bear' according to O. Höfler, in *Verwandlungskunde, Volkssagen und Mythen* (Wien, 1973), p. 248, also agree with the older derivation. The Indo-Germanic stem of this word is *bhero-,* 'brown'; see F. Kluge, *op. cit.,* p. 50. In the same way as the *ardāni* of the Assyrian king

Tukulti-Ninurta, the *young* warriors of the Heruli fought naked, i.e., without a coat of mail, and clad only in a short coat; see G. Widengren, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 35, 50.

14 In the *Havamal,* Odin says, 'Thirdly, what I can do if I want to defeat my enemies is to dull the blades of my adversaries, so they will not cut into weapons or staffs.'

15 There is also a similar tradition about Aryan men's clubs; see G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans* (Stuttgart, 1965), p. 25.

16 See W. Hertz, *Der Werwolf* (Stuttgart, 1862), p. 58. According to the *Völsungasaga,* Sinfjötli and Sigmund lived in the forest like wolves, wearing *úlfshamir,* 'wolf's shirts', and attacked and ate the people coming through the woods.

17 See H. Güntert, Über altisländische Berserkergeschichten, *Jahresbericht des Heidelberger Gymnasiums* (1912), p. 13. We should not forget, however, that all these stories originated in a time when the berserkers no longer existed.

18 See L. Weiser-Aall, *Altgermanische Jünglingsweihen und Männerbünde* (Bühl, 1927), p. 44. Such symptoms can be observed quite generally in those who have the vision of the *fylgja,* i.e. second sight; see K. Schmëing, *Zur Geschichte des Zweiten Gesichts* (Oldenburg, 1943), p. 69.

19 In his work *Försök at utur Naturens Historia förklara de nordiska gamla kämpars Berserka-gang* (Stockholm, 1884), p. 244 (see R.G. Wasson, *Soma* (New York, 1968), p. 343), the Swedish author Samuel Ödman was probably the first to suggest the thesis that the berserkers used fly agaric in order to bring about *berserksgangr,* the 'rage of the berserker'. Even earlier, Saxo Grammaticus suspected 'magic potions'. Most modern scientists, who have concerned themselves more deeply with the problem, reject the hypothesis, or at least treat it with caution; see B.G.W. Dimbleby, *Plants and Archaeology* (London, 1967), p. 73. The reason for their scepticism is the fact that fly agaric plays practically no role in the *Edda* and in the sagas; see R.G. Wasson, *op. cit.*, p. 177. It cannot, however, be ruled out entirely. For one thing, the Aryan *saká haumavarká* apparently used *haoma* to bring about their transformation into wolves, which, in the view of Wasson, is *Amanita muscaria,* and which probably originated on the high plateau of Kashmir; see S. Wikander, *Der arische Männerbund* (Lund, 1938), p. 64; S.M. Gupta, *Plant Myths and Traditions in India* (Leiden, 1971), p. 28; and W. Caland, *Altindische Zauberei* (Amsterdam, 1908), p. 25. The Luperci were said to have annointed themselves with a salve, but its composition is unknown. The centaurs, associated with Dionysus, were described as hirsute and shaggy, resembling animals 'with loosely flying black hair'; they got drunk on wine, had great muscle power, were knowledgeable about herbs and cured the sick. The centaur Chiron was the teacher of Achilles and also of Asclepius; see W. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte* (Berlin, 1905), II, p. 41. As we know from J.C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1910), pp. 211, 221, 228; from S. Zečevič, *Lesnik* – the forest spirit of Leskovac in South Serbia, *Ethnologia Slavica* (1969), p. 172; as well as from J.A. MacCulloch, Lycantrophy, in Hastings J. (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (Edinburgh,

1915), p. 206, the traces of these beings can still be found today. During the twelve nights of Christmas they raged over the land as Kallikantzari. According to Graves, they ingested fly agaric. Many of their traits correspond to those of the Indian *gandharvas* who, as we know, guarded the *soma* in the Vedas. There are also some indications, namely rock paintings that there was a mushroom cult in Scandinavia during the neolithic and bronze ages; see R.W. Kaplan, The sacred mushroom in Scandinavia, *Man* (1975), p. 76, although some of the supposed mushrooms seem more like fir trees, such as those of the rock drawing of Lökeberg; see V. Kellermann, Schiff und Baum als Sinnbild, *Germanien* (1938), p. 322. R.G. Wasson (*op. cit.*, p. 178) suggests that Ödman's theory should also be rejected because the symptoms of the effect of fly agaric 'are the opposite of berserk-raging'; see also W. Müller-Bergström, Zur Berserkerfrage, *Niederdeutsche Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1934), p. 242; and W. La Barre, Review of Wasson's 'Soma', *American Anthropologist* (1970), p. 372. But to generalize this objection can only lead to wrong conclusions. As O. Gessner and G. Orzechowski remark, in *Gift- und Arzneipflanzen von Mitteleuropa* (Heidelberg, 1974), p. 478, 'Psychomotor arousals which rise to a full rage lead to unbelievable muscle power; an intoxicated person, for example, who broke a bed with his left hand, had to be held down by four strong men.' (I am grateful to Wolfgang Bauer for this reference. After self-experimentation with fly agaric, he is not inclined to reject the berserker theory either.) In a saga about the berserker Skallagrimr, we are told that 'not even four men could hold him down'; see H. Güntert, *op. cit.*, p. 11. Were-animals of Ethiopia are also said to possess superhuman strength; see H. Findeisen, *Das Tier als Gott, Dämon und Ahne* (Stuttgart, 1956), p. 76. There are reports of fits of rage in Korjak shamans as a result of ingesting fly agaric; see A. Ohlmarks, *Studien zum Problem des Schamanismus* (Lund, 1939), p. 101. On the other hand, see also K.F. Karjalainen, *Die Religion der Jugra-Völker* III (Helsinki, 1927), pp. 307, 315; and W. Bogoras, *op. cit.*, p. 205. A Vogul song tells of a man who later turned into a bear, and who after eating three sun-dried fly agaric went into such a rage that he killed a large number of people; see B. Munkácsi, Pilz und Rausch, *Keleti Szemle* (1907), p. 344. According to A. Puharich, in *The Sacred Mushroom* (Garden City, 1974), p. 94, the atropine contained in the fly agaric, known as a 'transformation alkaloid', mainly stimulates the central nervous system, while muscarin, an antidote of atropine; see O. Schmiedeberg and R. Koppe, *Das Muscarin* (Leipzig, 1869), pp. 238, has the opposite effect, calming it down. This might *possibly* be an explanation of the exhaustion following the rage of the berserkers and werewolves. Musk, muscone and ibotenic acid may also be effective, but opinions expressed in the pharmacological literature are contradictory. According to H. Bastian, *Lexikon der Pflanzenwelt* (Frankfurt/Main, 1973), p. 232, choline and the alkaloid muscarine are to be found mainly in the skin, so that after peeling the mushrooms, their poisonous effect is considerably reduced; see E. Dunn, Russian use of *Amanita muscaria, Current Anthropology* (1973), p. 490. But even this opinion has been contested. The differences in the effect of fly agaric on the human mind, which obviously varies

greatly, may be intelligible because its content differs according to where it grows, and what other plants it is associated with. Early on, J.F. Gmelin, in his *Abhandlung von den giftigen Gewächsen, welche in Teutschland und vornehmlich in Schwaben wild wachsen* (Ulm, 1775), p. 41, writes as follows: 'If we are to trust certain information, they are eaten in Russia and sometimes also in France.' Hopi, of the Schönegg commune in Wädenswil, told me the same thing, namely about Swiss peasants. Lapp shamans may at one time have eaten fly agaric, but this is being doubted; see T.I. Itkonen, *Heidnische Religion und späterer Aberglaube bei den finnischen Lappen* (Helsinki, 1946), p. 149; and R. Grambo, Sleep as a means of ecstasy and divination, *Acta Ethnographica* (1973), p. 418. The only information that can be supported is that they drank a potion of birch ash; see R. Karsten, *The Religion of the Samek* (Leiden, 1955), p. 59. Had they actually used fly agaric, that would mean that at least one of the direct neighbours of the Norsemen was familiar at one time with its religious application. After all, they borrowed the stems *gandr* and *dirri* as terms for the 'magic bow' of the shaman from Old Norse, and it is not to be assumed that they would remain ignorant of this use of the mushroom; see P. Hajdú, Von der Klassifikation der samojedischen Schamanen, in Diószegi, V. (ed.) *Glaubenswelt und Folklore der sibirischen Völker* (Budapest, 1963), p. 186. J. Balázs, in Über die Ekstase der ungarischen Schamanen, in Diószegi, V. (ed.) *Glaubenswelt und Folklore der sibirischen Völker* (Budapest, 1963), p. 62, assumes that at one time Finnish shamans also partook of fly agaric, especially since all Finno-Ugric lexemes for ecstasy can be traced back to a single stem meaning 'fly agaric'. Werewolves may have been very susceptible to the effect of drugs. This becomes clear from a statement made to F. Huxley; see *The Invisibles* (London, 1966), p. 119, by the Voodoo priestess Dieudonne. He had given her 50 mg of LSD, and she confided to him that she would have to be very careful with the 'stuff', because of the great danger that she might turn into a werewolf, a *loupgarou*. 'Her warning was somewhat late, she already was one, she sucked blood. Later she told me that she had generally managed to stop sucking human blood, and was drinking that of chickens.'

20 See H. von Beit, *Symbolik des Märchens* (Bern, 1975), p. 191. The disguised players of the role of the Devil in the Nicolas plays of Styria, just like the bear-skin wearers before them, were not allowed to wash, comb their hair, or cut their fingernails for nine days. They were not supposed to go to church nor make the sign of the cross; see L. Kretzenbacher, *Kynokephale Dämonen* (München, 1968), p. 87. The same was true of the mummer players of the Nicolas plays in Lassing, who were not allowed to walk under the eaves, the 'boundary of the demons'.

21 It is reported of the berserkers that they emitted wild howls, as mentioned, for example, in the *Egils-Saga,* 'Then they were overcome by the berserker's rage, started howling greatly and bit into their shields'; quoted in H. Güntert, *op. cit.*, p. 10. In the early fifteenth century an association of warriors in the Valais called itself 'of the wolves'; see H.G. Wackernagel, *Altes Volkstum der Schweiz* (Basel, 1956), p. 14. In former times, 'dog' and 'wolf' were often synonymous.

22 G.W. Elderkin, in *Kantharos* (Princeton, 1924), p. 167, derives the stem *lykos*

from the word 'sickle' and contends that only secondarily was the wolf associated with Zeus Lycaios because of his 'mowing' teeth. I cannot comment on this etymology other than by saying that it was not accepted by others. M.P. Nilsson, in Vater Zeus, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1938), p. 158, also thinks that originally Zeus was not a wolf god and wolves were associated with him only as a result of human sacrifice to him.

23 See H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes* (Lille, 1939), p. 559; and P. Borgeaud, The open entrance to the closed palace of the king, *History of Religions* (1974), p. 12. The Couros of Lacedaemonia lived for a year as a wolf in the forest; see M. Eliade, Les Daces et les loups, *Numen* (1959), p. 17.

24 That such a person was also sometimes called a 'stag' may refer to the fact that he was hunted and suffered an 'initiatory death'. The legend of Actaeon, who was turned into a stag by Artemis and was then torn to pieces by his own hounds, or the tearing apart of Dionysus Zagreus, seem to point to similar initiations; see F. Brein, *Der Hirsch in der griechischen Frühzeit* (Wien, 1969), p. 46.

25 See F. Kretschmar, *Hundestammvater und Kerberos* (Stuttgart, 1938), p. 215; and K. Kerényi, Wolf und Ziege am Fest der Lupercalia, in *Mélanges offerts à J. Marouzeau* (Paris, 1948), p. 314.

26 See A.P. de Mandiargues, *Die Monstren von Bomarzo* (Hamburg, 1969), p. 82; and J. Theurillat, *Les mystères de Bomarzo et des jardins symboliques de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1973), pp. 6, 16, 110. Possibly the architect who planned the park of Bomarzo under a contract with the count Vicino Orsini, and also built this 'entrance to hell', was influenced by the epic poem *Amadigi* of Bernardo Tasso, published in 1560. In it, the hero needs to cross a magic forest full of dangers and terror, a theme also treated by Bernardo's son, Torquato Tasso; see G.R. Hocke, *Die Welt als Labyrinth* (Hamburg, 1957), p. 87. In the passion plays of the thirteenth century the entrance to hell consisted of an enormous maw of a devil or a monster, with gaping jaws and sparkling eyes. Of the entrance to hell of the passion play in Metz, we read in a manuscript of the year 1437, 'The mouth and the entrance to hell of this play was very well done; by the use of a machine, it opened and closed by itself, as the devils wanted to enter or leave'; see O. Driesen, *Der Ursprung des Harlekin* (Berlin, 1904), p. 72; and G. Cohen, *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théatre religieux français du moyen âge* (Paris, 1926), p. 95. R. Warning, *Funktion und Struktur* (München, 1974), p. 137, sees pagan traces in the custom of leaving the centre of the stage 'free'. In the passion play of Alsfeld they used to say about the person 'who entered into that circle' that he 'had to go to hell with the devils'.

27 See G. Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion* (Chicago, 1970), p. 347. The name of the month is derived from *februa*, 'goat-leather belt'. Februus was an archaic god of death; see W. Liungman, *op. cit.*, p. 401. Marcellus of Side reports that at that time many people were afflicted by cynanthropy and behaved like dogs; see W.H. Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

28 See A.W.J. Holleman, *Pope Gelasius I and the Lupercalia* (Amsterdam, 1974), p. 32. During this celebration, two young men were cut on their foreheads,

formerly probably 'killed', whereupon they had to laugh, meaning that they were 'reborn'. The 'Easter laughter' of more recent times follows the same tradition. R. Warning (*op. cit.*, p. 120) also sees the sensuality and the coarseness intruding into the religious Easter plays in this light, as when Luke and Cleophas get drunk after the Lord's disappearance, beating up the innkeeper and addressing his wife rather impolitely by saying:

> Ich geb dir eins an die rotzen
> Und tanz dir um auf der votzen.
> *I'll bop you one on your snotty nose*
> *And dance around on your cunt.*

29 See G. Binder, *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes* (Meisenheim, 1964), pp. 83, 111. The original name of the cave was *spelunca Martis*. The wolf was sacred to Faunus and Mars, who were closely associated; see W.F. Otto, Die Luperci und die Feier der Lupercalien, *Philologus* (1913), p. 195.

30 The 'whipping' of the women on the 'feast day of the innocent babes' was analogous to this custom; see H. Guarinonius, *Die Grewel der Verwüstung menschlichen Geschlechts* (Ingolstadt, 1610), p. 1257; and G. Bilfinger, *Untersuchungen über die Zeitrechnung der alten Germanen* (Stuttgart, 1901), p. 85.

31 The Luperci were the dead and had the right to mete out punishment. This observation is supported by the fact that the feast of Faunus and that of the dead, the *dies paternales,* were close together; see W. Barr, Horace, Odes I, 4, *The Classical Review* (1962), p. 9. On Etruscan reliefs, the god of the dead, in the shape of a wolf or wearing a wolf's cap, is about to rise from the *mundus,* having slain a warrior who wants to prevent him from doing so; see W. Fauth, Der Schlund des Orcus, *Numen* (1974), p. 106. On the one hand, the *mundus* was a rimmed sacrificial pit closed by a stone, the *lapis manalis*; see M. Riemschneider, Rad und Ring als Symbol der Unterwelt, *Symbolon* (1962), p. 46. It was situated at the intersection of *cardo* and *decumanus* (a 'pole of the heavens' and the 'gate'), at the 'navel of the world'; see W. Müller, *Die heilige Stadt* (Stuttgart, 1961), pp. 21, 25. On the other hand it was dedicated to Ceres, or according to Macrobius, to Proserpina; see S. Weinstock, Mundus patet, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* (1930), p. 113; and represented an entrance to the lower world, which opened three times a year; see H. Le Bonniec, *Le culte de Cérès à Rome* (Paris, 1958), pp. 178, 413. At these times, a medium descended to the gods of the underworld, the *Di inferi,* in order to receive revelations about the future; see V. Basanoff, *Les dieux des Romains* (Paris, 1942) p. 6.

32 See A.W.J. Hollemann, *op. cit.*, p. 96; and J. Gagé, *Matronalia* (Bruxelles, 1963), p. 138. *One* of the historical roots of the ideas about *incubus* may well be such nightly visits by the 'dead' or the 'ancestors'. In Greece apparently, there were rituals at one time during which women had intercourse with Pan. Plate 26 shows how a girl with goat's feet introduces the stone phallus of a statue of Pan into her vagina from the back, holding on to one of his horns while doing so. At the door of a small temple we can see, as R. Herbig puts it,



Plate 26 Intercourse with Pan.

in *Pan* (Frankfurt/Main, 1949), p. 47, 'the figure of the owner in wild and happy excitement of love'. To say it a little less modestly, he has an erect penis. As late as Roman times, there was a Pan grotto in the sacred forest behind the temple of Diana in Ephesus. Only virgins were allowed to enter it, and they stayed there for two days. If a girl was no longer a virgin, the sound of the panpipe could be heard from inside the grotto, and the girl disappeared forever; see C. Picard, *Ephèse et Claros* (Paris, 1922), p. 370.

33 The father of the Hungarian *táltos* is often a wolf, who attacked the mother of the shaman in the forest and mounted her; see B. Gunda, Totemistische Spuren in der ungarischen *táltos*-Überlieferung, in Diószegi, V. (ed.) *Glaubenswelt und Folklore der sibirischen Völker* (Budapest, 1963), pp. 47, 50, 54.

34 Psychoanalysts formulate the matter this way, 'Only when animal nature has been befriended, recognized as important, and brought into accord with ego and superego does it lend its power to the total personality. After we have thus achieved an integrated personality, we can accomplish what seem like miracles'; B. Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment* (London, 1976), p. 78. See also A. Gutter, *Märchen und Märe* (Solothurn, 1968), p. 297.

35 See H.R. Ellis, *The Road to Hel* (New York, 1968), p. 127. The word *fylgja* does not seem to have anything to do with 'follow', but is probably related to *fulga*, 'skin', 'cover', i.e. the 'clothing of an animal'; see G. Zenker, *Germanischer Volksglaube in fränkischen Missionsberichten* (Stuttgart, 1939), p. 34.

36 Quoted in Grimm, *op. cit.*, p. 906. If we talk about 'another soul'; see e.g., H. Baumann, Die Sektion der Zauberkraft, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1928), p. 75, or of 'another body'; see e.g., W-E. Peucker, Der zweite Leib, in *Verborgenes Niedersachsen* (Göttingen, 1960), p. 20, then we have really not said anything. Or if we understand the term as the Cartesians do, we may have said much too much (see chapter 8).

37 See Å. Ohlmarks, *op. cit.*, p. 343; as well as chapter 5, note 19.

38 See J. Littlejohn, The Temne house, in Middleton, J. (ed.) *Myth and Cosmos* (Garden City, 1967), pp. 336, 338. The Banyang call this 'dimension' *ebd babu,* the 'bush of the were-animals'; see M. Ruel, Were-animals and the introverted witch, in Douglas, M. (ed.) *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations* (London, 1970), p. 335.

39 See J. Pitt-Rivers, Spiritual power in Central America, in Douglas, M. (ed.) *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations* (London, 1970), p. 190. It is for this reason that the Giljak shaman does not *turn* into an animal, but rather, he is human and animal *simultaneously*; see E. Lot-Falck, *Les rites de chasse chez les peuples sibériens* (Paris, 1953), p. 21. The Spanish conquerors thought that the *naguals* were originally Aztec priests, and possibly also warriors, later becoming witches, who could change into animals with the aid of *ololiuhqui.* Most ethnologists are of the same opinion; see, for example, G. Foster, Nagualism in Mexico and Guatemala, *Acta Americana* (1944), p. 89; and R.L. Roys, *Ritual of the Bacabs* (Norman, 1965), p. 167. See also W. Krickeberg, *Altmexikanische Kulturen* (Berlin, 1956), pp. 184, 252. They were not entirely wrong. After all, the everyday person and the *nagual* are two 'aspects' of the same human being, which makes it intelligible if the two of them are said to share a common destiny; see C. Wisdom, The supernatural world and curing, in Tax, S. (ed.) *Heritage of Conquest* (Chicago, 1952), p. 122. According to H. Berger (unpublished field notes), the inhabitants of Punyal distinguish between 'inner', i.e. human, and 'external', i.e. demonic, *rui,* that is, witches whose feet are turned toward the back. It remains to be discovered whether they mean the day side and the night side of human beings, or whether the 'external *rui*' are 'separate' from people the way the demonic *Perchts* of the Alpine valleys are.

40 See R. Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 13, 18. The author notes that the knights of the time when the ideals and reality of knighthood were no longer intact, no longer defeated the 'wild man' within themselves (R. Bernheimer, *op. cit.*, p. 122).

41 The straps of the tambourine were made from the leaves of the tree of the world. In other societies, the shaman might address a cedar with the words, 'The shaman Ynazyq requests a saddle-horse from you.' The tree was then felled and some of its branches were covered with elk skin. During the ritual, when this 'saddle-horse' was 'broken in', the shaman said, 'Your horse, your colourful garments *bičä-bora syryylyy,* has now become a living being. It has found a master, and has become grown over with flesh'; see S.I. Weinstein, Die Schamanentrommel der Tuwa und die Zeremonie ihrer Belebung, in Diószegi, V. (ed.) *Glaubenswelt und Folklore der sibirischen Völker* (Budapest, 1963),

pp. 361, 364. The Tofa shamans called their drum the 'white horse' or the 'reindeer bull'. It possessed ears, lungs, a heart, arteries, breast, croup and bridle. As the Tofa told the Hungarian ethnographer, about their former shamans, 'When they did not use the drum while performing a shamanistic ritual, they were on foot, but with the drum, they were on horseback. When hitting the drum with the drumstick, they whipped the animal, and they could travel very far on it.' If the skin of the shaman's drum tore, this meant that the shaman's life was in imminent danger, especially if the shaman was riding 'very high', that is, if he was 'high'; see V. Diószegi, Zum Problem der ethnischen Homogenität des tofischen (karagassischen) Schamanismus, in Diószegi, V. (ed.) *Glaubenswelt und Folklore der sibirischen Völker* (Budapest, 1963), pp. 339, 353; as well as S.M. Schirokogorov, *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus* (London, 1935), p. 303; and W. Jochelson, *The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus* II (Leiden, 1926), pp. 195, 197. I have something of an idea of what is involved. Years ago I experienced a 'horror trip', and was in danger of 'crashing'. It was through the drumming of bongo drums that I regained my balance. The clothing of the shaman was often that of an animal, of the reindeer cow, as in the region of the Stony Tunguska; see H. Findeisen, *Schamanentum* (Stuttgart, 1957), p. 81, or in the case of the Munster druid Mogh Ruith, a 'white-speckled bird headpiece with its fluttering wings', with which he raised himself up from the ground; see S. Piggott, *The Druids* (Harmondsworth, 1974), p. 163, who quotes this from the Irish text, *Siege of Drom Damhghaire. Puitsi érange,* 'to put on feathers', is the term for 'changing' of the Cashibo in the rain forests of the Peruvian lowlands; see G. Tessmann, *Die Indianer Nordost-Perus* (Hamburg, 1930), p. 147.

42 According to Z. Rudy, in *Ethnosoziologie sowjetischer Völker* (Bern, 1962), p. 100, there is also a version in which the shaman does not row a boat on the river, but climbs along a tree trunk. The version that mentions a river holds that the living have their homes along the central portion of the river of the kin group, the dead live along its lower course, and the *omi* souls of those who one day will be reborn live at the headwaters. Every person possesses a 'fate soul' (*main*). This 'fate soul' spends its time at the source of the kin river in beautiful forests, meadows and waters rich with fish. It is connected with its human by a thread that for the most part remains invisible. When a person dies, it is the task of the shaman to guide the 'body soul' (*bëen*) of the deceased to the 'bear ancestor' on a raft along the kin river. Soon, however, this 'bear ancestor' notices that the 'shadow soul' (*chanjan*) is missing. It, in the meantime, has wandered up to the source of the kin river and has turned into an *omi* soul. Against his will, the 'bear ancestor' now helps with the rebirth, for he follows the *chanjan* and succeeds in capturing it. But as they return together, it escapes and flies to the central portion of the river. There it falls through the smoke-hole of a tent into the hearth, the abode of the *togo mushun,* the female hearth spirit of the kin group. From there, finally, it will penetrate into the womb of the woman living in the tent, to be reborn once more. The *chanjan,* in other words, is immortal, for this soul always manages to escape death; see A.

Friedrich, Das Bewusstsein eines Naturvolkes vom Haushalt und Ursprung des Lebens, in Mühlmann, W.E. and Müller, E.W. (eds) *Kulturanthropologie* (Köln, 1966), p. 187.

43 See A. Friedrich and G. Buddruss, *Schamanengeschichten aus Sibirien* (München, 1955), p. 46. The authors base their conclusions on the research of Anisimov, whose work, unfortunately, is to date only available in Russian. [Transl. note: for a partial English translation, see *Studies in Siberian Shamanism,* edited by H.N. Michael (Toronto, 1963).]

44 See Z. Rudy, *op. cit.,* p. 93. The wooden *ongones* are representations of such 'double beings'; see D. Zelenin, *Le culte des idoles en Sibérie* (Paris, 1952), pp. 84, 94; M. Buch, *Die Wotjäken* (Helsingsfors, 1882), p. 133; and A. Friedrich, Die Forschung über das frühzeitliche Jägertum, *Paideuma* (1941), p. 37. 'Feathered sage' was a term for Taoist hermits; see M. Eliade, Der magische Flug, *Antaios* (1959), p. 2. The double or reversible masks of the Eskimos also exhibit both the ordinary human face and that of the *inua,* the 'animal part'; see E.M. Weyer, *The Eskimos* (Hamden, 1962), p. 299; D. Waite, Kwakiutl transformation masks, in Frazer, D. (ed.) *The Many Faces of Primitive Art* (Englewood Cliffs, 1966), p. 266; H. Himmelheber, *Eskimokünstler* (Eisenach, 1953), pp. 52, 58; W. Müller, *Weltbild und Kultur der Kwakiutl-Indianer* (Wiesbaden, 1955), p. 355; F. Krause, Maske und Ahnenfigur, *Ethnologische Studien* (1931), p. 355; and E.W. Nelson, The Eskimo about Bering Strait, in *18th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1899), p. 448.

45 When reassembling the body, one part is often removed and replaced by an alien one, which is the future connecting link to the other world. According to T. Lehtisalo, in Der Tod und die Wiedergeburt des künftigen Schamanen, *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja* (1937), p. 11, the shaman Djuhadie of the Tawgic Avam Samoyeds related, 'I have three spare body parts, and so I live simultaneously in three conditions during sleep. Usually I am also at three different places, and while I carry out a shamanistic ritual, I have, so to speak, three pairs of eyes, three pairs of ears, etc.' A smith had inserted these additional organs into his body during the 'death of initiation'. 'He then said, "I will now insert other eyes into you," and he took out my eyes and replaced them with others. I do not know myself where these inserted eyes are located, I think, under my skin. When I work as a shaman, I see nothing with my real eyes, I see everything with those inserted ones. Then the smith drilled a hole in my ears with his index finger that was an iron drill, saying, "You will hear and understand the language of the plants. . . ." And I actually acquired the ability to understand the conversations of the plants.'

46 In many parts of the world a vision of the *alter ego* is a message about impending death; see G. Parrinder, *West African Psychology* (London, 1951), p. 135.

47 Only the most daring shaman was able to penetrate to the eighth cataract of the kin river. Anyone going further had to die; see G.M. Wassiljewitsch, Schamanengesänge der Ewenken (Tungusen), in Diószegi, V. (ed.) *Glaubenswelt und Folklore der sibirischen Völker* (Budapest, 1963), p. 384. The Buryats

tell the story of a shaman who dared to bite the nose of Erlen Khan, the god of death. He and his descendants paid dearly for it; see L. Krader, Buryat religion and society, in Middleton, J. (ed.) *Gods and Rituals* (Garden City, 1967), p. 115. During their journeys, the Saulteaux shamans often saw the bleached bones of their predecessors who had had an accident; see A.I. Hallowell, The spirits of the dead in Saulteaux life and thought, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (1940), p. 34.

48 See C. Castaneda, *Tales of Power* (New York, 1974), p. 126. In some respects, the word *nagual* seems to correspond to the North American term *wakan*. Everything was *wakan* that lay beyond the order of things. For the Oglala, the first horses that they came to see were *sunka wakan,* translated by the ethnographer as 'mysterious dogs'; see C. Lévi-Strauss, Introduction à l'oeuvre de Marcel Mauss, in *Sociologie et anthropologie* (Paris, 1950), p. XLIV. The same thing probably holds for the term *nánde* of the South American Nambikwara; see C. Lévi-Strauss, *La vie familiale et sociale des Indiens Nambikwara* (Paris, 1948), p. 97.

49 See C. Castaneda, *op. cit.,* pp. 128, 133.

50 C.H. Merriam, Totemism in California, *American Anthropologist* (1908), p. 559.

51 See C. Castaneda, *op. cit.,* p. 266; as well as S. Wilk, Coming of age in Sonora, *American Anthropologist* (1977), p. 87.

52 See C. Castaneda, *op. cit.,* p. 176; also O. Pettersson, *Jabmek and Jabmeaimo* (Lund, 1957), p. 166; Ø. Vorren and E. Manker, *Lapp Life and Customs* (London, 1962), p. 124; S.M. Schirokogorov, Versuch einer Erforschung der Grundlagen des Schamanentums bei den Tungusen, *Bässler-Archiv* (1935), p. 76; T.I. Itkonen, Der 'Zweikampf' der lappischen Zauberer um eine Wildrentierherde, *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja* (1960), p. 4; and R.J. Beck, Some proto-psychotherapeutic elements in the practice of the shaman, *History of Religions* (1966), p. 324.

53 See R.F. Murphy, *Mundurucú Religion* (Berkeley, 1958), p. 26. If the Waika take a mixture of the 'leaves of the spirits of the dead', an acanthaceous plant (*Justicia sp.*) and *epéna* (see chapter 3, note 27), then a wild animal appears. The Indians cannot resist mounting it, whereupon it takes them out into the wilderness; see O. Zerries, Besessenheit und Geisterbesuch: Parapsychologische Erscheinungen unter den Mahekodo-tedi, in *Atti del XL Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti* II (Genova, 1974), p. 390.

54 Future *pujai,* the shamans of the Caribs, come to the 'crossroads of life and death' on their journey, where they either become shamans or die; see F. Andres, Die Himmelsreise der caraïbischen Medizinmänner, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1938), p. 339.

55 Quoted in K.H.E. de Jong, *Das antike Mysterienwesen* (Leiden, 1919), p. 54.

56 See M. Griaule, *Schwarze Genesis* (Freiburg, 1970), p. 39. It is astounding how modern European philosophers overrate themselves. In Vernunft und Selbsterhaltung, in Ebeling, H. (ed.) *Subjektivität und Selbsterhaltung* (Frankfurt/Main, 1976), p. 41, M. Horkheimer states, for example, that there is no other kind of philosophy except that of the bourgeoisie, 'because thinking started in

the cities' (!). M. Maurier, in *Philosophie de l'Afrique noire* (St Augustin, 1976), p. 24, refuses to 'term any kind of African cultural manifestation philosophical'. The 'speculations of an Ogotemmêli' he considers unworthy to be called 'philosophical'. Philosophy means 'love of wisdom'. I have no idea whether Maurier loves wisdom, but it most certainly does not love *him*. On occasion, it seems, Western philosophers do read what ethnographers write *about* non-Western, small societies, but they obviously have not learned anything *from* them. As G. Böhme says in Die Ausdifferenzierung wissenschaftlicher Diskurse, in Stehr, N. and König, R. (eds) *Wissenschaftssoziologie* (Opladen, 1975), p. 249, 'The expert usually does not perceive of problems as being relevant to his discourse, unless they are formulated in the respective technical language.' This is putting it politely.

57 See C. Castaneda, *op. cit.*, p. 128. In 'philosophical discussions' with Indians and other 'savages', anthropologists tend to behave very foolishly. K.H. Basso, in *Western Apache Witchcraft* (Tucson, 1969), p. 30, asked what 'power' was. The Indian with whom he was talking answered, 'You can't talk about *diyi* like other things. You can't hold it down with words. Don't try on it any more.' Instead of taking the hint, the ethnographer then attempts a pale and abstract definition. Examples of this sort are so numerous in the anthropological literature that we can only be grateful that 'savages' do not usually read these books.

58 See P. Radin, *The Winnebago Tribe* (Washington, 1923), p. 436.

59 See R. Bureau, *La religion d'Eboga* (Lille, 1972), p. 145. A Fang gave the following formulation. 'There is a fundamental unity of things. ... Many things which seem different are really the same. There is much diversity and conflict, all of which gives rise to *ebiran* and *nsem* (social and ritual sin) because of the action of witchcraft (*mbwol*).' The witches (*beyin*) confuse the mind of humans and destroy the understanding of the unity of things: they are the creators of appearances; see J.W. Fernandez, Symbolic consensus in a Fang reformative cult, *American Anthropologist* (1965), p. 911. The Bwiti initiation temple of the Fang has the shape of a deity in supine position, called 'Maria'. Passing into her body through the womb (see also chapter 3), one soon encounters the navel cord, the axis of the world, *axis mundi*, which connects the two worlds. 'It is the woman who has given us our skin,' the members of the Bwiti cult say, 'it is the image of our condition down here. By re-entering through the vagina, in an inverted sense, we lose it: this is the first step on the way to heaven. The reason is that in Bwiti, all starts at the door of birth, at the entrance post, by a rebirth, death in this manner becoming the true birth'; R. Bureau, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 50. Descriptions of this 'trip' into the 'womb of the mother' that I am familiar with were all written by ethnographers who, despite all invitations by those initiated into the cult, refused to undertake it themselves. For example, J.W. Fernandez says in Tabernanthe Iboga: narcotic ecstasis and the work of the ancestors, in Furst, P.T. (ed.) *Flesh of the Gods* (London, 1972), p. 258, 'As, in the end, an agent of science, I felt no such needs.' I forgive him as an anthropologist (i.e. I do not forgive him). What may contribute to such refusals is the fact, as Irene Löffler informs me, that the

ingestion of *iboga* is sometimes dangerous even for Fang initiates.

60 See P. Bourdieu, The attitude of the Algerian peasant toward time, in Pitt-Rivers, J. (ed.) *Mediterranean Countrymen* (Paris, 1963), p. 55.

61 C. Castaneda, *Journey to Ixtlan* (New York, 1972).

62 See L. Wittgenstein, *Tractatus logico-philosophicus* (London, 1922), 6.4311.

63 'I want to die in order to discover who I am,' said a seventeen-year-old girl, diagnosed by her physicians as suffering from 'mental anorexia'; see M. Mannoni, *Der Psychiater, sein Patient und die Psychoanalyse* (Olten, 1973), p. 156. Quite possibly the fairy-tale about Snow White retains memories of an ancient initiatory 'death'. There is a version according to which her mother takes the girl into a cave inhabited by dwarfs, demonic beings whom the mother knows that they kill all young girls; see J.F. Grant Duff, Schneewittchen, in Laiblin, W. (ed.) *Märchenforschung und Tiefenpsychologie* (Darmstadt, 1969), p. 93. The 'seven mountains' are perhaps variations of the mountain range of the world with its seven steps, which according to a Norwegian fairy-tale is situated 'further south than south and further north than north'; see O. Huth, Der Glasberg, *Symbolon* (1961), p. 25. Middle High German epic poems may also reflect such initiations. They tell of dwarfs, such as Laurin, abducting young girls who then need to be rescued by youthful heroes; see R. Bernheimer, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

64 See R. Katz, Heilung durch Ekstase, *Psychologie heute* (August 1977), p. 57; see also A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders* (Chicago, 1933), p. 176.

65 See K. Rasmussen, Intellectual culture of the Iglulik Eskimo, *Report of the 5th Thule Expedition* (Copenhagen, 1929), p. 114.

66 See C. Castaneda, *Journey to Ixtlan, op. cit.*

67 See C. Castaneda (1974), *op. cit.*, p. 265.

68 See L. Wittgenstein, *Briefe an Ludwig von Ficker* (Salzburg, 1969), p. 35. '"God," say the priestly traditions of the Tarahumara, "disappears as soon as one touches him too much, and in his place comes the Evil Spirit"'; A. Artaud, *Les Tarahumaras* (Décines, 1963), p. 21.

69 See J. Margolis, Don Juan as philosopher, in Noel, D.C. (ed.) *Seeing Castaneda* (New York, 1976), p. 235; as well as Wei Hsiung, *Über das Unaussprechliche* (Bonn, 1939), p. 38. A philosopher, speaking for all 'rationalists', put it to Adorno this way, 'How are we to understand that which is "not identical" except *as* something?'; see W. Beierwaltes, Adornos Nicht-Identisches, in Beierwaltes, W. and Schrader, W. (eds) *Weltaspekte der Philosophie* (Amsterdam, 1972), p. 11.

70 See M.K. Munitz, The concept of the world, in Kiefer, H.E. and Munitz, M.K. (eds) *Language, Belief and Metaphysics* (Albany, 1970), p. 229.

71 See C. Castaneda (1974), p. 241; as well as H.L. Edge, The place of paradigms in parapsychology, in Shapin, B. and Coly, L. (eds) *The Philosophy of Parapsychology* (New York, 1977), p. 118. (I am grateful to Eberhard Bauer of the Institute for Parapsychology in Freiburg for this reference.) Such a shaking up of our 'island' with the use of the thorn apple cannot be undone. As one Diegueño shaman said, 'It stays with you the rest of your life'; see G.

Toffelmeier and K. Luomala, Dreams and dream interpretation of the Diegueño Indians of Southern California, *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* (1936), p. 201. In his *The Natural Mind* (Boston, 1972), A. Weil contends that Indians are unaware that these experiences are also possible without drugs. This is not so, and the Indians know it much better than many a citizen of the 'Altered States of America'. The fact is attested not only by their own statements, but also by the large number of different strategies they employ. These are the sweat-lodge rituals, prolonged solitude, fasting, dancing; see, e.g., C.U. Nimuendajú, Die Sagen von der Erschaffung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocúva-Guaraní, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1914), p. 354, and the ordeal; see R. Benedict, The vision in Plains culture, *American Anthropologist* (1922), p. 8. The Plains Indians felt that drugs only facilitated the vision quest; see R. Shonle, Peyote: the giver of visions, *American Anthropologist* (1925), p. 59, and this was precisely the reason why many Indians rejected the use of drugs. It depends not only on the individual, but also largely on cultural conditioning whether a certain drug will be suitable for expanding consciousness. N. Alger, for instance, rightly reproaches Naranjo for injecting his experimental subjects with harmaline, rather than letting them drink a decoction of the entire *Banisteriopsis plant*; see Pharmacology, ethnopharmacology, and the use of drugs in Curanderismo, in *Actas del XLI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* III (Mexico, 1976), pp. 264, 266. But then he proceeds to contend that nothing that the *curanderos*, the 'healers', said about the therapeutic effects of *Ruta graveolens* 'stood up to rigid pharmacological testing'. This may not mean much more than that the spirits of the *curanderos* do not especially like pharmacological laboratories. Fundamentally, Alger is a positivist, just like Naranjo. Anyone who has smoked a lot of pot knows that merely talking intensively about marijuana will cause a high, or that sometimes one can carry people along on a LSD trip who have not taken any acid at all. Fellahin from Upper Egypt, using possession trance, need only briefly smell the fragrance of benzoin resin (*gawi*) for the spirit to appear; see H.A. Winkler, *Die reitenden Geister der Toten* (Stuttgart, 1936), p. 65. Certain seers (see chapter 3, note 84) needed merely to *touch* the seed pod of a garden poppy to promptly fall asleep.

72 After the ecstasy and a journey to the other world with the help of this plant, the initiates fall into a deep sleep which may last as long as a week; see S. Swiderski, Le Bwiti, société d'initiation chez les Apindji au Gabon, *Anthropos* (1965), p. 556.

73 In the course of this, all women are ritually raped; see I. Goldman, The structure of ritual in the northwest Amazon, in Manners, R.A. (ed.) *Process and Pattern in Culture* (Chicago, 1964), p. 116. At the moment when a bird is lowered from the roof at the centre of the house, the souls of the Indians begin to rise up; see I. Goldman, *The Cubeo* (Urbana, 1963), p. 210.

74 The raping of men by men has on occasion been observed when territorial boundaries have been violated, for instance among shepherd youths in Poland and Hungary. The victorious troops in Algiers humiliated the French consul publicly in this manner in 1962; see D. Fehling, *Ethologische Überlegungen auf*

dem Gebiet der Altertumskunde (München, 1974), p. 19; and I. Eibl-Eibesfeldt, Männliche und weibliche Schutzamulette im modernen Japan, *Homo* (1970), p. 178. According to a report of Ephoros such 'initiatory humiliation' was also customary in ancient Crete; see W. Burkert, *op. cit.*, p. 391. There are similar observations made about North American street gangs.

75 See F.K. Errington, *Karavar* (Ithaca, 1974), p. 84. As noted in chapter 3, note 72, there was a widely held conviction at the dawn of the modern era that incest was also committed at the witches' sabbat. Various sects were accused of the same digression. The Muslims of south-west Turkey, for example, believed that the Tachtaji sect prayed to the Devil, celebrated nightly orgies and intentionally violated the incest taboos on those occasions. Sometimes, a specific aspect of ritual activity may actually be at the bottom of such accusations. When order dissolves 'between the times', taboos tend to vanish as well. It is suspected, for example, that incestuous intercourse took place during the Indo-Iranian New Year's celebration. Of a Netsilik Eskimo shaman, it is said that he acquired his great power from having intercourse with his mother; see N. Sidler, *Zur Universalität des Inzesttabu* (Stuttgart, 1971), pp. 9, 48, 137; as well as H. Baumann, *Das doppelte Geschlecht* (Berlin, 1955), p. 75. I am grateful to Annette Primm for this reference.

76 This mushroom has not been identified botanically. In the ethnographic literature about the South Seas I found only one other mention of the use of mind-altering mushrooms. J. Layard, in *Stone Men of Malekula* (London, 1942), p. 633, reports that after ingesting *na-mbor* mushrooms (?), a woman comes in contact with the spirits, who then instruct her how to conjure up the wind and the rain. There is a well-known crosscultural relationship between mushrooms and lightning.

77 See M. Reay, 'Mushroom madness' in the New Guinea highlands, *Oceania* (1960), p. 139. There are reports, especially from the Celts, that even in normal times, women took the 'sexual initiative'. National socialist researchers, who place great emphasis on an asexual relationship between the Nordic sexes; see W. Emmerich, Der Mythos der germanischen Kontinuität, in *Zur Kritik der Volkstumsideologie* (Frankfurt/Main, 1971), p. 147, constructed the image of the Celtic woman as the opposite of the 'sublime' Teutonic one. For instance, W. Philipp is outraged at the 'audacious activity of women in love relationships'; see *Weibwertung oder Mutterrecht* (Königsberg, 1942), p. 93. With considerable satisfaction, he then quoted Cúchulainn who compares women 'quite generally with a boat, for which it is immaterial who gets into it'. A writer of similar convictions to Philipp says about a woman who 'takes the first step', 'In such cases, there may either be obviously non-Teutonic blood, or we must assume that something is wrong with the glandular processes of the respective woman'; quoted in H. Glaser, *Spiesser-Ideologie* (Freiburg, 1964), p. 184. Actually, Celtic women seem to have enjoyed greater freedom than their Teutonic counterparts. J. Markale, in *La femme celte* (Paris, 1977), p. 377, speaks generally of a 'sort of tranquil and smiling amorality'. According to the *Cáin lánamna*, the 'Rules Concerning Couples', of the Celts of the British Isles, a woman, for example, could leave her husband if he was

impotent, had no weapons or was simply too fat, if he betrayed marital secrets or suffered from permanent erection, if he violated the rules of hospitality or slandered his wife. In Wales, the rule was that she could separate from him 'either for some definite reason, or even without reason'; see J. Weisweiler, Die Stellung der Frau bei den Kelten, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* (1939), p. 325.

Chapter 7 The Upside-down World or 'Pot in Every Chicken'

1 An inlaid shell plate from an Ur harp, about 5,000 years old, shows a festival, perhaps a New Year's celebration that may be an older variant of these *Sacae*. Humans and animals celebrate together on this plaque, because the boundary between them has dissolved; see H. Kenner, *Das Phänomen der verkehrten Welt in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Klagenfurt, 1970), pp. 34, 37, 82; as well as Liungman, *op. cit.*, p. 371. The Roman *Saturnalia* has similar roots, according to Justinus, reminiscent of the golden age of a general communism under the legendary king Saturnus. This was said to have been an age when 'all was for all and undivided'. For this reason, masters and slaves sat at the table together during this feast; quoted in H. Strasburger, *Zum antiken Gesellschaftsideal* (Heidelberg, 1976), p. 98. The *odwira* feast of the Ashanti had similar, *Saturnalia*-like traits. Women and children, free men and slaves drank themselves into a stupor during the celebration. 'Neither theft, intrigue, or assault are punishable during the continuance, but the grossest liberty prevails, and each sex abandons itself to its passions.' A few days later about one hundred persons, mostly criminals, were executed. 'I never felt so grateful,' the ethnographer Bowdich adds, 'for being born in a civilized country'; see R.S. Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti* (London, 1927), pp. 122, 125. The Holi feast of the village of Kishan Garhi in Northern India, a favourite especially of women and Shudras, began for the ethnographer with the women throwing manure at him and spraying him with urine. They then lured him with the words, 'Saheb will play Holi with us?'. Later everyone drank *bhāng* (hashish) and embarked on an uninhibited celebration with reversed roles; see M. Marriott, The feast of love, in Singer, M. (ed.) *Krishna* (Honolulu, 1966), pp. 200, 203, 210; as well as E. Hardy, 'Narrenfest' in Altindien, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1902), p. 132. The Roman legionaries had a festival during which they donned female attire and paraded through the streets singing in a falsetto voice and imitating the spinning movement of the women. In their midst, they pulled a wagon bearing a soldier in the emperor's costume; see A. Müller, Die Neujahrsfeier im römischen Kaiserreiche, *Philologus* (1909), p. 483.

2 W.E. Mühlmann pays no attention to this very important meaning of 'reversal'; see Das Mythologem der verkehrten Welt, *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* (1961), p. 614.

3 See C. Hentze, *Das Haus als Weltort der Seele* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 55.

4 See A.E. Jensen, *Die drei Ströme* (Leipzig, 1948), p. 103; or A.I. Richards, *Chisungu* (London, 1956), p. 64.

5 See P. Buchholz, *Schamanistische Züge in der altisländischen Überlieferung* (Münster, 1968), p. 55. The 'inner branches' of this Teutonic world tree correspond to the 'inner leaves' of the miraculous tree that Alexander the Great is supposed to have encountered on his journey to the Orient, according to the *Scriptum Alberti super arborem Aristotelis.* A stork was said to have nested in its top. The alchemists of the sixteenth century equally spoke of the 'reversed trees' which bloomed in autumn, 'at the start of the end'; see C.G. Jung, *Von den Wurzeln des Bewusstseins* (Zürich, 1954), pp. 437, 441. The Siberian Udehé knew of shamanic trees which grew from the sky towards the earth, and on which *Sedum palustre* (stonecrop) was burned; see E. Kagarow, Der umgekehrte Schamanenbaum, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1929), p. 183. The name given to the Indian *aśvattha,* the tree of life, is sometimes quoted as *ŭrdhvamŭlam,* 'with roots toward the top', or, as we read in the *Chandogya Upanishad,* as *nyagrodha,* 'growing downward'; see J.G. Arapura, The upside down tree of the Bhagavadgitā, *Numen* (1975), pp. 136, 141. See also M. Bringaud, Les Birmans Karins, *Missions Catholiques* (1896), p. 537, quoted in A. Höfer, Die Religionen der asiatischen Negrito und der Stammesgruppen Hinterindiens, in *Die Religionen Südostasiens* (Stuttgart, 1975), p. 85. It has therefore been suggested that the *aśvattha* should not be identified with *Ficus religiosa,* but possibly with the *banyan* (*Ficus indica*), which is a parasite of enormous trees in the primeval forest. It sprouts long air roots in the thicket, giving the impression that these roots grow towards the sky from the jungle soil; see R. Cook, *The Tree of Life* (London, 1974), p. 18.

6 Quoted in U. von Mangoldt, *Der Teufel* (München, 1957), p. 18. In ancient graves, the dead are found to have their swords on the right side, so that once they arrived in the beyond, it would hang on the left; see E. Weinkopf, Die Umkehrung in Glaube und Brauch, *Oberdeutsche Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1928), p. 43. This may also be an explanation for broken objects in many grave sites. The Beltirs used to place the brandy bottle at the left hand of the deceased because, as they maintained, 'the left hand is the right one in the other world'; see U. Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Mordwinen* (Helsinki, 1952), p. 347.

7 See R. Thurneysen, Der mystische Baum, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* (1923), p. 17.

8 Quoted in C-M. Edsman, Arbor inversa, in Rudolph, K. (ed.) *Festschrift Walter Baetke* (Weimar, 1966), p. 85. See also W. Müller, *Die Jupitergigantensäulen und ihre Verwandten* (Meisenheim, 1975). This upside down *arbor vitae* of the female mystic is none other than the Lord.

9 See G.B. Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians* II (New Haven, 1923), pp. 79, 204, R.H. Lowie, *Societies of the Crow, Hidatsa and Mandan Indians* (New York, 1913), pp. 285, 288.

10 See V.F. Ray, The contrary behavior pattern in American Indian ceremonialism, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* (1945), p. 78; and H. Turney-High, The bluejay dance, *American Anthropologist* (1933), p. 104. The Salish have a myth according to which in the times of the beginning protective spirits were neither animal nor human. Rather, the beings of this 'dreamtime' were

both. The 'time between the times' recurs each winter. Humans become 'wild' with blue jay power, the Salish say; they tear the clothes off their backs and evidence telepathic and divinatory capabilities; see V.F. Ray, The bluejay, character in the Plateau spirit dance, *American Anthropologist* (1937), pp. 594, 599, 601. There are reports of medieval female mystics, for example, of Christina of St Trond, according to which they could not resist the lure of high places, such as trees, towers and the roof beams of the convent; see L. von Strauss und Torney, *Deutsches Frauenleben in der Zeit der Sachsenkaiser und Hohenstaufen* (Jena, 1927), p. 78.

11 See W. Müller, Der Rankesche Irrtum, *Scheidewege* (1973), p. 443. Heyoka, the giant of the Sioux, went about naked during the winter, while wearing clothes in the summer. Hot water was cold for him and cold water, hot. If people insulted him, he answered kindly; see W. Müller, Zum Mythologem des halben Menschen in Nordamerika, in Haberland, E. (ed.) *Festschrift für Ad. E. Jensen* II (München, 1964), p. 400.

12 See B.G. Myerhoff, Peyote and Huichol worldview, in Rubin, V. (ed.) *Cannabis and Culture* (The Hague, 1975), p. 421. See also S.P. Edelman, Ascension motifs and reversals in Tewa narratives, *Journal of Anthropological Research* (1974), p. 39; and S.H. Wassén, Einige Daten zum Gebrauch indianischer Schnupfdrogen, *Ethnologische Zeitschrift Zürich* (1971), p. 59. During the Holi festival, mentioned above, the youthful mob catches some old man and sets him on a donkey, facing backwards; see M. Marriott, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

13 See M. Münzel, *Medizinmannwesen und Geistervorstellungen bei den Kamayurá* (Wiesbaden, 1971), p. 205; and H.K. Haeberlin, SBeTeTDA'Q: a shamanistic performance of the Coast Salish, *American Anthropologist* (1918), pp. 252, 254. The present-day *payés* of the Kamayurá can no longer undertake a journey to the beyond. The situation is the same with the Cuna Indians. They have no shamans either anymore to go to the underworld. These practitioners were replaced by *simples rezadores* who sing epic poems about such trips; see F. Kramer, *Literature among the Cuna Indians* (Göteborg, 1970), p. 79; and J.T. Hitchcock, A Nepalese shamanism and the classic Inner Asian tradition, *History of Religions* (1967), p. 158. The Cuna singer can at most send *purpa,* 'images', to the underworld which fight against the demons there. The Bella Coola told Franz Boas that the world below them is Asiutanem, the land of the spirits. It is mainly their shamans who transmit news to them of this world which they visit while being enraptured. The road to this land of the spirits passes through an opening to be found in every house between the door and the hearth. The land of the spirits is along the sandy banks of a large river. Behind the village of the spirits there is a hill, the foot of which is covered by stones with sharp edges. When there is summer on earth, the land of the spirits has winter, and when for humans it is night, for them it is daytime. The spirits do not run around upright on their feet, but on their heads. They have their own language, different from every language on earth. As soon as the ghosts reach the underworld, they are given new names. The village of the spirits is surrounded by a fence; they also have dance houses, situated directly under the burial grounds of every village. That is where they celebrate their Kusiut. Once

someone enters such a dance house, there is no way in which he can return to earth directly. But the souls can, if they wish, use a rope ladder to climb up into the lower heavens. From there, the gods can send them back to earth, to be reborn as children of the same family to which they once belonged; quoted in H.V. Beit, *Symbolik des Märchens* (Bern, 1975), p. 74.

14 See M. Granet, *The Religion of the Chinese People* (Oxford, 1975) p. 48.

15 Before puberty, girls live between life and death; they are not entirely spirit any more, but not yet quite human either; see R.S. Rattray, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 74, 103.

16 V.W. Turner's hypothesis seems to me to miss the point entirely. He proposes that the Ndembu or Luvale masks, with their combination of animal and human facial characteristics, shown to the initiates, serve to teach the neophytes 'to distinguish clearly between the different factors of reality as it is conceived in their culture'; see *The Forest of Symbols* (Ithaca, 1967), p. 105.

17 See L. Boglár, Beitrag zur Erforschung des 'wilden' Denkens, *Abhandlungen des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde Dresden* (1975), p. 315.

18 See D. Livingstone, *Missionsreisen und Forschungen in Südafrika* (Leipzig, 1858), p. 190 [*Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London, 1860)].

19 See J.P. Lebeuf, *L'habitation des Fali* (Paris, 1961), p. 388; and J.G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (London, 1935), II, p. 10.

20 See J.E. Cawte, Why we slit the penis, in Kearney, G.E. (ed.) *The Psychology of Aboriginal Australians* (Sydney, 1973), p. 387; J.E. Cawte, N. Djagamara and M.J. Barrett, The meaning of subincision of the urethra to aboriginal Australians, *British Journal of Medical Psychology* (1966), p. 245; and P. Singer and D. DeSole, The Australian subincision ceremony: vaginal envy or kangaroo bifid penis envy?, *American Anthropologist* (1967), p. 355.

21 See B. Spencer and F.J. Gillen, *The Arunta* I (London, 1927), p. 80, and *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1899), p. 202.

22 P.M. Kaberry, Totemism in East and South Kimberley, *Oceania* (1938), p. 273. These primal beings are often described as 'not unpacked' or 'larva-like'; see E. Vatter, *Der australische Totemismus* (Hamburg, 1925), p. 79; A. Goldenweiser, Totemism: an analytical study, *Journal of American Folklore* (1910), p. 191; F.G. Speck, Penobscot tales and religious beliefs, *Journal of American Folklore* (1935), p. 12; and figure 8 of H.E. Petri and A.S. Schulz, Felsgravierungen aus Nordwestaustralien, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1951), pp. 75, 88. In his *Method in Social Anthropology* (Chicago, 1958), p. 110, A.R. Radcliffe-Brown points out that Australian aborigines identify themselves with some animals on the basis of an analogy between certain relationships that these animals have to each other and those that they themselves entertain within their group. Thus, for instance, some societies in the interior of New South Wales are divided into two exogamous matrilineal moieties, calling themselves 'eaglehawk' (*kilpara*) and 'crow' (*makwara*). The aborigines consider themselves 'carnivores', and the principal food of the birds mentioned is meat. During the hunt, the men often start a fire which is carried by the wind, and then pursue the fleeing animals with their spears or boomerangs. The women stay behind, digging up smaller animals, such as malabar rats. There is

an analogy to this in the behaviour of the predatory birds. The eaglehawk is the principal hunter, while the crow waits nearby to wait for scraps. At times the analogy is even more astounding. Thus Waipuldanya of the Alawa from the Roper River reports of a hawk: 'I have seen a hawk pick up a smouldering stick in its claws and drop it in a fresh patch of dry grass half a mile away, then wait with its mates for the mad exodus of scorched and frightened rodents and reptiles. When the area was burnt out the process was repeated elsewhere. We call these fires *jaluran*'; quoted in A. Montagu, A remarkable case of tool-using in a bird, *American Anthropologist* (1970), p. 610. C. Lévi-Strauss, as he is wont to do, quintessentially complicates the case: 'It is not the resemblances, but the differences that resemble each other. ... The resemblance which the representations called totemic suggest, is between these systems of differences'; see *Le totémisme aujourd'hui* (Paris, 1962), p. 111 [*Totemism* (Boston, 1963)]. The manner of formulation is probably taken from Trubetzkoj's phonology. Trubetzkoj does not define phonemes 'substantively', that is as acoustic phenomena, but rather on the basis of their belonging to 'contrastive sets', as *values* within a system. As L. Dumont says in *Homo hierarchicus* (Paris, 1966), p. 61, 'It is not something, but only the other one of the others.' In the case of our example this means that the 'totemistic value' of the hawk or of the crow is determined on the basis of the 'difference' between the two birds, representing the one 'system', which in turn is analogous to the difference between humans, namely the other 'system'. If we want to be understood only by other experts in the field, we can, of course, formulate the matter this way. However, if other mortals are also to comprehend what it is we are talking about, then we might say that the natives noticed that birds on the hunt behaved with each other as men and women did while hunting. Annette Primm drew my attention to the fact that the analogy does not quite hold good because each moiety contains men as well as women, that is, humans whose comportment to each other resembles the eaglehawk–crow relationship. This, of course, means that the manner in which a hunt is organized does not account for ascribing the particular bird names to the moieties. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown (*op. cit.*, pp. 116, 125) similarly speaks merely of a general relationship of tension between the two moieties which seems equivalent to the contrastive relationship between pairs of predators, such as hawk–crow, eagle–raven or coyote–wildcat, that is, of 'friendly opponents'; see also A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, A further note on joking relationships, *Africa* (1949), p. 136; C. McClellan, The interrelations of social structure with northern Tlingit ceremonialism, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* (1954), p. 84; and R. Thurnwald, *Des Menschengeistes Erwachen, Wachsen und Irren* (Berlin, 1951), p. 94. C. Lévi-Strauss illustrates his views by pointing to yet another example, namely that the Nuer consider twins to be birds. He contends that the Nuer do this not because they discovered some sort of similarity between twins and birds, but because compared to other people, twins are like 'persons from above' as against 'persons from below', and as compared to birds, they are 'birds from below' as compared to 'birds from above'; *op. cit.*, p. 116. See also I.R. Buchler, Sémantique descriptive des catégories religieuses nuer, *L'Homme*

(1966), p. 39. This interpretation by Lévi-Strauss does not clarify why twins are said to be birds, but only why they are given names of 'low' birds. That explanation was already provided by their ethnographer; see E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer Religion* (London, 1956), p. 129. Lévi-Strauss (*op. cit.*, p. 117) writes, 'Consequently, the totemic relationship cannot be sought in the particular nature of the totem, but rather in the associations which it evokes in the spirit.' (Translation by Goodman). Lévi-Strauss thinks in other words that natural species were selected not on the basis of perceivable similarities, or because they were feared or admired etc., but because they were 'values within a system', because they were 'good to think about'; see *op. cit.*, p. 128, and *La pensée sauvage* (Paris, 1962), p. 15 [*The Savage Mind* (Chicago, 1966)]. If we examine the place in Evans-Pritchard's work that Lévi-Strauss is quoting, however, we note that he stops where Evans-Pritchard continues, 'Similarly those who respect bees respect them not because they are bees but because their colour resembles to Nuer eyes the python, and it is probably the same with the soldier ants and the tree cobra' (E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *op. cit.*, p. 82). The sentence preceding this quotation makes it even clearer what it was that Evans-Pritchard meant by 'association', in contrast to what Lévi-Strauss made of it. He tells us there about the *nyuot* tree that 'when planted in the rain the sapling generally takes root' (E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *op. cit.*, p. 57). For this reason, it is connected with the Gaanwor clan which has a special relationship to rain. The waterbuck and various species of fish are related to this tree as secondary totems for the same reason. Why then are the twins called birds? This was the question that Lévi-Strauss wanted to clarify. Evans-Pritchard gives one of the reasons: the Nuer contend that birds usually lay *two* eggs, as do turtles and crocodiles in their view. J.H.M. Beattie, in Twin ceremonies in Bunyoro, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (1962), p. 11, says that the Nyoro associate their twins with pythons because it is said that they always lay two eggs at one time. For this reason, the python is called *nyinabarongo*, 'mother of twins'; see also C.G. Seligman and B.Z. Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* (London, 1932), p. 168. When a twin dies, people say that it flew away, using the word describing the flight of birds. Formerly, the child was placed in a reed basket which was then suspended in a forked branch; see C.G. Seligman and B.Z. Seligman, *op. cit.*, p. 129; also H.C. Jackson, The Nuer of the Upper Nile Province, *Sudan Notes and Records* (1923), p. 157; E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Birds, twins, and vegetables, *Man* (1966), p. 398; A. Kitching, *On the Backwaters of the Nile* (London, 1912), p. 265; and F.S.C. Crazzolara, *Zur Gesellschaft und Religion der Nueer* (Mödling, 1953), p. 200. The second reason may well be that twin births are extremely rare and are therefore attributed to 'heavenly influence'. 'High-flying' birds such as the pied crow, the kite, the pelican, the maribou stork, the eagle, the crested crane, the Cape Paradise flycatcher, the wagtail and the durra-birds are migratory, and consequently disappear periodically. So it is assumed that during their absence, they are with God. For this reason, in many regions of Africa, twins are called 'children of heaven'; see J.R. Harris, *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* (Cambridge, 1906), pp. 19, 26. Quite often they are equated with birds; see J.

Driberg, *The Lango* (London, 1923), p. 143. The Aśvins, the divine twins of the Rigveda, were also seen as heavenly birds, and were considered the sons of the sky god Dyaus, just as Castor and Pollux, the Greek Dioscuri, were taken to be the sons of heavenly Zeus. Latvian folksongs say that twins rise to the sky like falcons and dive toward the fields like black crows; see D. Ward, *The Divine Twins* (Berkeley, 1968), pp. 10, 24. In agreement with Baumann, S. Lagercrantz, Über willkommene und unwillkommene Zwillinge in Afrika, *Ethnologiska Studier* (1942), p. 220, suggests that there is a connection between the tree burial of Nuer twins and the return to the ancestors. At one time Alyett, the first woman, stepped out of the holy tree, and it is to her that the twins return in order to be reborn. At any rate, it should be obvious that Lévi-Strauss' constructs do not explain what they are intended to explicate. They may be 'good to think about' but they are not 'good to eat'.

23 'We know what it is like to be us,' says T. Nagel in What is it like to be a bat? *Philosophical Review* (1974), p. 440. He argues that we can never assume the 'point of view' of a bat, because we are not bats. Somewhat overstating the matter, we might say that we will not know what it is like to be us until we have 'flown' with bat's wings. All human beings do, of course, have rudimentary wings of that sort, or else nobody could understand anybody else, or even himself. Nagel should have learned that much from Wittgenstein; see M.B. Wiseman, Empathetic identification, *American Philosophical Quarterly* (1978), pp. 109, 113; R. Macksey, Lions and squares, in Macksey, R. and Donato, E. (eds) *The Languages of Criticism and the Sciences of Man* (Baltimore, 1970), p. 14; and Z. Vendler, A note to the paralogisms, in Ryle, G. (ed.) *Contemporary Aspects of Philosophy* (Stocksfield, 1977), p. 120.

24 For this reason, it is incorrect to assert that a person can have 'no direct access to the subjective images of anybody else', as does H.J. Heringer, *Praktische Semantik* (Stuttgart, 1974), p. 14 [*Practical Semantics* (The Hague, 1978)]; and A. Leeds, 'Subjective' and 'objective' in social anthropological epistemology, in Seeger, R.J. and Cohen, R.S. (eds) *Philosophical Foundations of Science* (Dordrecht, 1974), p. 351. Such an access is always available. What Heringer *means* is probably something different, namely that I am I and not someone else. Such a statement, however, does not even represent a clarification of a concept, let alone the expression of an experience. Or do we actually experience the validity of the 'identity proposition', meaning that it can be 'applied' to reality? 'In logics there is no "problem of application"', Wittgenstein once said.

25 See W.S. Simmons, *Eyes of the Night* (Boston, 1971), pp. 75, 78; and J.D. Viccars, Witchcraft in Bolobo, *Africa* (1949), p. 222.

26 See also H. Philsooph, Primitive magic and mana, *Man* (1971), p. 198; and especially the works of Werner Müller on this subject.

27 N. Elias, in The sciences: towards a theory, in Whitley, R. (ed.) *Social Processes of Scientific Develoment* (London, 1974), p. 30; proposes that the word 'chaos' cannot designate any object of experience. This means that he fails to recognize that in everyday language this concept describes the dissolution of the

prevailing order. A philosopher would say that we are dealing with a 'limiting notion'.

28 See G. Spindler and L. Spindler, *Dreamers Without Power* (New York, 1971), p. 99.

29 T. Schneebaum, *Ich war ein Kannibale* (Stuttgart, 1971), p. 82 [*Keep the River to Your Right* (New York, 1969)]. (Translation by Goodman)

Chapter 8 A Midsummernight's Dream?

1 Quoted in D. von Uslar, *Der Traum als Welt* (Pfullingen, 1964), p. 191.

2 There is no agreement about the place of origin of the thorn apple. On the one hand, it is thought that it came from Southern Russia or Central Asia; see P. Graebner, *Lehrbuch der allgemeinen Pflanzengeographie* (Leipzig, 1929), p. 133. According to a more recent opinion, it was imported from Mexico; see H. Menzel-Tettenborn and H-H. Herrmann, Heilpflanzen, Gifte, Drogen und Gewürze, in *Das Reich der Pflanzen* (Gütersloh, 1974), p. 79. It seems to me that both suggestions may be correct. But it does not seem likely that the gypsies would have obtained the plant from the botanists of the Renaissance or from explorers returning from New Spain. More probably, they brought it with them from their homeland towards the end of the Middle Ages. Apparently, they took it to North Germany as early as the sixteenth century; see J. van Dieken, *Pflanzen im ostfriesischen Volksglauben und Brauchtum* (Aurich, 1971), p. 73. But thorn apple did not become widely known until the time of the Thirty Years' War; see H. von Wlislocki, *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke* (Hamburg, 1890), p. 7 and E.M. Kronfeld, *Sagenpflanzen und Pflanzensagen* (Leipzig, 1919), p. 22.

3 See R. Liebich, *Die Zigeuner in ihrem Wesen und in ihrer Sprache* (Leipzig, 1863), p. 3. Not until the sixteenth century did the gypsies constitute the bulk of the itinerant population in Germany; see A. Waas, *Der Mensch im deutschen Mittelalter* (Graz, 1964), p. 217.

4 It is doubtful whether the *čovali,* the sorceresses of the Transylvanian gypsies, ever used thorn apple to induce trembling; see H. von Wlislocki, Wesen und Wirkungskreis der Zauberfrauen bei den Siebenbürgischen Zigeunern, *Ethnologische Mittheilungen aus Ungarn* (1892), p. 34. We find repeated references though to this plant being used as an 'intoxicating drug' by the gypsies; see H. Arnold, *Die Zigeuner* (Olten, 1965), p. 196; also S. Golowin, *Zigeuner-Magie im Alpenland* (Frauenfeld, 1973), p. 105. What does seem to be reliably documented is that the seeds (*peshosheskro*) of the plant were used for fortune-telling and for protection against demons, but they were not ingested or employed for rubbing the body, as was done in India; see H. von Wlislocki, *Volksglaube und religiöser Brauch der Zigeuner* (Münster, 1891), pp. 86, 120; as well as C.G. Leland, *Gypsy Sorcery and Fortune Telling* (New York, 1962), p. 79. H. Marzell (*op. cit.,* p. 230) reports that the sorceresses of the tent gypsies rubbed the bodies of their patients with thorn-apple juice. In India,

sada dhutura was the favourite plant of dancing Shiva; see P. Mahapatra, Tree symbol worship in Bengal, in Gupta, S.S. (ed.) *Tree Symbol Worship in India* (Calcutta, 1965), p. 135. Nightshade drugs are used to this day in religious rituals in the valleys of the Himalayas; see A. Daraul, *Secret Societies* (London, 1961), p. 159. In addition, the gypsies seem to have employed thorn apple as a protection against lightning, the way houseleek (*Sempervivum tectorum*) was used in Germany. This was the reason why in some regions it was called 'thunderberry'; see O. Fergg, Sinnzeichen aus der Natur, *Mitteilungen der Pollichia* (1940), p. 246.

5 B. Berlin, D.E. Breedlove and P.H. Raven, in *Principles of Tzeltal Plant Classification* (New York, 1974), p. 489, express surprise that the Tzeltal of Chiapas should have 'a perfectly good Tzeltal expression' for thorn apple. The reason for their surprise is that they believe the plant to be 'of Eurasian origin, definitely post-Conquest', which is incorrect.

6 Reuss and Mejer seem to be the first to propose the thesis that the witches of the late Middle Ages used thorn apple.

7 It is not quite certain whether this plant, called *mûsu kitridutu,* 'fast night' in cuneiform texts, is actually thorn apple; see H. Tschirch, *Handbuch der Pharmakognosie* III (Leipzig, 1932), p. 1258. It is equally unsubstantiated that the *strychnon manikon,* the 'strychnon causing madness', of the Lesbian botanist Theophrast was supposedly a thorn apple, which had been introduced to Greece as a result of the campaigns of Alexander the Great into the region of the Indus river; see E. Gerhard, *Beiträge zur Geschichte einiger Solaneen* (Colmar, 1930), p. 90; and a critical review in G. Hegi, *Illustrierte Flora von Mitteleuropa* V (München, 1964), p. 2615. The same is true of the corresponding descriptions of the *strychnos* by Dioscurides and Pliny; see H. Marzell, *op. cit.,* p. 228. That the ancient Greeks used it as an intoxicating drug, is entirely unlikely, although it is frequently alleged; see B.E. Stemplinger, *Antiker Volksglaube* (Stuttgart, 1948), p. 31. On the other hand, the Arabian physicians of the Middle Ages were familiar with it, as is clear from texts of Abu Mansur and especially Ibn Sina, who describes a *jouz-mathel.* At the height of the Middle Ages, an occasional thorn apple may have found its way to Italy. Perusing herbal manuscripts of the late Middle Ages, I found neither an illustration nor a description that would have pointed to this plant. H. Marzell (*op. cit.,* p. 228) also doubts that the *stramonia* of Hildegard of Bingen was a thorn apple. It first appears as a stranger in the herbals of the sixteenth century, and not in all of them by any means. Bock mentions *datura metel* as 'a foreign apple', and L. Fuchs, in *Kreüterbuoch* (Basel, 1543), column CCLXV, quoted in J.B. Holzinger, *Zur Naturgeschichte der Hexen* (Graz, 1883), p. 20, writes, 'Thorn apples need to be grown from seed in the gardens, they do not seed themselves out in our regions; they are a foreign plant . . . recently brought to our land.' As late as the seventeenth century, Lonicerus (J.B. Holzinger, *op. cit.,* p. 197) says, 'And in addition, its medicinal power is little known.' At about the same time, J.J. Becher, in his *Kreuterbuch* (Ulm, 1662), p. 518, quoted in H. Marzell, *op. cit.,* p. 228 warns, 'Thorn apples are very cold, they should not be taken internally. He who does not want to die, should stay away from them.' It

is uncertain whether the 'stramonium' mentioned by Porta, in *Magiae Naturalis* (Amsterdam, 1561), p. 178, as an ingredient of a witch's salve is actually thorn apple. It represents the only mention of the plant in such a context. Most of the time, it is used for comparison. Thus J.G. Gmelin, in *Reise durch Sibirien* (Göttingen, 1751), p. 102, maintains, 'This plant arouses dreams similar to the erstwhile ecstasies of witches.' It is maintained, and this is confirmed by modern observers, that it induces 'shameless lecherousness'; see J.S. Halle, *Die Deutsche Giftpflanzen zur Verhütung der tragischen Vorfälle* (Berlin, 1784), p. 51, reminiscent of the mood during the sabbat orgies. 'Mixing the ground seeds with wine will produce an artificial, magic and fantastic tincture; if a poet would drink of our botanical hypocreme, it would provide him with his most exalted flight in odes; this happens because it will fire the pictures of the imagination in the most vivid manner, swirling the natural impulse of the muse beyond all enthusiasm of wine to the highest peak of Parnassus. Some of those intoxicated with it are gay, others fall asleep as stoics would. A quarter of a gram of ground seeds mixed with vinegar produces excitement; a quarter of an ounce will kill without fail.' J. Brunnemann *Discours Von betrüglichen Kennzeichen der Zauberey* (Halle, 1727), p. 37, is the earliest demonological work in which I found an unequivocal reference to the thorn apple. He says, 'The use of datura, which is widespread in Malabar, will present pleasant things to both those awake and those asleep. It will deprive people of their senses, even though awake, so that they will not hear nor see for laughing, joy and gaiety. This fact is so well known by now that even rogues and gangs of thieves will use it to carry out their nefarious deeds.' Brunnemann's information about 'strong narcotic herbs' as ingredients in witch's salves derives only from the literature. He has read of 'oriental bangoue', that is, *cannabis,* in travelogues, and he speculates that, 'one might think with some justification that the juice of hemp is possibly also an ingredient of the witch's salve mentioned earlier.'

8 Belladonna was equally unknown in Germany. Hildegard of Bingen's *dolo,* from German *toll,* 'mad', probably refers to this plant. Under the name of *faba inversa,* Benedetto Rinio mentions it in the first half of the fifteenth century. In the 1485 work, 'Gart der Gesundheit', 'dolwortz' is shown in a woodcut; see H. Marzell, *op. cit.,* p. 216. D.J.T. Tabernaemontanus, in *Neü vollkommen Kraeuter-Buch* (Basel, 1731), p. 978, writes about the 'forest nightshade', 'It is a foreign summer plant, which has recently come to us from oriental countries, and which some people grow in their gardens now more for enjoyment than for use.' Long before his time, however, belladonna grew in the wilderness, and Bock says that country people in the Ardennes collected it in the mountains.

9 It is not entirely clear what the *frondes populneas* are supposed to be that Porta (*op. cit.,* p. 180) mentions as an ingredient for witch's salves. One might think of the poplar tree, but it may also refer to herbs. In his *Kreütterbuch* (Strassburg, 1577), p. 132, H. Bock writes, 'Poplar is a commonly applied term in the west; people use it for many broad herbs, especially those not well known.' In Transylvania, the thorn apple is called *Papeln,* its leaves are described as *Puppelnbledder* (see H. Marzell, *op. cit.,* 1952, p. 2); the holly-

hock (*Athaea rosea*) according to Bock is *garte Pappel,* and in the late Middle Ages, K. von Megenberg writes in his *Das Buch der Natur* (Stuttgart, 1861), p. 407, 'The mallow is called poplar;' he means *Malva silvestris.*

10 R. Karsten, *Das altperuanische Inkareich* (Leipzig, 1949), p. 197 [*The Civilization of the Inca Empire* (Helsinki, 1949)], maintains that the diviners (*huatuc*) of the Incas used *Datura stramonium*; according to J.J. von Tschudi; see *Peru: Reiseskizzen aus den Jahren 1838–42* (St Gallen, 1846), p. 21, the plant was *Datura sanguinea.* The Spanish physician F. Hernandez, in *De historia plantarum Novae Hispaniae* III (Madrid, 1790), p. 19, writes in 1577 concerning *tlapatl Huexotzincensis* or *toloatzin,* 'Taken with caution, it will procure sleep for insomniacs, but if swallowed a little more liberally, insanity.' Sahagún referred to it as *tzitzintlápatl,* and A. von Gall thinks it is probably *Datura stramonium*; see Medizinische Bücher (*tici-amatl*) der alten Azteken aus der ersten Zeit der Conquista, *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und Medizin* (1940), p. 657. The Jívaro consider *maikoa* (*Datura arborea*) to be much stronger than *natéma* (*Banisteriopsis caapi*) and use it mainly for the initiation of warriors; see R. Karsten, *Blood Revenge, War, and Victory Feasts Among the Jibaro Indians* (Washington, 1923), p. 2. The plant is considered extremely dangerous and it is said that after taking it, one can fall into a coma lasting two to three days; see M. Harner, *The Jívaro* (London, 1973) p. 153; as well as P. Reinburg, Contribution à l'étude des boissons toxiques des Indiens du nord-ouest de l'Amazonie, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* (1921), p. 213. The Californian tribes considered the thorn apple to be highly toxic; see T.T. Waterman, The religious practices of the Diegueño Indians, *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Anthropology* (Berkeley, 1910), p. 296. Datura is also feared by the Zunis, by the Tewas and their neighbours, and is thought to be despised by the gods; see L.S.M. Curtin, *Healing Herbs of the Upper Rio Grande* (Santa Fé, 1947), p. 185, quoted in M. Simmons, *Witchcraft in the Southwest* (Flagstaff, 1974), p. 153; and I. Kelly, *Folk Practices in North Mexico* (Austin, 1965), p. 85.

11 The Tarahumara, neighbours of the Huichol, believe that thorn apples cause insanity, according to W.C. Bennett and R.M. Zingg, *The Tarahumara* (Chicago, 1935), p. 138. C.W. Pennington, *The Tarahumar of Mexico* (Salt Lake City, 1963), p. 167, thinks this an exaggeration. Some anthropologists believe that these societies formerly had a thorn-apple cult, which was displaced and discredited by the peyote cult. At the time the Yuma were the subject of anthropological study, they did not use *Datura discolor* either, although they were acquainted with it; see C.D. Forde, *Ethnography of the Yuma Indians* (Berkeley, 1931), p. 202. The Navahos thought of the thorn apple as an especially evil plant, but used it for divination anyway; see C. Kluckhohn, Navaho categories, in Diamond, S. (ed.) *Primitive Views of the World* (New York, 1964), pp. 98, 104. It also played an important role among many Californian societies; see A.L. Kroeber, Elements of culture in native California, *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Anthropology* (Berkeley, 1922), p. 304, and A mission record of the California

Indians, *op. cit.* (1908), p. 8; M.C. Stevenson, Ethnobotany of the Zuni Indians, *30th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1915), p. 90; and H.E. Driver and W.C. Massey, Comparative studies of North American Indians, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* (1957), p. 273. Among Mexican peasants, *toloache* is notorious for the fact that with its aid women can break the resistance of men, rendering them *tonto*, 'dumb'. They must, however, use it carefully, otherwise instead of having a simpleton sitting around at home, they may have an idiot; see O. Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village* (Urbana, 1963), p. 324. The dangerous *thugs* of the goddess Kali in the jungles of the Sunderbunds are said to have used the thorn apple to break the will of their victims; see W.E. Safford, Daturas of the Old World and New, *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institute* (Washington, 1922), p. 548.

12 For ethnologists, who love definitions more than problems, the designation of *shaman* may be inadmissible in view of their homegrown definitions. They may substitute a word of their choice for the concept.

13 The inhabitants of Sandia Pueblo believe that *brujos* 'shoot' the thorn apple into people whom they want to bewitch; see F.H. Ellis, Pueblo witchcraft and medicine, in *Systems of North American Witchcraft and Sorcery* (Moscow, 1970), p. 51. In Germany, it is a sprite (*Bilwis*), usually living in trees or in the mountains, who is particularly infamous for his missiles that bring illness,

> dâ kom ich an bulwechsperg gangen,
> dâ schôz mich der bulwechs,
> dâ schôz mich die bulwechsin,
> dâ schôz mich als ir ingesind.
> *I came by Bilwis mountain,*
> *then the Bilwis shot me,*
> *then his wife shot me,*
> *then also their attendants shot me.*

Quoted in L. Mackensen, Bilwis, in Bächtold-Stäubli, H. (ed.) *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* I (Berlin, 1927), column 1313. The 'Bilwis bullet' is also called the 'arrow of Diana'; see chapter 2, note 29.

14 See P.T. Furst and B.G. Myerhoff, The jimson weed cycle of the Huichols of Mexico, *Antropologica* (June 1966), p. 9 (translation by Goodman).

15 See C. DuBois, The religion of the Luiseño Indians of Southern California, *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Anthropology* (Berkeley, 1908), pp. 77, 176; and J. Culley, The Californian Indians: their medical practice and drugs, *Journal of the American Pharmacological Association* (1936), p. 332.

16 'Grandfather' refers to Tatewarí, the first *mara'akáme*.

17 See P.T. Furst and B.G. Myerhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 21 (translation by Goodman).

18 See P.T. Furst, Myth in art: a Huichol depicts his reality, *Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History Quarterly* (1968), p. 24.

19 B.G. Myerhoff (*Peyote Hunt* (Ithaca, 1974), p. 45; see plate 17 in this book) describes how present-day peyote shamans climb high rocks, as is said also of 'thorn-apple witches'. 'We watched in astonishment as he proceeded to leap

across the waterfall, from rock to rock, pausing frequently, his body bent forward, his arms spread out, his head thrown back, entirely birdlike, poised motionlessly on one foot. He disappeared, re-emerged, leaped about, and finally achieved the other side. We outsiders were terrified and puzzled but none of the Huichols seemed at all worried.' These leaps over the precipice correspond to the dangerous deeds of Siberian shamans, and also to those of Jason and Ulysses during their journey to the beyond. '"The *mara'akáme* must have superb equilibrium," explained Ramón, and demonstrated his point by using his fingers to march up his violin bow. "Otherwise he will not reach his destination, and will fall this way or that", and his fingers plunged into an imaginary abyss. "One crosses over; it is very narrow and without balance, one is eaten by those animals waiting below!"'; see also C. Castaneda, *The Second Ring of Power* (London, 1978), p. 46.

20 On its five-day voyage to the land of the dead, the soul arrives at the wild fig tree, *xápa,* in the same way.

21 See B.G. Myerhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

22 See E.H. Spicer, Yaqui, in Spicer, E.H. (ed.) *Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change* (Chicago, 1961), p. 17. R.J. Giddings, *Yaqui Myths and Legends* (Tucson, 1959), p. 12, maintains that even today, old Yaquis or members of conservative families 'still hold to many pre-Christian beliefs about the supernatural', although 'official' Yaqui culture has for a long time and in a most dramatic way been celebrating the victory of Catholicism over the paganism of its ancestors; see J. Cazeneuve, Les Indiens de la région de Tucson, *L'Ethnographie* (1956), p. 39.

23 A great deal of trivial and even foolish criticism has been levelled against Castaneda by authors not burdened by any scholarship in the field; see, for example, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung,* 20 June 1975, 16 November 1976 and 18 June 1977. Without any cogent arguments, he is classed there as an 'ethnopoet'; see also *Psychologie heute* (January 1976). However, no good purpose is served either by the rash articles that were published by enthusiastic believers who finally, after so many forced marches through the desert, were convinced they had found the ultimate guru in 'Don Juan'. By contrast the statement of a Yaqui *curandero,* with several 'journeys to heaven' to his credit, should carry some weight. He had the following comment concerning Castaneda's first volume: 'He was totally unfamiliar with this aspect of drug culture. When I said that Don Juan had been deported and thus spent a great deal of time away from the Yaqui villages, Rosalio was decisive in his opinion that this knowledge had been acquired from Mexican sources'; see R. Moisés, J.H. Kelley and W.C. Holden, *The Tall Candle* (Lincoln, 1971), p. XXXIV; see also E.H. Spicer, Review of Castaneda, in Noel, D.C. (ed.) *Seeing Castaneda* (New York, 1976), p. 32. Spicer (1961) *op. cit.*, p. 17, points out that the Yaqui used to be familiar with an 'intoxication on maguey or other forms of fermented drink', especially in connection with campaigns. Present-day Yaqui 'shamans' are said to smoke the blossoms of the so-called Canary Island Broom (*Genista canariensis*), apparently similar in its effect to that of *cannabis*; see J. Fadiman, Psychedelic properties of *Genista canariensis, Economic Botany*

(1965), p. 383. Some Yaquis may until recently have ingested thorn apple. This can be concluded from a remark in a book which is not always reliable, however; the author says there, of some Indians who had ingested or smoked *toloache* in excessive quantities, 'The Yaqui call such people *hiepsa mucuchim*, i.e. the living dead'; see V.A. Reko, *Magische Gifte* (Stuttgart, 1938), p. 122. These are apparently individuals comparable to the *zombies* of Voodoo, or to some 'flipped-out' people of the Australian desert; see R.M. Berndt and C.H. Berndt, The concept of abnormality in an Australian aboriginal society, in Wilbur, G.B. (ed.) *Psychoanalysis and Culture* (New York, 1951), p. 82. J. Perez de Barrados, in *Plantas mágicas americanas* (Madrid, 1957), p. 312, says the following about *toluachí* among the Yaqui: 'The women make an ointment with various kinds of grease, mixing it with seeds of stramonium and belladonna. They rub themselves with that, anoint their chest and their abdomen the way the European witches of the Middle Ages used to do.' No detailed information is available about these women. They seem to be Yaqui *brujas* using this nightshade salve for changing into animals or for flying. On the other hand, there are a number of details in the Castaneda texts, e.g. the supposed smoking (!) of the psilocybin mushroom, which justifiably aroused the suspicion of ethnopharmacologists; see W. La Barre, Review of Castaneda, in Noel, D.C. (ed.) *Seeing Castaneda* (New York, 1976), p. 41. I personally am inclined to view Castaneda's books as 'semi-authentic', that is, as doctored versions of actual occurrences. I prefer to leave open the question of whether Don Juan is truly a Yaqui or not. Actually, it seems to me unlikely that even 'Yaqui experts' such as Spicer or Giddings could decide the issue, let alone commentators like Leach, La Barre or Douglas. If an author wanted to disguise the identity of an Indian consultant, the Yaquis offered an ideal choice for an alternate ethnic identity. After their decisive military defeat in the 1880s at the hands of the Mexicans ('Spaniards'), many Yaquis were scattered from Yucatán to Arizona. In this way, they naturally came into contact with a number of different cultural traditions, so that today, 'a Yaqui way of knowledge' can mean a large number of different things. As regards the authenticity of the Castaneda texts, views for or against them are based mainly on differences of *weltanschauung*. Obviously, Castaneda's books reflect methods of fieldwork (to put it mildly) not exactly within present tradition. In addition, they may pluck the feathers from the caps of some classical anthropologists. It is not surprising, therefore, if anthropologists in grey flannel suits react with irritation to them or with studied indifference. Although M. Douglas had detected 'themes of the main stream of Greek and Chinese thought' among the Dogon; see If the Dogon . . ., *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* (1967), p. 659, this did not prompt her to cast doubt upon the genuineness of the research results of Griaule and his students. In the case of Castaneda, however, see M. Douglas, *Implicit Meanings* (London, 1975), p. 197, she suggests that the problems apparently connecting the Yaquis with modern phenomenologists cause the reviewer to suspect fictitious elements in these books. We should note here that she provided one of the most cautious and benevolent reviews coming from experts in the field. She considers the 'naiveties of expression' to be an

index of authenticity, but that seems hardly convincing to me. My reaction to Castaneda's naivety was, over and over again, not even an American college student can be *that* naive. Passages of this type, peppering the five-volume work *ad nauseam* (we have not as yet been threatened with a sixth volume) seem to me to be formulated that way for didactic purposes. Many ethnologists are of the opinion that Castaneda's books are part of the genre of literature about foreign societies, where these societies are idealized in order to criticize civilization. That would put them alongside *Nachtrag zur Reise Bougainvilles* (Commentary Concerning the Voyage of Bougainville) or *Reden des Tuiavii aus Tiavea* (speeches of Tuiavii from Tiavea). To a certain extent, this reproof seems justified in the sense that in a rather obvious way Castaneda turns the Indian sorcerer into a guru duping those who still have not given up their search for a grandfather-like superego. On the other hand, some critics give the impression that they tend towards this sort of evaluation because, beyond describing and interpreting foreign cultures, they are not willing also to *learn* from them. Mario Erdheim, for example, distinguishes between three basic types of ethnologies: (1) the alienating type, such as Fernando de Oviedo; (2) the idealizing type, e.g. Bartolomé de Las Casas; and (3) the right kind, such as Bernardino de Sahagún or Mario Erdheim. He subsumes Castaneda among the idealizing type. If we realize, however, that Erdheim equates *understanding* with *translating*, a mistake even Erasmus of Rotterdam found fault with; see D. Harth, *Philologie und praktische Philosophie* (München, 1970), p. 146; and R.W. Langacker, Semantic representations and the linguistic relativity hypothesis, *Foundations of Language* (1976), p. 337, then we may suspect that he believes that we can understand only what has an equivalent concept in our own language. As a psychoanalyst, moreover, he seems less interested, the same as Marx, in what people *say*, but in what *it says* that they say what they say. As an example of the correct ethnographic method, he cites the following passage from Sahagún's text: 'Even if much has been reported about the conquest of New Spain and much has been written from the point of view of the conquerer, I should still like to record all of this in the Mexican language, *not in order to learn some truths from the Indians themselves* [my italics], but in order to get to know the language concerning the matters of war and weapons used by the natives, since in this way, one might derive from that words and manners of expression peculiar to the Mexican language'; see M. Erdheim, *Ethnologie und Psychoanalyse* (manuscript), pp. 17, 50, 210. Castaneda undertook precisely this, namely 'to obtain some truths from the Indians', and this attitude constitutes his significance. But this is at the same time the reason why his texts are distasteful to most anthropologists, even to such experts on Indian culture as C. Feest, *Das rote Amerika* (Wien, 1976), p. 391, who seems to fear that if he judged otherwise, he might be considered a freak and would be identified with the counterculture. [Note added during proof-reading: R. de Mille, *Castaneda's Journey* (Santa Barbara, 1977), pp. 37, 42, 66, 99, considers Castaneda's reports to be fictitious. He points out that the sequence of the 'experiences' does not jibe, that the text was most likely never translated from the Spanish, and that Castaneda probably used 'field notes'

from Harner, Furst and his friend, Barbara Myerhoff. In a letter to me dated 25 July 1978, de Mille informed me that he would further pursue these arguments in his *The Don Juan Papers*.]

24 *A Yaqui Way of Knowledge* was the subtitle of Castaneda's first volume. In the later volumes, Don Juan's membership of the Yaqui culture no longer plays any role. One might argue that the ethnic identity of the Indian was immaterial. I happen to believe that an answer to *this* question would facilitate a judgement on the problem of whether the stories of Castaneda are true or not.

25 See C. Castaneda, *The Teachings of Don Juan* (Harmondsworth, 1970), p. 125. See also C. Naranjo, Psychological aspects of the yagé experience, in Harner, M.J. (ed.) *Hallucinogens and Shamanism* (New York, 1973), pp. 180, 185. A woman reports the 'unpleasant feeling of leaving the body and then the indescribably pleasant experience of rapid floating through space to some distant city, from where she brings back true knowledge.' She experiences her flight usually as 'a special freedom and weightlessness.' 'Imagining and thinking are uninhibited, unencumbered ...'; see K. Schmëing, Flugträume und 'Exkursion des Ichs', *Archiv für die gesamte Psychologie* (1938), p. 544. In a letter to me dated 13 June 1977, Reinhard Greve writes about his experience after ingesting twenty thorn-apple seeds: 'While walking, I had the feeling of being very light, as if floating twenty centimetres above the ground.... Parts of my body became stiff and rigid, they died off, I felt my body to be a "block". Something inside me wanted to leave my body....' In November 1977 I also took about twenty-five thorn-apple seeds, some of them from the same bush as those that R. Greve had ingested, some from another bush. Remembering experiences that I had after rubbing myself with a salve of belladonna which I had undertaken together with Dr Petros Kalfelis in the summer of 1975, I expected first of all an enlargement of the pupils. When an hour after chewing the seeds nothing of that sort happened, I went to bed. Suddenly Mumusch, our black cat, came to me and lay down on my chest, between my face and a book from which I wanted to copy the ingredients for a witch's salve. Then she bit into my pencil, pulled it out of my hand and threw it away. She looked deeply into my eyes, with an intensity that I had never before seen in her. At the same moment, I felt that I slowly floated upward. I closed my eyes, and my speed of floating increased more and more. When I opened my eyes, I saw nothing but white fog and it became clear to me that I had 'left' my body, which was lying far below me. Closing my eyes once more, my speedy flight continued, but in contrast to some LSD trips, there was no anxiety. Hyoscyamine, an alkaloid, seems to be principally responsible for such experiences of flying; see W. vom Siebenthal, *Die Wissenschaft von Traum* (Berlin, 1953), pp. 191, 384. Thorn apple contains more of it than henbane or belladonna. Scopolamine, on the other hand, acts against the arousal of the central nervous system; see E. Leete, The alkaloids of datura, in Sinnott, E.W. (ed.) *Blakeslee: The Genus Datura* (New York, 1959), p. 51; and H.P. Hofmann and H. Kleinsorge, *Kleine Pharmakologie* (Stuttgart, 1976), p. 107. The drug called *pituri* and extracted from the plant *Duboisia hopwoodi* seems to contain high amounts of scopolamine; see D.F. Thompson, A narcotic from *Nicotina*

ingulba, used by the desert Bindibu, *Man* (1961), p. 5; while *Duboisia myoporides* (corkwood) contains principally duboisine, an alkaloid similar to hyoscyamine; see G. Hegi, *op. cit.,* p. 2558. The Aranda used these drugs in their emu hunts, throwing them into the waterholes of the birds to narcotize them. They were also probably chewed by the natives, the same as coca in South America; see Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.,* pp. 16, 20. *Pituri,* mixed with ash from *Acacia salinicia,* seems to be of religious significance, but researchers on Australian aborigines to whom I wrote were unable to give me any information. It is possible that the 'native tobacco', burned in many regions also for the Wandjinas; see I.M. Crawford, *The Art of the Wandjina* (Melbourne, 1968), p. 37, was given to future medicine men during their initiation; see B. Spencer and F.J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1904), p. 528. It is not clear whether in this case we are dealing with *Duboisia* or *Nicotianum suaveolens.* In 1890 one Vogan wrote that 'pitchurie' made old men able 'to act as seers and thus [to] obtain power'; quoted in T.H. Johnston and J.B. Cleland, The history of the aboriginal narcotic pituri, *Oceania* (1933), p. 213. I was not able to ascertain whether Australian medicine men use *pituri* also for their 'flights to the sky'.

26 W. Mrsich, Erfahrungen mit Hexen und Hexensalbe, *Mensch und Schicksal* (June 1957), p. 11. Peuckert, a famous folklorist, reported similar experiences when he rubbed himself with the witch's salve made according to Porta's instructions; see W-E. Peuckert, Hexensalben, *Medizinischer Monatsspiegel* (1960), p. 169, and Über das deutsche Hexenwesen, in *Die Hexen und ihre Welt* (Stuttgart, 1967), p. 316; as well as S. Ferckel, Hexensalbe und ihre Wirkung, *Kosmos* (1954), p. 415. In H.P. Duerr, Können Hexen fliegen?, *Unter dem Pflaster liegt der Strand* (1976), p. 59, I quoted in detail from Peuckert's and Ferckel's experiences, and further expanded on it in *Zeitschrift für Parapsychologie* (1978), p. 77. See also G. Schenck, *Schatten der Nacht* (Ulm, 1964), p. 167; and R.E.L. Masters, *Eros and Evil* (New York, 1962), p. 151. Some authors dispute the effectiveness of such witch's salves, e.g. K. Baschwitz, *Hexen und Hexenprozesse* (München, 1963), p. 113. He thinks that scientists such as Peuckert simply *expected* to experience something demonic under the effect of the ointment. With equal justification, we might than say that Baschwitz probably would not see anything because he was *not* expecting anything. Where some people see only blotches, others see a work of art, or to speak with Lichtenberg: when a book and a head collide and there is a hollow sound, the reason may not be the book. If after ingesting a drug there is suddenly a little man in a purple coat standing in front of us; see H. Fichte, Anmerkung zu einer Lorchelvergiftung und zu 'Ein Männlein steht im Walde', *Ethnomedizin* (1972), p. 159, we may naturally want to ask whether the drug simply 'cleared' our eyes, so we can see things we were not able to see before, or whether the drug simply confused our senses. The fact that we saw a dwarf and not an Australian bush spirit has something to do with the fact that we grew up in the culture of the West and not in Aranda society. It is also possible that after being trained for a long time by a witch or a sorcerer, we would no longer be able to see humanlike beings. This emerges from a conversation between Castaneda and a witch:

'"Why do I see them as monsters?" I asked.

"That's no mystery," she said. "You haven't lost your human form yet. The same thing happened to me. I used to see the allies as people; all of them were Indian men with horrible faces and mean looks. They used to wait for me in deserted places. I thought they were after me as a woman. The Nagual used to laugh his head off at my fears. But still I was half dead with fright. One of them used to come and sit on my bed and shake it until I would wake up. The fright that that ally used to give me was something that I don't want repeated, even now that I'm changed. Tonight I think I was as afraid of the allies as I used to be."

"You mean that you don't see them as human beings any more?"

"No. Not anymore. The Nagual told you that an ally is formless. He is right. An ally is only a presence, a helper that is nothing and yet it is as real as you and me."' C. Castaneda (1978), *op. cit.*, p. 152. 'Hallucinogenic properties,' says J. Bowker in *The Sense of God* (Oxford, 1973), p. 153, 'are likely to act, not as innovatory of concepts in abstraction but as reinforcement or confirmation of concepts already formed, or in the process of formation.' This sentence contains as much truth as it contains error, the same as in transcendental philosophy: it suggests the *active* property of categories and the *passivity* of experience. It means forgetting that categories may founder when confronted by experience, and that experience may force us to change the categories or to use different ones. In other words, a 'drug culture' may in time develop other ways to describe things, a different 'category frame' than the 'sober' culture of our Stuyvesant generation. Of course, on the other hand, a person who had to listen endlessly to boring stories about 'trips' will hardly want to contest the truth in Bowker's statement. I believe that a logical *separation* introduced into the pairs drug–consciousness, human–society, body–soul, category–experience, is just as false as logically *identifying* them. Both views are simply two sides of the same coin.

27 See also A. Closs, Die Ekstase des Schamanen, *Ethnos* (1969), p. 79; and F. Dirlmeier, *Die Vogelgestalt homerischer Götter* (Heidelberg, 1967), p. 15. There was a peasant in 1589 who was later burned at the stake, who stated on record that 'he had a belt, when he put that on, then he turned into a werewolf and assumed its nature, but in addition also retained his human reason . . .'; A. Wrede, *Rheinische Volkskunde* (Leipzig, 1922), p. 134.

28 Quoted in R.E.L. Masters and J. Houston, *The Varieties of Psychedelic Experience* (New York, 1966), p. 76. See also M. Hollingshead, *The Man Who Turned on the World* (London, 1973), p. 125.

29 See, for example, R. Heywood, *The Infinite Hive* (London, 1964), p. 201; and R. Gelpke, Von Fahrten in den Weltraum der Seele, *Antaios* (1962), p. 403.

30 'There can *be* no difference that doesn't *make* a difference', W. James, *Pragmatism and the Meaning of Truth* (New York, 1943), p. 49. This sentence immediately puts to rest the controversy about 'God's truth or hocus pocus' puzzling American ethnoscientists.

31 An example of such kinds of adults is provided by R. Keat and J. Urry, *Social Theory as Science* (London, 1975), p. 217, in their criticism of Winch.

32 The tendency of answering with 'their curtains drawn' observed by H. Berger,

Untersuchungsmethode und soziale Wirklichkeit (Frankfurt/Main, 1974), p. 49, in the victims of 'standardized data collection' prevails even more when the sample belongs to a foreign society; see F. Jay, Personal and extrapersonal vision in anthropology, in Hymes, D. (ed.) *Reinventing Anthropology* (New York, 1974), pp. 372, 377.

33 J. Wilbert, Tobacco and shamanistic ecstasy among the Warao Indians of Venezuela, in Furst, P.T. (ed.) *Flesh of the Gods* (London, 1972), p. 71; and *Indios de la región Orinoco-Ventuari* (Caracas, 1963), p. 222. See also E.J. Dingwall, The end of a legend: a note on the magical flight, in Angoff, A. and Barth, D. (eds) *Parapsychology and Anthropology* (New York, 1974); and on the other hand D. Sharon, The San Pedro cactus in Peruvian folk healing, in Furst, P.T. (ed.) *Flesh of the Gods* (London, 1972), pp. 131, 134. Another anthropologist asked an Australian who contended that he had seen how the *clever men* of his tribe fly, whether that was actually true. The man maintained that he had indeed seen them completely. They were flying about in the clouds and brought storm to their enemies. Upon the anthropologist's question whether he had seen their bodies, he answered that indeed they were in the storm and flew about in it. He had seen it with his own eyes; they had done it with their magic strings. The anthropologist thereupon had one of the *clever men* demonstrate to him how he pulled a magic string from his mouth, but all the anthropologist saw was saliva. One of the aborigines watched the *clever man* as if hypnotized. The comment of the anthropologist was that, 'The spectator was probably able to give an authentic report about having seen something, and this something that he had seen, and about which he had been told that he would see it, was his own *image* of a magic string'; see R. Rose, *Living Magic* (New York, 1956), pp. 72, 112; also M. Eliade, Remarques sur le 'rope trick', in Diamond, S. (ed.) *Culture in History* (New York, 1960), p. 548; G.J. Seitz, Die Waikas und ihre Drogen, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1969), p. 281; and L. Chwistek, *The Limits of Science* (London, 1949), p. 276. Of course, all these scientists know exactly what it is they are talking about. *They* know that there was nothing to be seen except the saliva of the old man. 'The person who can see ghosts, spooks,' says W-E. Peuckert in *Sagen* (Berlin, 1965), p. 53, 'can see the dwarf where somebody else will see only a tree trunk'.

34 D. Handelman, The development of a Washo shaman, *Ethnology* (1967), p. 457. In another essay, the author says that it is amazing how little anthropologists writing about such topics usually know about the soul and the world view of the shaman; see Shamanizing on an empty stomach, *American Anthropologist* (1968), p. 354; Vajda, Traditiónelle Konzeption und Realität in der Ethnologie (1964), p. 772; and N.K. Chadwick, Shamanism among the Tatars of central Asia, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (1936), p. 36.

35 C. Castaneda (1970), *op. cit.*, pp. 93–94.

36 There are actually researchers who consider it possible that witches flew through the air like birds. They are usually Catholic theologists or devotees of the occult; see e.g. M. Summers, *The History of Witchcraft and Demonology* (London, 1926), pp. 6, 124; or C. Lancelin, *La sorcellerie des campagnes*

(Paris, 1911), p. 263. They take at face value supposed eye-witness reports about such flights; see, for example, J.J. Wick, *Die Wickiana* (Küsnacht, 1975), p. 79; J. Hansen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns* (Bonn, 1901), p. 502; and A. Jacoby, Zum Zerstückelungs- und Wiederbelebungswunder der indischen Fakire, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1914), p. 469. There are also numerous 'eye-witness accounts' of the 'levitation' and 'elevation' of saints and mystics. It is said about Joseph Copertino, for instance, that his constant elevations disturbed the worship services so much that he had to put on lead boots; to no avail, however, for a short time later, they had great trouble fetching him down from the ledge of the church, lead boots notwithstanding, together with an acolyte who had somehow become attached to him; see E. Benz, *Die Vision* (Stuttgart, 1969), p. 218. See also C.J. Ducasse, *Paranormal Phenomena, Science, and Life After Death* (New York, 1969), p. 35. Generally, scientists joke about such things. Thus P. Mayer, in Witches, in Marwick, M. (ed.) *Witchcraft and Sorcery* (Harmondsworth, 1970), p. 46, says, 'Even the most optimistic fieldworker does not expect to see anyone flying on those well-known broomsticks.'

37 M. Harris provided one of the most vituperative commentaries on Castaneda's work. In *Cows, Pigs, Wars, and Witches* (London, 1975), p. 247, he demonstrates how the dialogue of Castaneda can be made to look even more naive. Harris first paraphrases Castaneda, 'Castaneda asked his teacher, "Did I really fly, Don Juan?" and the shaman replied, "That's what you told me. Didn't you?"'. Then Harris omits the passage where the Indian says that Castaneda had not flown as a bird, but as an *enyerbado,* someone under the influence of a drug. For this reason, it becomes entirely unintelligible when Harris then quotes, '"Then I didn't fly, Don Juan. I flew in my imagination, in my mind alone. Where was my body?"'. And while in the original text Don Juan answers, 'In the bushes', Harris once more skips this decisive passage so that the reader, trusting Harris's citations, cannot realize that what is important for the Indian is to *divert* the ethnographer from the alternative, 'fly like the birds' *versus* 'fly in my mind'. Harris is completely uninformed about the subject matter that he is treating and tries to explain here. He contends, for example, that it was Harner's 'recent discovery', in 1972 that witches 'flew' with the help of nightshades! What he wants to insinuate into the reader's mind in this instance by manipulating the text is that Castaneda assumes the point of view of the *Canon Episcopi,* while the Indian represents the 'Hexenhammer'. Quite apart from the fact that Harris does not understand the point that Don Juan wants to make or intentionally falsifies it, such a comparison would be wide of the mark also because the *Canon* never expresses any doubts about the flight of demons; see chapter 2. Harris, of course, represents what he considers to be the opinion of the *Canon*; see M. Harris, *Culture, People, Nature* (New York, 1975), p. 533.

38 After ingesting *natemä* during his stay with the *Jívaro,* M.J. Harner experienced the following: 'I met bird-headed people, as well as dragon-like creatures who explained that they were the true gods of this world.' And 'I enlisted the services of other spirit helpers in attempting to fly through the far reaches of the

galaxy'; The sound of rushing water, in Harner, M.J. (ed.) *Hallucinogens and Shamanism* (New York, 1973), p. 16, also The supernatural world of the Jívaro shaman, in Gross, D.R. (ed.) *Peoples and Cultures of Native South America* (Garden City, 1973), p. 348.

39 See R. Needham, *Belief, Language, and Experience* (Oxford, 1972), p. 117.

40 'Experiences occur in the cortex', says M. Polanyi, *Knowing and Being* (London, 1969), p. 162. However, it is not my brain that does the experiencing, it is I. It is not my tooth that has the pain; *I* have a toothache. 'Whether I am hungry, or whether I am oppressed by worries, it is never just a part of me that suffers; I suffer as a total human being.' This was not said by Wittgenstein, but by a Karanga in Rhodesia; see H. Aschwanden, *Symbole des Lebens* (Zürich, 1976), p. 16. See also P.K. Manning and H. Fabrega, The experience of self and body: health and illness in the Chiapas highlands, in Psathas, G. (ed.) *Phenomenological Sociology* (New York, 1973), pp. 266, 287. Particularly those philosophers influenced by Wittgenstein or Ryle are often guilty of seeing the soul as a 'body infused with a soul' in such a way that it becomes *logically* impossible to imagine the same person in another body; see A. Quinton, The soul, in Perry, J. (ed.) *Personal Identity* (Berkeley, 1975), p. 60.

41 See, for example, the opinion of St Augustine: 'I would not believe by any reasoning that the soul or indeed the body can truly be changed into the limbs and shape of an animal by the contrivance or the power of demons; but the imagination of man which wanders while thinking or dreaming through innumerable varieties of things, and although it is not a body, nevertheless it assumes with wondrous celerity different forms which are similar to bodies, whether the senses of man are lulled to sleep or are suppressed; [that which is imagined] is transported to the sensation of others in an incomprehensible manner; this happens in such a way that the body of that man lies somewhere, while the things that are thought of [or imagined] take form as if alive, but much more strongly and forcefully than when a man's senses are suppressed in sleep; moreover, that which has been imagined to be embodied may appear to other people's senses in the form of some animal'; A. Augustinus, *Hipponensis Episcopi Operum* IX (Rome, 1797), p. 659. Not even modern parapsychology has got much beyond this point.

42 See W. Shibles, A philosophical commentary on *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, in *Wittgenstein: Language and Philosophy* (Dubuque, 1969), p. 23.

43 L. Wittgenstein, *Zettel* (Oxford, 1967), p. 127 (translation by Goodman).

44 See A. Métraux, *Religions et magies indiennes d'Amérique du Ṣud* (Paris, 1967), p. 87; and O. Zerries, Die Indianer der Wälder und Savannen, in *Die Erben des Inkareiches und die Indianer der Wälder* (Berlin, 1974), p. 132.

45 If we pay too much attention to this, then we are bound to conclude that there simply are not witches and werewolves, e.g. arrive at the same position as that of K. Nielsen, *Scepticism* (London, 1973), p. 34; or P. Sherry, Fairies, witches and the passing away of language games, in *Religion, Truth and Language Games* (London, 1977), p. 31. Sherry does not heed Wittgenstein's warning to pay attention to how the concept 'werewolf' is used 'in its home'. Thus, for example, G. Reichel-Dolmatoff, in *The Shaman and the Jaguar* (Philadelphia,

1975), p. 125, writes about the Desana, 'According to them, the jaguar skin was not a skin at all, but an essence, a state of mind which made a person act like a jaguar.' The word *suriró* generally means 'clothing' or 'covering', but especially the older consultants of the anthropologist emphasized that in the case of the were-jaguars, it did not refer to a 'material piece of clothing'. 'What turns into a jaguar, then, is that other part of man's personality that resists and rejects cultural conventions. The jaguar of the hallucinatory sphere, the jaguar-monster of Tukano tales, is a man's alter ego, now roaming free and untrammelled, and acting out his deepest desires and fears', G. Reichel-Dolmatoff, *op. cit.*, p. 132).

46 J. von Görres may have had something similar in mind when he wrote about the change into a were-animal. 'A human, ending below in an animal-plant, and connected through it with the entire plant kingdom, will be drawn down by it if, because of infection, he enters into its overwhelming realm; by now passing downward through the sequence of evolution that he had transited upward in his mother's womb, he will finally become a vegetable and can himself turn into a poisonous zoophyte. The same human, who will be a plant among plants, can also be an animal among animals; originally he was the central animal, having in him the kind and power of all animals, but also embodying as a unit all that they possess in division and separation'. *Die Christliche Mystik* III (Regensburg, 1840), p. 271. I am not referring here so much to Görres' phylogenetic–ontogenetic speculation, but to his basic assumption, if you will, his 'paradigm', that in turning into a were-animal or a were-plant, a regression takes place in favour of a 'more archaic' consciousness; see also H. Ey, Grundlagen einer organo-dynamischen Auffassung der Psychiatrie, in Strauss, E. (ed.) *Die Wahnwelten* (Frankfurt/Main, 1963), pp. 85, 89. There seems to be a tendency lately not to associate only pejorative ideas with the concept 'regression' any more, in contrast to the Freudians of the past with their belief in progress; see e.g. K. Dörner, Gesellschaftliche Perspektiven der Regression, in *Diagnosen der Psychiatrie* (Frankfurt/Main, 1975), p. 112; or R. zur Lippe, *Am eigenen Leibe* (Frankfurt/Main, 1978), p. 151.

47 In a rather famous case in the specialized literature, the Bororó told Karl von den Steinen that they were parrots, to which J.Z. Smith, I am a parrot (red), *History of Religions* (1972), p. 398, remarks that such a statement is obviously 'contrary to fact'. Clearly, the Indians will hardly have maintained that in ordinary life, they were parrots; see C. Geertz, Religion as a cultural system, in Banton, M. (ed.)*Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion* (London, 1966), p. 37, which is confirmed also by other fieldwork observations. See A. Colbacchini and C. Albisetti, *Os Boróros Orientais* (São Paulo, 1942), pp. 87, 440; R. Karsten, Forschungen unter den Jibaro-Indianern in Ecuador und Peru, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1930), p. 352; and F. Tolksdorf, Ethnographische Beobachtungen in Zentral-Brasilien, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1956), p. 285. The Indians are concerned with another kind of identity that can be compared better with the one playing a role in the Catholic Eucharist. To understand that, it is not necessary, as does J.Z. Smith (*op. cit.*, p. 407) to conclude the existence of a 'plurality of truths', or even, following

D.E. Cooper, in Alternative logic in 'primitive thought', *Man* (1975), p. 253, to undertake the warming up of a trivalent logic. All that is necessary is to understand that the Indians know that they are infinitely *more* than what the anthropologists consider possible. In one point, to be sure, the analogy to the Eucharist is faulty. The 'animal identities' of the Indians and of other societies contain the insight that the manifestation of a human being remains 'external' up to a certain degree. Similarly, catholic *experts* contend that the qualities of the bread of Christ and the wine of Christ that can be perceived by the senses are those of the bread and the wine, but that their 'substance' is that of the Lord; see S. Bullough, *Roman Catholicism* (Harmondsworth, 1963), p. 96; and R. Firth, *Symbols* (London, 1973), p. 421. In this respect Jesus, for example, resembles the potato eaten, it is said in the Celtic countries, by fairies during the night. The fairy also eats only the 'substance' of the tuber. She leaves in the dish that which is 'accidental' and which *we* value more highly at the dinner table. No peasant needs to be surprised when the next morning the potato is still seemingly untouched; see W.Y. Evans-Wentz, *The Fairy Faith in Celtic Countries* (Rennes, 1909), p. 43. Such identities are *obvious* to an archaic mentality. The Catholic, however, is being obliged to believe something that he *cannot* possibly understand; see J. Skorupski, Science and traditional religious thought, *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* (1973), p. 108. Strictly speaking, Catholics do not believe that wine turns into blood. Instead, they believe in an *x ignotum. Semantically,* this is absurd, but it will not bother those for whom such a confession of faith is nothing but an act of sacrificing one's reason. Historically, the dogma was less a defence of the faith against attempts at 'demythologizing' it. Its motivation was more to reject the claims of those who maintained that they could understand a truth, the knowledge of which should be reserved to God alone. Catholicism shares this attitude with other revelatory religions that became institutionalized into churches. Islam at times also persecuted mystics because they maintained that they were able to understand such things and thereby attempted to bridge the abyss that according to orthodox views should gape between humans and Allah; see W. Marschall, Mystik in Indonesien, in Cancik, H. (ed.) *Rausch – Ekstase – Mystik* (Düsseldorf, 1978), p. 150. Such a wedge between reason and religious experience appears monstrous to pagan mentality. At the height of the Middle Ages, which was still rather pagan, Jesus sometimes appeared visible in body when the words, *Hoc est corpus meum,* 'This is my body,' were intoned or *Hic est calix sanguinis mei,* 'this is the chalice of my blood'; see V.L. Kennedy, The moment of consecration and the elevation of the host, *Medieval Studies* (1944), p. 121. Anthropologists quite often show little sensitivity toward such instances. As an example of the 'other logic' of non-Western societies, J.E. Lips tells a story which is actually more reminiscent of the tales of Schwejk, the simple-minded soldier. It seems that a missionary had revealed the mysteries of Catholicism to his Australian flock and finally considered them sufficiently prepared and so had baptized them. On a subsequent Friday, he was startled to see a native chewing on a kangaroo steak. When he reminded the man that he should not eat meat on Fridays, the Australian maintained that it was not meat,

it was fish. The priest felt that he was being made a fool of and countered that the sin was made even graver by such lies. The native replied, 'Look here, you took me to the river and sprinkled water on me. Then you told me that I was Charly Wooloomool no longer, but an entirely new being. Well, I also went to the river, sprinkled water on my steak and called it "fish".'

48 Becoming 'empty' in this way happens most easily at dusk. Psychologists speak of 'reduced perceptual input'; see M. Zuckerman, Hallucinations, reported sensations, and images, in Zubek, J.P. (ed.) *Sensory Deprivation* (New York, 1969), p. 122. 'You stumbled on some entities,' Don Juan tells Castaneda, 'which are in the world, and which act on people. You know nothing about them because you have never encountered them. Perhaps it would be more proper to call them entities of the mountains; they don't really belong to the night. I call them entities of the night because one can perceive them in the darkness with greater ease. They are here, around us at all times. In daylight, however, it is more difficult to perceive them, simply because the world is familiar to us, and that which is familiar takes precedence'; *Journey to Ixtlan* (New York, 1972), p. 213; see also K. Schmëing, *Das 'Zweite Gesicht' in Niederdeutschland* (Leipzig, 1937), p. 5.

49 See also H. Krauch, *Die organisierte Forschung* (Neuwied, 1970), p. 61. According to ancient tradition, spirits usually come during half-sleep or shortly before waking or going to sleep, i.e. 'when we are not entirely ourselves yet', in our 'everyday selves'; see R. de Becker, *The Understanding of Dreams and the Machinations of the Night* (London, 1968), pp. 152, 211; P. Sartori, Hexen und Werwölfe in der Umgegend von Dortmund, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für rheinische und westfälische Volkskunde* (1905), p. 83; and D. Henrich, Selbstbewusstsein, in Bubner, R. (ed.) *Hermeneutik und Dialektik* I (Tübingen, 1970), p. 260.

50 A person who assumes that such capabilities actually exist, makes even those critics of ideology laugh, who actually should know better due to their ethnographic experience; see, for example, E. Gellner, Beyond truth and falsehood, *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science* (1975), p. 342; and F. Hampl, *Geschichte als kritische Wissenschaft* II (Darmstadt, 1975), p. 40, who, styling themselves 'critical spirits', shake their heads about Feyerabend or Pausanias.

51 In this context, scientists like to speak of a 'disturbed body consciousness'; see N. Matussek, Drogen und Bewusstsein, in Klement, H-W. (ed.) *Bewusstsein* (Baden-Baden, 1975), p. 223, or of a 'change of the body image', and a 'loosening of the ego boundaries'; see B. Wells, *Psychedelic Drugs* (Harmondsworth, 1973), p. 44; and R. Prince and C. Savage, Mystical states and the concept of regression, in White, J. (ed.) *The Highest State of Consciousness* (Garden City, 1972), p. 131.

52 There actually *are* such cases, the opinion of D.N. Robinson notwithstanding; see What sort of persons are hemispheres? *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science* (1976), p. 75. See e.g. M. Prince, B. C. A.: My life as a dissociated personality, *The Journal of Abnormal Psychology* (1908), p. 240, and Miss Beauchamp: The theory of the psychogenesis of multiple personality, *The*

Journal of Abnormal Psychology (1920), p. 67; M. Dessoir, *Vom Jenseits der Seele* (Stuttgart, 1919), p. 100; and L. Staudenmaier, *Die Magie als experimentelle Naturwissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1922), p. 157. In borderline cases, it is often difficult to determine whether we are dealing with *one* split personality or with *three* personalities in one body. L. Krüger, Überlegungen zum Verhältnis wissenschaftlicher Erkenntnis und gesellschaftlicher Intressen, in Dallmayr, W. (ed.) *Materialien zu Habermas' 'Erkenntnis und Interesse'* (Frankfurt/Main, 1974), p. 211, contends, 'One can only think to know those matters concerning which one feels deprived of the liberty of considering them to be thus or different.' He does not seem to pay sufficient attention to moral considerations which in such borderline cases may also influence the decision of what should be accepted as cognition.

53 Some psychopathologists are wont to say in such cases 'But our evidential self undergoes no change whatsoever!'; see A.J. Deikman, Deautomatization and the mystic experience, in Ornstein, R.E. (ed.) *The Nature of Human Consciousness* (New York, 1973), p. 225. But what is the 'evidential self'? For those scientists, is it not simply the one sitting in the laboratory and researching 'depersonalization'?

54 Å. Hultkrantz, Spirit Lodge: a North American shamanistic séance, in Edsman, C-M. (ed.) *Studies in Shamanism* (Stockholm, 1967), p. 43.

55 For this reason, it is after all incorrect in such cases to speak of a 'spiritual' *as against* a 'bodily' journey as do, for example, R. Ridington and T. Ridington, in The inner eye of shamanism and totemism, *History of Religions* (1970), pp. 51, 58.

56 See C.T. Tart, A psychophysiological study of the out-of-the-body-experiences in a selected subject, *Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research* (1968), p. 3; J. Eisenbud, *Gedankenfotografie* (Freiburg, 1975), pp. 220, 223 [*The World of Ted Serios: 'Thoughtphotographic' Studies of an Extraordinary Mind* (New York, 1967)]; N.R. Hanson, One being in two places at once, in *What I Do Not Believe* (Dordrecht, 1971), p. 145; and K. Osis, Raum, Zeit und Bewusstsein in parapsychologischer Sicht, in Bauer, E. (ed.) *PSI and Psyche* (Stuttgart, 1974), p. 66. It is not at all necessary therefore to speak of 'paradoxicalness' in such cases, as does, for example, D. Sperber, *Über Symbolik* (Frankfurt/Main, 1975), p. 183, because a person believing bilocation to be possible will hardly have any *logical* problems. Many parapsychologists believe that they have to take recourse to dualistic concepts of the body–soul notion on the basis of their empirical material. See, for example, W.P. Mulacz, Der sogenannte wissenschaftliche Spiritismus als parapsychologisches Problem, in Schatz, O. (ed.) *Parapsychologie* (Graz, 1976), p. 199. If the perspective of my arguments is correct, then that is entirely unnecessary. This also means, however, that phenomena such as 'soul excursion' can hardly be employed to refute empirically that form of 'central state materialism' which posits an 'extensional' identity of processes of consciousness and of electrochemical events in the central nervous system.

57 Contradicting the supposition of W. Burkert, *Weisheit und Wissenschaft* (Nürnberg, 1962), XX, p. 127, Abaris in this sense perhaps *really* flew. There are societies that talk less about 'flying', substituting other concepts. The

witches of the Effutu, for example, rush along a web like spiders, while the priests are continually attempting to sever it; see R.W. Wyllie, Introspective witchcraft among the Effutu of southern Ghana, *Man* (1973), p. 76. The Australian *clever men* work with similar conceptualizations.

58 See e.g. B.E.L. Erde, *Philosophy and Psycholinguistics* (The Hague, 1973), p. 173. The master himself writes, 'If I say, "I went to the moon – but I may be wrong", that would be idiotic. For even the idea that I might have been transported there by unknown means in my sleep, *does not give me the right* to speak of a possible error in this case. I play the game wrong if I do'; L. Wittgenstein, *Über Gewissheit* (Frankfurt/Main, 1970), p. 662 [*On Certainty* (New York, 1969)]. What Wittgenstein intends to say is that the statement, 'I have never been to the moon', may be false, but still one cannot say that the speaker has *erred*. K. Oesterreich, for example, in *Die Phänomenologie des Ich* (Leipzig, 1910), p. 312, tells of a man who had taken a job in Australia and suddenly found himself in a condition of 'semi-consciousness' there. In this condition he travelled to a port city, bought a ticket for Europe, went to Naples by boat and from there to Zurich. In Zurich, he accidentally read two notices in the newspaper, reporting him as missing. It was not until then that he realized what had happened to him. If this man would have previously answered 'no' to the question of a news vendor whether he had ever been to Australia, this would not have been a case of *error* according to Wittgenstein.

59 See T.F. Burke, Can philosophy be original? *Inquiry* (1974), p. 209; and R. Rorty, Die glücklich abhandengekommene Welt, in Sukale, M. (ed.) *Moderne Sprachphilosophie* (Hamburg, 1976), p. 183. In *Truth* (Bletchley, 1973), p. 39, S. Wilson thinks that when Castaneda maintained that he had not flown because his body had not done it, Don Juan could have answered, 'I suppose you would say that when you go in a plane your *body* flies, and therefore you fly. But your going up in a plane is no more flying than your going in a boat is swimming.' (I am grateful to Rudi Keller for this reference.) Presumably we do not speak of 'swimming' in the latter case because we are more likely to swim like fish than to fly like birds. Birds would hardly say that they were flying if they sat in an airplane. It is to be assumed that strictly air or terrestrial birds would use the concept of 'swimming' when crossing a lake in a boat.

60 C. Castaneda, *Tales of Power* (New York, 1974), p. 98. Or, '"Would Don Genaro feel like he's walking up on the trunk of the tree?" Don Juan looked at me for a moment, then he turned his head away. "No," he said in a forceful whisper. "Not in the way you mean it"'; *op. cit.*, p. 177. See also E. Ehnmark, *Anthromorphism and Miracle* (Uppsala, 1939), p. 204. Non-Western societies have as many divergent opinions about *how* this is to be understood as we do, and these views are in part quite contradictory; see M.D.W. Jeffreys, Witchcraft in the Calabar Province, *African Studies* (1966), p. 96; G. Baer, A particular aspect of Matsigenka shamanism: male–female ambivalence, in *Actas del XLI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* III (México, 1976), p. 115; and A. Bharati, The ontological status of psychic phenomena in Hinduism and Buddhism, in Angoff, A. and Barth, D. (eds) *Parapsychology and Anthropology* (New York, 1974).

61 Quoted in G. Parrinder, *Avatar and Incarnation* (London, 1970), p. 214

(translation by Goodman). See also B.M. Metzger, The ascension of Jesus Christ, in *Historical and Literary Studies* (Grand Rapids, 1968), p. 84; and R. Nieda, 'Nothing' in Zen, *Numen* (1962), p. 43. 'It is thinkable and not thinkable', it says in the Upanishads about the *brahman*. 'As I said before, do not think, but look!' Wittgenstein demands.

Chapter 9 Fear of Flying

1 'Psychiatric texts and institutions are rich with persons who are ingenious and dedicated in their preservation of a particular version of reality'; M. Pollner, 'The very coinage of your brain': the anatomy of reality disjunctures, *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* (1975), p. 417. The point is tellingly illustrated by a quotation taken from C. Kulenkampff, Entbergung, Entgrenzung, Überwältigung als Weisen des Standortverlustes, in Straus, E. (ed.) *Die Wahnwelten* (Frankfurt/Main, 1973), p. 214: 'The subject finds himself in critical border areas of order if he takes upon himself the risk of approaching them and fails, if his free decision, his exuberance, his will to fight, his short-sighted foolishness project him out of the centre of his sheltered existence and to the edge of an orderly world.' In existentialist jargon, every cobbler is told to stick to his last.

2 See e.g. J. Siskind, *To Hunt in the Morning* (New York, 1973), p. 137; F.A. Wilford, Daimon in Homer, *Numen* (1965), p. 223; and J. van Baal, *Symbols for Communication* (Assen, 1971), pp. 225, 228.

3 S. Arieti, *The Intrapsychic Self* (New York, 1967), p. 80. There actually are scientists who diagnose the mystics as simply stubborn, because they refuse to admit the supposed illusory character of their visions. 'Quite often they admit and confess the delusionary character. Where this is not the case, one cannot help but pose the question whether the respective person might not simply refuse to come to his senses'; J. Finke, Halluzinationen, in Müller, C. (ed.) *Lexikon der Psychiatrie* (Berlin, 1973), p. 299. J. Silverman, Shamans and acute schizophrenia, *American Anthropologist* (1967), is apparently of the opinion that shamans as well as the mentally ill have difficulties with 'the differentiation between phantasy and nonphantasy'. Only the latter, however, *suffer* due to this lack of ability to differentiate because their cultures do not provide them with 'valid concepts' that would help them to create a meaningful relationship between their fantasies and their everyday experience. This is the reason why, in contrast to shamans, the mentally ill do not have any 'cultural significance'. Many behavioural scientists typically use the concept 'pseudo-perception' to characterize such extraordinary experiences; see E. Bourguignon, Psychological anthropology, in Honigman, J.J. (ed.) *Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology* (Chicago, 1973), p. 1093. Others speak of 'delusionary images'; see G. Baer, Auskünfte eines Strahuanbo über schamanistische Vorstellungen seiner Gruppe, *Anthropos* (1971), p. 225; of 'compensatory fantasies' and 'illusions'; see E. Topitsch, *Mythos, Philosophie, Politik* (Freiburg, 1969), pp. 10, 72, and Die Widersprüche in Kants Philo-

sophie, *Information Philosophie* (September 1975), p. 3. When a person has such experiences, he demonstrates '*weakness* of position', '*diminishing* of position', '*loss* of position', etc.; see J. Zutt, Das Schizophrenieproblem: Nosologische Hypothesen, in Strauss, E. (ed.) *Die Wahnwelten* (Frankfurt/Main, 1963), p. 249. That such a person might simply be occupying a *different* position is hardly ever given serious consideration by these experts; see also E. Parow, F. Hegi, H.H. Niemeyer and R. Strömer, *Über die Schwierigkeit erwachsen zu werden* (Frankfurt/Main, 1976), p. 58. In other words, it would hardly occur to Topitsch et al.: that there might be things between heaven and earth that are not dreamt of in their philosophies.

4 In vulgar materialistic terms, Leslie White expressed it this way, 'Intellectually, culture is beginning to outgrow spirits, demons, and free will, and to learn something about the nature of the real world'; L. White, A materialist interpretation of culture, *Critique of Anthropology* (1976), p. 43.

5 G. Devereux, *Angst und Methode in den Verhaltenswissenschaften* (München, 1973), p. 55 [*From Anxiety to Method in the Behavioral Sciences* (The Hague, 1968)]. In Hallucinogens and the shamanistic origins of religion, in Furst, P.T. (ed.) *Flesh of the Gods* (London, 1972), p. 262, La Barre expresses similar ideas: 'Sacred culture is mere psychological adaptation to inner anxieties', and further on, that a person whose 'reality testing' is still intact, could easily see through such humbug (La Barre, *op. cit.*, p. 266). We can imagine with equal ease what a shaman might have thought when dealing with such a parochial anthropologist.

6 J. Tennekes, *Anthropology, Relativism, and Method* (Assen, 1971), p. 201. It's that simple! Gellner's arguments are a bit more tangible: 'If a doctrine conflicts with the acceptance of the superiority of scientific–industrial societies over others, then it really is out'; see E. Gellner, The new idealism, in Lakatos, I. and Musgrave, A. (eds) *Problems in the Philosophy of Science* (Amsterdam, 1968), p. 405; as well as W.G. Runciman, Relativism: cognitive and moral, *The Aristotelian Society* Suppl. Vol. (1974), p. 192. If Gellner intends to say that our civilization has managed to silence other societies, then he is, of course, right. He himself emphasizes that he is not a racist, and his readers should not misunderstand him. Without a trace of irony, I. Hamnett writes in Sociology of religion and sociology of error, *Religion* (1973), p. 3, that no one could seriously suggest comparing the world view of the Zande with our science, 'if only because "science" incorporates within itself a method (not a content) that cannibalizes Zande ideology, while the reverse is not the case.' If that were really the case, it is hard to see how Hamnett could be proud of it. What is ironic is that it was precisely that kind of attitude that made the development of ethnology as a science possible. As Lévi-Strauss remarks in *Anthropologie structurale deux* (Paris, 1973), the distance researchers put between themselves and the savages was a precondition for being able to investigate customs and behaviour, the scrutiny of which would have encountered much more powerful barriers in their own culture.

7 C. Hamilton, *Ruf des Donnervogels* (Zürich, 1960), p. 46.

8 See G. Devereux, *Normal und anormal* (Frankfurt/Main, 1974), pp. 38, 43,

47. He expresses his view even more clearly in a previous article: Primitive religion and in general 'quaint' primitive areas are organized schizophrenia; A sociological theory of schizophrenia, *Psychoanalytical Review* (1939), p. 338, quoted in E.H. Ackerknecht, *Medicine and Ethnology* (Bern, 1971), p. 61. Devereux is one of the most conceited, lively and interesting ethnocentrics. His writings could certainly add some spice to the insipid brew of German ethnology. In his many publications he never misses an opportunity to pillory everything connected with the 'irrationality' of anything to do with shamanism, ecstasy and the like. 'I feel an almost irrational revulsion against the condition of intoxication', he once wrote (G. Devereux (1968), *op. cit.*, p. 238); and orgasm, for many people a state of utmost clarity, is for him characteristically merely a 'befogging of consciousness'; see Trance and orgasm in Euripides: *Bakchai,* in Angoff, A. and Barth, D. (eds) *Parapsychology and Anthropology* (New York, 1974), p. 54. We need to admit that representatives of 'cultural relativism' in particular have spoken out against the 'pathologizing' of shamanism; see J. Herskovits, *Cultural Relativism* (New York, 1973), p. 19; and Possession, in Leach, M. (ed.) *Standard Dictionary of Folklore* II (New York, 1950), p. 831. We may even want to concede that Feyerabend is right when he says, in Logic, literacy, and Professor Gellner, *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science* (1976), p. 385, 'that the path to relativism has not yet been closed by reason'. But it is certainly not necessary to be an adherent of this rather overdrawn philosophical doctrine to reject a description of such phenomena by using psychopathological concepts; see e.g. E.H. Ackerknecht, Psychopathology, primitive medicine and primitive culture, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* (1943), p. 33; W.M. Pfeiffer, Die Stellung des psychisch Kranken in aussereuropäischen Kulturen, in Ehrhardt, H.E. (ed.) *Perspektiven der heutigen Psychiatrie* (Frankfurt/Main, 1972), p. 331; and A.M. Greeley and W.C. McCready, Some notes on the sociological study of mysticism, in Tiryakian, E.A. (ed.) *On the Margin of the Visible* (New York, 1974), p. 303. The impression sometimes arises that people call everything 'sick' that appears strange, harmful or undesirable to them; see G. Canguilhem, *Das Normale und das Pathologische* (München, 1974), p. 80; and R.L. Van de Castle, An investigation of PSI-abilities among the Cuna Indians of Panama, in Angoff, A. and Barth, D. (eds) *Parapsychology and Anthropology* (London, 1974), p. 80.

9 See, for example, M.E. Spiro, Religion and the irrational, in *Proceedings of the Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society* (Seattle, 1964), p. 107.

10 K. Kornwachs, 'Parascience' und Wissenschaftstheorie, *Zeitschrift für Parapsychologie* (1975), p. 126.

11 When in the past men were suspected of wanting to desert the confines of science, rumours started circulating that they knew how to fly; this happened to Albertus Magnus or Roger Bacon. Even today, such researchers must suffer being told by D.Bidney, in Myth, symbolism, and truth, in Sebeok, T.A. (ed.) *Myth* (Bloomington, 1965), p. 23, that they 'are undermining faith in their

own disciplines and are contributing unwittingly to the very degradation of man and culture which they otherwise seriously deplore'. The judgement of W. Stegmüller, *Hauptströmungen der Gegenwartsphilosophie* II (Stuttgart, 1975), p. 532 is much less dogmatic. He maintains that the normal behaviour of the scientific community toward such 'border-crossers' does not indicate so much that they are considered 'irrational', but that 'to be taken to be a nutter (a screwball) is a typical professional risk for somebody engaged in unconventional research'.

12 See H.P. Duerr, *Ni Dieu – ni mètre* (Frankfurt/Main, 1974), p. 36. In Lawless sensations and categorial defenses: the unconscious sources of Kant's philosophy, in Hanly, C. and Lazerowitz, M. (eds) *Psychoanalysis and Philosophy* (New York, 1970), pp. 84, 86, L.S. Feuer analyses the metaphorics in the *Critique of Pure Reason,* where the 'police' of reason forbids the itinerant, lawless sceptics to enter the settlement. Nowadays, philosophers are a bit less timorous, especially when they have tenure. See e.g. R. Chisholm, *Person and Object* (London, 1976), p. 105. But anxiety and insecurity still continue to play a large role. For E. Rosch, in Universals and cultural specifics in human categorization, in Brislin, R.W. (ed.) *Cross-cultural Perspectives on Learning* (New York, 1975), p. 197, that world view is the best 'which enables the organism to reduce uncertainty as much as possible'. The 'outside' is seen mainly as *inimical,* and Rosch does not seem to realize that what is strange and uncertain may also be stimulating and liberating.

13 P.L. Berger, B. Berger and H. Kellner, *Das Unbehagen in der Moderne* (Frankfurt/Main, 1975), p. 71. This kind of isolation has also been described as 'molecularization'. Molecules may be able to enter into 'innumerable combinations with each other', D. Oberndörfer points out in *Von der Einsamkeit des Menschen in der modernen amerikanischen Gesellschaft* (Freiburg, 1961), p. 57, but human relationships cannot be *produced,* especially not by desperately hectic attempts and artificial ideologies of emancipation. See also the prophetic insight of A. de Tocqueville, *Über die Demokratie in Amerika* II (Stuttgart, 1962), p. 342 [*Democracy in America* (London, 1859)].

14 See H. Blumenberg, Wirklichkeitsbegriff und Wirkungspotential des Mythos, in Fuhrmann, M. (ed.) *Terror und Spiel* (München, 1971), p. 41.

15 There are, of course, also other reasons that account for the uncertainties in the thinking and behaviour of people in modern industrial society. P.L. Berger, for example, in *Auf den Spuren der Engel* (Frankfurt/Main, 1970), p. 68 [*A Rumor of Angels* (Garden City, New York)], see also D. Riesman, N. Glazer and R. Denney, *Die einsame Masse* (Hamburg, 1958), p. 31 [*The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven, Conn., 1950)], points out that in the multi-step socialization process these people have to *play* so many different roles that no single role and its attendant views can be *plausible* any more. Berger sees the reason for the death of religion not so much in the critical influence of science, but in the fact that for every view, there are countless alternatives. Their claims to veracity cannot be simply dismissed as was done earlier. We may also raise the question what the psychic consequences would be of a world

society with its extreme pluralism as envisioned by Feyerabend. Extreme syncretism, where the most divergent world views would be put in a blender, as apparently proposed by Feyerabend and also by Dieter Duhm, would most probably deprive every *Weltanschauung* of its spice and result in a tasteless mush that most likely not even the mixers would enjoy. Once upon a time, when the Lord distributed colour among the birds, the sparrow impatiently jumped into each and every paint dish. That is why it came out looking grey the way it does today. Only when the sun shines on it directly can you see its plumage glittering in all its various colours.

16 See, for example, L.S. Feuer, *Ideology and the Ideologists* (Oxford, 1975), p. 7. Truth shows itself only to *sober* eyes now. 'Sober' is one of the favourite words of the critique of ideologies. Marx, for example, believed that the bourgeoisie finally got people to see themselves as they really were: 'All classes, everything established has evaporated', he says in the *Communist Manifesto* 'and people are finally forced to see their position in life, their relationships to each other with sober eyes.'

17 'We find ourselves in a universe of direct satisfaction of needs and of regular work, where the interest in continuity leads to the reduction of all accidents and surprises. We are marching toward a world in which everything works without friction. People today always get upset if something does not function right and if there are disturbances. There are not supposed to be any excesses, nothing unexpected'; J. Ellul, *Von der Revolution zur Revolte* (Hamburg, 1974), p. 253.

18 William Golding, *Lord of the Flies* (New York, 1962).

19 See N. Elias, *Die höfische Gesellschaft* (Neuwied, 1969), p. 374. As to 'internalization'; see also K. Löwith, Can there be a Christian gentleman?, *Theology Today* (1948), p. 59.

20 E. Bloch, *Vorlesungen zur Philosophie der Renaissance* (Frankfurt/Main, 1972), p. 8.

21 See M. Bookchin, Umweltschutz versus Ökologie, *Schwarze Protokolle* (April 1974), p. 14.

22 When iron ploughs were introduced in Galicia in the nineteenth century, peasants feared the revenge of ravished nature, and rightly so; see K. Dobrowolski, Peasant traditional culture, in Shanin, T. (ed.) *Peasants and Peasant Societies* (Harmondsworth, 1971), p. 289. A White landowner suggested to the Taos Indians the use of iron ploughs to increase their yield and met with icy rejection. In the spring, Mother Earth is pregnant. The Indians take off their soled shoes and the horseshoes of their horses; see P.T. Furst, Shamanistic survivals in Mesoamerican religion, in *Actas del XVI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* III (Mexico, 1976), p. 154.

23 K. Marx and F. Engels, Die deutsche Ideologie, in *Werke* III (Berlin, 1962), p. 31. Apparently, Marx and Engels did not see these humans as mere animals, for after all, they worked, as they write a few sentences later: 'With this, there developed a separation of labour, which until then was nothing but a separation of labour in sexual intercourse.' (!) They call the males 'co-workers', and it is only the males that these authors are interested in, 'sheep

with consciousness'. In other words, if F. Kramer, in *Verkehrte Welten* (Frankfurt/Main, 1977), p. 57, maintains that no one is as cynical as Hegel when it comes to judging foreign ways of life with contempt and brutality, then he seems to pay too little attention to Hegel's students. Some Marxists, ready to throw Engels to the wolves, might counter that aside from a few ill-advised statements; Marx did speak of a 'reconciliation between humans and nature'; see e.g. H.M. Enzensberger, Zur Kritik der politischen Ökologie, *Kursbuch* 33 (October 1973), p. 41. But let us examine how Marx imagines this 'reconciliation' to take place. Ironically enough, he thinks it will be achieved when humans have totally 'subjected', totally 'cultivated' nature; see Karl Marx, Ökonomisch-philosophische Manuskripte, in *Werke* Suppl. Vol. I (Berlin, 1968), p. 515. In other words, nature has not been 'reconciled' until humans see only themselves in it. An artificial turf would be a good approximation of this ideal, which is nothing but a materialistic variant of the kind of idealism leading from Vico to Kant and from him to Hegel. Nature is only the material, the stuff that awaits human exploitation. 'The *true* dissolution of the conflict between humans and nature', 'the solution to the riddle of history' (*op. cit.*, p. 544) has presumably been achieved when nature is destroyed to such an extent that humans find in it nothing any more beyond the products of their labour. Marx calls this 'nature becoming human' (*op. cit.*, p. 544). To the Sioux, this would have more likely been a 'desecration of nature', and it would probably have been inconceivable to them that humans could have such irreverent thoughts. Freud also seems to have seen in nature primarily something dangerous that humans need to regulate and contain, for he voices the opinion that the principal task of culture, its very reason for existence, is to 'defend us against nature'; see S. Freud, Die Zukunft einer Illusion, in *Gesammelte Werke* XIV (London, 1948), p. 336 [*The Future of an Illusion* (London, 1949)]. And he writes, 'Nobody will delude himself into thinking that nature has already been subdued, and few will hope that it will ever be totally subjected to man.' Knowledge, for him, is a victory over nature, 'which will increase our power'; *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur* (London, 1948), p. 379 [*Civilization and Its Discontents* (London, 1951)]. Freud, however, is not as cynical as Marx, and does not claim that such an 'attack' could be labelled 'reconciliation'.

24 As early as the first half of the sixteenth century there were travellers who were critical of civilization and who pointed out, not for the sake of truth, but for moral reasons, that the savages of the New World, who lived in the Golden Age, had gardens without fences; see R. Gonnard, *La légende du bon sauvage* (Paris, 1946), p. 33; and H. Hauser, *La modernité du XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1930), p. 52.

25 See K.T. Preuss, *Die geistige Kultur der Naturvölker* (Leipzig, 1914), p. 15.

26 A. Bastian, *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Psychologie* (Berlin, 1868), p. 118. Bastian consistently refused to cross such bridges. 'Bastian was obviously not interested in the people whose ideas he collected. He confined himself to priests and chiefs, asked his questions, noted the answers and disappeared again. Nowhere did he establish any human relationships, and his bio-

graphers agree in noting that he was totally lonely. Most of the time he collected his data not from the "natives", but from resident Europeans' (F. Kramer, *op. cit.*, p. 77).

27 'The use of narcotics is always in some way connected with escape from reality', writes R.E. Schultes, in Hallucinogenic plants of the New World, *The Harvard Review* (1963), p. 18. W. Schmidbauer voices the same opinion in Hexensalben, in *Handbuch der Rauschdrogen* (Frankfurt/Main, 1976), p. 61. Even open-minded theologians are no exception. W. Keilbach, *Religiöses Erleben* (München, 1973), p. 110, thinks of such things as 'experienced intensively, but actually only dreamt'. The only reason why W. Pannenberg opposes seeing the origin of convictions about the 'independence of the soul' in drug experiences is because he probably fears discrediting such conceptualizations, a view advanced by positivistic critics of ideologies; see *Wissenschaftstheorie und Theologie* (Frankfurt/Main, 1973), p. 123. Without any kind of argument, M. Eliade, in *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (Princeton, 1972), p. 417, maintains that shamans using drugs represent an 'aberrant variant' of the technique of ecstasy. He poses the question whether the 'aberrant side of the shamanistic trance might not be due to the fact that the shaman wants to experiment on the 'concrete level' with symbolism and mythology, which by their very nature cannot be explored experimentally on that level'. In other words, he ponders whether perhaps the aberrant trance technique came about due to the wish of the shaman 'to accomplish at any price and by any means a mystical but at the same time also real, concrete, journey to the sky, and whether these phenomena might not be the unavoidable consequences of a bitter struggle to "live", that is, to experience in the flesh what due to human constitution can only be consummated "in the spirit".' It seems that here, Eliade confuses the shamans with Otto von Lilienthal.

28 Some authors will not even admit that such people experience anything, only to 'experience' it; see e.g. J. Dahl, *Nachtfrauen und Geisterweiber* (Ebenhausen, 1960), p. 26; and W. Ziegeler, *Möglichkeiten der Kritik am Hexen- und Zauberwesen im ausgehenden Mittelalter* (Köln, 1973), p. 19.

29 J.A. Rush, *Witchcraft and Sorcery* (Springfield, 1974), p. 115, thinks that dialogues such as those in Castaneda's writings allow one to conclude that 'reality is in the mind of the beholder'. That, of course, is out of the question.

30 In this sense, Mühlmann proposes that 'whatever might still be discovered will be ordered and classified in some way; the categories themselves are nearly complete, however. We will certainly not discover any unknown marginals, lotus eaters, foot shaders, head footers, Gog and Magog. ... the ethnographic cosmos has lost its magic, everything has found its place or is about to'; see W.E. Mühlmann, *Rassen, Ethnien, Kulturen* (Neuwied, 1964), p. 48. To paraphrase Wittgenstein's famous dictum about lions, 'And if Mühlmann would get to the lotus eaters, he would not see them.'

31 P.H. Nowell-Smith, Cultural relativism, *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* (1971), p. 8.

32 B. Scholte, Toward a reflexive and critical anthropology, in Hymes, D. (ed.) *Reinventing Anthropology* (New York, 1974), p. 445, suggests that in such

cases, one should simply 'choose intelligently without dogmatic reification'. It is kindly meant, but will not help us any more than the patent recipe of K.R. Popper's that the 'critical attitude' of the researcher will surely aid him in finding the right solution to his problem; see The rationality of scientific revolutions, in Harré, R. (ed.) *Problems of Scientific Revolution* (Oxford, 1975), p. 97.

33 D. Silverman, *Reading Castaneda* (London, 1975), p. 19; L. Foss, Does Don Juan really fly?, *Philosophy of Science* (1973), p. 312; M. Pollner, *op. cit.*, pp. 419, 426; and J.J. Rose, *The Appeal to the Given* (London, 1970), p. 177. D. Price-Williams, Primitive mentality – civilized style, in Brislin, R.W. (ed.) *Cross-cultural Perspectives on Learning* (New York, 1975), p. 295, believes that Don Juan and the anthropologist 'do not share the same universe of discourse'. With even more emphasis, H. Mehan and H. Wood think that in our case we are dealing with two 'coherent system(s) of knowledge', and therefore, with two different realities. A problem arises only if we start off with the proposition, valid in Western science that something cannot be reality and hallucination at the same time (*op. cit.*, p. 11). The authors do not touch on the paradoxes that would result from such conceptualizations. In *Alternate Realities* (New York, 1976), p. 24, L. LeShan argues in a similar relativistic vein for contradictory but 'equally valid definitions of reality'; in one of them, for example, 'fire-walking' is possible, in the other one it is not. He does not consider the consequences of such a view either; see also H. Leisegang, *Denkformen* (Berlin, 1928), p. 6. Under the influence of Whorf, Kuhn, Castaneda and others, a number of scientists have produced such theses in the past decade, so that C.C. Lemert even suggests in Sociological theory and the relativistic paradigm, *Sociological Inquiry* (1974), p. 94, that the ideology of relativism is the dominant one today. That is a tremendous exaggeration, however.

34 See J.W. Bennet, Die Interpretation der Pueblo-Kultur, in Mühlmann, W.E. and Müller, E.W. (eds) *Kulturanthropologie* (Köln, 1966), p. 148; A. Schütz, *Gesammelte Aufsätze* I (Den Haag, 1971), p. 267 (and following him, a spate of ethnomethodologists California-style); T.S. Kuhn, Theory-change as structure-change: comments on the Sneed-formalism, in Butts, R.E. and Hintikka, J. (eds) *Historical and Philosophical Dimensions of Logic, Methodology and Philosophy of Science* (Dordrecht, 1977), p. 308; and D. Bohm, Science as perception-communication, in *The Structure of Scientific Theories* (Urbana, 1974), p. 375. As for Bohm, Kuhn watered down his wine; see T.S. Kuhn, Comment on Bohm, in Suppe, F. (ed.) *The Structure of Scientific Theories* (Urbana, 1974), p. 410. Similar ideas can also be found in N. Grossman, Consciousness expansion: a new paradigm for philosophy, *Metaphilosophy* (1974), p. 342; A. Fine, How to compare theories, *Noûs* (1975), p. 27; and K. Hübner, Erfahrung und Wirklichkeit im griechischen Mythos, in *Objektivität in den Natur- und Geisteswissenschaften* (Hamburg, 1976), p. 83.

35 See R.M. Hare, Theology and falsification, in MacIntyre, A. (ed.) *New Essays in Philosophical Theology* (London, 1963), p. 101. According to C-R.

Brakenhielm, *How Philosophy Shapes Theories of Religion* (Nyköping, 1975), p. 150, it is only possible to describe an experience such as 'flying' as an experience of reality if it proves compatible 'with well established knowledge'. It is easy to counter that what is recognized as 'assured insight' appears in a certain form of life. It is not to be denied that science effectively judges things on the basis of such a point of view of coherence; see E.E. Harris, Empiricism in science and philosophy, in Vesey, G. (ed.) *Impressions of Empiricism* (London, 1976), p. 163. If a scientist were to *accept* recalcitrant and thus 'isolated' facts without explaining them, that is, without showing their connection with other facts, then he would run the risk, as William James expressed it, of undoing 'the uniformity of Nature and all sorts of other things without which scientists cannot carry out their pursuits'; quoted in B.H. Zedler, Royce and James on psychical research, *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society* (1974), p. 242. However, such a thinking in coherence can easily lead to killing everything that does not fit into the scientific framework of the time. This is illustrated by the famous statement of Helmholtz, who said that neither the testimony of all the members of the Royal Society, nor the testimony of his own senses would ever convince him of the existence of telepathic phenomena. If the facts contradict some generally accepted laws, 'too bad for the facts'. An exaggerated thinking in coherence also serves as the basis for extreme scientific *reductionism,* i.e. for the tendency to derive everything from one particular point, regardless of *losses* incurred that way. There is an idea that truth *always* has to be at the very bottom. Such thinking, for instance, informs the structuralism of Lévi-Strauss, who places 'simplicity' into a position of the only criterion for truth, naturally leading to a 'coherence theory of truth', eliminating reality; see A. Akoun, F. Morin and J. Mousseau, A conversation with Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Psychology Today* (May 1972), p. 79. It is not possible to argue that in the final analysis *all* theories are reductions, as done by H.H. Penner, The poverty of functionalism, *History of Religions* (1971), p. 92. For 'reduction' must not result in certain ranges of reality simply being evicted from reality, because under very specific conditions, e.g. that of physics, they cannot be observed. An example for this procedure is the neurophysiological 'elimination thesis', where the 'language of consciousness' is to be *replaced* by a physical–chemical language only because the two cannot be *trans*lated into one another. It is interesting to see how pronounced 'anti-reductionists' and pluralists such as Feyerabend have opted for precisely *this sort* of reductionism. The reason may be that most of them are natural scientists. To them, our kind of commonsense perspective looks like Neanderthal metaphysics. Finally, drastic changes in our background of knowledge may moreover suddenly invest with meaning even isolated facts that to date appear to have no significance. This also argues against such a forced 'thinking in coherency'; see M. Wertheimer, *Produktives Denken* (Frankfurt/Main, 1957), pp. 191, 193, 216; H. Edge, Paradigmata und Parapsychologie, *Zeitschrift für Parapsychologie* (1974), p. 101; and E. Erwin, The confirmation machine, in *Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science* (Dordrecht, 1971), p. 316. There

are sufficient examples in the history of science to illustrate the point.

36 See S. Maimon, *Versuch über die Transcendentalphilosophie* (Berlin, 1790).

37 See K. Ajdukiewicz, Das Weltbild und die Begriffsapparatur, *Erkenntnis* (1934), p. 259; and W. Diederich, *Konventionalität in der Physik* (Berlin, 1974), p. 131. See also L. Foss, Art as cognitive: beyond scientific realism, *Philosophy of Science* (1971), p. 235. Ajdukiewicz's 'conventionalism' has returned with a vengeance in the philosophy of Quine and Feyerabend, in the case of Feyerabend even with a certain exuberance. In the meantime, the latter has come to represent a new 'philosophy of the as if': 'A relativist may even embrace objectivism, he may even start to talk in categories of truth and untruth, but he will always add that he is saying these things because he so chooses, and not because it might be so'; P. Feyerabend, Unterwegs zu einer dadaistischen Erkenntnistheorie, *Unter dem Pflaster liegt der Strand* (1977), p. 21. A relativist in the style of Feyerabend may behave as any non-relativist. He will only differ from the latter in his theoretical justification. We are reminded of A. Arnauld and P. Nicole, who in 1724 wrote that sceptics were not people who believed what they said; see I. Lakatos, *Proofs and Refutations* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 102. It seems that Feyerabend probably experienced constraint principally 'intellectually', perhaps at the hand of influential theoreticians of science, who wanted to control knowledge and their students by way of abstractions that were divorced from reality. By the way, when Feyerabend speaks so often of 'taste' and 'preference', he inadvertently creates the impression that one can choose from various kinds of world views as nonchalantly as between Lucky Strikes and Camels. R.G. Collingwood, *An Essay on Metaphysics* (Oxford, 1940), p. 48, saw the matter more realistically: 'An absolute presupposition is not a "dodge", and people who "start" a new one do not start it because they "like"to start it. People are not ordinarily aware of their absolute presuppositions, and are not, therefore, thus aware of changes in them; such a change, therefore, cannot be a matter of choice. Nor is there anything superficial or frivolous about it. It is the most radical change a man can undergo, and entails the abandonment of all his most firmly established habits and standards for thought and action'; see also M. Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge* (London, 1958), p. 59; W.A. Beardslee, Truth in the study of religion, in Altizer, T.J.J. (ed.) *Truth, Myth, and Symbol* (Englewood Cliffs, 1962), p. 70; J.H. Gill, Saying and showing, *Religious Studies* (1974), p. 283; and D. Shapere, *Galileo* (Chicago, 1974), p. 152. It does, however, seem to me that to maintain that such presuppositions are truly 'absolute', and cannot be shaken by '[any] happening whatsoever' is, to use a fashionable phrase, 'poor transcendental philosophy'. M. Pollner takes this stance; see Mundane reasoning, *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* (1974), p. 43, and lists as an example the view of the Zande that their poison oracle can never be wrong; see also P. Sherry, Is religion a 'form of life'?, *American Philosophical Quarterly* (1972), p. 163.

38 See A. Wlosok, *Rom und die Christen* (Stuttgart, 1970), p. 69.

39 A classical example is Osiander attempting to label Copernicus' theories as a mere hypothesis, 'suitable for calming Peripatetics and theologians'; H.

Blumenberg, *Die Genesis der Kopernikanischen Welt* (Frankfurt/Main, 1975), p. 342. To show that a hypothesis could 'save the phenomena', and to demonstrate that it is true, are two different pairs of boots, as Cardinal Bellarmino used to say; see J. Giedymin, Instrumentalism and its critique, in Cohen, R.S. (ed.) *Essays in Memory of Imre Lakatos* (Dordrecht, 1976), p. 187. The General Congregation of the Holy Inquisition recognized the theories of Copernicus as such a hypothesis. Wanting to accomplish more was to demonstrate a lack of humility before God. This was the case with Galileo. He wanted to reveal the ideas in the world of phenomena that could be represented mathematically, and did this with rather doubtful references to Plato; see H. Blumenberg, *Pseudoplatonismen in der Naturwissenschaft der frühen Neuzeit* (Mainz, 1971), p. 33. Galileo believed that with the language of mathematics he simply described what the Bible expressed in pictures; see R. Hooykaas, *Religion and the Rise of Modern Science* (Edinburgh, 1972), p. 124; G. Spini, The rationale of Galileo's religiousness, in Golino, C.L. (ed.) *Galileo Reappraised* (Berkeley, 1966), p. 61; and G. de Santillana, Galileo in the present, in *Homage to Galileo* (Cambridge, 1965), p. 21. While the Averroists went so far as to assert that something could be theologically true and scientifically false; see R.H. Popkin, Scepticism, theology and the scientific revolution in the seventeenth century, in Lakatos, I. and Musgrave, A. (eds) *Problems in the Philosophy of Science* (Amsterdam, 1968), p. 8, the representatives of orthodoxy did not want to see their 'two-world dogma' to be understood relativistically. It was Leibniz who later both radicalized and blunted this view by allowing that revelation might also possibly serve as a basis for formulating a hypothesis, but only as one among many; see H. Blumenberg, 1971, p. 361; R.M. Blake, The theory of hypothesis among Renaissance astronomers, in Blake R.M. (ed.) *Theories of Scientific Method* (Seattle, 1960), p. 222; and K.R. Popper, A note on Berkeley as precursor of Mach and Einstein, in *Conjectures and Refutations* (New York, 1965), p. 168.

40 See L. Wittgenstein, *Vorlesungen und Gespräche über Ästhetik, Psychologie und Religion* (Göttingen, 1968), p. 90 [*Lectures and Conversations on Aesthetics, Psychology, and Religious Belief* (Berkeley, 1966)]. In unusual situations, such cases keep cropping up; see e.g. B.O. Nordland, Shamanism as an experiencing of 'The Unreal', in Edsman, C-M. (ed.) *Studies in Shamanism* (Stockholm, 1967), p. 170; and G.W. Arendsen Hein, Selbsterfahrung und Stellungnahme eines Psychotherapeuten, in Josuttis, M. and Leuner, H. (eds) *Religion und die Droge* (Stuttgart, 1972), p. 100. 'But when the part of me that talks would try to make words for the meaning, it would be like fog and get away from me'; Black Elk, *Black Elk Speaks* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1961), p. 49.

41 In other words, situations in which it is not that we 'refuse' to voice an opinion, as J. Stagl suggests, in *Kulturanthropologie und Gesellschaft* (München, 1974), p. 111, but in which we do not *know* what opinion to voice.

42 Such experiences are *tapu*: 'Taboo marks off those experiences which defy classification'; M. Douglas, Self-evidence, *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (1972), p. 31. The Dakota tribes would call them *wakan*.

Transcendental philosophers often erroneously believe a 'transcendental framework' to be a frame in the *strict sense of the word*; put differently, they maintain that no 'empirical knowledge' about the world enters into its formulation and elaboration, especially knowledge that could be deceptive. Bertrand Russell criticizes a modern transcendental philosophy, the 'ordinary language philosophy', in these terms; see also J. Kekes, Metaphysics and rationality, *Idealistic Studies* (1972), p. 146; L. Krüger, Über das Verhältnis der hermeneutischen Philosophie zu den Wissenschaften, in Bubner, R. (ed.) *Hermeneutik und Dialektik* I (Tübingen, 1970), p. 22; and A. Ryan, *The Philosophy of the Social Sciences* (London, 1970), p. 167. This sort of criticism should not be applied as generally as is done by M. White, Quine and their students; see, recently, G. Harman, *Thought* (Princeton, 1973), p. 103. These authors maintain that the entire distinction between analytic and synthetic is invalid, or at least that the concept of 'analytic' (or of synonymity) is 'obscure'. They conclude this from the fact that a definition of 'analytic' presupposes empirical knowledge. Measured against what is logically 'ideal' that, of course, introduces a certain lack of precision; see W.V.O. Quine, Carnap and logical truth, in Kazemier, B.H. and Yuysie, D. (eds) *Logic and Language* (Dordrecht, 1962), p. 60; and M. White, The analytic and the synthetic: an untenable dualism, in *Pragmatism and the American Mind* (New York, 1973), p. 126. If the world is first approached with unreal abstractions and if it then turns out that the world refuses to play along, then *reality* should not end up holding the Old Maid card; see also R.M. Martin, On 'analytic', *Philosophical Studies* (1952), p. 42; and B. Aune, On an analytic–synthetic distinction, *American Philosophical Quarterly* (1972), p. 242.

43 See I. Berlin, Austin and the early beginnings of Oxford philosophy, in *Essays on J.L. Austin* (London, 1973), p. 11; J.L. Pollock, *Knowledge and Justification* (Princeton, 1974), p. 293; R.G. Swinburne, Review of Vesey's 'Personal Identity', *Mind* (1976), p. 144; J.F.M. Hunter, *Essays After Wittgenstein* (Toronto, 1973), p. 42; D. Wiggins, The stream of consciousness, *Philosophy* (1976), p. 151; and D.M. Taylor, *Explanation and Meaning* (London, 1970), p. 157. 'The use of the word is clearly outlined to us only in normal cases; we know, we have no doubts about what we should say in this case or that one. The more abnormal the case, the more we are beset by doubts about what we should say' (translation by Goodman); L. Wittgenstein, *Philosophische Untersuchungen* (Frankfurt, 1960), paragraph 142 [*Philosophical Investigations* (New York, 1953)]. It should be obvious from this quote that Wittgenstein does not always accept only that as given 'which is at all times fully supported by practical life surrounded by its rules', as standard criticism levelled against him purports. See, for example, A. Wellmer, *Kritische Gesellschaftstheorie und Positivismus* (Frankfurt/Main, 1969), p. 29.

44 See C. Coope, Wittgenstein's theory of knowledge, in *Understanding Wittgenstein* (London, 1974), p. 264.

45 See H-G. Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode* (Tübingen, 1960), p. 287. In The problem of robot consciousness, *Philosophy and Phenomenological Re-*

search (1971), p. 164, D. Van de Vate attaches too much importance to 'flesh and blood' being part of the necessary conditions when attributing 'person-status' to a certain being, because 'personification is fundamentally a pitiless social discipline'. Perhaps he should ask himself whether it might not be *he* who is being too 'pitiless' in this case. See also R. Puccetti, *Ausserirdische Intelligenz* (Düsseldorf, 1970), p. 26. After all, on the island of Nias, slaves used to be treated like pigs and were not considered persons, and Albertus Magnus denied that Pygmies were people, see W. Marschall, *Der Berg des Herrn der Erde* (München, 1976), p. 60, and J. Koch, Sind die Pygmäen Menschen?, *Archiv für die Geschichte der Philosophie* (1931), p. 194, this does not mean that questioning these attitudes *has* to be 'out of place'. Sometimes, a form of life does not manifest its possibilities until forced to do so by unusual circumstances, and no semanticist will be able to *exclude* such possibilities from the outset by an analysis of meaning.

46 See K. Menninger, *Zahlwort und Ziffer* I (Göttingen, 1958), p. 41; A.I. Hallowell, Some psychological aspects of measurement among the Saulteaux, *American Anthropologist* (1942), pp. 64, 69; and D.L. Oliver, *A Solomon Island Society* (Cambridge, 1955), p. 62. A gradual change in this respect occurred in Europe with the coming to power of the bourgeoisie. In 1793 the *Journal du Lycée des Arts* maintained that the last remnants of feudalism could be eradicated by introducing a unified system of weights and measurements. A little later, the geometer Louis-François Arbogast wrote that the uniformity of measurements was 'an emblem of political equality and a pledge of that brotherhood that should unite all people'; see W. Lepenies, *Das Ende der Naturgeschichte* (München, 1976), p. 14.

47 On the other hand, this does not mean that certain abstractions and idealizations of necessity *have* to appear reasonable to us, as if, as Wittgenstein says, we were provided with only *one* ideal. In some excerpts Marx prepared from a book by John Budd Phear, we read, 'The modern Bengali has little concept of neatness, he is *absolutely incapable*, unassisted, of drawing *a straight line* or *an evenly curved line*; the traces left by his plough, the edges of his little fields, the rows of his planted paddy etc. [are] like *inked spider legs* across a sheet of paper'; see K. Marx, *The Ethnological Notebooks* (Assen, 1972), p. 246. However, this so-called 'absolute inability' of Bengali peasants may not necessarily appear as a failing to them even after Marx's demonstration of a straight alternative.

48 This also means, however, that a neat separation of 'inner-cultural' and 'outer-cultural' criteria, as suggested by A. MacIntyre, in The idea of a social science, *Aristotelian Society* Suppl. Vol. (1967), p. 113, or even that of 'emic' from 'etic', as this old wine in new bottles is called, is actually a construct from the drawing board.

49 M. Thompson, in When is ordinary language reformed? in Rorty, R. (ed.) *The Linguistic Turn* (Chicago, 1967), p. 204, is convinced that a philosopher should not assume the role of such a goblin. But we might want to ask, why the hell not?

50 See A.E. Jensen, Wettkampf-Parteien, Zweiklassensysteme und geographische

Orientierung, in Mühlmann, W.E. and Müller, E.W. (eds) *Kulturanthropologie* (Köln, 1966), p. 176. We might possibly say, just as there is no 'universal now' in Einstein's theory of relativity, the Alfurian cosmology does not admit a 'universally static sun', while in this case the universe is identical to the island of Ceram. We may also recall how, according to Whorf, the problem of the simultaneous occurrence of two events in two different pueblos is excluded in Hopi 'implicit metaphysics', because of an event that took place at a distance, one can only know that it *was*. Theoreticians of science would call such a view 'operationalistic'.

51 We might say with A. MacIntyre, Rationality and the explanation of action, in *Against the Self-images of the Age* (London, 1971), p. 248, and G. Reddiford, Rationality and understanding, *Philosophy* (1975), p. 23, that this opinion would then not be true, but rational, because within the current world view of the Alfurs it represents the most natural one. If such arguments are taken to the extreme, we may arrive at considering it the most rational action not even to get up in the morning.

52 T. Abel, *The Foundations of Sociological Theory* (New York, 1970), p. 70, and Verstehen I and Verstehen II, *Theory and Decision* (1975), p. 101, seems to be of this opinion when he says that *verstehen* is not 'empathy', that is, not 'sharing one's experiences', but rather subsuming the strange under 'generalized personal experiences', or when he writes, '*Verstehen* does not add to our knowledge, because it consists of the application of knowledge already validated by personal experience'; The operation called 'Verstehen', in *The Structure of Scientific Thought* (Boston, 1960), p. 166.

53 Gadamer's hermeneutics seems to lean, to my mind unnecessarily, towards such a dogma with its arguments based on transcendental philosophy, especially where it leans too heavily on the Platonic 'thesis of anamnesis'. See, e.g., H.-G. Gadamer, Rhetorik, Hermeneutik und Ideologiekritik, in *Kleine Schriften* I (Tübingen, 1967), pp. 115, 118. Of course, I am aware that Minerva's owl is a nocturnal bird. But why should it not be awoken sometimes during the day too?

54 Quoted in E. Hunger, *Von Demokrit bis Heisenberg* (Braunschweig, 1958), p. 71.

55 See J. Klowski, Der unaufhebbare Primat der Logik, die Dialektik des Ganzen und die Grenze der Logik, *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Wissenschaftstheorie* (1973), p. 50.

56 See T. Kuhn, Reflections on my critics, in Lakatos, I. and Musgrave, A. (eds) *Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge* (London, 1970), p. 266; and W.V.O. Quine, Reply to Davidson, *Synthese* (1968), p. 304. 'For what Truth is nobody really knows,' says P. Feyerabend, in Science, freedom, and the good life, *The Philosophical Forum* (1968), p. 130. He capitalizes the word 'truth', so we may assume that he means the same as Kuhn and Quine. A. Hannay, Giving the sceptic a good name, *Inquiry* (1975), p. 412, writes about the sceptic, 'A first step towards understanding his scruples is to grasp the purely epistemological point that a decision absolutely in favour of a judgement constitutes a refusal to allow that its negation might be true. . . . In this light

we can perhaps understand why the sceptic sees such "decisions" on truth and falsity as threats to his peace of mind.' I should like to suggest that in this quote, we simply strike out 'absolutely', and if we do that then relaxation will come about even without scepticism. Or to put it differently, scepticism is a brother under the skin of dogmatism, and their dispute is a family quarrel. The sceptic will be no stronger than the dogmatist allows. O.A. Johnson, in Die gemässigte Skepsis, *Ratio* (1976), p. 78, believes that 'there is no middle road between total skepsis and "rationalism"' (or to put it in more Christian terms, *Zwischentöne sind Krampf im Klassenkampf,* intermediary approaches are inadmissible in the class struggle), and so apparently he thinks that one or two goblins smuggled into paradise will stand everything on its head. An Italian proverb knows better, though: *Un demonio non fa l'inferno*! 'One demon does not make an inferno!'

57 In Rationality and relativism, *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* (1974), p. 325, K. Nielsen proposes that concepts such as 'really real' make no sense in any kind of language game. 'We do not know what we are saying when we use them.' That is not very convincing. How often we hear people asking, 'Is that *really* true?' And to speak of '*one* truth' as a 'messianic prejudice'; see W. Bühl, Funktionalismus und Strukturalismus, in Bühl, W. (ed.) *Funktion und Struktur* (München, 1975), p. 39, is more impertinent than pagan.

58 See C. Wellman, The ethical implications of cultural relativism, *The Journal of Philosophy* (1963), p. 171. Quite some time ago, Shapere and Achinstein in particular pointed out that incommensurable theories or paradigms can of course not contradict each other and that if experience were totally determined by their 'framework' it would turn all true sentences into analytical ones; see also C.R. Kordig, *The Justification of Scientific Change* (Dordrecht, 1971), p. 62. Such an attitude would correspond exactly to what Adorno calls 'identity philosophy'; see also J.G. McEvoy, A 'revolutionary' philosophy of science, *Philosophy of Science* (1975), p. 57; H. Pilot, Skeptischer und kritischer Theorienpluralismus, *Neue Hefte für Philosophie* (1974), pp. 77, 89; M. Martin, Referential variance and scientific objectivity, *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science* (1971), p. 20; D.F. Aberle, The influence of linguistics on early culture and personality theory, in Dole, G.E. and Carneiro, R.L. (eds) *Essays in the Science of Culture* (New York, 1960), p. 9; C.G. Hempel, Reduction: ontological and linguistic facets, in Morgenbesser, S. (ed.) *Philosophy, Science, and Method* (New York, 1969), p. 191; and E. Nagel, Issues in the logic of reductive explanations, in Kiefer, H.E. and Munitz, M.K. (eds) *Mind, Science, and History* (Albany, 1970), p. 130.

59 This argument, used *ad nauseam* against Durkheim and particularly against Wittgenstein and his followers; see e.g. R. Trigg, *Reason and Commitment* (Cambridge, 1973), p. 15; S. Lukes, *Emile Durkheim* (Harmondsworth, 1973), p. 485; and I.C. Jarvie, *Die Logik der Gesellschaft* (München, 1974), p. 93 [*Concepts and Society* (London, 1972)], is a typical 'idealism reproach', or one of 'sociologism'; see e.g. J. Agassi, Sociologism in philosophy of science, *Metaphilosophy* (1972), p. 120. These critics hardly notice that Wittgenstein is one of the first philosophers to show that idealism as well as

realism, which most of his critics profess, are forms of metaphysics, where things are discussed 'about which one cannot speak', or rather about which it is not possible to speak as long as one avoids 'looking at the fence'.

60 Those who believe that the 'existence of reality' is a hypothesis serving to unify our experience are formulating a variant of realistic philosophy which is really an idealistic one; see e.g. V. Kraft, Konstruktiver Empirismus, *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Wissenschaftstheorie* (1973), p. 320; H. Margenau, ESP in the framework of modern science, in Smythies, J.R. (ed.) *Science and ESP* (London, 1967), p. 215; and I.C. Jarvie, Cultural relativism again, *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* (1975), p. 347. A follower of Wittgenstein would confess to not being able to connect any kind of meaning to the sentence 'Reality exists'.

61 See, for example, K.O. Apel, Zur Idee einer transzendentalen Sprach-Pragmatik, in Simon, J. (ed.) *Aspekte und Probleme der Sprachphilosophie* (Freiburg, 1974), p. 291.

62 See A. Ambrose, Philosophy, language and illusion, in Hanly, C. and Lazerowitz, M. (eds) *Psychoanalysis and Philosophy* (New York, 1970), p. 16.

63 See S. Körner, On the subject matter of philosophy, in Lewis, H.D. (ed.) *Contemporary British Philosophy* (London, 1976), p. 190; and P. Zinkernagel, Scepticism and conditions for description, *Inquiry* (1968), p. 202. Such an epistemological theory, represented by Popper's follower G. Vollmer, in *Evolutionäre Erkenntnistheorie* (Stuttgart, 1975), p. 137, eventually leads to a point where one wonders whether knowledge is possible at all. And if there is no knowledge, then there can be no conjectures or refutations either. H. Göhring, in Generative Grammatik und Kulturanthropologie, *Anthropos* (1967), p. 807, agrees with the 'ancient insight' that humans have no direct contact with their environment, but need the medium of an artificial 'system of symbols'. Others think along similar lines, e.g. L. Weisgerber, *Die geistige Seite der Sprache* (Düsseldorf, 1971), p. 59; or J. Stachel, The 'logic' of 'quantum logic', in *Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science* (Dordrecht, 1976), p. 516. We gain the impression that here too, as generally in idealism, language is considered a *means* or an *instrument* which foremost *connects* humans with the world.

64 In *Holzwege* (Frankfurt/Main, 1950), M. Heidegger suggests a similar idea, as when he writes, e.g. *Das Seiende steht im Sein.* For the visual metaphorics of our spiritual tradition; see W.J. Ong, World as view and world as event, *American Anthropologist* (1969), p. 637.

65 If I am not mistaken, I did not quite understand this point in my book, *Ni Dieu – ni mètre* (*op. cit.*). The goblin there penetrated only as far as the footnotes.

66 See R. Narroll and F. Narroll, On bias of exotic data, *Man* (1963), p. 24; and H. Miner, Body ritual among the Nacirema, *American Anthropologist* (1956), p. 503. Relativists such as Whorf are able to accomplish a distancing effect also by a word-by-word translation, where from the start there is no attempt at finding 'functional equivalence'; see J.W. Berry, On cross-cultural comparability, *International Journal of Psychology* (1969), p. 122; I.D. Currie

The Sapir–Whorf hypothesis, *Berkeley Journal of Psychology* (1966), p. 20; and J.A. Fishman, *Soziologie der Sprache* (München, 1975), p. 159 [*The Sociology of Language* (Rowley, Massachusetts, 1972)].

67 See J.B. Maund, Rationality of belief – intercultural comparisons, in Benn, S.I. and Mortimor, G.W. (eds) *Rationality in the Social Sciences* (London, 1976), p. 47; and W. Jaide, *Das Wesen des Zaubers in den primitiven Kulturen und in den Islandsagas* (Borna, 1937), p. 90. The latter is a book long forgotten which was written at the wrong time.

68 See also R. Tuomela, *Theoretical Concepts* (New York, 1973), p. 198. Foss (1973, p. 308) accuses Wittgenstein of adhering to a 'species solipsism'. Actually, his own posture can be characterized as a 'standard' or 'framework-solipsism'. That is a situation where it is six of one and half-a-dozen of the other. Not so much Wittgenstein himself but rather his followers, tend to exaggerate the significance of the 'incommensurability' of various language games, such as those of religion or of science; see J. Agassi, On the limits of scientific explanation: Hempel and Evans-Pritchard, *The Philosophical Forum* (1968), p. 176; and Can religion go beyond reason, in *Science in Flux* (Dordrecht, 1975), p. 483; K. Nielsen, Religious discourse and arguing from ordinary language, *Metaphilosophy* (1974), p. 109; and F.B. Dilley, The status of religious beliefs, *American Philosophical Quarterly* (1976), p. 45. In *Die Entstehung des Neuen* (Frankfurt/Main, 1977), p. 43, T.S. Kuhn suggests that different paradigms can open up 'various worlds'. The question we then obviously need to ask is what he understands by 'world'. If for him the world simply means what it does for us when we speak of the 'world of the theatre', or of the 'world of the redstart', then his meaning is philosophically harmless, for it indicates merely that the world carries a different face for the director of a theatre production than for a redstart; see also L. Krüger, Die systematische Bedeutung wissenschaftlicher Revolutionen, in Diederich, W. (ed.) *Theorien der Wissenschaftsgeschichte* (Frankfurt/Main, 1974), pp. 223, 233.

69 See, for example, G. Spindler and L. Spindler, Fieldwork among the Menomini, in Spindler, G. (ed.) *Being an Anthropologist* (New York, 1970), p. 279; R. Pettazzoni, The truth of myth, in *Essays on the History of Religions* (Leiden, 1954), p. 21; or L. Kolakowski, *Die Gegenwärtigkeit des Mythos* (München, 1973), p. 58. Such attitudes often end up with explicit 'coherence theories' of the truth; see e.g. N. Goodman, *Languages of Art* (London, 1969), p. 264. P. Winch, in Understanding a primitive society, in Phillips. D.Z. (ed.) *Religion and Understanding* (Oxford, 1967) writes, 'What is real and what is unreal shows itself *in* the sense that language has. Further, both the distinction between the real and the unreal and the concept of agreement with reality themselves belong to our language.' This suggests the conceptualization of language as a kind of cage. However, as Wittgenstein once said, 'the language is not a cage'; see also D.Z. Phillips, Faith, scepticism and religious understanding, in Phillips, D.Z. (ed.) *Religion and Understanding* (Oxford, 1967), p. 68.

70 See R. Bambrough, The shape of ignorance, in Lewis, H.D. (ed.) *Contemporary British Philosophy* (London, 1976), pp. 33, 38; H.F. Pitkin, *Wittgen-*

stein and Justice (Berkeley, 1972), p. 112; N. Rescher, *Conceptual Idealism* (Oxford, 1973), p. 8; P. Achinstein, *Concepts of Science* (Baltimore, 1968), p. 92; R.M. Burian, Conceptual change, cross-theoretical explanation, and the unity of science, *Synthese* (1975), p. 3; M. Bloch, The past and the present in the present, *Man* (1977), p. 283; R.C. Hoy, Cognitive aspects of art and science, *Philosophy of Science* (1973), p. 296; and J.P. McKinney, *The Structure of Modern Thought* (London, 1971), p. 189.

71 'Where it makes sense to apply "true" is to a sentence couched in the terms of a given theory and seen from within this theory, complete with its posited reality'; W.V.O. Quine, *Word and Object* (Cambridge, 1960), p. 24. With a bit more moderation: 'The relevance of factual evidence is dictated by theory. For you cannot test a theory by evidence which that theory dismisses as irrelevant'; A.N. Whitehead, *Adventures of Ideas* (New York, 1933), p. 284.

72 M.J. Charlesworth, *Philosophy of Religion* (London, 1972), p. 172, criticizes Peter Winch in this fashion. See also P.A. Ostien, Observationality and the comparability of theories, in Cohen, R.S. (ed.) *Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science* (Dordrecht, 1976), p. 183.

73 'If my map of Treasure Island is literally *all* wrong it is not a map of Treasure Island'; R. Bambrough, Ideology and the modes of explanation, in Körner, S. (ed.) *Explanation* (Oxford, 1975), p. 199; see also D.T. Campbell, Distinguishing differences of perception from failures of communication in cross-cultural studies, in Northrop, F.S.C. and Livingston, H.H. (eds) *Cross-Cultural Understanding* (New York, 1964), p. 325.

74 This is the opinion of, for example, D. Kolb, Ontological priorities, *Metaphilosophy* (1975), p. 253; and D. Davidson, On the very idea of a conceptual scheme, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Association* (1974), p. 18. Their point of departure is a 'transcendental frame' that is much too rigid, suggesting that we always know exactly what we mean. A bit of Quine here would be fine.

75 See P. Feyerabend, Professor Bohm's philosophy of nature, in Toulmin, S. (ed.) *Physical Reality* (New York, 1970), p. 190. On the other hand, he posits that our world view is 'false from the ground up', and that the occurrence of 'illusions' might represent the normal case; see idem, *Against Method* (London, 1975), p. 139. See also note 73 in this chapter.

76 See also A.J. Ayer, Are all our common sense judgements false?, in Lakatos, I. and Musgrave, A. (eds) *Problems in the Philosophy of Science* (Amsterdam, 1968), p. 164. I believe that W. Diederich somewhat misunderstood me on this point in his gracious article, Anarchistische Erkenntnistheorie?, *Politikon* (November 1976), p. 28. In contrast to Feyerabend, I am not in favour of dissolving the concept of truth. I simply try to show that if you logically separate truth from verification, this leads to a concept of truth as proposed by Popper and his followers which *cannot possibly play any role at all* in our language, not even as an ideal of approximation. Consequently, these philosophers can no longer explain how we can have any confidence in 'corroborated' theories leading us *towards* the truth and not *away* from it; see also H. Feigl, Empiricism at bay? in Cohen, R.S. and Wartofsky, M.W. (eds)

Methodological and Historical Essays in the Natural and Social Sciences (Dordrecht, 1974), pp. 11, 17; A. Grünbaum, Is falsifiability the touchstone of scientific rationality?, in Cohen, R.S. (ed.) *Essays in Memory of Imre Lakatos* (Dordrecht, 1976), p. 236; H. Putnam, The 'corroboration' of theories, in Schilpp, P.A. (ed.) *The Philosophy of Karl Popper* I (La Salle, 1974), p. 222; G. Maxwell, Corroboration without demarcation, in Schilpp, P.A. (ed.) *The Philosophy of Karl Popper* I (La Salle, 1974), p. 302; and A.J. Ayer, Truth, verification and verisimilitude, in Schilpp, P.A. (ed.) *The Philosophy of Karl Popper* II (La Salle, 1974), p. 686. In the meantime, Popper himself has somewhat modified his stance; see Replies to my critics, in Schilpp, P.A. (ed.) *The Philosophy of Karl Popper* II (La Salle, 1974), p. 994. 'Where did I ever suggest that there is no truth?' he asks innocently in *Unended Quest* (Glasgow, 1976), p. 223. Of course, Popper never *said* this. But his concept of truth is 'idle', it 'never turns anything' as Wittgenstein would say. In Der Kritizismus und seine Kritiker, in *Traktat über kritische Vernunft* (Tübingen, 1975), p. 190, H. Albert no longer even offers any arguments on this point, but introduces martial law instead: 'I should like to refrain from discussing those theses here that are intended against "scientism", namely that a judgement is only "justified" if one allows it to prevail, and an opinion is true if nothing can be advanced against it. I shall content myself by not giving it any room, which obviously will have to satisfy their proponent.' I must confess that this kind of execution does seem to me rather helter-skelter. Even at the risk of the Popperians putting me in one box with the 'ordinary language philosophers', I will briefly repeat my argument here. In the part of my text that Albert refers to in his rebuff, I argue that if a word such as 'true' is to have any *meaning*, it must be *usable*. In other words, the criteria for 'making true' must have a *logical* connection with the meaning of 'true'. In opposition to Habermas's idealistic theory of truth, I do not believe that truth means 'the promise to achieve a reasonable consensus', but that in the final analysis, some sort of consensus (I do not like that word) will determine the criterion for letting it stand. This does not mean, of course, that such an 'agreement' is sacrosanct or *absolute*. What is meant by the 'final analysis' will become obvious *factually* in our respective form of life, where we allow something to stand 'until further notice'. The ghost of 'infinite regress' seems to me typically to haunt the desk of critical rationalists. The longer one sits at that desk, the bigger the ghost gets.

77 See S.H. Bergman, *The Philosophy of Salomon Maimon* (Jerusalem, 1967), p. 86.

78 P. Feyerabend, Über einen neueren Versuch, die Vernunft zu retten, in Stehr, N. and König, R. (eds) *Wissenschaftssoziologie* (Opladen, 1975), p. 507.

79 This is, for example, what S. Lukes thinks, Relativism: cognitive and moral, *The Aristotelian Society*, Suppl. Vol. (1974), p. 169.

80 See the excellent criticism of R. Rhees, *Without Answers* (London, 1969), p. 25.

81 See R. Zimmermann, Sprache und Praxis, in Leist, A. (ed.) *Ansätze zur materialistischen Sprachtheorie* (Kronberg, 1975), p. 313.

82 L. Wittgenstein (1953), *op. cit.*, paragraph 251.

83 See I. Kohler, Gedanken zur Analytizität der Farbsätze, in Weingartner, P. (ed.) *Deskription, Analytizität und Existenz* (Salzburg, 1966), p. 383; see also H. Feigl, Postscript after ten years, in *The 'Mental' and the 'Physical'* (Minneapolis, 1967), p. 154. Feyerabend's thesis is perhaps even more astounding; see *Wider den Methodenzwang, op. cit.*, p. 354, namely that sometimes certain facts can only be described adequately by a contradictory statement. 'Let us fix our glance on a moving pattern, which just stopped. We will then see it moving in the opposite direction, without it changing its location, however. The only phenomenologically correct description would be, "It moves in space, but does not change its location", and this description is contradictory.'

84 E. Stenius, The problem of color incompatibility, in Gram, M.S. and Klemke, E.D. (eds) *The Ontological Turn* (Iowa City, 1974), p. 260.

85 See P. Unger, *Ignorance* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 105, 123.

86 W.A. Abraham, Complete concepts and Leibniz's distinction between necessary and contingent propositions, *Studia Leibnitiana* (1969), p. 270. See also M. Andic, Inquiry and virtue in the *Meno*, in Brown, M. (ed.) *Plato's Meno* (Indianapolis, 1971), p. 270; and J. Moravcsik, Learning as recollection, in Vlastos, G. (ed.) *Plato* I (Garden City, 1970), p. 56.

87 G. Landauer, Gott und der Sozialismus, in *Der werdende Mensch* (Potsdam, 1921), p. 33.

88 Not all followers of Wittgenstein are this dogmatic; see R. Rhees, Questions on logical inference, in *Understanding Wittgenstein* (London, 1974), p. 38. On the other hand, see R. Bambrough, Fragments of a system, *The Listener* (January 1970), p. 121, quoted in P.G. Rivière, Marriage: a reassessment, in Needham, R. (ed.) *Rethinking Kinship and Marriage* (London, 1971), p. 71: 'Philosophy, unlike science, makes no discoveries, gives no information, but simply reminds us of what we have always known.'

89 L. Wittgenstein, *Über Gewissheit* (Frankfurt/Main, 1960), 494 [*On Certainty* (New York, 1969)].

90 L. Laudan, Two dogmas of methodology, *Philosophy of Science* (1976), p. 596, thinks that a *reductio* of the thesis of incommensurability is not fair because its representatives question the mandatory quality of 'paradigm case arguments'. To my mind it is obvious, for one thing, that such philosophers presuppose a 'standard meaning' of that kind in formulating their hypothesis, and secondly that such relativisms owe their origin more to *a priori* or philosophical 'reasons' than to empirical ones. Philosophical reasons are lost sight of very naturally as soon as one *succeeds* in establishing communication with a foreign culture. Or, to give another example, if I understand other people and they understand me, if I comprehend their thoughts and feelings, then the philosophical problem of 'other minds' becomes irrelevant. There will be no point to the 'point' of scepticism.

91 'The indeterminacy of translation holds also at home'; W.V.O. Quine, *The Roots of Reference* (La Salle, 1974), p. 83. At times I get the impression that Quine – as did the Pyrrhonian sceptics before him – believes that the problem vanishes as soon as it is *expressed.*

92 'Indeterminacy' in modern physics is described as 'objective property of the

physical world without reference to an observer'; H. Reichenbach, *The Direction of Time* (Berkeley, 1956), p. 220; also P. Bieri, *Zeit und Zeiterfahrung* (Frankfurt/Main, 1972), p. 164. In the same way, Quine's semantic 'indeterminacy' is also 'objective' with respect to its inventor: 'There is no fact of the matter'; W.V.O. Quine, *Ontological Relativity* (New York, 1969), pp. 38, 47; as well as D. Føllesdal, Indeterminacy of translation and underdetermination of the theory of nature, *Dialectica* (1973), p. 295. What Quine does not seem to see, however, is that there is no fact of the matter 'there is no fact of the matter'! Quine, that is, does not know what it is he is saying, and he can never know it, because he pulls the rug away from under his own feet; see also D.P. Graybeal, The in- and under-determinacy of translation, *Dialectica* (1976), p. 14; D. Hockney, The bifurcation of scientific theories and indeterminacy of translation, *Philosophy of Science* (1975), p. 422; J.F. Rosenberg, Synonymy and the epistemology of linguistics, *Inquiry* (1967), p. 416; and *Linguistic Representation* (Dordrecht, 1974), p. 55; R. Geuss, Quine und die Unbestimmtheit der Ontologie, *Neue Hefte für Philosophie* (1975), p. 47; N. Chomsky, Problems and mysteries in the study of human language, in *Language in Focus* (Dordrecht, 1976), p. 317; J. Bennett, *Linguistic Behavior* (London, 1976), pp. 261, 264; S. Blackburn, The identity of propositions, in Blackburn, S. (ed.) *Meaning, Reference, and Necessity* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 195; and the same criticism also in C.R. Kordig, Objectivity, scientific change, and self-reference, in Buck, R.C. and Cohen, R.S. (eds) *Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science* (Dordrecht, 1971), p. 520. The basis for Quine's theory of knowledge is a solipsism, that of his ontology, a phenomenalism, which makes him speak of physical objects as 'ontological myths'. It is not surprising that the British 'commonsense' philosophers were never particularly interested in Quine's theses. Austin is said to have quipped, 'Everything done by Quine / Is just fine / All we want is to be left alone / To potter about on our own'; quoted in R. Rorty, Metaphilosophical difficulties of linguistic philosophy, in Rorty, R. (ed.) *The Linguistic Turn* (Chicago, 1967), p. 15. As to his own philosophy, Austin may have got the answer from Quine, 'That's fine in practice, but don't you see / It doesn't work out in theory!' (Ross Saggins).

93 If a sceptic wanted to say that that was exactly what he *meant*, but that even that opinion only *seemed* to him to be correct; see R. Richter, *Der Skeptizismus in der Philosophie* I (Leipzig, 1904), p. 100, then this clearly illustrates that the more a sceptic retracts his opinions, the more unchallengeable he becomes. A good sceptic, accordingly, is a dead sceptic.

94 See also W. Stegmüller, Accidental ('non-substantial') theory change and theory dislodgement, *Erkenntnis* (1976), p. 172; also M. Hesse, Is there an independent observation language?, in Colodny, R.G. (ed.) *The Nature and Function of Scientific Theories* (Pittsburgh, 1970), p. 63.

95 P. Strawson, *Individuals* (London, 1959), p. 10, speaks of 'a massive central core of human thinking which has no history'; see also M. Bunge, *Treatise on Basic Philosophy* II (Dordrecht, 1974), p. 64; and T. Counihan, Epistemology and science, *Economy and Society* (1976), p. 82. Anybody who does not

believe in such a 'core' is haughtily described as a 'bourgeois ideologue' by the Marxist, F. Rossi-Landi, *Ideologies of Linguistic Relativity* (The Hague, 1973), p. 71.

96 See P. Heintz, *Anarchismus und Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1973), pp. 86, 106. Some philosophers think that what the world *really* is will become apparent at the 'hypothetical end of the endless process of research', in what Peirce called the 'ultimate opinion'; see J. Klüver, *Operationalismus* (Stuttgart, 1971), p. 213. Bertrand Russell may have noted at this point that he would only hope that the bearers of that 'ultimate opinion' had sufficient time in which to formulate it, and did not spend too much time in looking for wood for next year's camp fire. In other words, too many philosophers act as if their idealizations (e.g. *herrschaftsfreier Dialog* etc.) were virtually available, only overgrown by the creepers of irrationality; see also Y. Bar-Hillel, On Habermas' hermeneutic philosophy of language, *Synthese* (1973), p. 7. As Gödel has shown, however, in a way against Laplace, the Devil will also have a word to add during the formulation of the 'ultimate opinion'. To be sure, that does not mean, as P.W. Bridgman contends in Quo vadis?, in Arons, A.B. and Bork, A.M. (eds) *Science and Ideas* (Englewood Cliffs, 1964), p. 275, that the illegitimacy of the concept of 'certainty' can be deduced from Gödel's theorem, but only that we should be a little more cautious with our claims; see also S. Amsterdamski, *Between Experience and Metaphysics* (Dordrecht, 1975), p. 176.

97 Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations,* paragraph 325; also A. Lyon, Family resemblance, vagueness, and change of meaning, *Theoria* (1968), p. 71.

98 K. Hübner, Zurm Frage des Relativismus und des Fortschritts in den Wissenschaften, *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Wissenschaftstheorie* (1974), p. 302. A.A. Goldenweiser, in Totemism: an analytical study, *Journal of American Folklore* (1910), states that, 'No particular set of features can be taken as characteristic of totemism, for the composition of the totemic complex is variable, nor can any single feature be regarded as fundamental, for not one of the features does invariably occur in conjunction with others.' See also F. Boas, The origin of totemism, *American Anthropologist* (1916), p. 326. But this should not lead to the conclusion, as proposed by Lévi-Strauss, that totemism does not *exist.* Or for the same reason, that there is no such thing as kinship, as expounded by R. Needham, in Remarks on the analysis of kinship and marriage, in Needham, R. (ed.) *Rethinking Kinship and Marriage* (London, 1971), p. 5; see also M. Southwold, Meanings of kinship, in Needham, R. (ed.) *Rethinking Kinship and Marriage* (London, 1971), p. 40. It only means that totemism or kinship are different objects than a chair or a kitchen cabinet; see also L. Löffler, Rezension von Needham's 'Sceptical Essays about Kinship', *Tribus* (1975), p. 181.

99 I do want to mention that I much prefer Feyerabend's scepticism (or relativism) to the philosophical posture of most of his critics and adversaries. The latter hold the opinion that his flame spreads more heat than light. It would be to their advantage if they warmed themselves at this flame – at a certain distance. (I am dedicating this remark to Feyerabend for his non-birthday.)

100 Instead of defining a 'true believer of science', I should like to offer an

example. I mean people who, for instance, write about the mental condition of the Maid of Orleans, 'It can sufficiently be explained by using the insights of modern psychology and psychiatry concerning the phenomenon of hallucination'; H. Nette, *Jeanne d'Arc* (Reinbek, 1977), p. 16. What hides behind such statements is the attitude that concepts such as 'vision' can be *replaced, salva veritate,* by psychiatric terms; see e.g. T.E. Wilkerson, *Minds, Brains and People* (Oxford, 1974), p. 180.

101 See M. Hesse, *The Structure of Scientific Inference* (London, 1974), p. 289. It is often disputed that there was a 'breakdown of communication' between representatives of the phlogiston theory and those of the oxygen hypothesis, making a 'conversion' in Kuhn's sense necessary. These critics maintain that Kuhn and Feyerabend make the 'switches' in perception during 'changes in paradigms' too dramatic; see, for example, N. Koertge, Inter-theoretic criticism and the growth of science, in Buck, R.C. and Cohen, R.S. (eds) *Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science* (Dordrecht, 1971), p. 171;; P.K. Machamer, Observation, in Buck, R.C. and Cohen, R.S. (eds) *Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science* (Dordrecht, 1971), p. 198; L. Laudan, *Progress and its Problems* (Berkeley, 1977), p. 144; D.L. Phillips, Paradigms and incommensurability, in *Wittgenstein and Scientific Knowledge* (London, 1977), pp. 106, 110; T.E. Hansen, Confrontation and objectivity, *Danish Yearbook of Philosophy* (1970), p. 42; W. Sellars, Conceptual change, in *Essays in Philosophy and its History* (Dordrecht, 1974), p. 187; H. Field, Theory change and the indeterminacy of reference, *Journal of Philosophy* (1973), pp. 470, 474; J. Leplin, Meaning variance and the comparability of theories, *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science* (1969), p. 73; and W. Büchel, *Gesellschaftliche Bedingungen der Naturwissenschaft* (München, 1975), p. 98. Not enough attention is often paid to the fact that ordinary language of everyday use remains for the most part untouched by such 'switches'; see J. Giedymin, Consolations for the irrationalist?, *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science* (1971), p. 47; E.L. Holman, Sensory experience, perceptual evidence and conceptual frameworks, *American Philosophical Quarterly* (1977), p. 107; G. Gale and E. Walter, Kordig and the theory-ladenness of observation, *Philosophy of Science* (1973), p. 422; and S. Toulmin, Conceptual change and the problem of relativity, in Krausz, M. (ed.) *Critical Essays on the Philosophy of Collingwood* (Oxford, 1972), p. 215. It may possibly be so that a Ptolemaist sees the rising sun and the Copernican the sinking horizon of the earth and, correspondingly, the intension of some essential concepts will also differ. But something like that does not *necessarily* entail a difference in the extension of the respective concepts; see G. Thrane, The proper object of vision, *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* (1975), p. 30; W. Kneale, An analysis of perceiving in terms of the causation of beliefs, in Sibley, F.N. (ed.) *Perception* (London, 1971), p. 65; H. Putnam, *Mathematics, Matter and Method* II (Cambridge, 1975), p. 121; and R.A. Putnam, On empirical knowledge, in Cohen, R.S. and Wartofsky, M.W. (eds) *Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science* (Dordrecht, 1969), p. 408. Following Todorov, M. Frank, *Das individuelle Allgemeine* (Frankfurt/Main,

1977), p. 309, maintains that two opinions of one and the same fact make it into two facts. If this were correct, then not only this proposition of Frank's, but *any* knowledge at all would be impossible. A reasonable criticism of reductionism must never go so far as to becoming empty scepticism by rejecting any reduction at all.

102 See T.W. Adorno, *Negative Dialektik* (Frankfurt/Main, 1966), p. 45.

103 See, for example, J.O. Wisdom, The sceptic at bay, *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science* (1958), p. 163.

104 'We have all of us hidden gardens and plantations within ourselves . . .'; F. Nietzsche, *Werke* V,2 (Berlin, 1973), p. 55.

105 Compare, for example, the visions of horror resurrected in the soul of Imre Lakatos by Kuhn and Feyerabend; see History of science and its rational reconstructions, in Elkana, Y. (ed.) *The Interaction Between Science and Philosophy* (Atlantic Highlands, 1974), p. 235.

106 Cultural relativism is only an attitude and therefore does not cost very much, according to S. Diamond, *In Search of the Primitive* (New Brunswick, 1974), p. 109. 'Relativism is the bad faith of the conqueror, who has become secure enough to become a tourist'; see also C. Moreux, Remarques sur les fondements épistémologiques de l'antipsychiatrie, *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie* (1974), p. 19. This will depend on *how* seriously a relativist takes his own opinions; see D.M. Armstrong, Epistemological foundations for a materialist theory of the mind, *Philosophy of Science* (1973), p. 185. If he does take them seriously, they will actually cost him much too much. K. Dixon, in Is cultural relativism self-refuting?, *British Journal of Sociology* (1977), p. 81, advances the view that the relativist does not after all propose his thesis 'in absolute terms', but only relative to his own culture. That will not profit him all that much, however. For what if his own culture does not restrict itself to itself? And how can he possibly have a conception of *another* culture without violating his own relativism?; see J. Kekes, Towards a theory of rationality, *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* (1973), p. 278. Cultural relativists are usually motivated by their desire to limit Western claims to superiority and to open our eyes to the fact that there are things beyond the fence about which we have not the slightest notion. But they go about it in the wrong way. Varying a formulation of Derrida's, we might say that it is somehow tragic that the most radical defenders of the wilderness are those who betray it the most.

Chapter 10 The Half-truths of the Coyote or Castaneda and the Altered States of America

1 See R.B. Hassrick, *The Sioux* (Norman, 1967), p. 230.

2 See L. Sternberg, Der Adlerkult bei den Völkern Sibiriens, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1930), p. 143; also M.A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia* (Oxford, 1914), p. 169.

3 See R.J. Giddings, *Yaqui Myths and Legends* (Tucson, 1959), p. 27. To this

day, the Yaquis say that witches change in this way, for instance, a *bruja* called Yoem Wo'i, 'Coyote Woman', who to this end rolls over an anthill (*op. cit.*, p. 58), a custom also reported of African hyena people.

4 C. Lévi-Strauss, Diogène couché, *Les Temps Modernes* (1955), p. 1217, writes about the ethnographer, 'He is truly dead to his world; and if he succeeds in returning, after having reorganized the disjointed limbs of his cultural tradition, he will still be only a resuscitated person.' (I am grateful to K-H. Kohl for this reference.) In another place, he says, 'If it were true that nature expelled humans and society continues suppressing them, then humans could at least reverse the poles of the dilemma in their favour and return to the company of nature, in order there to think about the nature of society'; Jean-Jacques Rousseau: fondateur des sciences de l'homme, in *J.J. Rousseau* (Neuchâtel, 1962), p. 245, quoted in H.H. Ritter, Claude Lévi-Strauss als Leser Rousseaus, in Lepenies, W. and Ritter, H.H. (eds) *Orte des wilden Denkens* (Frankfurt/Main, 1970), p. 129.

5 A.K. Boshier, African apprenticeship, in Angoff, A. and Barth, D. (eds) *Parapsychology and Anthropology* (New York, 1974), p. 274. The author also refers to his article, What makes a witchdoctor?, *Scientific South Africa* (1965), p. 317, which unfortunately I did not have access to.

6 See W. James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York, 1902), p. 73.

7 See M. Lüthi, *Das europäische Volksmärchen* (Bern, 1968), p. 101; also G. Sannwald, Parapsychologische Phänomene im Volksmärchen, *Zeitschrift für Parapsychologie* (1965), p. 35. In legends, a *strange* world intrudes into the familiar one, which is always under the shadow of the other world, while the fairy-tale knows only *one*, a world 'without numen'. Animals that talk are taken for granted there, and the hero is not at all surprised to encounter them; see also M. Lüthi, Gehalt und Erzählweise der Volkssage, in *Sagen und ihre Deutung* (Göttingen, 1965), p. 17.

8 See C. Castaneda, *Journey to Ixtlan* (New York, 1972), p. 103. See also A. Schütz and T. Luckmann, *Strukturen der Lebenswelt* (Neuwied, 1975), pp. 43, 137.

9 See M. Merleau-Ponty, *Phénoménologie de la perception* (Paris, 1945), p. 385.

10 See E. Straus, *Psychologie der menschlichen Welt* (Berlin, 1960), p. 266; as well as L. Narens, Vorstellungssysteme der Geisteskranken, in Weingarten, E. (ed.) *Ethnomethodologie* (Frankfurt/Main, 1977), p. 276. In schizophrenia auditory hallucinations seem to predominate; see T. Freeman, J.L. Cameron and A. McGhie *Studie zur chronischen Schizophrenie* (Frankfurt/Main, 1969), p. 75 [*Chronic Schizophrenia* (New York, 1958)].

11 See H. Bender, *Verborgene Wirklichkeit* (Olten, 1973), p. 125; and E. Minkowski, *Die gelebte Zeit* II (Salzburg, 1972), p. 255.

12 In Some myths about 'mental illness', *Inquiry* (1975), p. 241, M.S. Moore argues against Laing, 'The woman who avoids crowds may be rational in so doing *given* her belief that "when she was in a crowd she felt the ground would open up under her feet", . . . But the beliefs themselves are irrational.' But what is that supposed to mean, they are 'irrational'? That would only be the case if the woman believed that the ground under her feet would open up in physical

terms. Did she believe that? It seems more likely that when in crowds, she undergoes an experience that average people normally exclude as 'idiosyncratic' and as a hindrance to ordinary social interaction.

13 For example, G. Huber, *Psychiatrie* (Stuttgart, 1974), p. 155; and G.E. Swanson, The search for a guardian spirit, *Ethnology* (1973), p. 360.

14 'Hallucinations are not foreign inclusions in the normal sensory sphere,' says E. Straus, *Vom Sinn der Sinne* (Berlin, 1956), p. 382. Instead, the entire manner of experiencing is modified. Legends tell, for example, that if someone who happens on a witch's sabbat makes the sign of the cross or mentions Christ's name inadvertently, the entire assembly of witches disappears. Or the visions of the seer dissolve at cock crow; see K. Schmëing, Das 'Zweite Gesicht' in Schottland und Niederdeutschland, *Niederdeutsche Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1938), p. 33. Such observations might prompt the psychiatrist to speak of 'pseudo-hallucinations', which at times may disappear if the respective person concentrates intensely on something else or as a result of other distractions; see K. Jaspers, Die Trugwahrnehmungen, in *Gesammelte Schriften zur Psychopathologie* (Berlin, 1963), p. 281. Such 'pseudo-hallucinations' often occur under the effect of LSD. I myself once saw an enormous green dinosaur with red, tired eyes crawl up the Grosse Mantelgasse, a lane in Heidelberg. Since this was obviously a herbivorous creature, I stepped into a doorway and let it pant past me. But when I fixed my gaze at it intently, it 'changed' into a tractor, which slowly climbed the hill toward the main street. As soon as I let my perception take over again, the prehistoric creature appeared once more.

15 Witch-trial files frequently cite the statement that 'witches felt that food, drink, and even intercourse with the Devil had not seemed "quite right"'; see Byloff, *op. cit.*, p. 12. 'There is no use,' writes E. Bleuler, in *Lehrbuch der Psychiatrie* (Berlin, 1972), p. 31, 'to try to convince a patient who hears voices from the other room that no one is there by taking him there.' Bleuler obviously does not ask why that should be so. M. Rokeach provides a good example of scientific naivety in *The Three Christs of Ypsilanti* (New York, 1964), p. 75, where he tells of a conversation with a patient in an American mental hospital: '"I am born genius among geniuses and I want to be a leader among men", Leon said. Through bilocation he could be in two places at once and through translocation he had the power to go instantaneously from one place to another. Leon also claimed to be able to perform miracles. He had once commanded a table to lift itself off the floor – and it had obeyed. When I expressed disbelief, he volunteered to repeat the miracle for me. He went into the recreation room and picked out a massive table. He then turned his back to it and, in a loud affirmative tone, commanded it to lift itself. – *I don't see the table lifting.* – "Sir, that is because you do not see cosmic reality."' Rokeach understood the statement of the patient literally, in its everyday sense, and for that reason, he *saw* nothing. Neither did he know what to do with the explanation that he could not see 'cosmic reality'. In Ein Diskurs, *Neues Lotes Folum* (1975), p. 252, Feyerabend asks, and justly so, 'Is not the scientific method constructed in such a way that demons, if they existed, would remain for ever undetected by it?' Then there is also another matter. 'I know,' a person versed in

psychokinesis, for instance, said to the parapsychologist observing him, 'today it won't work again, with everybody looking at me ... with this light and everything ... I am getting nervous again and I am scared ...'; H. Bender and R. Vandrey, Psychokinetische Experimente mit dem Berner Graphiker Silvio, *Zeitschrift für Parapsychologie* (1976), p. 221; and H. Kreitler and S. Kreitler, The implications of ESP experiments for anthropological ESP research, in Angoff, A. and Barth, D. (eds) *Parapsychology and Anthropology* (New York, 1974), p. 19. See also chapter 12.

16 B. Juhos, for example, says in Formen des Positivismus, *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Wissenschaftstheorie* (1971), p. 53, that Wittgenstein *assumed* 'the existence of a natural, generally intelligible language'; Juhos doubts that there is such a thing, a truly schizophrenic doubt if it were meant seriously.

17 As we know, Wittgenstein was plagued all his life by the idea that he might become insane, and metaphysical thinking seems to have been for him a form of this insanity. His philosophy probably represented a tremendous effort on his part to avert this danger. For this reason, it is so different from the philosophy of the self-satisfied scientific middle class which now as in the past inhabits the universities; see L. Wittgenstein, *Letters to Russell, Keynes and Moore* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 15, 28, 41. On 20 December 1919, Russell wrote to Lady Ottoline, 'I think (though he wouldn't agree) that what he likes best in mysticism is its power to make him stop thinking.' Actually, Wittgenstein would most probably have agreed.

18 See, for example, H.D. Lewis, Ultimates and a way of looking in philosophy, in Ryle, G. (ed.) *Contemporary Aspects of Philosophy* (Stocksfield, 1977), p. 288. 'Everything, but absolutely everything is so questionable. Somehow I don't understand anything ...', a patient said. And, 'There are no answers at all. The answers that are around, I can find for myself ... I don't need to ask about anything definite. ... They aren't questions like, what is this or what is that? ...'; quoted in W. Blankenburg, *Der Verlust der natürlichen Selbstverständlichkeit* (Stuttgart, 1971), p. 75.

19 See R. Chisholm, Fallibilism and belief, in Wiener, P.P. and Young, F.H. (eds) *Studies in the Philosophy of Charles Sanders Peirce* (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 102, 110.

20 A philosopher who had the idea that doubting the existence of other minds was 'logically possible'; see e.g. H. Putnam, Other minds, in Rudner, R. and Scheffler, I. (eds) *Logic and Art* (Indianapolis, 1972), p. 94; or H.D. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 293, would hardly actually *believe* that and still keep his job. For our form of life allows *practically* no room for such a doubt. Our eyes are closed to it, as Wittgenstein wrote somewhere. The function of such a 'theoretical' doubt would, of course, be to illuminate how certain language games work. We might naturally imagine that our form of life could change to such an extent that behaviourism would become an increasingly plausible philosophy. A Briton, obviously not exactly enamoured of the 'American way of life', illustrates the point: 'Friends could be changed as rapidly as jobs and dwelling places, and one behaved to him privately. Could it then be that there was actually very little extra going on behind those smiling faces? Is Behaviourism more or less

an appropriate philosophy of mind in this type of culture?', R.S. Peters, Personal understanding and personal relationships, in *Understanding Other Persons* (Oxford, 1974), p. 59. It is hard to imagine that the ideas of B.F. Skinner could have as big an influence on the subculture and especially on the rural communes in Europe as is apparently the case in the United States.

21 Albert has many good points, but he fails to hit the critique of critical rationalism, popularly called 'positivism', where it is the strongest. Instead, he fights on secondary battle fields, so that the reader easily loses sight of the principal arguments of his opponents. In my book, *Ni Dieu – ni mètre* (section 1), I attempted to show that the philosophy of Popper and his followers represents what W. Stegmüller, *Theorien und Erfahrung* II (Heidelberg, 1973), p. 199, called an 'exaggerated rationalism'. These philosophers hold that any attempt at justifying a claim leads to what Albert called a 'Münchhausen trilemma': to a circle, to an infinite regress or to an arbitrary cessation of the 'process of justification'. 'Every attempt to justify any claim,' says Popper's follower, I.C. Jarvie, for instance, in Toulmin and the rationality of science, in Cohen, R.S. (ed.) *Essays in Memory of Imre Lakatos* (Dordrecht, 1976), p. 329, 'simply leads to the further necessity of justifying the justification.' I tried to show that this is not so. *Where* we stop, *where* we are satisfied, depends on the form of our life, on the way we think and act. There is no 'evidence' at the end of justification as, for example, Y. Reenpää expects, in Über das Problem der Begründung und Letztbegründung, *Zeitschrift für philosophische Forschung* (1974), p. 525; neither is there any 'Archimedian point'; see F. Kröner, *Die Anarchie der philosophischen Systeme* (Leipzig, 1929), pp. 224, 273; we simply stop carrying the justification any further. See also R. Haller, Über das sogenannte Münchhausentrilemma, *Ratio* (1974), p. 116; J.H. Gill, On reaching bedrock, *Metaphilosophy* (1974), pp. 283, 289; and K. Ajdukiewicz, *Problems and Theories of Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1973), p. 20. But is this not actually a 'recourse to dogma' or an 'appeal to authority', as suggested by M. Hollis, Witchcraft and winchcraft, *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* (1972), p. 85, that is, an appeal to the dogmatics of our own form of life? This were only the case if we would consider the spot where we decided to refrain from any further justification as one fixed forever. When in this context Wittgenstein speaks of the 'solid rails' or the 'hard granite' of our form of life, he gives the impression that he somewhat overrates the stability and immutability of our form of life. But no matter, in some way we always hit bedrock. But 'we have no basis for deciding that *that* is our basis'; L. Wittgenstein, *Über Gewissheit* (Frankfurt/Main, 1970), 130 [*On Certainty* (New York, 1969)]. The fact that the 'presuppositions in question' are 'bracketed out of the discussion' is not a deficiency, as P.J. Etges seems to believe, *Kritik der analytischen Theologie* (Hamburg, 1973), p. 88, because how could it be done differently? Our form of life will, of course, continue to change in such a way that we no longer accept *that* any longer. But no matter where we stop the justification, we are bound to stop somewhere. This is the most natural thing in the world. We will only talk of 'breaking off', of 'arbitrariness' and of 'dogma' etc. if we feel *dissatisfied,* if we feel not 'paper doubts', but *serious* ones. It will,

of course, be 'thinkable' or 'logically possible' to advance doubts even against the best possible justification; see H. Schnädelbach, *Reflexion und Diskurs* (Frankfurt/Main, 1977), p. 263, but that is due to the fact that none of us is God. We are mortals and possess mortal science. Only the person having trouble keeping his Christian desires in check and whose secret maxim is 'all or nothing' will consider this situation a *deficiency*. Naturally, anybody can initially *over-idealize* concepts such as 'justification' or 'certainty'; he will then find out that such abstractions cannot be applied in life and science, and he will finally discard them. That is a very reasonable thing to do. However, critical rationalists, as well as sceptics, proceed in the following way. They single out certain philosophical concepts, such as 'sufficient justification', point out with good reason that these concepts 'cannot perform any work', as Wittgenstein would say, arguing, for instance, that the *philosophical* sufficient justification leads to the trilemma mentioned above, but then they contend that such concepts lead to the difficulties mentioned also in their 'harmless', everyday or scientific meaning. This is precisely the strategy not only of the ancient Pyrrhonian and academic sceptics, but also of the modern ones; see e.g. P. Unger, A defense of skepticism, *Philosophical Review* (1971), p. 213; K. Lehrer, Skepticism and conceptual change, in Chisholm, R.M. and Swartz, R.J. (eds) *Empirical Knowledge* (Englewood Cliffs, 1973), p. 120, and *Knowledge* (Oxford, 1974), p. 229. They demonstrate the 'unwordliness' of certain metaphysical constructs, only to identify them more or less on the sly with the corresponding concepts outside a philosophical context. Popper tends to do this, see P. Achinstein, Review of Popper's 'Conjectures and Refutations', *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science* (1968), p. 167; and we see it especially in Quine. P.L. Peterson, a follower of Quine, in *Concepts and Language* (The Hague, 1973), p. 141, for example, asks for the criteria of the criteria for ordinary language. Since he is, naturally, unable to locate any, he concludes that *there are no* criteria at all. Or take G. Radnitzky, Popperian philosophy of science as an antidote against relativism, in Cohen, R.S. (ed.) *Essays in Memory of Imre Lakatos* (Dordrecht, 1976), p. 520. On the basis of Albert's work, he sees that a programme of justification such as proposed by Leibniz will end at the Lord; he does not believe in him and concludes that any 'breaking off' of a justification between heaven and earth represents 'arbitrariness'. Similar ideas are also advanced by L. Nelson, *Die Unmöglichkeit der Erkenntnistheorie* (Göttingen, 1911), p. 23. Albert does not even consider such a critique of critical rationalism. But he does criticize some other points of my line of thinking. William Bartley III, the trumpeter of 'comprehensively critical rationalism', whose ideas I supposedly distorted (to the point where they could be recognized?) according to Albert, writes as follows: 'If rationality lies in criticism, and if we can subject everything to criticism and continued test, including the rationalist way of life itself, then rationality is unlimited.' I understood this to mean that critical rationalism does not want to be simply critical, but so critical that it is willing 'to be argued out of arguing'. My argument against this position was that a sentence such as 'This sentence can be criticized' is surely not a reflexive sentence. It only gives the impression of

reflexivity because there is no reference sentence, and we therefore *believe* that it refers to itself. For how can we maintain that the 'this' refers to the sentence 'This sentence can be criticized'? If we uttered this sentence in a situation of normal speech, then anybody not burdened by philosophy would ask, 'What sentence do you mean exactly?' This is the reason, I believe, why sentences referring to themselves are usually *written down*. On a particular page of a textbook on logic we might encounter a little square. In the little square it says, 'The only sentence that is written in a little square on this page is false.' Since we happen to be reading that particular page, we involuntarily conclude that what is meant is *this* page, but in reality, there is nothing in the word 'this' that would point to that. Albert does not *argue* against this line of reasoning, he only finds it 'extremely dubious'. Of course, he should feel perfectly free to think that. In addition, he finds it objectionable that I used the phrase 'without a doubt' in this context. But the phrase is much more harmless than Albert seems to believe. If I say, for example, 'Without a doubt, Albert will understand what I mean', I do not, of course, mean by that that I am convinced *beyond the shadow of a doubt* that Albert will indeed understand me. The situation is similar with such words as 'certainly' or 'definitely', which offend only hypersensitive philosophers. By the way, I do not think that it is a deficiency that, provided my arguments are correct, critical rationalism is not 'self-critical' to the extent mentioned, and which, for example, N.C. Stefansen, Rationality and argument, *Danish Yearbook of Philosophy* (1972), p. 54, considers a 'limitation'. On the contrary, all I intended to show was that in his search for the most radiantly white colour of his life, Bartley had gone a bit too far. I argued this point in a number of instances in my book, for example, when I attacked followers of Hegel such as Habermas, that I simply could not imagine what a 'self-justification of reason', a truly Münchhausen-like situation, was supposed to be. In agreement with Habermas, Die Rolle der Philosophie im Marxismus, in *Die Zukunft der Philosophie* (München, 1975), p. 201, E. Tugendhat, *Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die sprachanalytische Philosophie* (Frankfurt/Main, 1976), p. 120, recently wrote that an 'education for reason is the only one which is correct in the absolute sense, the only one which can be justified as being absolutely reasonable.' *At the very least,* this is formulated very awkwardly, to be expected more in theological treatises than in books on philosophy. For reason does not *justify* itself, neither does it require any justification. For the most part, therefore, it is the philosophers who justify why they do so much thinking and writing about 'justification'. But that is a different story.

22 See P. Feyerabend, Die Wissenschaftstheorie – eine bisher unbekannte Form des Irrsinns?, in Hübner, K. and Menne, A. (eds) *Natur und Geschichte* (Hamburg, 1973), p. 103; also K. Nott, Is rationalism sterile?, in Blackham, H.J. (ed.) *Objections to Humanism* (Harmondsworth, 1963), p. 59.

23 Not all philosophers seem to stop philosophizing when they leave their institute. In Zugang zum Unbewussten, in *Der Mensch und seine Symbole* (Olten, 1968), p. 47, C.G. Jung tells of a philosophy professor who came to consult him about his anxiety over cancer. 'He suffered from the obsessive idea

of having a malignant tumour, although dozens of X-rays had discovered no evidence of it. "I know there is nothing to it," he said, "but there *could* be something."' Wittgenstein once said that one could explain to someone accidentally listening in as two metaphysicians quarrelled about the existence of trees ('I know that this is a tree'), 'They are not crazy, they are just doing philosophy.' For 'double-entry book-keeping', a concept apparently originating with Bleuler; see also M. Rokeach, *op. cit.*, p. 207. It is to be assumed that not even the Pyrrhonians of antiquity denied in *practice* that cognition existed, rejecting only the possibility of *legitimizing* such cognition philosophically. Sextus Empiricus and Quine could have become good friends over this issue. Similarly, the Eleatics did not deny that motion existed, only that it could be understood by non-contradictory thinking; see A. Szabo, *Anfänge der griechischen Mathematik* (Budapest, 1969), p. 420.

24 In this vein, a medieval mystic reported, 'It seemed to me that I was picked up with my entire body and carried away so fast, not even an arrow could fly that fast off a crossbow: later I asked whether my body had been gone. But they told me afterwards that my body was not gone.' Upon the question in what manner she had been carried away, she answered, 'It seems in truth it was as if in flight; I do not know of any more appropriate *comparison* [my italics)'; quoted in K. Girgensohn, *Der seelische Aufbau des religiösen Erlebens* (Gütersloh, 1930), p. 602. See also H. Weinel, *Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister im nachapostolischen Zeitalter bis auf Irenäus* (Freiburg, 1899), p. 204. Teresa of Avila, a Carmelite nun, writes, 'We also read of some cases where the body was carried along with it, with the soul.' In Die psychischen Vorgänge bei den Ekstasen und die sogenannte 'intellektuelle Vision', *Archiv für Religionspsychologie* (1976), p. 125, T. Baumann poses the question why the saint referred to what she read in this case and not to her own experience. The answer is probably that she herself knew perfectly well that the body did not fly away during ecstasy.

25 See C. Castaneda, *Journey to Ixtlan* (*op. cit.*, p. 299). In contrast to the report on his experience, Castaneda said in an interview, 'Now I didn't hear these words in the normal way'; see C. Castaneda, Sorcerer's apprentice, *Psychology Today* (December 1972), p. 96. See also A.E. Jensen, *Mythos und Kult bei Naturvölkern* (Wiesbaden, 1960), p. 33 [*Myth and Cult Among Primitive Peoples* (Chicago, 1963)], about the 'voice' of a tree that calls an Ibo. At times such experiences are compared to dreams, but that should not be taken too literally. Quite often those who undergo such a 'de-realization experience' choose dream metaphors, and only after extensive questioning does it become clear that the experiences did not have a 'dream-like' character; see W. Mayer-Gross, Zur Depersonalisation, in Meyer, J-E. (ed.) *Depersonalisation* (Darmstadt, 1968), p. 192; L. Honko, *Geisterglaube in Ingermanland* (Helsinki, 1962), p. 104; and C.T. Tart, Psychedelic experiences associated with a novel hypnotic procedure: mutual hypnosis, in Tart, C.T. (ed.) *Altered States of Consciousness* (New York, 1969), p. 305.

26 It is tiresome for the reader and not exactly conducive to confidence in the

authenticity of Castaneda's texts that in the fifth volume the witch's merry-go-round returns to a spot in the first volume: '"But, did we jump with our bodies?" I asked ... "Could it have been an illusion?" I asked ... "I want to know what really happened," I said.' *The Second Ring of Power* (London, 1978), p. 201. Castaneda then interprets for his yawning reader once more his erstwhile experience with flying, comparing it with the new one of 'translocation'. About the earlier experience, he writes, 'at the time, I had tried to explain the event in rational terms, but there was no ground for rational explanations. ...' And about the present experience he then says, 'This time I had no other recourse but to brace myself for accepting, on its face value, that I had flown' (*op. cit.*, p. 251). We are tempted to conclude that Castaneda's apprenticeship had been for naught and that at most, he had turned into what his Indian teacher called an 'ordinary witch', who took the flight 'at face value'. Instead of creating harmony between his reason and his heart, Castaneda, as it were, begins to damage the 'island of the *tonal*'. Thus he believes, as a quintessence of his experiences, that his basic error had simply been not to be able to quiet his reason which 'struggled to find suitable rationales' (*op. cit.*). Even a scholar as profound as Peuckert presupposes a basic contradiction between the two manners of perception, otherwise he could hardly have written, 'It is within the laws of nature that a barrel will not fly. But in Leobschütz, the witches brought it about. They flew through the air seated on barrels and landed on the church spire, where they caroused from it. In other words: the laws of nature are valid on the level of the consciousness of reason, but not on that of myth and magic'; W-E. Peuckert, *Sagen* (Berlin, 1965), p. 127. It seems to me that Castaneda and Peuckert both have the problem that they cannot relinquish their thinking in black and white: they realize that they cannot explain certain phenomena with their everyday or scientific reasoning, and so are ready to throw reason overboard altogether. They never think that maybe their reason might be a *limited* one, and that *therefore* they are not able to understand a lot of things. In the end, both embrace a kind of relativism; see W. Peuckert, *op. cit.*, pp. 126, 129, 81, which they think is the only approach with which they can salvage the 'magical' perspective. Castaneda is even willing simply to accept that he flew like a bird. To my mind, and *in this sense only* the texts of Castaneda foster a trusting irrationalism, where one starts believing a charismatic guru that at times the laws of nature start wavering in the Sonora desert. Castaneda disregards the warning of the Indian that a person will never understand the 'whispering of the *nagual*' as long as he is ready seriously to damage the *tonal*. Initially, also Peter Winch understood this very clearly indeed, taking his insights ultimately from Wittgenstein, but in the end, he tore apart the various 'perspectives' to such an extent that he deserved the epithet of relativist; see e.g. H. Meynell, Truth, witchcraft, and professor Winch, *The Heythrop Journal* (1972), p. 162.

27 See W. Bogoras, Ideas of space and time in the conception of primitive religion, *American Anthropologist* (1925), p. 234. Cautiously, J.J. Smith, The occult and the intellectual in Angoff, A. and Barth, D. (eds) *Parapsychology and*

Anthropology (New York, 1974), p. 316, puts forward the opinion, 'There seems no doubt that in some real sense Castaneda became a crow, though what the nature of that reality may have been is hard to say.'

28 G. Bateson, *Naven* (Stanford, 1958), p. 229.

29 J.C. Pearce, in *The Crack in the Cosmic Egg* (New York, 1973), p. 138, does not see this either. In his remarks concerning W. Goldschmidt's introduction to Castaneda's first volume, he says, 'Goldschmidt realizes the intriguing riddle to lie in Don Juan's *twilight* – that crack between the worlds. Goldschmidt concludes, however, that through this crack we can see, fleetingly, what the "*real world,* the one between our own cultural constructs and those other worlds, must in fact be like". Here, I do believe, we have an example of the perpetual error at one remove. The "crack between the worlds" is neither a "real world" nor an opening into such – for there is no such thing as a "real world" other than that one from which one makes such a statement.' Pearce starts from 'closed worlds', and therefore necessarily arrives at relativism, the same as other 'sympathetic' Castaneda interpreters. The title of his very readable book notwithstanding, he does not recognize that the 'worlds' can have cracks. Such attitudes are characteristic of a direction of research fashionable in the United States today and termed 'ethnomethodology'. The ethnomethodologists, especially Garfinkel, their grandmaster, attempt to reveal the unquestioned and unconscious basic assumptions of everyday life by deliberate provocation. Or, as A.W. Gouldner puts it in Ethnomethodologie: Soziologie als Happening, in *Die westliche Soziologie in der Krise* II (Reinbek, 1974), p. 470, the purpose is 'to destroy "the acceptance of things as given" and to deprive the cultural base of its cloak of invisibility ... Garfinkel aims principally at unveiling and unmasking the invisible commonplaces by wounding them in various ways until they finally betray their existence.' Garfinkel instructs his students to irritate and to provoke people in everyday situations; Garfinkel typically calls them 'victims', reminding us of Don Juan's 'stopping the world'. The same way the ethnomethodologist Castaneda, who handed in his third volume as a dissertation under Garfinkel, attempts to hit those elements taken for granted in the world view of his readers, and to reveal their relativity. For Garfinkel, the various 'latent structures' are mutually exchangeable, as Gouldner says (*op. cit.,* p. 468), and similarly in the case of Castaneda, various 'realities' directly adjoin each other. The true task of the shaman is to mediate between wilderness and civilization. Instead, Castaneda tears the two 'worlds' totally apart. This is how we might be able to understand the trait of nearly total amorality that characterizes all of Castaneda's work. What Castaneda has to offer in the final analysis is the invitation to an entirely *unsupported* jump: surrender all knowledge and accept that people fly the way birds can or that coyotes talk like people. While the true shaman places his experiences in the service of other people as a man of knowledge or as a healer, Castaneda's 'warrior' is interested only in himself and in the salvation of his 'insecure' soul.

30 See G. Widengren, Some reflections on the rites of initiation, in Bleeker, C.J. (ed.) *Initiation* (Leiden, 1965), p. 300. To achieve such 'visionary seeing',

people ingested hemp mixed with haoma; see G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans* (Stuttgart, 1965), p. 70. See also A.I. Hallowell, Some empirical aspects of Northern Saulteaux religion, *American Anthropologist* (1934), p. 399; and H. Bousset, *Himmelsreise der Seele* (Darmstadt, 1960), p. 36. The infamous authors of the *Malleus maleficarum* equally spoke of the fact that there were 'two kinds of seeing': a 'spiritual and a physical' kind, and in their opinion, the incubi were gifted with the former; see J. Sprenger and H. Institoris, *Der Hexenhammer* II (Berlin, 1906), p. 57.

31 See A. Neuhäusler, Einige Hypothesen zur Erklärung parapsychischer Phänomene, in Bauer, E. (ed.) *PSI und Psyche* (Stuttgart, 1974), p. 150; LeShan, *Alternate Realities* (New York, 1976), p. 128; and F. Huxley, Anthropology and ESP, in Smythies, J.R. (ed.) *Science and ESP* (London, 1967), p. 283. A. Koestler, *Die Wurzeln des Zufalls* (Berlin, 1972), p. 12 [*The Roots of Coincidence* (New York, 1972)] points out that it was the talk about a 'biological radio' that moved the ideologists of 'dialectic materialism' to tolerate telepathy research in the Soviet Union.

32 See, for example, L.F. Werth, Normalizing the paranormal, *American Philosophical Quarterly* (1978), p. 48.

33 L.L. Wassiliev, *Experimentelle Untersuchungen zur Mentalsuggestion* (Bern, 1965), p. 155, is also of the opinion that telepathic ability 'is not a progressive evolutionary phenomenon, but rather a rudimentary property, which humans retained from their zoological ancestors', in other words, that it is an atavism of sorts.

34 See also A. Schopenhauer, *Parerga und Paralipomena* I (Leipzig, 1881), p. 322; and especially W. James, *On Psychical Research* (New York, 1960), p. 324: 'We with our lives are like islands in the sea, or like trees in the forest. The maple and the pine may whisper to each other with their leaves, and Conanicut and Newport hear each other's foghorns. But the trees also commingle their roots in the darkness underground, and the islands also hang together through the ocean's bottom.' Telepathic contacts are said to be especially frequent between monozygotic twins; see N. Marshall, ESP and memory: a physical theory, *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science* (1960), p. 280.

35 See A. Friedrich, Erkenntnis und Religion, *Paideuma* 1961, p. 106.

36 E. Holm, *Tier und Gott: Mythik, Mantik und Magie der südafrikanischen Urjäger* (Basel, 1965), p. 37; and H. Findeisen, Karelische Hirtenzauberer und ihre Praktiken, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1953), p. 104.

37 See W. Müller, *Geliebte Erde* (Bonn, 1976), p. 12. At the point of origin, there is no distinction in shape. This is the reason why the shaman of the Winnebago who returns to the origins is no longer tied to his human form; see P. Radin, *Primitive Man as Philosopher* (New York, 1957), p. 250.

38 See L. Röhrich, Mensch und Tier im Märchen, in Karlinger, F. (ed.) *Wege der Märchenforschung* (Darmstadt, 1973), p 229; O. Zerries, *Waika* (München, 1964), p. 239.

39 See W. Müller, *Die Religionen der Waldlandindianer Nordamerikas* (Berlin, 1956), p. 248; also M. Dobkin de Rios, *Visionary Vine* (San Francisco, 1972), p. 118. See also P. Tompkins and C. Bird, *The Secret Life of Plants*

(Harmondsworth, 1974), p. 44; and G.G. Globus, Mind, structure, and contradiction, in Globus, G.G. (ed.) *Consciousness and the Brain* (New York, 1976), p. 250.

40 See also M. Benzi, *Les derniers adorateurs du peyotl* (Paris, 1972), p. 369; and A. Delatte, *Le cycéon* (Paris, 1955), p. 98. The hunter-gatherers often considered the killing of an animal as an unavoidable infraction. Sometimes, the attempt was made to deceive the animal and to simulate an accident: 'It was not I who killed you,' the Finnish bear hunter used to say, 'and not any of my brothers either. You yourself stumbled in the forest, you yourself slipped from the branch, that is how your golden body burst and your stomach full of berries'; U. Holmberg, Über die Jagdriten der nördlichen Völker Asiens und Europas, *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja* (1926), p. 21; B. Kálmán, Zwei Reinigungsriten im Bärenkult der Obugrier, in Diószegi, V. (ed.) *Glaubenswelt und Folklore der sibirischen Völker* (Budapest, 1963), p. 97; J.A. Alexejenko, Der Bärenkult der Keten (Jenissei-Ostjaken), in Diószegi, V. (ed.) *op. cit.*, p. 197; and H-J. Paproth, *Studien über das Bärenzeremoniell* (Uppsala, 1976), pp. 105, 109, 114. The Jakuts and the Tungus used to speak Russian during the hunt to make the animal spirits believe that it was the Russians that chased and killed them; see E. Lot-Falck, *Les rites de chasse chez les peuples Sibériens* (Paris, 1953), p. 122. See also K. Birket-Smith and F. de Laguna, *The Eyak Indians of the Copper River Delta, Alaska* (København, 1938), p. 200; A. Métraux, Tribes of the eastern slopes of the Bolivian Andes, in Steward, J.H. (ed.) *Handbook of South American Indians* II (Washington, 1946), p. 501; R. Jaulin, *La mort sara* (Paris, 1971), p. 236; and A. Chapman, Mythologie et éthique chez les Jicaques, *L'Homme* (1961), p. 97. This is supposedly first and foremost an expression of fear of the revenge of the animal spirits for anthropologists who see the hunter-gatherers mainly as suffering and anxiety-ridden people.

41 J.G. Kohl, *Reisen in Canada und durch die Staaten von New York und Pennsylvanien* (Stuttgart, 1856), p. 497, quoted in W. Müller, *Glauben und Denken der Sioux* (Berlin, 1970), p. 121. See also M.R. Gilmore, *Prairie Smoke* (New York, 1929), p. 34. In earlier times, it was forbidden in Central Europe to strip the trees and fields of too much of their power. 'Don't be too greedy, or you won't get anything back', the peasants of the region around Braunschweig used to say; G. Gesemann, *Regenzauber in Deutschland* (Braunschweig, 1913), p. 46. Into the nineteenth century, the lumberjacks of the Upper Palatinate would ask each tree for forgiveness before 'taking its life'; see W. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte* (Berlin, 1905), I, pp. 10, 35; A. Brosow, Über Baumverehrung, Wald- und Feldkulte bei der littauischen Völkergruppe, *Berichte über das Altstädtische Gymnasium zu Königsberg* (1887), p. 12; H. Lorenzen, *Der Baum im deutschen Volkstum* (Leipzig, n.d.), p. 10; and A. Hauser, *Wald und Feld in der alten Schweiz* (Zürich, 1972), p. 79.

42 C.M. Wieland, Agathodämon, in *Sämmtliche Werke* 18 (Leipzig, 1856), p. 20. The belief that catching a glimpse of spirits might cause blindness can be found not only among the Greeks of antiquity, but also in other societies; see M.

Douglas, The Lele of Kasai, in Forde, D. (ed.) *African Worlds* (London, 1954), p. 9.

43 This is an extensive, although not a total 'clean-up' as envisioned by thinkers in the tradition of neopositivism, e.g. Craig or Goodman. 'If "this is a table" is the conclusion of an inductive inference,' L.W. Forguson says correctly, in Has Ayer vindicated the sense-datum theory?, in Fann, K.T. (ed.) *Symposium on J.L. Austin* (London, 1969), p. 324, 'so is "this looks red to me" or "I am sensibly presented with something red";' for even someone describing 'sensory data' does use concepts, refers to past experiences etc. Countering A.J. Ayer, in Rejoinder to Professor Forguson, in Fann, K.T. (ed.) *Symposium on J.L. Austin* (London, 1969), p. 345, we may want to state more realistically that there exists a continuum of theoretical 'directness', or, put differently: All descriptions are 'conceptual', but some are more 'conceptual' than all the others.

44 In this sense perhaps statements about sensory data are more 'certain', as A.J. Ayer, Wittgenstein on certainty, in *Understanding Wittgenstein* (London, 1974), p. 233, proposes, but naturally, also less interesting, since normally, they do not reflect any experiences; see E.H. Gombrich, The evidence of images, in Singleton, C.S. (ed.) *Interpretation* (Baltimore, 1969), p. 431. In many instances, of course, people in other societies may only perceive sense data, where we see what is being represented: 'Michii came to the door chewing on a magazine. I opened it and showed him the illustrations, but he and the others shook their heads when I said that the pictures represented people or landscapes. Without the help of recalling past experiences it was impossible for them to connect the pictures with living beings, trees, or hills'; T. Schneebaum, *Ich war ein Kannibale* (Stuttgart, 1971) p. 135; see also M.H. Segall, D.T. Campbell and M.J. Herskovits, *The Influence of Culture on Visual Perception* (Indianapolis, 1966), p. 32. It seems pretty naive to me, therefore, if P.J. Pelto, in Psychological anthropology, in Siegel, B.J. and Beals, A.R. (eds) *Biennial Review of Anthropology* (Stanford, 1967), p. 147, thinks that in contrast to 'field notes' films can provide us with 'raw data'. S. Worth is even more naive, contending that films will finally afford us access to 'the native's culture from the native's own point of view, ... literally and not metaphorically'; see Toward an anthropological politics of symbolic forms, in Hymes, D. (ed.) *Reinventing Anthropology* (New York, 1974), p. 347.

45 M. Singleton is convinced that if the night travellers and also, let us say, Devereux were to rub a witch's salve on their bodies, they would receive the same sense data and would merely draw 'different conclusions'. It seems to me that this is confusing a psychological *analysis* of sensory data with the corresponding *experience*; see M. Singleton, Theology, 'Zande theology' and secular theology, in *Zande Themes* (Oxford, 1972), p. 133; similarly also A. Montagu, *Coming into Being Among the Australian Aborigines* (London, 1974), p. 10; and G. Bateson, *Steps to an Ecology of Mind* (St Albans, 1973), p. 454. D.J. O'Connor, in The status of sense data, in *Impressions of Empiricism* (London, 1976), p. 90, writes, 'Concepts not only give structure to our sense data. By endowing them with publicly recognised meanings they translate

them from the sensible to the observable level.' What this philosopher apparently has in mind is the image that reality is of 'chaotic diversity', which does not achieve meaning until it is 'punched out' conceptually.

46 The reduction of social situations to individual behaviour might represent an analogous 'distortion'; see S. Lukes, Methodological individualism reconsidered, in Emmet, D. and MacIntyre, A. (eds) *Sociological Theory and Philosophical Analysis* (London, 1970), p. 80. This is also true of the so-called 'translation' of actions into behaviour capable of description in terms of the natural sciences.

47 See N.R. Hanson, *Perception and Discovery* (San Francisco, 1969), p. 102; and B.R. Tilghman, *The Expression of Emotions in the Visual Arts* (The Hague, 1970), p. 59.

48 See I. Robinson, *The New Grammarians' Funeral* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 74; and G. Kurz, Warnung vor dem Wörtchen 'Kode', *Linguistik und Didaktik* (1976), p. 154; as well as R. Keller, Handlungen verstehen, *Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik* (1976), p. 1.

49 'My body knew the coyote was saying something and I translated it into dialogue . . .'; C. Castaneda, Sorcerer's apprentice, *op. cit.*, p. 96. In *Journey to Ixtlan* Castaneda gives an entirely different description of this event, for there he maintains that the coyote talked to him just like Don Juan or any other person. I do not, of course, want to deny that people can have unusual experiences which are *interpreted* afterwards; see L. Honko, Memorate und Volksglaubenforschung, in Petzoldt, L. (ed.), *Vergleichende Sagenforschung* (Darmstadt, 1969), p. 301. One might say that initiation consists in *teaching* the perceiving initiate how to *see*, in the same way as a physicist is taught to see things that a lay person cannot. But it seems completely clear from Castaneda's description of his experience with the 'magic dog' that he experienced a *magic* dog and not a dog that needed first to be *interpreted* in an unusual way.

50 'Reason has objects of loyalty,' G. Bachelard writes in *Epistemologie* (Frankfurt/Main, 1974), p. 214. He is thinking of an oath he swore, the 'rationalist oath attached by a society to indestructible concepts'. It is not my intention to devalue dogmatism entirely. It is certainly true that much new knowledge came about because its representatives stuck to it so stubbornly and dogmatically; see M.L. Schagrin, On being unreasonable, *Philosophy of Science* (1973), p. 4. I am not a friend of extreme opinions, so I neither want to plead for a marriage with reason complete with wedding ring that may never be dissolved, nor for a Feyerabend-kind of permanent promiscuity. It would seem better to have an open 'live-in' arrangement. An occasional affair does not need to be the cause for a break-up.

51 See A.I. Hallowell, The role of dreams in Ojibwa culture, in Grunebaum, G.E. von and Caillois, R. (eds) *The Dream and Human Societies* (Berkeley, 1966), p. 277. The Thunderbirds are classed as persons, *ätisokának*, a class including also, for example, the 'masters of animals'; see A.I. Hallowell, Ojibwa world view and disease, in Galston, I. (ed.) *Man's Image in Medicine and Anthropology* (New York, 1963), p. 272.

52 As, for instance, G. Jahoda would say, in *The Psychology of Superstition* (London, 1969), p. 42.

53 See G. Simmel, *Die Religion* (Frankfurt/Main, 1912), pp. 17, 38 [*Sociology of Religion* (New York, 1959)]; and M. Grene, *The Understanding of Nature* (Dordrecht, 1974), p. 31. The inability to understand this point becomes very clear in Horton's hypothesis stating that spirits are comparable to the 'theoretical entities' of modern physics, that is to 'unobservables', hypothetical constructs that have the task of introducing coherence into empirical facts. E. Bourguignon voices a similar opinion, in Ritual dissociation and possession belief in Caribbean Negro religion, in Whitten, N.E. and Szwed, J.F. (eds) *Afro-American Anthropology* (New York, 1970), p. 88. Horton might have been able to understand the questionable quality of this suggestion himself, for he reports about 'religious experts', who after 'purifying their eyes' can *see* and *hear* the spirits while there seems to exist no comparable 'purification ritual' for the eyes and ears of physicists; see R. Horton, A definition of religion, and its uses, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (1960), p. 205; and The Kalabari world view, *Africa* (1962), p. 199; and Ritual man in Africa, *Africa* (1964), p. 86. What stimulated Horton to formulate this comparison, or rather what its underlying assumption was, was that 'naturally' he did not believe in the *existence of spirits*. As far as I know, Feyerabend is the only philosopher to propose seriously that 'he who has eyes to see' actually does see spirits and comparable beings; see P. Feyerabend, Problems of empiricism, in Colodny, R.G. (ed.) *Beyond the Edge of Certainty* (Pittsburgh, 1965). Nowadays it seems at times, however, that he thinks that such 'perceptions' exist, but that in reality they will prove to be pseudo-perceptions. In one of his most recent articles he writes, for instance, that what witches saw was 'illusory' and that 'another object was actually present'; see his Marxist fairytales from Australia, *Inquiry* (1977), p. 380. It appears that he now holds that modern psychology, in contrast to demonology, is right after all. In this, he agrees with E.E. Evans-Pritchard, who says in *Essays in Social Anthropology* (London, 1962), p. 53, 'No Greek, except on the stage, ever saw cloud-gathering Zeus.' L. Krüger thinks that the belief in witches 'probably appeared and then disappeared again, because witches were *not* stable phenomena of perception as are, for instance, the stars in the sky or the weight of an apple, but figments, perhaps not of delusion, but certainly of "theory" '; see Wissenschaftliche Revolutionen und Kontinuität der Erfahrung, *Neue Hefte für Philosophie* (1974), p. 6. Even more clearly, W. Schmidbauer, Zur Psychologie des Orakels, *Psychologische Rundschau* (1970), p. 95, assumes as entirely evident that the guardian spirits of shamans cannot be 'observed'. Such opinions seem to me to be somewhat naive, both philosophically and historically. When cultural traditions are *interrupted*, it should be no surprise that certain things can no longer be *seen*. Naturally, apples are easier to see than, let us say, incubi. But difficulty of perception should not be an argument against its reality. Just because it is easier to travel from Bielefeld to Erlangen than to Timbuktu will not cause anyone to argue that for that reason, Timbuktu is 'less real'. Besides, saying

that guardian spirits etc. are not 'observable' is simply not true; see e.g. A.P. Elkin, Belief, language, and experience, *Oceania* (1974), p. 82; M. Augé, *Théorie des pouvoirs et idéologie* (Paris, 1975), p. 116; J. Goody, *Death, Property, and the Ancestors* (Stanford, 1962), pp. 366, 371; and H.H.J. Coate, The Rai and the Third Eye, *Oceania* (1966), p. 93. Of course, this is not normally an 'everyday observation'. Thus the Gonja asked the anthropologist Esther Goody for her glasses because they suspected that, through them, she could see the witches better; see E. Goody, Legitimate and illegitimate agression in a West African state, in Douglas, M. (ed.) *Witchcraft, Confessions and Accusations* (London, 1970), p. 243. The 'second sight' is often represented, as for instance by the Kwakiutl, by protruding eyes; see C. Lévi-Strauss, *La voie des masques* I (Genève, 1975), p. 30. This means that people become aware of spirits differently than they would of the presence of apples or anthropologists. Quite possibly also *we* react to certain 'mystical perceptions' more sceptically than do the natives, because we know of alternative explanations for certain observable analogies. Some tribes of north-west Australia maintain, for example, that the profile of the earth and especially of the mountain ranges is to be attributed to Kunukban, the Blackhead Python of the 'dreamtime', which a long time ago came swimming in the Timor Sea from the direction of a distant island. 'How come,' the initiates ask the old man, 'that soft fella with no arms and legs can make big ranges?' Now it seems that by its forward motion the respective python raises hills in the loose sand. 'For relatively light snakes and relatively firm surfaces they are inclined at about 45° to the direction of travel. For heavy snakes on deep loose surfaces their inclination to the direction of travel approaches 90°. At any one instant the soil surface ahead of the snake is flat and the height of the ridges increases with repeated thrusting from the head and to tail end. The greatest development of micro-relief is at the tail and behind the snake. . . . According to Aboriginal logic the ranges in the Ord-Victoria region that are inclined at right angles to the course of the river "must" have been made by the snake and since the ranges in the Kimberleys are "rougher" than those approaching the Barkly Tableland the snake "must" have travelled from north-west to south-east. Furthermore, the sea is the "roughest place of the lot" and the Barkly Tableland is "properly flat, no tracks". Therefore the snake "must" have come from the sea and "must" have gone underground at the western edge of the Barkly Tableland plain country because no further tracks are apparent'; W. Arndt, The dreaming of Kunukban, *Oceania* (1965), p. 255. In *such* a case one may want to question certain perceptions, e.g. those of the mountain ranges, which are shaped by 'theories', in this case the profiling by the python; see also M.D. King, Reason, tradition, and the progressiveness of science, *History and Theory* (1971), p. 14, because the 'theoretical assumptions' appear questionable. Of course, in this case we have to do with explicit 'theories' and thus more with an *interpretation* of perceptions, especially with interpretations which *collide* with our thinking in the natural sciences. In cases that are more interesting to us, we can expect the 'mythic perceptions' to be situated on a different 'plane'. Typically, such perceptions are rejected out of hand by many scientists precisely *because* they

are on a 'plane' which these people do not want to enter, because it would be inimical to their 'cognitive interest'; see e.g. G. Weiss, Campa cosmology, *Ethnology* (1972), p. 160; K. Schmëing, *Zur Geschichte des Zweiten Gesichts* (Oldenburg, 1943), p. 39; and U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* I (Darmstadt, 1959), p. 22. If we are to trust the experts, such as W-D. Just, *Religiöse Sprache und analytische Philosophie* (Stuttgart, 1975), p. 146, the religious concept 'believe' in our modern culture is closely related to concepts such as 'to have trust in' or 'to rely on'. In that case, most anthropologists describe the behaviour of non-Western societies incorrectly by saying that the latter *believe* in 'supernatural' beings. The missionaries, for instance, who told the Mazatecs that they believed in God, but had never *seen* him, made little impression on the Indians, who could testify to *experiences* of the divine of an entirely different calibre; see E. Pike and F. Cowan, Mushroom ritual versus Christianity, *Practical Anthropology* (1959), p. 147; J.S. Slotkin, The peyote way, in Owen, R.C. (ed.) *The North American Indians* (New York, 1967), p. 651; and D.F. Aberle, *The Peyote Religion Among the Navaho* (New York, 1966), p. 7.

54 See W.Z. Park, *Shamanism in Western North America* (Evanston, 1938), p. 19. Also for the Tewa the coyote is the 'arch-trickster'; see E.C. Parsons, Witchcraft among the Pueblos, *Man* (1927), p. 127. See J. de Angulo, La psychologie religieuse des Achumavi, *Anthropos* (1928), p. 160; and A.L. Kroeber, Seven Mohave myths, *Anthropological Records* (Berkeley, 1948). Among non-American societies, the fox usually plays this role; see, for example, W. Kremp, *Beiträge zur Religion der Ainu* (Freiburg, 1928), p. 51; and C. Blacker, Animal witchcraft in Japan, in Newall, V. (ed.) *The Witch Figure* (London, 1973), p. 1.

Chapter 11 Dreamtime and Dream Journey

1 Thinkers as early as Descartes and Malebranche voiced the opinion that animals had no feelings. It was quite all right to be 'cruel' to them: their screams were no more than the squeaking of a machine. This absurd idea was justified with arguments from philosophy and theology. Pain and sorrow could be felt only by sinful beings, and there had been no Eve of animals; see J. Passmore, The treatment of animals, *Journal of the History of Ideas* (1975), p. 204.

2 Quoted in H.H. Balmer, *Die Archetypentheorie von C.G. Jung* (Heidelberg, 1972), p. 5. 'Rumour has it,' Devereux writes (*From Anxiety to Method in the Behavioral Sciences* (The Hague, 1968), p. 159) 'that a scientific institution dismissed a number of scientists, because they studied the physiology of coitus. According to my opinion, they were let go for the wrong reason. They should have been fired because they thought that the reactions of experimental subjects that were observed, filmed, and monitored with instruments could illuminate the act of love.' The unvarnished ideas of Malinowski in his *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term* (New York, 1967), p. 167, evidence the same kind of detachment of the anthropologist from his subjects: 'I see the life of the

natives as utterly devoid of interest or importance, something as remote from me as the life of a dog.' Such experiences may account for the fact that Malinowski recommended behaviourism as a suitable scientific method of description. Empathizing with a strange culture is 'always dangerous' because 'one might be tempted to assume to know what another person is thinking or feeling'; see *Eine wissenschaftliche Theorie der Kultur* (Zürich, 1949), p. 63 [*A Scientific Theory of Culture* (Chapel Hill, 1944)]. Anyone who has ever heard one or the other student of Malinowski's talk about 'his savages' while thoroughly drunk, will understand that Malinowski was definitely not alone in these attitudes. The only mistake made by the 'uninhibited scoundrel', as J. Greenway, in *Verfluchte Wüste* (Hamburg, 1974), p. 9, called Malinowski, was to violate the most elementary rule of anyone 'who wishes that posterity should think favourably of him: do not write any detailed diaries, but if you have to, do not let your second wife get hold of them.'

3 J.A. Barnes, Some ethical problems in modern fieldwork, in Jongmans, D.G. and Gutkind, P.C.W. (eds) *Anthropologists in the Field* (Assen, 1967), p. 209. G.P. Murdock, Tenino shamanism, *Ethnology* (1965), p. 168, thinks that we need at least to assume something of that sort 'as scientists'. I am reminded of the warning, 'What you do in your own time is none of our business. But in the office you are supposed to dress properly.'

4 See, for example, J. Middleton, Secrecy in Lugbara religion, *History of Religions* (1973), p. 306; M. Gusinde, *Urmenschen im Feuerland* (Wien, 1946), p. 33; and J. Wilbert, Zur Kenntnis der Yabarana, *Antropologica* (1957), p. 55.

5 J. Mepham, The structuralist sciences and philosophy, in Robey, D. (ed.) *Structuralism* (Oxford, 1973), p. 131, thinks that the world view of non-Western societies is *false* because it '(is) built around relationships discovered at the level of the sensible and it is not, as it happens, at this level that the truths at which science aims are to be found.' The structuralist believes that he goes into the depth, 'to bedrock', as Lévi-Strauss expressed it, and the savages simply float around on the surface, in 'empirical knowledge'. We might say that a great deal of surface is required for this kind of opinion. Naturally, structuralism is also 'a way of looking at things', E. Leach, Structuralism in social anthropology, in Robey, D. (ed.) *Structuralism* (Oxford, 1973), p. 37, *one among many*, and not necessarily the most profound, that can be employed to look at the world. Possibly, one should not reproach a car for being unable to fly, as M. Oppitz suggests in *Notwendige Beziehungen* (Frankfurt/Main, 1975), p. 21. But there is nothing wrong in expecting even a structuralist to leave his Alfa Romeo at the edge of the rain forest and to proceed on foot.

6 See E.H. Ackerknecht, Problems of primitive medicine, in Lessa, W.A. and Vogt, E.Z. (eds) *Reader in Comparative Religion* (New York, 1965), p. 398; and L. Sebag, Le chamanisme ayoréo, *L'Homme* (1965), p. 114. According to A. MacIntyre, Is understanding religion compatible with believing?, in Hick, J. (ed.) *Faith and the Philosophers* (London, 1964), p. 122, 'We confront a blank wall here, so far as meaning is concerned' if we want to understand things of this sort. The philosopher fails to consider that this may only be the case as

long as he stays in his den. I.C. Jarvie makes things exceedingly simple. In Understanding and explanation in sociology and social anthropology, in Borger, R. and Cioffi, F. (eds) *Explanation in the Behavioural Sciences* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 231, he writes, 'Understanding a human being and understanding an atom are not different processes.' In his case, he will, of course, see only pieces of wood and stones in the hands of the shaman. Feyerabend once described with what arrogance certain logicians say, '*That* I do not understand.' Anthropologists write with the same conceit, '*I* saw nothing', suggesting that something could not possibly exist if *they* 'saw nothing'.

7 I do not, of course, want to dispute the fact that in the meantime this perspective also became lost in some non-Western societies, so that men's clubs only worry about the women finding out that they are the ones playing the sacred flutes and not the ancestors; see, for example, K.E. Read, Nama cult of the central highlands, *Oceania* (1952), p. 5. It is to be assumed that these men no longer know anything about their 'mythic identity'.

8 See A.M. di Nola, Demythicization in certain primitive cultures, *History of Religions* (1972), pp. 18, 20. Simmel was certainly much more sensitive to such matters than Topitsch. Thus he wrote, 'The metaphysician is the only one whose approach is not: I look this way and therefore the appearance of the world has to follow suit. Instead he says, – which is the most profound, the unitary ground on which the world can rest and I with it and in it?'; see G. Simmel, *Hauptprobleme der Philosophie* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 32; see also R. Otto, *Das Gefühl des Überweltlichen* (München, 1932), p. 21.

9 See P. Wirz, *Die Marind-anim von Holländisch Süd-Neuguinea* I (Hamburg, 1922), p. 16; F.J. Dockstader, *The Kachina and the White Man* (Bloomfield Hills, 1954), p. 27; and E.C. Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion* I (Chicago, 1939), p. 170. Naturally, nowadays this is no longer the case everywhere. See, for example, L. White, The world of the Keresan Pueblo Indians, in Diamond, S. (ed.) *Primitive Views of the World* (New York, 1964), p. 89; J.W. Hauer, *Die Religionen* I (Berlin, 1923), p. 162; E. Nordenskiöld and R.P. Kantule, *A Historical and Ethnological Survey of the Cuna Indians* (Göteborg, 1938), p. XVIII; and J.H.M. Beattie, The ghost cult in Bunyoro, in Middleton, J. (ed.) *Gods and Rituals* (Garden City, 1967), p. 284.

10 See P.H. Meyer, Das Parakwesen in Glauben und Kult bei den Eingeborenen an der Nordostküste Neuguineas, *Annali Lateranensi* (1943), p. 149. At the beginning of the séance the Tamang shaman usually declares, 'I am not a shaman born on this earth. My body was born of my spiritual mother and my spirit of my guru'; A. Höfer, Is the *bombo* an ecstatic? in von Fürer-Haimendorf, C. (ed.) *Contributions to the Anthropology of Nepal* (London, 1973), p. 173. And in the *Atharva-Veda* it says, 'The guru who introduces the Brahmacārin, turns him into an embryo in his insides; for three nights, he carries him in his belly.' In neither case will anybody deny that either the shaman's or the initiate's 'everyday body' was born in an entirely ordinary way.

11 See H.P. Duerr, *Ni Dieu – ni mètre* (Frankfurt/Main, 1974), p. 133.

12 See W.E. Mühlmann, *Homo Creator* (Wiesbaden, 1962), p. 172. See W. Müller's critique concerning this point, in Ethnologie und Soziologie, *Anthropos* (1964), which Mühlmann did not bother to respond to. It does seem that many anthropologists received only answers of this kind from the non-initiated, or from initiates who probably had better things to do than to reveal their secrets to some researcher who happened to be there and who in any case would not have understood what was going on. See e.g. M. Mead, *Geschlecht und Temperament in primitiven Gesellschaften* (Hamburg, 1959), pp. 45, 116 [*Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (New York, 1935)]; J.M. Cooper, The Ona, in Steward, J.H. (ed.) *Handbook of South American Indians* I (Washington, 1946), p. 121; and C.H. Wedgwood, Report of Research in Manam Island, *Oceania* (1934), p. 399.

13 See E. Gellner, *Thought and Change* (Chicago, 1965), p. 1; also F. Waters, Lessons from the Indian soul, *Psychology Today* (1973), p. 71. For Gellner, who is not only notorious for misunderstanding Wittgenstein, but who also has no idea what to do with archaic mentality, this is of course nothing but balderdash; see E. Gellner, Our current sense of history, *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* (1971), p. 161.

14 A.W. Watts, *Kosmologie der Freude* (Darmstadt, 1972), p. 64 [*The Joyous Cosmology: Adventures in the Chemistry of Consciousness* (New York, 1962)], and N. Drury, *Don Juan, Mescalito and Modern Magic* (London, 1978), p. 27.

15 See J. Gebser, *Ursprung und Gegenwart* (München, 1973), p. 83.

16 See E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Nuer time reckoning, *Africa* (1939), p. 212; and *The Nuer* (Oxford, 1940), p. 107; also L. Radermacher, *Mythos und Sage bei den Griechen* (Brünn, 1943), p. 70.

17 See E.E. Harris, Time and eternity, *The Review of Metaphysics* (1976), p. 473. 'You mortals,' it says in the *Rig Veda* (X, 136), 'see only our bodies.' 'The child who eats the inheritance,' the Edo say, 'does not weep for the dead'; see R.E. Bradbury, Fathers, elders and ghosts in Edo religion, in Banton, M. (ed.) *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion* (London, 1966), p. 134.

18 Black Elk, *The Sacred Pipe* (Norman, 1953), p. 22. The concentric circles on the ground do not 'represent' the waterholes of the Walbiri heroes of the 'dreamtime', as N. Peterson contends in Totemism yesterday, *Man* (1972), p. 23; they *are* the waterholes for 'him who understands'.

19 According to J.E. Lips, *The Savage Hits Back* (New Hyde Park, 1966), p. 44, an artist was painting the portrait of an old Maori chieftain. When the latter looked at the finished picture, he said, 'That's not what I am.' Then he started painting a picture of himself, but he painted only his tattoos and said, 'That's what I am.'

20 See L. Hellmuth, *Die germanische Blutsbrüderschaft* (Wien, 1975), p. 203; and J. Assmann, *Zeit und Ewigkeit im alten Ägypten* (Heidelberg, 1975), p. 12.

21 See W. Benjamin, *Schriften* I (Frankfurt/Main, 1955), p. 503; also M. Puder, Marx und Engels als konservative Denker, *Unter dem Pflaster liegt der Strand* (1976), p. 174. These clock-towers first appeared in Italian trading centres in the fourteenth century and belonged to the community of the burghers. They

are an appropriate symbol of the consciousness of the new age, which arose from the 'necessity to gauge correctly the economic conditions at distant places for the purchase and sale of goods'; see E. Maschke, Das Berufsbewusstsein des mittelalterlichen Fernkaufmanns, in Haase, C. (ed.) *Die Stadt im Mittelalter* III (Darmstadt, 1976), p. 189. K. Mannheim, *Ideologie und Utopie* (Meisenheim, 1952), p. 186 [*Ideology and Utopia* (New York, 1936)], characterizes the anarchist as the last type of the mystical, the millenarian revolutionary, who historically was replaced by the Marxist 'end-of-the-time' revolutionary: 'What the millenarian expects is this uniting with the now; this is the reason why his workaday time is not filled with optimistic hopes for the future or with romantic memories; instead he is *waiting,* ready to take off. This is why other kinds of time do not stand out in his mind. He does not exactly strive for the millennium. The most important thing for him is rather that it should be here and now and that it should arise from secular life as a change-over into another type of existence unfolding here and now'; *op. cit.,* p. 189. (Translation by Goodman). See also G. Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth* (Cambridge, 1960), p. 157. The anarchists keep reproaching the Marxists saying that the latter promise everything under the sun, 'but always later – *beyond the present*'; M. Fayolle, *Réflexions sur l'anarchisme* (Paris, 1965), p. 69. Normal time in capitalist society is experienced as 'driving fury' – and who would have trouble comprehending that?; see G. Woodcock, *Anarchy or Chaos* (London, 1944), p. 91; and S.G.F. Brandon, The significance of time in some ancient initiatory rituals, in Bleeker, C.J. (ed.) *Initiation* (London, 1965), p. 40. The outbreak of a revolt, on the other hand, such as the May 1968 uprising in Paris appears like a festival; see M. Ragon, Der Künstler und die Gesellschaft, in *Kunst ist Revolution* (Köln, 1969), p. 27; and H. Lefèbvre, *La proclamation de la Commune* (Paris, 1965), p. 389. A small event during the Spanish revolution of 1936 beautifully illustrates this anarchistic sense of timelessness. As told by I. Ehrenburg, in *Memoiren* II (München, 1962), p. 240, he witnessed a heated altercation in a small Andalusian village between the mayor and the school teacher. The mayor was for the Second International, the teacher for the Third. Finally, a labourer interrupted the discussion by exclaiming, 'And I am for the First International – for Comrade Miguel Bakunin!' About the same time E. Conze, *Spain Today* (London, 1936), p. 62, quoted in A. von Borries, Der spanische Anarchismus, *Neues Hochland* (1973), p. 341, wrote, 'The workers' movement intends to attain affluence and security; at the same time, the Spanish anarchist lives for liberty, virtue and dignity. Perhaps the anarchist is, as Don Quixote, the lonely remnant of an extinct species.' It is probably not an accident that men such as Bakunin, Vanzetti or Henry read Don Quixote with a great deal of enthusiasm, the latter two shortly before their execution. When a young comrade once asked an old Spanish anarchist whether he would not agree that the ideals of anarchism were beautiful but unrealizable, the latter answered, 'Of course it is impossible to realize them. But don't you see that everything that is possible today, is worthless?', quoted in E. Oberländer, Die Theorie der herrschaftsfreien Gesellschaft, in Oberländer, E. (ed.) *Der Anarchismus* (Olten, 1972), p. 33.

22 A. Coomaraswamy, *Time and Eternity* (Ascona, 1947), p. 29. It was said of Low German seers, called 'wicker', that they had the power to 'stop the clocks'; see G. Grober-Glück, Second sight in northern Germany, in Angoff, A. and Barth, D. (eds) *Parapsychology and Anthropology* (New York, 1974), p. 193.

23 The only reason Foucault can say anything like that is because he does not know what a 'mythical perspective' is. He thinks that searching for the 'point of origin' is a search for 'what existed in the past'; see M. Foucault, *Von der Subversion des Wissens* (München, 1974), p. 85 [*The Archeology of Knowledge* (New York, 1972)].

24 See A. Lommel, *Fortschritt ins Nichts* (Zürich, 1969), p. 110; T.G.H. Strehlow, *Aranda Traditions* (Melbourne, 1947), pp. 11, 133; and N.D. Munn, The transformation of subjects into objects in Walbiri and Pitjantjatjara myth, in Berndt, R.M. (ed.) *Australian Aboriginal Anthropology* (Nedlands, 1970), p. 146. Australian natives told an anthropologist that it was not humans that painted the rock pictures. With inappropriate irony, he writes, 'That my ignorance was such that I, an adult, did not recognize the mythical character of the artist was unexplainable to the natives'; D.S. Davidson, *Aboriginal Australian and Tasmanian Rock Carvings and Paintings* (Philadelphia, 1936), p. 112.

25 'A person having a *déjà-vu* experience,' writes J.S. Kafka, in Zum Problem der Realität, *Psyche* (1977), p. 718, 'has the impression that the actually manifest situation has taken place once before, although it is quite possible that it is not the situation that is familiar but the latent significance that represents the basis of the situation.' This is precisely the point of Plato's theory of anamnesis. At the moment of perception, the soul recollects *what* it *is* that is being perceived.

26 See V.E. von Gebsattel, *Prolegomena einer medizinischen Anthropologie* (Berlin, 1954), p. 135; and Die Störungen des Werdens und des Zeiterlebens im Rahmen psychiatrischer Erkrankungen, in Straus, E. (ed.) *Die Wahnwelten* (Frankfurt/Main, 1963), p. 363. This may be related to the change in the experience of time after the ingestion of hallucinogens; see H. Aronson, A.B. Silverstein and G.D. Klee, Influence of lysergic acid diethylamide on subjective time, *Archives for Genetical Psychiatry* (1959), p. 469; J.R. Smythies, The mescaline phenomena, *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science* (1953), p. 345; and E. Jünger, Drugs and ecstasy, in Kitagawa, J.M. and Long, C.H. (eds) *Myths and Symbols* (Chicago, 1969), p. 340.

27 See A.W. Watts, *The Way of Zen* (New York, 1959), p. 123.

28 See F. Kersten, Phenomenology, history, myth, in Natanson, M. (ed.) *Phenomenology and Social Reality* (The Hague, 1970), p. 247; and B. Snell, Wie die Griechen lernten, was geistige Tätigkeit ist, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1973), p. 176. We might say that in our example from Zen Buddhism, the teacher wants to suppress the perspective of 'genetic identity' in his student, which in 'archaic experience' plays a smäller role anyway than in our thinking; we are much more orientated towards retrieval, as it were; see R.E. Ornstein, *The Psychology of Consciousness* (San Francisco, 1972), p. 91; and T. Bomann, *Das hebräische Denken im Vergleich mit dem griechischen* (Göt-

tingen, 1968), p. 123. Where we see various steps in the development of *one* subject, *various* objects seem to be arrayed in sequence in that perspective. Among the Trobriand Islanders, mature yam (*taytu*) *remains* mature yam, and is followed by overripe yam (*yowana*). Of the Tupi it is told that they saw different beings in the various phases of the moon; see C. Lévi-Strauss, *L'origine des manières de table* (Paris, 1968), p. 67 [*The Origin of Table Manners* (New York, 1978)]; and J. Falkenberg, *Kin and Totem* (Oslo, 1962), p. 83.

29 L. Van der Post, *Die verlorene Welt der Kalahari* (Bern, 1966), p. 263 [*The Lost World of the Kalahari* (New York, 1958)] (translation by Goodman).

30 I do not consider it a particularly good choice to call the 'mythic time' a stencil placed on top of the respective 'natural event'; see P. Munz, *When the Golden Bough Breaks* (London, 1973), p. 50. The basic assumption in this case seems to be that the everyday occurrence is what is real, and it is simply *interpreted* mythically by so to speak tracing the outlines of the stencil on top of it.

31 M. Eliade, *Der Mythos der Ewigen Wiederkehr* (Düsseldorf, 1953), pp. 5, 14, 21, 36; B. Malinowski, *The Foundations of Faith and Morals* (London, 1936), p. 41; G. Devereux, Pathogenic dreams in non-Western societies, in von Grunebaum, G.E. and Caillois, R. (eds) *The Dream and Human Societies* (Berkeley, 1966), p. 220. In Die charismatische Verführung', in Goetze, D. (ed.) *Castro-Nkruma-Sukarno* (Berlin, 1977), p. XVII, W.E. Mühlmann suggests that any supposed 'regression' is actually a 'cultural-psychological misunderstanding of oneself'. (What he means is probably a misunderstanding of oneself that cultural psychologists are interested in.) It is not possible to return to the 'point of origin', according to Mühlmann, because after anaclisis the 'origins' are something different from what they were before, namely, e.g. 'symbols against loss of culture', i.e. 'ideological requisites'. This may be true, but it is beside the point, for the person thinking mythically does not go *back*. Mühlmann cannot *think* mythically, and neither does he want to. It is for this reason that he does not understand what it means *to be*, e.g. 'Orpheus and Eurydice'.

32 H.G. Wells, *Die Zeitmaschine* (Hamburg, 1951), p. 10 [*The Time Machine* (New York, 1895)]. However, such a concept would make no *sense*; see J.J.C. Smart, Is time travel possible?, *The Journal of Philosophy* (1963), p. 238.

33 See P. Bohannan, Concepts of time among the Tiv of Nigeria, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* (1953), p. 261.

34 See, for example, M. Eliade, Initiation rites and secret cults, *History of Religions* (1967), p. 63; and Recent works on shamanism, *History of Religions* (1961), p. 165; A.P. Elkin, *Aboriginal Men of High Degree* (Sydney, 1946), p. 13; J. Parratt, Time in traditional African thought, *Religion* (1977), p. 120; A. Rapoport, Australian aborigines and the definition of place, in Oliver, P. (ed.) *Shelter, Sign and Symbol* (London, 1975), p. 46.

35 This is what some people believe at Starnberg Lake; see R. Döbert, *Systemtheorie und die Entwicklung religiöser Deutungssysteme* (Frankfurt/Main, 1973), pp. 100, 105; K. Eder, *Die Entstehung staatlich organisierter Gesell-*

schaften (Frankfurt/Main, 1976), p. 29. Psychoanalysts, who should know better, hold the same view; see e.g. G. Róheim, The origin and function of magic, in *Magic and Schizophrenia* (Bloomington, 1962), p. 35.

36 See, for example, A. Capell, Language and world view in the northern Kimberley, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* (1960), p. 2; about the *lalan* of the Ngarinyin, as well as R.M. Berndt, Two in one, and more in two, in Pouillon, J. and Maranda, P. (eds) *Echanges et communications* II (The Hague, 1970), p. 1041.

37 See, for example, L. Lévy-Bruhl, *Les carnets* (Paris, 1949), p. 81 [*Notebooks on Primitive Mentality* (Oxford, 1975)]; or M.J. Meggitt, *Desert People* (Chicago, 1962), p. 60. Such parallel times are, of course thinkable or logically possible; see R.G. Swinburne, Times, *Analysis* (1965), p. 185; or M. Hollis, Times and spaces, *Mind* (1967), p. 524, but they are something entirely different from 'mythic time'. They resemble the time of the beyond that our legends tell about, from which the peasant girl returns only to find that in the interval, a hundred years passed by in her village.

38 See G. Van der Leeuw, *Phänomenologie der Religion* (Tübingen, 1956), p. 435; W.E.H. Stanner, The dreaming, in Lessa, W.A. and Vogt, E.Z. (eds) *Comparative Religion* (New York, 1965), p. 159; A.P. Elkin, Review of Lévy-Bruhl's 'Le temps et l'espace du monde mythique', *Oceania* (1936), p. 489; and Elements of Australian aboriginal philosophy, *Oceania* (1969), p. 87; E.S. Carpenter, The timeless present in the mythology of the Aivilik eskimos, *Anthropologica* (1956), p. 1; T.J.J. Altizer, The religious meaning of myth and symbols, in Altizer, T.J.J. (ed.) *Truth, Myth and Symbol* (Englewood Cliffs, 1962), p. 93; C.J. Jung, Über Wiedergeburt, in *Die Archetypen und das Kollektive Unbewusste* (Olten, 1976), p. 132 [*The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* (Princeton, 1969)]; W. Gent, *Das Problem der Zeit* (Frankfurt/Main, 1934), p. 160; and N.S. Booth, Time and change in African traditional thought, *Journal of Religion in Africa* (1975), p. 88. And thus it is possible on the same day to celebrate Buddha's birth under a tree in Lumbini, his enlightenment under a tree in Gaya, and his entrance into nirvana under a tree in Kusinagara; see H. Nakamura, Time in Indian and Japanese thought, in *The Voices of Time* (London, 1968), p. 81. And for the same reason, one and the same hero of the 'dreamtime' can be identical with various rocks, which reminds us, although superficially, of the joke about three different mummies of Hatshepsut: one of her as a young girl, one as a mature woman, and one as an old one.

39 See J. Bolte, *Name und Merkmale des Märchens* (Helsinki, 1920), p. 18.

40 See G. Jacob, *Märchen und Traum* (Hannover, 1923), p. 69. As somebody said about a fairy-tale, 'Telling it, it is like a lie, but it is true anyway . . .'; see H.v. Beit, *Symbolik des Märchens* (Bern, 1975), p. 65.

41 See A.I. Hallowell, *Culture and Experience* (Pittsburgh, 1955), p. 229; V.D. Malan and R.C. McCone, The time concept, perspective, and premise in the socio-cultural order of the Dakota Indians, *Plains Anthropologist* (1960), p. 12; and E.R. Leach, *Rethinking Anthropology* (London, 1961), p. 126.

42 This 'time gap' does not recur cyclically; see e.g. O. Rammstedt, Alltags-

bewusstsein von Zeit, *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* (1975), p. 2. Instead, it is always the *same* 'time gap'; see P.J. Zwart, *About Time* (Amsterdam, 1976), p. 244. It is therefore misleading in this context to speak of the 'eternal return of the same'.

43 See V.W. Turner, Pilgrimages as social processes, in *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors* (Ithaca, 1974), p. 202. Such geographic journeys have in modern literature been retained as metaphors for 'spiritual' ones as, e.g., in Bergman's 'Wild Strawberries'; see J.H. Gill, On knowing the dancer from the dance, *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* (1976), p. 127.

44 See P.T. Furst, *The Parching of the Maize* (Wien, 1968), p. 14. Some roads and streets were named after astronomical phenomena into the height of the Middle Ages. In the thirteenth century there was in Soest a street called 'Irings Weg', a well-known Old Saxon term for the Milky Way; see W. Müller, *Kreis und Kreuz* (Berlin, 1938), p. 91.

45 See K. Meuli, Scythica, *Hermes* (1935), p. 166; and *Odyssee und Argonautika* (Basel, 1920), p. 16; and E. Uehli, Der Argonautenzug: eine Mysterienfahrt, in *Mythos und Kunst der Griechen* (Dornach, 1958), p. 204.

46 See T.P. Howe, The primitive presence in pre-classical Greece, in Diamond, S. (ed.) *Primitive Views of the World* (New York, 1964), p. 167. A Seidensticker, *Waldgeschichte des Alterthums* I (Frankfurt/Oder, 1886), p. 143, thinks that the beam did not come from Dodona in Epirus, but from the oracle of Dodona at Mount Olympus.

47 An incubation oracle of Gaea was located in front of the Zeus oracle in Dodona (Epirus); see J. Friedrich, *Dodoniaca* (Fribourg, 1932), p. 43.

48 The Greek words for 'ship' and for 'temple' have the same root; see O. Kern, *Über die Anfänge der hellenischen Religion* (Berlin, 1902), p. 13.

49 See E. Schwartz, *Die Odyssee* (1924), p. 52; and Butterworth, *op. cit.*, p. 29. Circe corresponds to Jason's Medea; see W. Kranz, Die Irrfahrten des Odysseus, *Hermes* (1915), p. 105.

50 Also the Ka'aba in Mecca is the earthly 'counterpart' of the North Star; see A.J. Wensinck, *The Ideas of the Western Semites Concerning the Navel of the Earth* (Amsterdam, 1916), p. 47.

51 See chapter 3, note 38.

52 Ulysses avoided the clashing rocks of the Planctai. They were not ordinary rocks in the sea, for the doves of Zeus flew through them carrying *ambrosia*; see Butterworth, *op. cit.*, p. 180; and G. de Santillana and H. von Dechend, *Hamlet's Mill* (Boston, 1969), pp. 198, 273. Similar reports are also available from entirely different societies; see e.g. A. Métraux, *The Native Tribes of Eastern Bolivia* (Washington, 1942), p. 106. An Australian native reported about a trip with his father to the sky as follows: 'We went through the place where the Doctors go through, and it kept opening and shutting very quickly. My father said that, if it touched a Doctor when he was going through, it would hurt his spirit, and when he returned home he would sicken and die'; A.W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), p. 408. The Huicholes of Nayarit call this spot 'Gateway of the Clouds' or 'Where the Clouds Open and Close'; see P.T. Furst, To find our life, in Furst,

P.T. (ed.) *Flesh of the Gods* (London, 1972), pp. 150, 162.

53 See T. Roszak, Uncaging skylarks, in Noel, D.C. (ed.) *Seeing Castaneda* (New York, 1976), p. 155.

54 See J.D.P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnessus* (Oxford, 1962), p. 132. With the help of Hermes Aithalides's *psyche* was able to travel to the underworld; see W.K.C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy* II (Cambridge, 1969), p. 11.

55 For this reason, it is probably not correct to speak of a 'shamanistic rapture' in the case of Parmenides; see H. Diels, *Parmenides' Lehrgedicht* (Berlin, 1897), p. 14; and J.S. Morrison, Parmenides and Er, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1955), p. 59. See G. Vlastos, Review of Cornford's 'Principium sapientiae', *Gnomon* (1955), p. 70; R. Tarán, *Parmenides* (Princeton, 1965), p. 28; C.J. de Vogel, *Philosophia* I (Assen, 1969), pp. 79, 103; and C. Colpe, Die 'Himmelsreise' der Seele, in Fries, E. (ed.) *Festschrift für Joseph Klein* (Göttingen, 1967), p. 92. He was probably influenced by the Orphic mysteries of Lower Italy; see W. Jaeger, *Die Theologie der frühen griechischen Denker* (Stuttgart, 1953), p. 114; and R.S. Bluck, *Plato's Meno* (London, 1964), pp. 72, 75. According to Diogenes Laertius, Parmenides venerated a Pythagorean by the name of Ameinias as his guru much more so than his teacher Xenophanes; see C. Hanly, On being and dreaming, in Hanly, C. and Lazerowitz, M. (eds) *Psychoanalysis and Philosophy* (New York, 1970), p. 168. It was maintained that both Pythagoras and Empedocles had the ability of bilocation, but they were incapable of real flight; see J.A. Philip, *Pythagoras and Early Pythagoreanism* (Toronto, 1966), p. 161. Parmenides is greeted by the goddess with a handshake; the goddess tells him that she 'owes him everything', and she even asks him if he would please examine the 'revelation' critically. In other words, they talk with each other as 'one human to another', as H.F. Spinner says; see *Begründung, Kritik und Rationalität* I (Braunschweig, 1978), p. 98. To him, this seems to argue against a shamanistic ascension. I tend to disagree. After all, shamans have been known to bite the nose of a god or comb the hair of a goddess, and do other things that we should not even mention. I do not intend to reject Spinner's argument as a whole, I only suggest as Spinner does too that more relaxed relationships may prevail between gods and people than we are used to seeing in the religions of nomads, where one is expected instantly to prostrate himself in the desert sand during revelation.

56 E. Leisi, Aufschlussreiche altenglische Wortinhalte, in Gipper, H. (ed.) *Sprache – Schlüssel zur Welt* (Düsseldorf, 1959), p. 310. Turk dialects contain a large number of 'object-bound' colour terms, while those that are not so structured are usually loan words from other languages; see I. Laude-Cirtautas, *Der Gebrauch der Farbbezeichnungen in den Türkdialekten* (Wiesbaden, 1961), pp. 88, 127; according to H. Bayer, *Sprache als praktisches Bewusstsein* (Düsseldorf, 1975), p. 70.

57 See N. Clarke, It is compatible! in Hick, J. (ed.) *Faith and the Philosophers* (London, 1964), p. 138.

58 Quoted in O.M. Hinze, Studien zum Verständnis der archaischen Astronomie, *Symbolon* (1966), p. 177.

59 H. Leuner, in Halluzinogene, in Müller, C. (ed.) *Lexikon der Psychiatrie*

(Berlin, 1973), p. 233, says of the quality of the experience after the ingestion of mind-altering drugs that the ability to distinguish various pieces of information decreases. R. Layton, Myth as language in aboriginal Arnhem land, *Man* (1970), p. 497, describes the 'dreaming' as a time 'when those similarities' between things 'were established'. That means that he also considers the *separation* of things as being natural and real.

60 See M. Black, *Caveats and Critiques* (Ithaca, 1975), p. 30.

61 See M. Lüthi, *op. cit.*, p. 21; J. Bolte, *op. cit.*, p. 21; and H. von Beit, *Das Märchen* (Bern, 1965), p. 107. According to an oriental fairy-tale, 'Jinnistan is a realm far away from us, but it surrounds us and touches us on all sides'; see Golowin, *Die Magie der verbotenen Märchen* (Hamburg, 1974), p. 192. At times we encounter the image of inversion here too. The 'cloud-cuckoo-land', Aristophanes's *Nephelococcygia,* hangs in the air upside down; see K. von Spiess, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

62 A trickster of the island of Ösel was once asked where the centre of the earth was. He took the questioner to a field, struck the ground with his cane and said, 'Here; and if you don't believe it, check out the measurements yourself'; W. Anderson, *Kaiser und Abt* (Helsinki, 1923), p. 157.

63 It is not correct, therefore, when G. Vesey, *Personal Identity* (London, 1974), p. 36, writes, 'In a more basic sense I have no doubt where I am – I am *here.*' Wittgenstein would counter this by saying that Vesey no more gave an indication of location than Alice gave one of her height when placing her hand on her head. And when Popper writes, 'I wish to state clearly and unambiguously that I am convinced that *selves exist,*' then that is the same as if he stated that 'I am firmly convinced that there are such things as "heres" '; see K. Popper and J.C. Eccles, *The Self and its Brain* (Heidelberg, 1977), p. 101; and H. Jonas, On the power or impotence of subjectivity, in Spickert, S.F. and Engelhardt, H.T. (eds) *Philosophical Dimensions of the Neuro-medical Sciences* (Dordrecht, 1976), p. 143. It is not possible to compare what is meant by 'I' with the periscope of a submarine, which is only impervious to one's own torpedoes, as does K. Gunderson in Asymmetries and mind–body perplexities, in Cheng, C-Y. (ed.) *Philosophical Aspects of the Mind-Body Problem* (Honolulu, 1975), p. 124. For the quality of my experiences as being 'my own' is not an object of experience which cannot constitute an experience for others. No wonder that it was cited as the example of a mystery by Christian philosophers; see I. Ramsey, *Christian Empiricism* (London, 1974), p. 118. 'I am I' is not 'knowledge' or experience as D. Henrich continues to believe, in Die Grundstruktur der modernen Philosophie, in Ebeling, H. (ed.) *Subjektivität und Selbsterhaltung* (Frankfurt/Main, 1976), pp. 106, 118, 136, comparable to, e.g. 'I am H.P.D.', which could at least be an insight, Wittgenstein's opinion to the contrary notwithstanding. Or would Henrich consider it an 'insight' about chairs that chairs are chairs and not anemones? It is conceivable, of course, that one might become alienated from such evident matters, just as demons can cast a shadow over the 'island of the *tonal*' (see chapter 6). Thus a 'depersonalized' woman reported, 'I was sitting with my mother in a taxi when I suddenly realized that I was I and she was she'; L. Spiegel, Identity and

adolescence, in *Adolescents* (New York, 1961), p. 10; quoted in D.J. de Levita, *Der Begriff der Identität* (Frankfurt/Main, 1971), p. 201; and R. Bilz, *Paläoanthropologie* I (Frankfurt/Main), p. 467. I do not mean this *pejoratively*, as probably some of Wittgenstein's followers would, but just as in the case of 'critical rationalism', these statements illustrate once more that philosophers often *say* things that schizophrenics *mean*.

64 Quoted in O. Schroeder, Hyperboreer, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1905), p. 83.

65 Black Elk, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

66 See W. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 248; and H. Storm, *Seven Arrows* (New York, 1973), p. 5.

67 See K. Latte, Die Sirenen, in *Kleine Schriften* (München, 1968), p. 109; and O. Crusius, Die Epiphanie der Sirene, *Philologus* (1891), pp. 96, 107. Out of fear of demons, skippers on the Elbe river used to dislike casting off at this time of the day; see M. Rosenthal, Aberglaube der Elbschiffer, *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1933), p. 255. Gypsies also felt that at noon 'time stood still', and all things belonged to *mulé*, a vampire-like being; see J-P. Clébert, *The Gypsies* (London, 1967), p. 188; and P. Derlon, *Unter Hexen und Zauberern* (Basel, 1976), p. 181. As we know, Nietzsche equally kept talking about the 'hour of noon'.

68 See W.H. Roscher, Über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Forschung auf dem Gebiete der griechischen Mythologie, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1898), pp. 69, 77; W. Drexler, Die Epiphanie des Pan, *Philologus* (1894), p. 732; and C. Meillier, L'épiphanie du dieu Pan, *Revue des études grecques* (1975), p. 125.

69 See H. Herter, Böse Dämonen im frühgriechischen Volksglauben, *Rheinisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* (1950), p. 120. At times, the earth opens and the gods of the underworld appear; see H. Diels, Himmels- und Höllenfahrten von Homer bis Dante, *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* (1922), p. 242. Even the angels of the Bible prefer this time for their epiphanies; see A. Rosenberg, *Engel und Dämonen* (München, 1967), p. 75. The reason demons cast no shadow is probably because they tend to appear at high noon; see K. Haberland, Die Mittagsstunde als Geisterstunde, *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* (1882), p. 315.

70 See A. Fries, Sagen aus Unterfranken, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* (1853), p. 24; and K. Haupt, Zwergsagen aus der Ober- und Niederlausitz, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* (1859), p. 223.

71 See J.E. Schmaler, Überreste der alten Mythologie in der Wendischen Lausitz, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* (1855), p. 133; and F. Sieber, *Wendische Sagen* (Jena, 1925), pp. 16, 20.

72 See L. Laistner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx* I (Berlin, 1889), p. 35.

73 See R. Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche* (Stuttgart, 1878), p. 64.

74 See L.V. Grinsell, Witchcraft at some prehistoric sites, in Newall, V. (ed.) *The Witch Figure* (London, 1973), p. 73; O. Hovorka, Aus dem Volksglauben von Sabbioncello, *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde* (1897), p. 88;

E. Veckenstedt, *Die Mythen, Sagen und Legenden der Zamaiten* (Heidelberg, 1883), p. 110; H. Boguet, *Discours des sourciers* (Lyon, 1608), p. 96, quoted in M.A. Murray, *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (London, 1921), pp. 40, 101; and P. de Lancre, *Tableau de l'Inconstance des mauvais Anges* (Paris, 1613), p. 398.

75 J. Praetorius, *Daemonologia Rubinzalii Silesii* (Leipzig, 1668), p. 118. For many scholars, Rübezahl continued to be real. As late as the eighteenth century, Valentin Völckerling attempted to prove the existence of this mountain spirit in his dissertation, *De Spiritu in Monte Gigantaeo Silesiorum apparente, vulgo Rübe-Zahl* (Wittenberg, 1740). Into our times, Rübezahl was considered the master of herbalists, who under the name of 'Herr Johannes' introduced them to the secrets of medicinal plants; see A. Lincke, *Die neuesten Rübezahlforschungen* (Dresden, 1896), p. 39. Quite possibly the ingesting of belladonna, which especially in the mountains is rich in alkaloids, made it possible to see him; see O. Gessner and G. Orzechowski, *Gift- und Arzneipflanzen von Mitteleuropa* (Heidelberg, 1974), p. 25. At any rate, it was told that in Rübezahl's garden there was a tree 'bearing strange apples, no larger than those of the mountain ash, which matured only at unusual times'. 'Strange herbs and roots' also grew in that garden; see W-E. Peuckert, *Schlesische Sagen* (Jena, 1924), pp. 178, 200; and R. Loewe, Rübezahl im heutigen Volksglauben, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* (1908), p. 9.

76 See O. Huth, Die Kulttore der Indogermanen, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1937), p. 376; and K. Vilkuna, *Finnisches Brauchtum im Jahreslauf* (1969), p. 43.

77 See A. Kuhn, *Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen* II (Leipzig, 1859), p. 111; L. Strackerjan, *Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogtum Oldenburg* (Oldenburg, 1909) II, p. 36; and A. Haggerty Krappe, Apollon Smintheus and the Teutonic Mysing, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1936), p. 46. The fire goes out and for the new time to start it needs to be drilled fresh; see K. von Spiess, *Deutsche Volkskunde als Erschliesserin deutscher Kultur* (Berlin, 1934), p. 172. At the famous new year's festival of the Aztecs at Huixachtecatl mountain this fire was kindled in the breast of a human sacrifice. All manner of household items and clothing were also destroyed and had to be renewed. It is said that at the birth of Jesus all the world stopped in its tracks; the birds in the air, the sheep on the meadows and the flowing waters all stood still; see A. Meyer, *Das Weihnachtsfest* (Tübingen, 1913), p. 55.

78 See E.O. James, *Seasonal Feasts and Festivals* (London, 1961), p. 279. The 'demonic runners' were allowed to censure, a right granted later also to these jesters; see F. Ninck, *Die Hof- und Volks-Narren* II (Stuttgart, 1861), p. 399.

79 Quoted in G. van der Leeuw, *op. cit.*, p. 436. See also W. Müller, Raum und Zeit in Sprachen und Kalendern Nordamerikas und Alteuropas, *Anthropos* (1962), p. 569; also K. Lovell, Die Entwicklung (natur-)wissenschaftlicher Begriffe, in Bonn, H. and Rohsmanith, K. (eds) *Studien zur Entwicklung des Denkens im Kindesalter* (Darmstadt, 1972), p. 273.

80 See W. Müller, *Die heilige Stadt* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 112. Graves and cemeteries seem often to have been located at crossroads; see P. Geiger, Begräbnis,

in Bächtold-Stäubli, H. (ed.) *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* I (Berlin, 1927), column 991. The Wild Hunt frequently haunted such spots; see K. von Leoprechting, *Aus dem Lechrain* (München, 1855), p. 35.

81 G. Simmel, Der Fremde, in *Das individuelle Gesetz* (Frankfurt/Main, 1968), p. 65.

82 See M. Ihm, *Der Mütter- oder Matronenkultus und seine Denkmäler* (Bonn, 1887), p. 87.

83 See J. Zwicker, *Fontes historiae religionis celticae* (Bonn, 1935), p. 164; C.D.G. Müller, Vom Teufel, Mittagsdämon und Amuletten, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* (1974), p. 95; and C. Clemen, Die Religion der Kelten, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1941), p. 124. The same is true for Hecate, who is identified with Diana; see E. Rohde, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 411; E. Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer* (Berlin, 1901), p. 120; and T. Kraus, *Hekate* (Heidelberg, 1960), p. 88.

84 See J. Lippert, *Christentum, Volksglaube und Volksbrauch* (Berlin, 1882), p. 681; J. Wiedemann, *Aus dem inneren und äusseren Leben der Ehsten* (St Petersburg, 1876), p. 388; and P. Zaunert, *Westfälische Sagen* (Jena, 1927), p. 288.

85 See O.A. Erich, Dreifusstopf und Dreiknubbenkanne, *Niederdeutsche Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (1936), p. 23. A tall stand was frequently encountered in Low German houses, corresponding to the Teutonic house trees, such as the mighty oak in King Volsung's hall; see M. Helmers, Der Kreuzbaum im niedersächischen Bauernhaus, *Germanen-Erbe* (1938), pp. 48, 51; and F. Saeftel, Herd und Hochsäulen im altnordischen Haus, *Germanien* (1935), p. 38. See also O. Lauffer, Herd und Herdgeräte in den Nürnbergischen Küchen der Vorzeit, *Mitteilungen aus dem germanischen Nationalmuseum* (1901), p. 119. The sacred centre of the house could be transferred to a new place. In that case Grandfather House Spirit, *deduska demovoj,* moved to the hearth of the new habitation in a pot filled with glowing embers; see A. Johansons, *Der Schirmherr des Hofes im Volksglauben der Letten* (Stockholm, 1964), p. 76. In the centre of the Hopi kiva there is an entrance to the underworld. It is a navel, *śipápuni,* usually covered over by a plank, which is pushed aside during rituals; see F. Waters, *Book of the Hopi* (New York, 1963), p. 129.

86 The dead father, grandfather and great-grandfather climbed in through such a smoke-hole to enjoy the food set out for them; see T. Volkov, Seelenspeisung bei den Weissrussen, *Am Urquell* (1888), p. 25, quoted in L. Petzoldt, *Der Tote als Gast* (Helsinki, 1968), p. 83. See also O. Schell, Der Herd und das Herdfeuer im Glauben und Brauch des Bergischen Volkes, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für rheinische und westfälische Volkskunde* (1907), p. 287. Some ancient village churches possess a 'Holy Ghost hole' in the middle of the vault above the nave, covered by a wooden lid. On Ascension Day a statue of Christ used to be pulled through it. A hole of that sort was at least suggested in some old peasant houses; see N. Mantl, *Vorchristliche Kultrelikte im oberen Inntal* (Innsbruck, 1967), p. 145. See also W. Krause, *Die Religion der Kelten* (Leipzig, 1933), p. IV; and B. Schmidt, Totengebräuche und Gräberkultus im heutigen Griechenland, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1927), p. 75.

87 O. Schell, Abwehrzauber am bergischen Haus, *Globus* (1907), p. 337.
88 See H.A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* II (Neuchâtel, 1913), p. 463.
89 See J.P. Roux, Le chaman gengiskhanide, *Anthropos* (1959), p. 410. In former times, the bed of the dying in some places, such as in Glarus, was placed under the ridgepole of the house or the scuttle was opened, as in the Black Forest; see T. Zachariae, Das Haus über einem Sterbenden abdecken, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* (1908), p. 445. In old Swiss houses, the 'window for the soul' was in the wall; see A.L. Schnidrig, Der 'Seelenbalken' im Wallis, *Schweizer Volkskunde* (1953), p. 108; and A. Büchli, Der Seelenbalgge, *Schweizer Volkskunde* (1947), p. 111.

Chapter 12 Road Bilong Science

1 With remarkable candour C. Lévi-Strauss compares his activities as an anthropologist to the slash-and-burn method, where people hastily collect a few harvests and then leave the devastated region behind; *Tristes Tropiques* (Paris, 1955), p. 44 [*Tristes Tropiques* (New York, 1968)], p. 44.
2 See F. Heer, *Abschied von Höllen und Himmeln* (München, 1970), p. 22.
3 G.A. Menowstschikow, Wissen, religiöse Vorstellungen und Riten des asiatischen Eskimos, in Diószegi, V. (ed.) *Glaubenswelt und Folklore der sibirischen Völker* (Budapest, 1963), p. 480.
4 It stands to reason that this is true not only for *meanings*: 'Fragile, sliding paper walls and *tatami* give the [Japanese] house definite and significant accoustical properties that have influenced the design and development of musical instruments and even the melodic structure of the Japanese speech, poetry and drama. A piano, designed for the reverberating insulated walls and floors of Western homes and concert halls, cannot be introduced into a Japanese home without reducing the brilliance of a Rachmaninoff concerto to a shrill cacophony. Similarly, the fragile quality of a Japanese samisen cannot be fully appreciated in the reverberating box that constitutes the American home'; V. Papanek, *Design for the Real World: Human Ecology and Social Change* (New York, 1971), p. 14.
5 A.N.J. den Hollander, Social description, in Jongmans, D.G. and Gutkind, P.C.W. (eds) *Anthropologists in the Field* (Assen, 1967), p. 15. This sort of 'coolness' is considered by structuralists to be almost a precondition for 'structural' insight. According to them, *not* comprehending, that is, *not* empathizing with the 'savages' is what will open up a different kind of understanding 'without abandoning our Western rationalism'; see C.R. Badcock, The ecumenical anthropologist, *British Journal of Sociology* (1975), p. 165.
6 'Must a psychiatrist be at least partially demented to study successfully the mentally ill?', E. Nagel asks in *Logic without Metaphysics* (Glencoe, 1956), p. 365. Simply posing this question, he believes, implies a negative answer; see also H. Gomperz, *Über Sinn und Sinngebilde* (Tübingen, 1929), p. 215.
7 See, for example, H. Fichte, *Xangó* (Frankfurt/Main, 1976), p. 338.
8 See J.P. Spradley and D.W. McCurdy, *Anthropology* (New York, 1975), p. 60.

9 As to renegades, see U. Bitterli, *Die 'Wilden' und die 'Zivilisierten'* (München, 1976), p. 87. Francisco Guerrero, a Spanish ship's carpenter, is a famous case in point. In the first half of the sixteenth century, he joined the Maya Indians, married the daughter of a cacique, and as a war chief caused his invading compatriots a great deal of damage; see R.S. Chamberlain, *The Conquest and Colonization of Yucatán* (Washington, 1948). Many a French trapper, casting his lot with the Indians, hoped to become one of them, just as Gauguin was to dream of going native in the South Sea. 'Christianity and civilization,' he wrote, 'together attempted to rid humanity of its belief in itself and in the beauty of its primitive instincts, turning this belief into a myth, which still, however, survives in all of us. I want to turn this myth into reality.' It was Gauguin's tragedy that he succeeded in accomplishing this neither on Tahiti nor on the Marquesas. Finally, beset by illness, financial difficulties and quarrels, he attempted desperately to go back to Europe, only to discover that in the meantime, he himself had become a myth in his home country, a myth he did not dare to endanger by returning. Shortly before his death, he received a letter from Georges Daniel de Monfreid, saying, 'You must not come back! You enjoy the immunity of the great dead . . .'; see P. Gauguin, *Briefe und Selbstzeugnisse* (München, 1970), pp. 9, 174.

10 See J. Campbell, Primitive man as metaphysician, in Diamond, S. (ed.) *Primitive Views of the World* (New York, 1964), p. 21.

11 P. Winch saw this better than anybody, in Language, belief and relativism, in Lewis, H.D. (ed.) *Contemporary British Philosophy* (London, 1976), p. 328.

12 See R.A. Downie, *Frazer and the Golden Bough* (London, 1970), p. 42; and E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *Theories of Primitive Religion* (Oxford, 1965), p. 43. Wittgenstein, writing at about the same time as Radcliffe-Brown and Evans-Pritchard, says after reading Frazer's *Golden Bough,* 'What a lack of breadth in spirituality in Frazer! Hence: How impossible for him to comprehend a different kind of life than that of the English of his time! Frazer is incapable of imaging any priest who is not basically an English parson of our times, complete with all his stupidity and sloth'; L. Wittgenstein, Bemerkungen über Frazers *The Golden Bough,* in Wiggerhaus, R. (ed.), *Sprachanalyse und Soziologie* (Frankfurt/Main, 1975), p. 42. (Translation by Goodman). A few decades earlier, Prince Kropotkin voiced a similar opinion: 'What we find in all relationships that the English entertain with the "inferior races" that they subjugate is that they are incapable of comprehending any other civilization but their own'; P. Kropotkin, Der philosophische Versuch Herbert Spencers, *Die Aktion* (31 July 1911), p. 750. It is easy to imagine what an anthropologist would answer when asked whether werewolves were real or not: 'That to my mind is not an *ethnological* but a *philosophical* problem!' The basic assumption is that an anthropologist has to be *neutral* with respect to the reality status of werewolves; see e.g. I.M. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion* (Harmondsworth, 1971), p. 28. The only task of anthropology is to describe how certain people *believe* that they can change into werewolves, or to explain such a belief. However, when people actually turn into werewolves, they do not merely believe that they do, and the anthropologist's description of an essential part of a foreign

culture would be *wrong*. In other words, it is very difficult for anthropologists to stay neutral, *no matter what they might say*. It is also wrong to go along with the 'positivists', as does R.H. Wax in *Doing Fieldwork* (Chicago, 1971), p. 13, and to say that understanding is merely a 'precondition of research, . . . not capable of generating fresh knowledge'. For as anthropologists learn a foreign language, for example, they become enculturated into a different form of life and begin to recognize things that do not become apparent until they assume the foreign perspective.

13 See F.M. Cornford, *Principium Sapientiae* (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 56, 111; and M. Eliade, Mythologies of memory and forgetting, *History of Religions* (1963), p. 333. In contrast to humans, muses are *eye*-witnesses of what exists. Hesiod calls them the daughters of Mnemosyne, of memory; see G. Picht, Die Epiphanie der ewigen Gegenwart, in Höfling, H. (ed.) *Beiträge zur Philosophie und Wissenschaft* (München, 1960), p. 204; also L. Oeing-Hanhoff, Zur Wirkungsgeschichte der platonischen Anamnesislehre, in *Collegium philosophicum* (Basel, 1965), p. 244. R.G. Wasson contends that Plato was given this knowledge when he was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries; see The divine mushroom: primitive religion and hallucinatory agents, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (1958), p. 22, and The divine mushroom of immortality, in Furst, P.T. (ed.) *Flesh of the Gods* (London, 1972), p. 197. This seems to me rather off the mark considering the fact that such ideas were part and parcel of Greek mythology, familiar to every sage. The ideas about the *purpa* of the Cuna Indians is comparable to this body of thought about ideas, but more to its Aristotelian variant. The *purpa* or 'secrets', corresponding to the Greek ideas, separate from humans during an illness, descend to the lower world and need to be fetched back from there; see F. Kramer, *Verkehrte Welten* (Frankfurt/Main, 1977), p. 117. In a way, the sick person is alienated from his origin or, expressed in Aristotelian terms, ideas no longer 'light up' his perception.

14 J. Habermas, Sprachspiel, Intention und Bedeutung, in Wiggershaus, R. (ed.) *Sprachanalyse und Soziologie* (Frankfurt/Main, 1975), p. 321.

15 L. Löffler, *Grundlegung einer formalen Ethnologie der Verwandtschaft* (manuscript), p. 1; also R. Jakobson, On linguistic aspects of translation, in *On Translation* (New York, 1966), p. 234. See also M. Hollis, Reason and ritual, *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* (1975), p. 311; and E. Fales, Truth, tradition, and rationality, *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* (1976), p. 99. Löffler's variant is somewhat less pretentious than that of Habermas, for Löffler does not maintain that this is an *experience*. That essential meanings *get lost* not only during translation, but also in the course of what theoreticians of science call 'rational reconstruction' is a common experience; see G. Doppelt, Kuhn's epistemological relativism: an interpretation and defense, *Inquiry* (1978), p. 61. As becomes clear from A. Naess, in A plea for pluralism in philosophy and physics, in Yourgrau, W. and Breck, A.D. (eds) *Physics, Logic, and History* (New York, 1970), p. 133, this author, identifying understanding with translation, feels that the understanding of 'extremely different views of man and the universe' is not possible.

16 U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Reden und Vorträge* I (Berlin, 1925), p. 8. See also W. Dilthey, *Der Aufbau der geschichtlichen Welt in den Geisteswissenschaften* (Frankfurt/Main, 1970), p. 253. B. Malinowski's attitude is quite different, however; see The problem of meaning in primitive language, in Ogden, C.K. and Richards, I.A. (eds) *The Meaning of Meaning* (London, 1946), p. 307.

17 In Quines Empirismus auf pragmatischer Grundlage, in Speck, J. (ed.) *Grundprobleme der grossen Philosophen* III (Göttingen, 1975), p. 113, W.K. Essler contends that if we wanted to elicit the meaning of the Chinese concept for heart, we would not only require the comprehensive theory of acupuncture, but also an 'overview of the *total* view of the world of people of that age'. The question then rightly suggests itself whether Essler or Quine possess knowledge of 'the comprehensive theory of Western medicine' and an 'overview of the *total* view of the world of the citizens of the German Federal Republic and the United States of America' in order to understand what they themselves mean by 'heart'. 'If the English sentences,' says Quine, 'of a theory have their meaning only together as a body, then we can justify their translation into Arunta only together as a body. There will be no justification for pairing off the component English sentences with component Arunta sentences, except as these translations make the translation of the theory as a whole right'; W.V.O. Quine, Epistemology naturalized, in *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für Philosophie* VI (Wien, 1971), p. 94. Quine overextends Malinowski's and Wittgenstein's 'functionalism of meaning' to the point where everyone understands only *himself* and thus understands *nothing*. He does not, however, consider this a *reduction* of his *theory*, but *quite generally of meanings*! ('Too bad for meanings!') Many scientists do not take Quine's theory seriously, and justifiably so; see e.g. O. Werner and D.T. Campbell, Translating, working through interpreters, and the problem of decentering, in Naroll, R. and Cohen, R. (eds) *A Handbook in Cultural Anthropology* (Garden City, 1970), p. 398.

18 See T. Kuhn, Postscript, in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, 1970), p. 204.

19 J. Grimm, Über das Pedantische in der deutschen Sprache, in *Kleinere Schriften* (Berlin, 1879), p. 332.

20 Actually, a *large number* of anthropologists hold this view. See, for example, B.C. Hudson, The historical approach in anthropology, in Honigmann, J.J. (ed.) *Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology* (Chicago, 1973), p. 135; R. Trigg, Reason, commitment and social anthropology, *Philosophy* (1976), p. 219; K.D. Knorr, Methodik der Völkerkunde, in *Enzyklopädie der geisteswissenschaftlichen Arbeitsmethoden* IX (München, 1973), p. 306; R.A. Hahn, Understanding beliefs, *Current Anthropology* (1973), p. 210; M-B. Watson-Franke and L.C. Watson, Understanding in anthropology, *Current Anthropology* (1975), p. 253; and C. Lévi-Strauss, *The Scope of Anthropology* (London, 1967), p. 18.

21 For often a translation will be an interpretation.

22 In *Category Formation and the History of Religions* (The Hague, 1971), p. 57,

R.D. Baird suggests that howling should not be carried to such extremes that a person turns into Mowgli or, as he himself says, we should not think that we need to *believe* in the gods of a foreign religion in order to *understand* it. However, it may be that sometimes it is not until we acquire the respective belief that it becomes clear to us what it is like to believe that way. What it is like to believe is, of course, part of reality. If it is the task of the scientist to research that part of reality, then he obviously cannot do anything but either believe that way, or resign himself to not understanding that particular faith. In the latter case it may well be that at the same time, he also loses the ability to explain that faith to those who do not subscribe to it. That is how it is sometimes: you can't have your cake and eat it too.

23 In other words, with a kind of 'subsidiary' sense we have 'always' known *a little* of what we become conscious of – in hermeneutics this is called *Vorverständnis,* 'precognition'; see M. Grene, *The Knower and the Known* (London, 1966), p. 24; and E. Heitsch, Wahrheit als Erinnerung, *Hermes* (1963), p. 48. That is the bit of truth hidden in Plato's theory of *anamnesis*. We keep struggling against riding the fence, just *because* we 'know' something in this manner.

24 By relativism, L.S. Feuer means 'the doctrine of untranslatability'; see Sociological aspects of the relation between language and philosophy, *Philosophy of Science* (1953), p. 95. If that is the case, then I do believe that a moderate relativism is the most realistic 'philosophy of science'. J.M. Penn represents the opinion, pretty naive from the point of view of linguistics, that, in principle, anything can be translated; see *Linguistic Relativity Versus Innate Ideas* (The Hague, 1972), p. 36.

25 In A sociologist's introduction, in Wilson, B.R. (ed.) *Rationality* (Oxford, 1970), p. XII, B.R. Wilson puts this very clearly: 'Other cultures are made understandable by ordering their concepts, beliefs, activities according to the premises of the tradition of Western social science.'

26 See P. Riesman, A comprehensive anthropological assessment, in Noel, D.C. (ed.) *Seeing Castaneda* (New York, 1976), p. 46.

27 I am grateful to Hermann Walter for this example.

28 See A.C. Danto, *Analytische Philosophie der Geschichte* (Frankfurt/Main, 1974), p. 417. It is incorrect to suggest that the concept of 'inner understanding' presupposes a Cartesian 'philosophy of mind', as maintained by F.A. Hanson and R. Martin, The problem of other cultures, *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* (1973), p. 196. 'Inner' in this case does not mean that another mind is hidden there like Wittgenstein's 'beetle in a box', but rather that we need to take part in a strange form of life if we want to get to know it; see E. Stenius, *Critical Essays* (Helsinki, 1972), p. 208. Polemics against the use of words like 'understanding' or 'comprehension' are often based on the impression that they are not 'semantic' but 'psychological' categories; see G.H. von Wright, *Explanation and Understanding* (Ithaca, 1971), I, 10; and J. Coulter, Transparency of Mind: the availability of subjective phenomena, *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* (1977), p. 325.

29 W.E. Mühlmann, *Homo Creator* (Wiesbaden, 1962), p. 178.

30 See, for example, E.A. Hoebel, *Anthropology* (New York, 1972), p. 542.

31 T. Schneebaum, *Ich war ein Kannibale* (Stuttgart, 1971), p. 80 [*Keep the River to your Right* (New York, 1969)] (translation by Goodman).

32 Such a person 'can no longer be counted within the fold of anthropologists,' R. Fink writes in Techniques of observation and their social and cultural limitations, *Mankind* (1955), p. 62. In Melanesia, H. Powdermaker was very much afraid 'of losing the role of the observer, of a too-intense intimacy,' *Stranger and Friend* (New York, 1966), p. 292. Conversely, P. Golde speaks of her feelings of anxiety upon imagining how her experiences with the people in the foreign culture would 'turn into dispassionately dry fieldnotes'; Odyssey of encounter, in Golde, P. (ed.) *Women in the Field* (Chicago, 1970), p. 91.

33 C. Hentze, *Tod, Auferstehung, Weltordnung* (Zürich, 1955), p. 140.

34 A. Weidner, *Aus den Tiefen der Berliner Arbeiterbewegung* (Leipzig, 1905), p. 23.

35 As Max Gluckman once said, 'the simpleton of the later generation often surpasses the genius of the previous one'. That is why scientists frequently behave quite unfairly toward the founding fathers of their discipline. Among anthropologists, for example, it is customary to pass over the theses of Lévy-Bruhl and to dismiss him as an 'armchair anthropologist', although he proved to be much more lucid than many of the specialists of his time. People forget that contemporary field researchers did not only share his convictions, but even represented them in much more extreme form; see H.P. Duerr, *Ni Dieu – ni mètre* (Frankfurt/Main, 1974), p. 108. Even Frazer's ideas acted as guiding principles for many fieldworkers. Thus B. Spencer writes in a letter to Balfour, dated 20 September 1897: 'It is astonishing how, when once you have spent any time amongst savages, you divide Anthropological writers up as you read them, into those who understand savages and those who don't. Tylor pre-eminently does, so does Frazer.' Nowadays, specialization is rampant and it is understandable that researchers are more apt to find fault with the work of writers outside the field, such as Lévy-Bruhl, who was a philosopher, or Frazer, a classical philologist, than seeing the considerable failings of the theoretical soup of those doing fieldwork at the time.

36 See J. Beattie, *Other Cultures* (London, 1964), p. 76.

37 D. Diderot, *Philosophische Schriften* II (Berlin, 1961), p. 236 [*Selected Philosophical Writings* II (Cambridge, 1953)].

38 The distinction between 'etic' and 'emic', in 'cognitive' anthropology or ethnoscience (the latest case of paraplegia in anthropology) is based on the erroneous assumption that 'external' understanding needs to be sharply separated from 'internal' understanding; see e.g. K.L. Pike, *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior* (The Hague, 1971), p. 37; and W.H. Goodenough, *Description and Comparison in Cultural Anthropology* (Chicago, 1970), p. 110.

39 W. Mühlmann, *op. cit.*, p. 179; as well as C. Lévi-Strauss, The concept of primitiveness, in Lee, R.B. and De Vore, I. (eds) *Man the Hunter* (Chicago, 1968), p. 531; F.A. Hanson, Comment on 'Understanding in Anthropology', *Current Anthropology* (1975), p. 254; and P. Schlegel, Do we know the world through science?, in Kiefer, H.E. and Munitz, M.K. (eds) *Mind, Science, and*

History (Albany, 1970), p. 173. Certain of his triumph, Mühlmann writes about the 'romanticist' Jensen, 'We are sure that he does not believe in the feathered serpent, nor in the origin of the coconut palm from the limbs of a dead girl.' Mühlmann is probably right in one thing: Jensen would hardly have 'believed' in what Mühlmann thought a feathered serpent was; see H. Nielsen, Rationality and universality, *The Monist* (1976), p. 446.

40 This is not a hypothesis that we can deduce from 'publicly observed behaviour', as W. Bourgeois intimates, in Verstehen in the social sciences, *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Wissenschaftstheorie* (1976), p. 34. Rather, it is a precondition for understanding ourselves and thus an essential characteristic of human forms of life. Humans are not 'black boxes', as R. Burling proposes, *Man's Many Voices* (New York, 1970), p. 43. If this point is left out of consideration, people start busying themselves with pseudo-problems, such as, 'God's truth versus hocus pocus', that 'ethnoscientists' ponder to while their time away. See, for example, R. Burling, Cognition and componential analysis, *American Anthropologist* (1964), p. 26.

41 See R. Keller, *Wahrheit und kollektives Wissen* (Düsseldorf, 1975), p. 97.

42 See H. Skjervheim, *Objectivism and the Study of Man* (Oslo, 1959), p. 31. Many structuralists seem to be motivated by this sort of anxiety and simultaneously by the urge to 'order' what is strange, and thus to be able to achieve an overview. Structuralism, for example, means for H.G. Nutini a method by which it is possible to overcome 'a very noxious 19th-century idea, namely that social phenomena are entirely different from physical phenomena'; see Lévi-Strauss' conception of science, in Pouillon, J. and Maranda, P. (eds) *Echanges et communications* I (The Hague, 1970), p. 564. Two other authors, equally never kissed by the muses, write that Lévi-Strauss finally freed us from the constraints of empiricism; see I.R. Buchler and H.A. Selby, Animal, vegetable or mineral?, in Pouillon, J. and Maranda, P. (eds) *Echanges et communications* I (The Hague, 1970), p. 213. Structuralists make much of the point that supposedly the structures that they describe 'have nothing to do with empirical reality' (Lévi-Strauss), but are 'models existing exclusively in (their) own brains as logical constructs' (Leach). What they mean is that these structures are idealizations, 'realized' imperfectly in the world of the senses. As concerns their 'intelligibility', they are said to be 'more perfect than concrete reality', and thus supposedly represent 'true reality' as proposed by M. Oppitz, in *Notwendige Beziehungen* (Frankfurt/Main, 1975), p. 48. For the structuralists, just as for Plato, the *true world,* of which Nietzsche once said that it represented the most dangerous onslaught against *life* hitherto committed, is situated beyond the world of appearances, of what is graspable empirically. What the *Lankavatara Sutra* says seems much wiser: 'Those who search for *nirvana* because they fear the tortures arising from the distinction between birth and death (*samsara*), do not know that *samsara* and *nirvana* are inseparable. And since they believe that all things that are subject to distinction are without reality, they imagine that *nirvana* is the future annihilation of the senses and their ranges.'

43 See G. Ezorsky, Truth in context, in Rorty, A. (ed.) *Pragmatic Philosophy* (Garden City, 1966), p. 520.

44 See P.M.S. Hacker, Locke and the meaning of colour words, in Vesey, G. (ed.) *Impressions of Empiricism* (London, 1976), p. 31; E. Tugendhat, Phänomenologie und Sprachanalyse, in Bubner, R. (ed.) *Hermeneutik und Dialektik* II (Tübingen, 1970), p. 15. H.F. Pitkin, in *Wittgenstein and Justice* (Berkeley, 1972), p. 111, poses the question 'Does the congenitally blind person who has learned English know what green *is*?' And he answers, 'Well, as most of us know what a trance is, or religious ecstasy.' As a matter of fact, of course, 'most of us' do not know what that is. On the basis of my experiences with hashish, I thought I knew what an LSD trip was like before trying it. Obviously, I did not know. R. Trigg, in *Reason and Commitment* (Cambridge, 1973), p. 52, concedes that 'perhaps someone who has never been in love can never fully appreciate what that involves.' But the respective person is not only unable to 'appreciate' love, he simply does not *know* what love is! 'Both the scientist and the anti-vivisectionist understand what the other is saying' (*op. cit.*, p. 67). In most cases that is doubtful, however. Surely there must be large numbers of vivisectionists who have totally lost all feeling for the inner life of animals, provided they ever had it; see on this R. Ryder, Experiments on animals, in Regan, T. and Singer, P. (eds) *Animal Rights and Human Obligations* (Englewood Cliffs, 1976), p. 33.

45 See, for example, K-P. Koepping, Das Wagnis des Feldforschers – Zwischen Ethnozentrismus und Entfremdung, in Tauchmann, K. (ed.) *Festschrift für Helmut Petri* (Köln, 1973), p. 268.

46 For this reason, he probably has a special feeling for what is tabooed or repressed in his own culture; see G. Kubik, Zur inneren Kritik ethnographischer Feldberichte aus der kolonialen Periode, *Wiener Ethnohistorische Blätter* (1971), p. 37. In Some reminiscences and reflections on fieldwork, *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* (1973), p. 4, E.E. Evans-Pritchard writes, 'Temporarily at least, one becomes a sort of double outsider alienated from both worlds.' This 'double alienation' – and with it the loss of salvation – is the price paid for knowledge by the scientist as well as by the witch. Both are forever excluded from paradise.

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