Thematic Section

Shamanisms, Religious Networks and Empowerment in Indigenous Societies of the Americas[1]

Frédéric Laugrand *Université Laval*
Robert R. Crépeau *Université de Montréal*

At the time of writing, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVR 2015a, 2015b) has just submitted its damning report on the impact of residential schools on the Indigenous people and cultures of Canada. In this voluminous report, the commission states that one of the objectives of residential schooling was to destroy Indigenous spirituality and replace it with a better one. While Indigenous territory, language, culture and identity are inseparable from Indigenous spirituality and constitute the essential dimensions of a whole way of being, "the cumulative impact of the residential schools was to deny First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples their spiritual birthright and heritage. In our view, supporting the right of Indigenous peoples to self-determination in spiritual matters must be a high priority in the reconciliation process" (CVR 2015a:277). Among the recommendations of the Commission, chaired by the Honourable Justice Murray Sinclair, Recommendation 60 directly concerns Indigenous spirituality:

> We call upon leaders of the church parties to the Settlement Agreement and all other faiths, in collaboration with Indigenous spiritual leaders, survivors, schools of theology, seminaries, and other religious training centres, to develop and teach curriculum for all student clergy and all clergy and staff who work in Aboriginal communities, on the need to respect Indigenous spirituality in its own right, the history and legacy of residential schools and the roles of the church parties in that system, the history and legacy of religious conflict in Aboriginal families and communities, and the responsibility that churches have to mitigate such conflicts and prevent spiritual violence. [CVR 2015b:8]

The commission rightly points out that healing and reconciliation have an essential spiritual dimension (CVR 2015a:278). The latter is the source of power to be and to act—in short, to exist as a person and a people. This issue of *Anthropologica* includes essays that address several aspects of the contemporary evolution

of Indigenous spiritual systems and, more specifically, their shamanic dimensions in the era of the globalization of religious networks. Shamanic systems have continually evolved through history. Officiants continue to integrate local forces and spirits, while allying themselves with exogenous or otherworldly entities, and we see saints, Jesus, Christian figures and deities enter the world of shamanic auxiliary spirits. The cult of Saint João Maria de Agostinho among the Kaingang of Brazil is a good example of this dynamic (Crépeau 2007; Crépeau and Désilets 2010). In North America, one can also cite the cult of Saint Anne among the Mamit Innuat. The latter is marked by curious substitution phenomena, as if Saint Anne had taken the place of Memekueshu, a female spirit who lives in caves and who, the Innu say, has now disappeared. Denis Gagnon, who traced cosmological transformations, notes that "it is perhaps no coincidence that the Innu consider Saint Anne as the guardian of a cave sanctuary" (2007:472).

The social sciences and humanities have proven relatively well equipped to trace these ritual transformations. Moreover, ever since the magnificent work of Denise Aigle, Bénédicte Brac de la Perrière and Jean-Pierre Chaumeil (2000), *La Politique des esprits. Chamanismes et religions universalistes*, countless edited volumes and journal issues have been published on the subject (for the Americas alone, see, for instance, Bousquet and Crépeau 2012; Gélinas 2007; Laugrand and Delâge 2008; Lozonczy and Cappo 2013; Rousseau 2013; Vilaça and Wright 2009). These works present fairly detailed reviews of the literature on these topics, which exempts us from producing one here. It is now established that shamanism is irreducible to a homogeneous model and that it has been able to adapt everywhere to the Abrahamic religions and to modernity. However, we do not yet fully know to what extent these shamanic systems—like other traditions with which they coexist more or less peacefully—are currently reinventing themselves, integrating modernity a little more and penetrating Internet networks, thereby becoming increasingly Janus-like: at once visible and invisible, waning and dynamic, local and global, real and virtual.

It is true that Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies have been undergoing significant transformations around the globe. Spiritual and religious networks constitute types of "nexuses" that translate into an increased flow of ideas, exchanges and solidarities between Indigenous societies. Moreover, these networks are linked to processes of empowerment of individuals, groups and entire societies. The values they share are connected to forces and powers that are called on, put in place or, conversely, defied or banned. In this sense, the violence and ambivalence of spirits that characterize some shamanic systems (Fausto 2012; Riboli and Torri 2013; Whitehead and Wright 2004) find an echo in exorcism, in the development of a parallel witchcraft and in the countless demonic entities that now inhabit Christianized pantheons and imaginaries. At both local and international levels, shamanism maintains its political dimension, affording one answer among many to conflicts and misery. This is so especially in colonial situations, where shamanic systems are brutally discredited (Taussig 1987), but also in times of social crisis, when shamans are either accused of all evils, associated with impostors and persecuted or, on the contrary, idealized as persons endowed with wisdom, living in harmony with nature and able to restore severe imbalances (for Siberian examples, see Balzer 2011). The impact of New Age ideas ought to be stressed here, as shamanism today often exists merely in an idealized and moral form, attracting a multitude of—mostly Western—followers disenchanted with modernity and in search of spirituality (for Mexico, see Demanget 2001; for Greenland see Demant Jakobsen 1999). But one thing remains certain: Indigenous traditions and shamanisms adapt well to modernity and to what is now commonly referred to as globalization. Thus, like Thomas Csordas (2009), who evokes a "transnational transcendence" of religious systems, we can definitely speak today of a transnational shamanism.

Religious Networks

Several networks appear to be forming today. We are already familiar with the network Healing Our Spirit Worldwide,[2] which was researched by Marie-Pierre Renaud (2011). But this is not the only one. Other networks are being set up at the transnational level, for instance, to better capture the divine figure. Here we focus on the case of Island Breeze, a group that organizes dances and cultural events to help youth experience the divine and thus restore their energy. The network is not restricted to Indigenous peoples, but they do participate in large numbers. Island Breeze Manitoba presents itself as follows:

> Island Breeze Manitoba offers a high energy, authentic, family friendly presentation of music and dance from the Pacific Islands of Hawaii, Tahiti, Fiji, Samoa and New Zealand. We are dedicated to sharing the beauty, joy and authenticity of the diverse cultures of Polynesia. We showcase the cultures of Polynesia in a show the whole family can enjoy.

> We have been asked to perform for functions from British Columbia to Ontario, as well as in Nunavut, all over Manitoba and some international venues like Cuba. Having performed at a variety of conferences, conventions, schools, church groups and community events, we have developed a reputation as a high-energy, professional cultural performing group.[3]

As this example illustrates, the network has no a priori religious affiliation, its apparent objective being to promote dignity, authenticity and cultural diversity. However, one can click on another tab to grasp the specific objectives of the network:

> Island Breeze Manitoba is an exciting ministry in Steinbach, Manitoba which is part of Youth With A Mission (YWAM). We are a global missions organization that seeks to Know God and Make Him Known through His gifts and expressions within the Nations. We use culture to share God's love and have a special gift for showcasing His diversity through music and dance....
>
> **Restoring Culture:**
>
> We also really believe in finding the treasures God has put in each culture. Many things have been tainted over the years and taken away from their original intent, but we seek to help bring these gifts and talents back to worship God. Dance is a good example of this. We use the dance and music of the Pacific Islands to praise God through the creativity and beauty he has placed in these islands.
>
> **Why Manitoba?**
>
> The majority of our team is from the Pacific Islands—so why are we located in Manitoba? The obvious answer is that some of us are from the Steinbach area, but the more deliberate reason we are based in Manitoba is because there is so much cultural diversity here! We love how many nations are represented in our area. Winnipeg is a hot spot for multiculturalism in Canada and is also one of the largest urban reserves in Canada. We as a ministry have a special heart to see Canada's Indigenous peoples rediscover the treasures that God has put in their cultural heritage and see them use these gifts and expressions to glorify Him![4]

These lines clearly reveal one of the strategies of contemporary religious movements, as well as the leadership role played by the South Pacific in this area. The site mentions the objective of "restoring culture," yet this operation implies religious action and the renewal of a bond with God. With further research, we discovered that Island Breeze is closely connected to the international organization YWAM—Youth with a Mission—which has built up a large network of partner organizations at the global level. YWAM also boasts a university, the University of the Nations, which was founded in Hawaii in 1978 and now has more than 550 secondary campuses in no fewer than 160 different countries. The university is highly decentralized and groups together several denominations; however, its direction is mostly evangelical.[5] More fundamentally, this sprawling international group is highly typical emerging as it does out of the global restructuring that Internet networks facilitate today.

Nevertheless, such networks are found not only among evangelicals. Indeed, nearly all the Abrahamic religions, and the majority of Pentecostal and charismatic movements, have formed their own networks—some of which are complicated, to say the least. For example, we can mention the networks established between Inuit and Scandinavian Sami herders, or else the case of Fijians who, every year for over ten years now, have been coming in large numbers to the villages of Nunavut to perform exorcisms and rituals of earth purification (Laugrand and Oosten 2007, 2010). In the Philippines and in North America, Korean Presbyterian churches have also set up solid networks, sending missionaries just about everywhere.

Other networks are formed through cultural or sports exchanges, allowing for equally complicated connections. Thus, the Mapuche of the Arauco province in Chile welcomed a group of Maori in April 2013.[6] In July 2013 the Chilean and New Zealand governments finally signed an agreement promoting Maori co-operation in the development of tourism services offered by the Mapuche. According to government sources, this co-operation includes new Maori visits to the Mapuche. However, it is not only tourism activities that benefit from these meetings. These are also occasions for ceremonies between Indigenous Maori and Mapuche chiefs.

Sports networks also have a religious component. Several examples can be mentioned here, for instance, the Football World Cup of Indigenous Peoples[7] and the International Games of Indigenous Peoples, which have been taking place since 1979. In 2009, a France24 journalist reported that 1,200 athletes from 28 different Indigenous groups had met in Paragominas, in north-eastern Brazil, for the tenth edition of the Indigenous Games, facing off in all sorts of contests, including the blowpipe, the tug of war and the tree trunk race.[8] These sports events offer opportunities to celebrate Indigenous cultures and facilitate engagement. The journalist observed:

> The Games begin with the sacred fire ceremony and the blessing of the *"pajes"* (shamans) so that the event will be well regarded by the divine forces of nature. This ritual is intended to ask the divine forces for permission to hold these Games. For us, culture and spirituality are strongly linked. Thus the aim of this competition is not to achieve great sporting performances or to determine who will be the next champion, but to strengthen the cultural identity of Indigenous peoples. There are no medals, nor rankings; what matters is to participate together in the Games. This event reinforces brotherhood among the communities by giving them the opportunity to share their beliefs and traditions. Moreover, putting their culture on center stage gives them pride in being Indigenous. For me, the best moment was attending the songs and dances performed by members of the different communities who were dressed in their traditional costume and covered with paintings. This was even better than the competition.[9]

These activities were clearly very successful because four years later a Brazilian journalist explained that during the November 2013 edition of the games, nearly 15 hundred Indigenous Brazilians from more than 48 different groups had met in Cuiaba for the 11th edition of the Indigenous Olympics. The journalist also announced that the next Indigenous Olympics (Jogos Mundiais dos Povos Indígenas), to be held in 2015 in Palmas, in the state of Tocantins, would be even larger,[10] with 11 sports events and with Indigenous people travelling from more than 20 countries.[11]

Religions and Cosmologies Marked by Transformative Continuities

For actors, the question is no longer one of grasping the continuity or discontinuity of values and practices in these new religious configurations. Instead, it is a matter of conceptualizing a third way that might be termed "transformative continuity" and that links local or localized forces to more distant ones. From the perspective of Indigenous societies, the concepts of force, energy and power often express this apprehension of the existence of a primary source of power for being and acting. These same concepts are mobilized to affirm the precedence of certain notions in humans' relations with nature or to defend cultural ideals when managing natural resources or preserving ancestral territories. Thus, even when shamanism is no longer the dominant system, it still constitutes a key domain, a veritable ideological base in numerous Indigenous societies. As such, the ambivalence it generates is unsurprising, because its force—whether used, fought or feared—remains as vibrant as ever, as the proliferation of non-humans testifies. Moreover, shamanism is everywhere likely to mobilize actors who, only a few decades ago, would have fought it as an evil and negative force. Beyond observable changes and the effects of globalization, it is clear that Indigenous religious systems have maintained some aspects of the old institutions and of the immanent cosmic order that founds them.

In this issue, contributors address many of these contemporary transformations on the basis of different case studies that are all rooted in a region of the Americas.

Shamanism: From the Visible to the Invisible

Having worked with the Cree of northern Alberta for several years, Clint Westman focuses here on a shamanic ritual of historical importance: the *wihkohtowin*. In his view, this complex ritual still practised in some communities (for instance, in Trout Lake, Peerless Lake, Cadotte Lake and Wabasca-Desmarais) refers to relationships with animals and non-human nature—including spirits and the dead—as well as to relationships within human society. Westman offers an exegesis of the ritual by drawing on Don Handelman's perspective. Westman is convinced that such a practice can still help to capture the cosmological universe of the Woods Cree and of some Métis groups with whom they coexist. The maintenance of this practice is fascinating in that it confirms the vitality of Cree cosmologies, which conceive reciprocity as the real bond of relationships between humans, animals and spirits—a configuration that anthropologist Robert Brightman (1993) analyzed remarkably well in his book *Grateful Prey: Rock Cree Human-Animal Relationships*. Westman shows that even though the *wihkohtowin* declined in the late 1960s, it is still commonly practised today (in spite of Pentecostalism's popularity), so that he was able to participate in four such ceremonies between 2006 and 2008.

Far from being considered a tradition incompatible with Christianity, the *wihkohtowin* is viewed by some Cree—for instance, the Oblate missionary Roger Vandersteene—as perfectly compatible with it, although other Cree do not share this vision. It would be interesting to understand why missionaries did not demonize the ritual but instead tried to christianize it by introducing certain substitutions as well as by participating in it themselves. It may be that commensality, which is particularly pronounced in this ceremony, was perceived as common to the Christian and Amerindian traditions. Another aspect

worth stressing is the local character of the ritual. It is evidently neither touristic nor publicized nor pan-Indianized, even though it was historically influenced by other Amerindian traditions coming from Denes, Iroquois, Assiniboines and Cree groups, or else by Christian traditions transmitted by the Métis who were Christianized early on. In any event, Westman stresses the existence of multiple variants of the ritual in time and in space. Last, the maintenance of the practice is owed to the central position that animals still hold in the spiritual and daily lives of the Alberta Cree, who pursue their hunting activities and do not live in highly urbanized centres.

For Marie-Pierre Bousquet, though the Anicinabek of Abitibi-Témiscamingue no longer have active shamans, and though they have all converted to various currents of Christianity, the foundation of shamanism remains. From this perspective, it is pointless to consider shamanism as a practical system of thought or through conceptual categories. In Bousquet's view, one must seek its foundation instead in a world order where beings not only communicate with each other but can also become allies—auxiliary spirits—and this in a context where Christian religions and pan-Indian spirituality coexist. This approach evokes that of Michel Perrin (1995), who used the notion of "*chamanerie*" in some of his work to designate this nebula of practices that perpetuate themselves and are accessible to all. In the case of the Algonquin, the advantage of this notion is that it allows us to observe continuities, despite the transformations that these traditions and communities have been undergoing. It is also congruent with the old hypothesis of Maria Czaplicka, who envisioned the possibility of shamanic societies without shamans. The invisibility of shamanism would therefore be only proverbial, the institution being perceptible at another level.

Whatever one thinks of such a reading, the idea of abandoning the categories of classical ethnology seems to us highly appropriate. Moreover, one can go further by following the way opened up by Bousquet. When an anthropologist cites Serge Laurin (1989:54), who tried to define the *Manitou* as "the life force of the universe, both spirit and energy of all things, natural and spiritual," we are tempted to invoke another image, one that emerges directly from local categories. Indeed, it is interesting to note, along with Remi Savard (2004), Georg Henriksen (2007:137–138), and Peter Armitage (2007:42), that this same notion of the Manitou refers in Innu, and in other Algonquian languages, to insects and other small animals. Thus, like these little creatures, shamanism is elusive (it circulates at high speed and is potentially dangerous), hence its association with witchcraft. Moreover, it is subject to many metamorphoses. If this reading is correct, then we must, as Bousquet suggests, do away with labels and essentialisms to return to the nature of shamanic power and to the great forces it mobilizes, in particular through dreams. But we must also concur with Indigenous peoples, in this case the Anicinabek and the Innu, for whom the force comes first and foremost from animals. As such, while Westman and Bousquet deal with two diametrically opposed situations—a visible shamanism among the Cree for the first, and an invisible shamanism among the Anicinabek for the second—both would agree that animals and the dead constitute the major sources of shamanic power. These characteristics seem to elude contemporary movements, in which a more or less urbanized shamanism is mainly associated with the affirmation of identity.

Incorporation, Accumulation and Identity Affirmation

In his article, Jérôme is also confronted with invisibility, owing to how rare are the studies on urban shamanism since the work of Mihaly Hoppal (1992). Thus, Jérôme proposes to better document and eventually map the spaces, places and expressive forms of Indigenous cosmologies in the city, specifically in Montreal. According to Jérôme, while Amerindian cosmologies are usually associated with ancestral lands or community healing processes, they are also a part of complex exchange networks, so that apprehending them in their urban forms and logics constitutes a serious challenge for the analyst. Indeed, in Jérôme's view, by entering the city, "Indigenous cosmologies tend to morph and take on new forms, to meet new needs, and to take part in unprecedented logics of networking, sharing and solidarity, all favoured by this urban anchoring."

To support this hypothesis, Jérôme gathers evidence: the drums handled and sounded under the tent or in the woods or inside an apartment right in the heart of city, all of them exchanges and celebrations in which innovations, borrowings and ancestral traditions collide. Yet, at another level, one may ask whether these processes are truly specific to urban space or whether they also exist on a wider scale, given that Indigenous communities engage today in multiple alliances and encounters with other peoples from all around the world, as illustrated by the Indigenous Olympics described above. Might not the itineraries and life trajectories of these actors, which the author documents for the city, be simply a miniaturized version of a much larger phenomenon that prevails on the global scale, where such networks are similarly

formed? Once again, changes and continuities are intertwined, to the point where seemingly unprecedented performances hold the attention of the analyst. Jérôme stresses that as actors seek social and individual healing, they no longer care whether a particular practice is ancient, local or invented. They perform rituals for their efficacy and the benefits they provide. In his view, urban space offers a kaleidoscope, intermingling ritual sequences and rendering visible traditions that otherwise simply escape the gaze. New contexts such as powwows and new spaces such as gardens, museums, exhibitions and gathering places thus take part in a major restructuring of Indigenous cosmologies. The latter takes place under the dual theme of awareness and reconciliation between peoples and, one might add, that of solidarity: between the marginalized, between women and so on. At the same time, several of these performances and exhibitions can make the analyst's head spin, for they are constructed like veritable postmodern patchworks in which a multitude of symbols suddenly appear to be closely associated: Mother Earth, the thunderbird, the bark canoe, the figure of the transgendered and so on. Jérôme summarizes the situation by quoting the Wendat art critic Guy Sioui Durand, according to whom Indigenous art links and connects: "Indigenous art is a world made of '*in*': inter-nations, inter-cultures, inter-worlds" but is also "a struggle against folklorization and assimilation." The deployment of so much creativity is surely fascinating, but, in our view, the phenomenon exists on another scale, for example, in pan-Indianist and Métis movements.

In his article on the Métis, Claude Gélinas explores precisely how these movements have been seizing on shamanic-type beliefs and practices, initially associated with Amerindian spiritual reference systems, so as to turn them into markers of identity. Indeed, it is probably because shamanism was long regarded the quintessence of indigeneity that the Métis, to advance their cause and their land claims in federal courts, redoubled their efforts to make shamanism a substantial part of their ancestral heritage. In so doing, they have joined what some have described as more recent neo-shamanic movements. Gélinas shows that individuals of mixed ancestry have, at times, integrated the Amerindian sociocultural universe into their own cosmology, and at other times, the Euro-Canadian. It is striking that in both cases the religious—shamanism or Christianity—has been central to identities claimed and to identity processes. According to Gélinas: "traditional spirituality among the Indigenous is deployed in the service of defining and promoting a common and significant cultural identity for the collectivities themselves, but also for those with whom they interact." The author then identifies several ongoing processes, namely, reappropriation, cultural affirmation and identity revaluation.

These three different processes can be witnessed in other places, notably in South America. Among the Shipibo-Konibo of the Peruvian Amazon, who are the focus of Françoise Morin's interest, the ongoing affirmation of shamanism is part of these groups' willingness to resist, at a time when Catholicism and Protestantism are once again trying to prevail in these communities. As Morin explains, more than a tool of resistance, shamanism is a key element in a dynamic of resilience that must be analyzed over the long term. The situation is not free of paradoxes, however, since it is probably because they sought to fight and eradicate shamanism by demonizing it that Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries long contributed to its resilience—as reflected today in the emergence of certain practices. This situation is reminiscent of what Esther Jean Langdon (2007) has described for the Siona of Colombia, among whom shamanism has also undergone a veritable renaissance, after it had virtually disappeared 20 years ago, having only held the interest of a few elders. Morin notes that among the Shipibo-Konibo, the reemergence of shamanism has been supported and fed by the rapid development of Internet networks and by the circulation of certain Shipibo-Konibo shamans between the Americas and Europe. These modes of communication have indeed contributed to the considerable internationalization of shamanic practices, which, in turn, have attracted Westerners in search of mysticism. Countless shamanic centres have emerged in or near cities, as evidenced by all the centres that are now accessible in Iquitos and Pucallpa, two urban areas of the lowlands of Peru. For Morin, it is in this context that "a new *ayahuasca*-based shamanism has been developing and contributing to the internationalization of Shipibo-Konibo shamanism." Morin validates, in passing, Peter Gow's hypothesis (1994), namely that ayahuasca-based shamanism is closely linked to the introduction of Christianity in the Ucayali Valley, whereby shamanic sessions with ayahuasca intake function as a sort of parody of the Catholic Mass. In this sense, the contemporary transformation of Indigenous cosmologies offers relatively little originality, as these systems have always integrated exogenous elements. Just like the myths in which this dynamic of incorporation has been widely observed, the rituals and shamanic practices of Amerindians have therefore continually evolved (Laugrand and Delâge 2008). This process reveals strong continuities but also conveys a

persistently ambivalent picture, as shamanism remains closely associated—simultaneously and without contradiction—with witchcraft and with political and identity claims. Morin provides a beautiful illustration of this as she traces the trajectory of Guillermo Arévalo, who first participated in 1977 in the constitution of the Defense Front of Natives Communities, and then in the establishment of a shamanism training centre, aimed at his own group but also, and especially, at Euro-American tourists in search of new experiences. At once deacon and shaman, the leader has been continuously navigating between shamanism and Christianity. Such continuities nevertheless conceal significant transformations, for instance, the shift from a horizontal and relatively democratic shamanism to a more vertical, elitist and esoteric one—following the opposition established by Stephen Hugh-Jones (1994), itself reminiscent of the hypothesis put forward by Roberte Hamayon (1990) in her analysis of the transformation of Siberian shamanism. One can also observe, as Jean-Pierre Chaumeil (2000) already noted, an attraction to the foreign and the most distant spirits—a dynamic that applies both to shamans, who tend to grant enormous powers to spirits from afar (think of Christian saints, for example), and to followers of shamanism, who cross the ocean and are willing to pay a high price to see Amazonian shamans reputed to have retained privileged access to the forces of the forest. These different factors contribute to the internationalization and "transcontinentalization" of shamanism and produce, in turn, new imaginaries.

The media and Internet networks undoubtedly play a major role in the dissemination and production of new imaginaries. The article by James MacKenzie provides a good illustration of this process, this time in Mesoamerica, specifically in Guatemala, where the author worked for many years. By examining the extensive media coverage of the end of a cycle in the Maya long count calendar predicted for December 21, 2012, MacKenzie shows how Indigenous and non-Indigenous actors together construct the religious and the meanings that result. The author explores the convergence between Mayan and New Age interpretations, suggesting that the boundaries between these perspectives vary according to the location (local, national or transnational) of the main actors. MacKenzie interrogates both these encounters and the challenges that these interpretations present to the Maya and to the followers of contemporary Maya spirituality, precisely as the latter enters transnational circuits. It is now obvious that imaginaries collide and that unprecedented images circulate rapidly, with the help of the Internet, all over the planet. As Maya spirituality is disseminated and popularized, it somehow escapes the Maya themselves and enters the realm of the spectacular, and of cosmopolitan consumerism. This situation evokes the case of Carlos Castaneda, who long ago managed to seize on shamanism and fuel a trend in the West. As regards Maya spirituality, MacKenzie brings to light how it is being deeply transformed by a number of books, films and Internet websites. In some ways, his analysis recalls the work of Jacques Galinier and Antoinette Molinié Fioravanti (2006) on the religion of neo-Indians. Thus, the reader is entitled to ask: Does this movement really increase the Maya's capacity to act, or does it reduce it to mere noise? Finally, the phenomenon evokes the famous case of Quesalid, recounted by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1958) and by Harry Whitehead (2000), for after having severely doubted the capacities of shamanism, the West and New Age followers are reinvesting it with meanings of their own, injecting it with a dose of spirituality whose effects are difficult to predict over the long term.

For MacKenzie, the case of the Maya represents in part the indigenization of modernity occurring on a global scale but also illustrates the multivocality of symbols and their ability to express contradictions, as peoples and cultures continually appropriate exogenous elements to assert their own interpretations. Such configurations evoke both the conflictual dimension of religions and the centrality of images in this process, a reality that has deeply marked the Americas as much in the colonial past as in the present—as Serge Gruzinski's (1990) beautiful volume on the war of images (*La guerre des images*) recalls. Here, however, images are no longer merely a mechanism of Westernization; they have also become an effective instrument for the dissemination of New Age ideas.

The last two contributions in this volume specifically address the spiritual—and equally vivid—warfare conducted by Pentecostal movements.

War of Spirits: The Demonization of Shamanism and Success of Pentecostalism

In her research on Guatemalan healers, Marie-Andrée Burelle shows that, far from disenchanting the world, Pentecostalism helps maintain the vitality of Indigenous cosmologies by giving, for instance, "a prominent place to the phenomenon of deliverance, which is closely associated with divine healing via the fight against evil spirits." Unlike what Max Weber had envisioned, she writes, charismatic religious movements such as Pentecostalism and evangelical groups contribute to the invigoration of religious practices and representations. Glossolalia, healing and the achievements of the Holy Spirit all constitute examples of the presence of the

divine in the realm of the sensible. Interestingly, the body here remains the main receptacle for these manifestations: "While for decades conventional medicine and the Catholic Church have been trying to separate health and salvation, the body and the mind, Pentecostal pastors are now trying to join them together again." Yet the most striking feature here is once again the expression of continuities and transformations on the structural level, which Burelle notices in two areas: "By reducing the gap between health and holiness, Pentecostalism encroaches on a field largely occupied by traditional Guatemalan healers, in particular *curanderos* and *brujos*. By favouring confrontation in a competitive common market, the pluralization of the Guatemalan religious space establishes a new balance of power between therapeutic actors." In other words, the Guatemalan case—in which the demonization of shamanic practices is also widely at work—illustrates well both the adaptability of traditional healers and the renewal of these same traditions and practices. Here we find a fairly standard approach, whereby Pentecostalism is construed as a religious universe that does not conflict with pre-existing systems, since these allow it, on the contrary, to better establish its foundation. As Burelle stresses, in Guatemala as elsewhere, shamanic spirits and entities continue to thrive and to multiply in spite or because of their demonization, thereby legitimizing new rules and practices for the faithful, who are particularly anxious to avoid the end of the world and to defeat these evil forces. On the other hand, Burelle also stresses that "the mimetic and syncretic attitude of shamanic practice towards the Protestant movement would seem to reveal a desire to prove that this universe of beliefs and practices, given its ability to overcome an alienating traditionalism, is equally valid."

In her work on the neo-Pentecostal Oodlání movement, which is currently on the rise among the Diné (Navajo) of the American South-West, a region where independent Navajo churches and charismatic worship have also become widespread, Kimberly Jenkins Marshall shows that relations between these movements and so-called traditional spirituality are not always violent. Here the author mainly discusses the experiential nature of neo-Pentecostalism, arguing "that its growth, over and above other forms of Navajo Christianity, capitalizes on a type of resonant rupture with traditional Navajo spirituality."

Indeed, like the Guatemalan case, the case of the Navajo shows that neo-Pentecostalism can be thought of simultaneously as rupture and as continuity with traditional spirituality. Marshall develops her reflection by focusing in particular on the Navajo's experience of God, which is often highly personal. Here again, it is through healing, glossolalia and faith in God that the faithful come together and define themselves as Oodlání (believers). There, as elsewhere, their practices put great emphasis on emotions, such that Christians who remain outside the movement are hardly mistaken in dubbing them, as Marshall indicates, the *dimoi dachaaií*, or "the crying Christians." Similarly, the Inuit of northern Canada refer to Pentecostals as *qijuajuit*, "those who cry," which clearly shows the major role played by emotions in this type of movement, wherein followers use their bodies to reveal the presence of the divine. For Marshall, this experiential Christianity opposes traditional Navajo spirituality, while also resonating with it, for the Pentecostal faithful recount their experiences with non-humans in the same mode as they did in the past. For the author, there appears to be a connecting point that largely explains the success of neo-Pentecostalism in these communities at the expense of other, more classic forms of Christianity. Thus, on this point, the situation seems to be the reverse of that described by Burelle in Guatemala, where healers and Pentecostals are in conflict. Nevertheless, the two cases are comparable again at the level of pantheons and practices, for among both the Maya and the Navajo, Pentecostalism tends to demonize non-Christian entities and to promote the action of prayer and the Holy Spirit but also, on occasion, rebirth through baptism. Lastly, in both cases, the greatest danger remains the influence of the devil, hence the need for this spiritual warfare that must be waged relentlessly.

In short, all these movements can once again be apprehended as phenomena that, far from being superficial, reveal inconstancies (Viveiros de Castro 1991), transformations, ruptures and continuities on both the symbolic and practical levels. These phenomena also warrant a re-examination of categories—such as that of shamanism (Frankfort and Hamayon 2001)—or a better understanding of Pentecostalism and local Christianities in the context of globalization (Robbins 2004). The Christianization of the Americas hardly erases cosmologies that have learned to adapt to the presence and influence of Christianity, to the point of being able to instrumentalize it for their own benefit. We are thus faced with cosmologies that repression and conversion have not fully eradicated and that might, on the contrary, be deemed more modern than ever. Manitou-type concepts and their implications must therefore be taken seriously

if one is to better understand the position of humans in the chain of beings—a position conceived as fundamentally relational in the societies discussed in this issue. The disappearance of shamans and of some ceremonies often conceals the emergence of new rituals and practices that are intelligible only by taking into account older legacies. In view of how these schemes operate, might not Jean Pouillon's maxim, "The more things change, the more they stay the same," also apply to Amerindian religions?

Notes

1 This issue was produced as part of a research project directed by Robert Crépeau and funded by the Fonds de Recherche du Québec- Société et Culture (FRQSC), to which we are grateful. We also express our gratitude to colleagues and students who have given us the opportunity to discuss many of the contributions published here at different meetings, including during a double session organized by the two people responsible for this issue at the congress of the American Anthropological Association in Montreal in 2011.

2 http://hosw.com Accessed September 17, 2015.

3 http://www.islandbreezemanitoba.com/ywam/#nav. Accessed February 7, 2015.

4 http://www.islandbreezemanitoba.com/ywam/#nav. Accessed February 7, 2015.

5 http://uofn.edu/about. Accessed February 7, 2015.

6 http://vidayestilo.terra.cl/turismo/maories-y-mapuches-compartiran-sus-conocimientos-ancestrales, 5e75c850035fd310VgnVCM4000009bcceb0aRCRD.html, accessed September 17, 2015; see also the Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.10152426989032316.1073741829.154332737315&type=1).

7 http://spanish.news.cn/deportes/2011-11/05/c_131230909.htm. Accessed February 7, 2015.

8 http://observers.france24.com/fr/content/20091202-autres-jeux-olympiques-bresil-indigenes-communautes-amazonie-sport-traditions. Accessed February 7, 2015.

9 http://observers.france24.com/fr/content/20091202-autres-jeux-olympiques-bresil-indigenes-communautes-amazonie-sport-traditions, accessed February 7, 2015.

10 http://www.rionegro.com.ar/diario/indigenas-del-mundo-tienen-su-propia-olimpiadas-1378789-9522-nota.aspx, accessed February 7, 2015. Several films are accessible on YouTube (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mrqcty6G3C8).

11 Australia, Japan, Norway, Russia, China, the Philippines, New Zealand, New Guinea, Finland, Norway, Canada, the United States, Mexico, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Panama, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Panama, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina and Peru (Sarah Bourdages, pers. comm., May 19, 2015; see http://www.jogosmundiaisindigenas.com).

References

Aigle, Denise, Bénédicte Brac de la Perrière and Jean-Pierre Chaumeil, eds.
2000 La politique des Esprits. Chamanismes et religions universalistes. Paris: Société d'ethnologie.

Armitage, Peter
2007 An Inventory of Candidate Places of Religious Significance to the Innu of Labrador. Report to the Innu Nation. Unpublished, Natuashish and Sheshatshiu, Labrador.

Balzer, Marjorie M.
2011 Shamans, Spirituality and Cultural Revitalization: Explorations in Siberia and Beyond. New York: Palgrave-Macmillan.

Bousquet, Marie-Pierre and Robert R. Crépeau, eds.
2012 Dynamiques religieuses des autochtones des Amériques/Religious Dynamics of Indigenous People of the Americas. Paris: Karthala.

Brightman, Robert A.
1993 Grateful Prey: Rock Cree Human-Animal Relationship. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Chaumeil, Jean-Pierre
2000 Voir, Savoir, Pouvoir. Le chamanisme chez les Yagua de l'Amazonie péruvienne. Geneva: Georg Éditeur.

Commission de Vérité et réconciliation (CVR)/Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC)
2015b Commission de vérité et réconciliation du Canada: Appels à l'action, Commission de vérité et réconciliation du Canada. http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Findings/Calls_to_Action_French.pdf, accessed June 1, 2015.
2015a Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future. Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Findings/Exec_Summary_2015_05_31_web_o.pdf, accessed June 1, 2015.

Crépeau, Robert R.
2007 Le Saint auxiliaire des chamanes. La figure de "Saint" João Maria d'Agostinho chez les Kaingang du Brésil méridional. *In* La Nature des esprits dans les cosmologies autochtones. Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich G. Oosten, eds. Pp. 427–447. Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval.

Crépeau, Robert R. and Maude Désilets
2010 La figure de l'étranger chez les Kaingang du Brésil méridional. Recherches Amerindiennes au Quebec 40(1-2):75–81. http://dx.doi.org/10.7202/1007499ar.

Csordas, Thomas, ed.
2009 Transnational Transcendence: Essays on Religion and Globalization. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Czaplicka, Maria
1914 Aboriginal Siberia: A Study in Social Anthropology. Preface by R. Marett. Oxford: Somerville College.

Demanget, Magali
2001 Reconstruction of the Shamanic Space and Mystical Tourism in the Mazatec Region (Mexico). *In* The Concept of Shamanism: Uses and Abuses. Henri-Paul Francfort and Roberte N. Hamayon, with Paul G. Bahn, eds. Pp. 305–330. Budapest: Akademiai Kiado.

Demant Jakobsen, Merete
1999 Shamanism: Traditional and Contemporary Approaches to the Mastery of Spirits and Healing. New York: Berghahn Books.

Fausto, Carlos
2012 Warfare and Shamanism in Amazonia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139096669.
Francfort, Henri-Paul and Roberte N. Hamayon, with Paul G. Bahn
2001 The Concept of Shamanism: Uses and Abuses. Budapest: Akademiai Kiado.
Gagnon, Denis
2007 Sainte Anne et le pouvoir manitushiun: l'inversion de la cosmologie mamit innuat dans le contexte de la sédentarisation. *In* La nature des esprits dans les cosmologies autochtones. Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich G. Oosten, eds. Pp. 449–477. Quebec: Presses Université Laval.
Galinier, Jacques and Antoinette Molinié Fioravanti
2006 Les néo-Indiens: Une religion du IIIe millénaire. Paris: Odile Jacob.
Gélinas, Claude, ed.
2007 Les systèmes religieux amérindiens et inuit: perspectives historiques et contemporaines. Quebec: Muséologie In-Situ.
Gow, Peter
1994 River People: Shamanism and History in Western Amazonia. *In* Shamanism, History, and the State. Nicholas Thomas and Caroline Humphrey, eds. Pp. 90–113. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
Gruzinski, Serge
1990 La guerre des images de Christophe Colomb à Blade Runner (1492-2019). Paris: Fayard.
Hamayon, Roberte
1990 La chasse à l'âme. Nanterre: Société d'ethnologie.
Henriksen, Georg, ed.
2007 I Dreamed the Animals. Kaniuekutat: The Life of an Innu Hunter. New York: Berghahn Books.
Hoppal, Mihaly
1992 Urban Shamans: A Cultural Revival in a Postmodern World. *In* Studies on Shamanism, Mihaly Hoppal, ed. Pp. 197–209. Etnologica Uralica 2. Helsinki: Finnish Anthropological Society.
Hugh-Jones, Stephen
1994 Shamans, Prophets, Priests and Pastors. *In* Shamanism, History and the State. Nicholas Thomas and Caroline Humphrey, eds. Pp. 32–75. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
Langdon, Esther Jean
2007 Shamans and Shamanisms: Reflections on Anthropological Dilemmas of Modernity. Vibrant—Virtual Brazilian Anthropology 4(2):27-48.
Laugrand, Frédéric and Denys Delâge
2008 Introduction. Traditions et transformations rituelles chez les Amérindiens et les Inuits du Canada. Recherches Amerindiennes au Quebec 38(2–3):3–12. http://dx.doi.org/10.7202/039789ar.
Laugrand, Frédéric and Jarich Oosten
2007 Reconnecting People and Healing the Land: Inuit Pentecostal and Evangelical Movements in the Canadian Arctic. Numen 54(3):229–269. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/156852707X211555.
2010 Inuit Shamanism and Christianity: Transitions and Transformations in the Twentieth Century. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
Laurin, Serge, ed.
1989 Histoire des Laurentides. Quebec: IQRC, Les Régions du Québec.
Lévi-Strauss, Claude
1958 Anthropologie structurale. Paris: Plon.
Lozonczy, Anne-Marie and Silvia Mesturini Cappo, eds.
2013 Chamanismes en mouvement, « Introduction ». Civilisations 61(2):7–18.
Perrin, Michel
1995 Le chamanisme. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, coll. Que sais-je ?
Renaud, Marie-Pierre
2011 Le mouvement Healing Our Spirit Worldwide. Les Cahiers du CIÉRA 8:129–142.
Riboli, Diana and Davide Torri
2013 Shamanism and Violence: Power, Repression and Suffering in Indigenous Religious Conflicts. Cambridge: Ashgate.
Robbins, Joel
2004 The Globalization of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity. Annual Review of Anthropology 33(1):117–143. http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.32.061002.093421.
Rousseau, Louis, ed.
2013 Religions des peuples autochtones au nord de l'Amérique. Special issue, Revue Histoire, Monde et Cultures religieuses (HMC), no. 27.
Savard, Rémi
2004 La forêt vive. Récits fondateurs du peuple innu. Montreal: Boréal.
Taussig, Michael
1987 Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226790114.001.0001.
Vilaça, Aparecida and Robin Wright, eds.
2009 Native Christians: Modes and Effects of Christianity among Indigenous Peoples of the Americas. Cambridge: Ashgate.
Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo
1991 Le marbre et le myrte. De l'inconstance de l'âme sauvage. *In* Mémoire de la tradition. Aurore Becquelin and Antoinette Molinié, eds. Pp. 365–431. Nanterre: Société d'ethnologie.
Whitehead, Harry
2000 The Hunt for Quesalid: Tracking Lévi-Strauss' Shaman. Anthropology and Medicine 7(2):149–168. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/713650592.
Whitehead, Neil and Robin Wright
2004 In Darkness and Secrecy: The Anthropology of Assault Sorcery and Witchcraft in Amazonia. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/9780822385837.