MAGICAL EPISTEMIC COMMUNITIES:
THE CONSTRUCTION OF SPECIALIZED SOCIAL REALITIES
IN BUNYORO, UGANDA AND LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

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ABSTRACT

The thesis develops a new theoretical perspective for examining the practice of magic. Magic is treated as a specialized social reality, which like other social realities, is constructed and preserved within specific epistemic communities. By developing the concept of magic as an epistemic community, convergent themes in partial theoretical approaches to the study of magic are logically integrated into a more general theoretical orientation which can be applied to both preindustrial and industrial societies. Two detailed case studies, one of a traditional magical society in Bunyoro, Uganda, the other of a contemporary magical lodge in Los Angeles, California, illustrate the application of the approach developed. A comparative analysis of the political implications of magical practice, and possible regulatory actions, is then provided.

Epistemic communities are composed of categorical frameworks, interest structures, operational philosophies, role structures and social bases. Earlier studies of magic, categorized as intellectualist, psychotherapeutic and functionalist approaches, provided partial characterizations of magical epistemic communities. Intellectualist approaches focused primarily on the categorical framework and knowledge interests, psychotherapeutic approaches on the operational philosophy, social role and logic of the categorical framework, and functionalist approaches concentrated on the role structure and social base of what is here defined as magical epistemic communities.

The application of this framework to both preindustrial and modern magical practice suggests several basic conclusions. First, the categorical frameworks employed in both cases examined in the thesis present through myth and symbolism basic features of the psyche developed more scientifically in contemporary analytic psychology. Second, in both cases, the logical structure underlying magical categories is dual, providing a role both for conscious, directed thinking and unconscious, symbolic expression. Magical practice focuses on adjusting and synthesizing both logics. Hence, in the premodern case, magic includes both attempts to find empirical regularities in the world and unconscious psychological motifs. In the modern case, an attempt is made to blend scientific knowledge and less structured psychological insight. Third,
in both cases the operational philosophy contains methods for gaining access to unconscious materials, giving them tangible form and manipulating them which are known to contemporary psychotherapeutic practice, but are often rejected by psychotherapists as too risky or uncontrolled to be of use in scientific therapy. Fourth, in the premodern case, magical practice serves as a pre-scientific psychotherapy, while in the modern context magical practice rejects attempts at actual psychotherapeutic treatment, focusing instead on personal exploration of the psyche. Fifth, in the premodern case magic retains social functions, while in the American case, magic serves almost entirely individual functions.

The political implications of magical practice are quite different in the two cases. In the contemporary American case, an explicit attempt is made by the magicians studied to avoid giving their magical beliefs political significance. Whether or not magic is politically relevant is to a large measure a choice which magical groups can make. In the Ugandan case, the symbols used in traditional magical practice themselves carry political significance, since they are associated with tribal traditions and orientations which are themselves paramount political concerns. Regulatory issues in the contemporary industrialized context are likely to involve violations of personal rights, or the production of personal injury, which can be handled within the existing legal context. In the preindustrialized context, such issues are compounded by larger political issues, including the legitimacy of national symbols and the appropriateness of political-legal structures.

Magical practice need not be socially disruptive. In the American case studied, magical beliefs and activities are carefully bounded, and do not infringe on work norms, socially defined roles, or intellectual activity. This is not an automatic consequence, but the result of a conscious attempt to carefully bound magical social reality. This bounding occurs in a context where magicians have accepted modern industrialized society, and been socialized into it before they were exposed to magic. Whether such a bounding can occur where magicians do not have such orientations before undertaking magical practice and/or can use their magical knowledge to gain social benefits is unclear.

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CHAPTER I: APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF MAGIC

The chapter discusses three partial approaches to explaining magic: the intellectualist, the psychotherapeutic and the functionalist.

A. The Intellectual Approach

For scholars in this tradition, the most significant feature of magic is that it is based on a special kind of thinking, either a mistaken attempt to conceptualize the world (flawed rationality) or an expressive, symbolic logic, improperly compared with scientific rationality. Frazer represents the first position, associating magic with pre-scientific attempts to control the world based upon two false intellectual premises: the law of similarity and the law of contagion. Rejecting Frazer's conception as too narrow, Levy-Bruhl asserted that magic operated within the framework of a "mystical" logic. Better reformulations by Beattie, Leach and Turner suggested instead a symbolic, expressive logic guiding magical rituals, whose efficacy stemmed from the fact that they were capable of expressing significant human and social situations.

B. The Psychotherapeutic Approach

For scholars within this tradition, magical beliefs and acts are interpreted as reflections of psychic problems to be solved, or means for coping with, or transcending them. This tradition holds the potential for explaining the roots of the special "thinking" associated with magic by intellectualist scholars. The two principles identified by Frazer are components of the unconscious logic Freud discovered in his study of dreams. Hence it is possible to look for an explanation of the logic, and the contents, of magical beliefs in the unconscious as personal, and the product of history, and hence look to early human experience as a source of magical themes. Jung, and analytical psychologists, seeing in addition transpersonal, ahistorical deep structures in the unconscious, maintains that magical motifs are partial characterizations of such structures.
C. The Functional Approach ......................... 64-76

For scholars in this tradition, the content and logic of magical beliefs is of less interest, for they are regarded as a subset of cultural beliefs and social actions, whose importance lies in how they are used and transmitted. Scholars like Malinowski hypothesized that magical beliefs arose from the personal insights of individuals in difficult, emotionally significant situations. Although compatible with psychotherapeutic approaches, this position was concerned more with how such insights were used than what form they took. Functional scholars found that magical beliefs generally served to complement the technical and cultural skills of a society, handling areas in which routine practice could not remove emotional concerns, or guarantee outcomes. One needed recourse to no special logic to understand why magical beliefs were held: they were part of the taken-for-granted heritage of societies, simply another element of socialization to a culture. As accepted beliefs, they were capable of being used in a variety of ways, the exact form depending upon the structure, skills and unsolved problems of the society.

CHAPTER II: THE CONCEPT OF AN EPISTEMIC COMMUNITY ......................... 90-152

The three partial approaches to magic each focus on specific components of magic as an epistemic community: a specialized intellectual perspective developed, organized and maintained within a social base. The social reality of magic, like other specialized social realities, is constructed and preserved within specific epistemic communities. By developing the concept of magic as an epistemic community, logical connections can be specified among areas of convergence in the earlier approaches to magic. The concept also offers a means of examining magic in premodern and modern settings through the same analytical framework.

A. Components of an Epistemic Community ............... 90-95

Epistemic communities are composed of categorical frameworks, interest structures, operational philosophies, role structures and social bases. With regard to magical epistemic communities, intellectualist approaches focused primarily on the categorical framework and knowledge interests, psychotherapeutic approaches on the operational philosophy, social role, and the logic of the categorical
framework, while functionalist approaches concentrated on the role structure and social base of magical epistemic communities.

B. Categorical Framework .................................... 95-124

Categorical frameworks are ways of creating and organizing objects. The underlying principles of categorical frameworks (constituting and individuating principles for classes, and the underlying logic of the framework) may be maintained in ways which contribute to either an open or closed belief system. Such outcomes depend upon the attitude toward specific categorical distinctions, the way in which multiple logics are handled, and the claims for sufficiency which may be made for a framework. Examining these features, not the content of categories themselves, should be the basis for determining whether magical practices in specific social settings constitute open or closed intellectual systems.

Magical categorical frameworks are characterized by dual underlying logics: a conscious, directed logic and an unconscious symbolic logic. The fact that magical practice contains both logics differentiates it conceptually from science (in which only conscious logic is legitimate) and religious mysticism (in which unconscious logic often becomes dominant). The fact that both logics have autonomous status separates magic conceptually from psychotherapy, where the unconscious logic is often understood to be the reactive product of the conscious one. The exception is the Jungian approach, which comes far closer to recognizing two co-equal logics, a fact which contributes to the interest modern magicians have in Jung's writings.

C. Interest Structure .............................................. 124-128

Knowledge is generated from different cognitive interests, providing different orientations toward the accumulation, definition and use of knowledge. Habermas suggests three: the technical (seeking greater control over objectified processes); the hermeneutic (seeking to make possible the orientation of action within common interpretive traditions) and the emancipatory (seeking to free developed consciousness from its dependence on hypostatized powers or concepts). The technical interest is associated with the physical sciences, the hermeneutic with the cultural sciences, and the emancipatory with contemporary psychoanalysis.
The primary knowledge interest of magic is emancipatory. Magic provides a prescientific, artistic approach, which psychotherapy attempts to develop rigorously. In pre-modern societies, magic may substitute for psychotherapy; in modern society, it provides a non-therapeutic adjunct to it.

D. Operational Philosophy .................. 128-135

Knowledge interests are associated with principles guiding inquiry and generating information. These we call methodologies. General methodologies organize more specific techniques, and rationalize their application. Methodologies, together with the techniques they organize, and the meta-interpretations of their applications are called operational philosophies.

The emancipatory interest is associated with reflective methodologies, whose test of knowledge is the ability to produce insight, recognized as insight by those employing a technique. Psychoanalysis provides an example of formalized, theoretically grounded, reflective methodology. Magical practice differs in that it is not systematically concerned with the reason people find "insights" to be insights. Magicians accept the psychological significance of experiences with unconscious themes, and go on to employ them ritually, without seeking to explain the numinosity which surrounds them.

E. Inter-Linked Roles ............................. 135-146

Magic is not simply a "manifesting" of a categorical framework, logic or interest structure in a social setting. Magical beliefs develop and change in social situations, whose action patterns and expectations (role specifications) are essential to comprehending magical activity.

Two major questions concerning the role of magicians arise. First, what are the traits associated with occupying the role? The claim that magical roles simply institutionalize psychopathology is difficult to support, although it is clear that in some cases having overcome some psychological crisis qualifies a person for magical status. In addition, however, there are many directly social traits (family membership, status, occupational traditions) which recruit individuals to magical roles who do not manifest psychological abnormalities. With regard to the second question, the range of social activities attached to the role of magician, we find
considerable variation, depending upon the skill patterns of specific societies. One important feature of magical specialists, however, is that they serve to "steer" magico-religious activity, channeling potentially relevant magico-religious experience, or accusations, into generally circumscribed social channels. Where steering fails, magical practice may impinge on social conventions, political norms or even reality-testing itself. Specialists' perspectives are important in determining the extent to which regulation is possible.

CHAPTER III: THE OTA: A MODERN MAGICAL EPISTEMIC COMMUNITY

OTA is a modern magical epistemic community, whose magical practice is far more specialized than that in most premodern societies. The way in which the social reality of magic is constructed in the secret, initiatory society of the OTA rests upon meta-interpretations of older categorical frameworks and symbols which preserves their personal, individual significance, while stripping them of claims about cosmology, natural science or social life which cannot be supported in a modern industrial society.

A. Categorical Framework

Magicians in the OTA see magic as an attempt to bring about changes in consciousness in accordance with will. They justify their use of a categorical framework drawn from Jewish mysticism, and dating from the Renaissance, in terms of its romantic appeal, open-ended system of correspondences which permits ritually effective synchronization of sensory inputs and emotional states, and its status as a repository of insights into the human psyche, stemming from accumulated personal experiences in the domain of the personal, and collective, unconscious.

While the framework (the Tree of Life) is not a psychology, its structure does reflect, at a symbolic level, the structuring principles of the psyche which Jung identified. Used artistically, as OTA does, the framework might provide personal insights deeper than ordinary life might, but would be an unacceptable therapy in the context of modern psychotherapeutic knowledge.

The magical community of the OTA is intellectually open, as are many of the other groups within the modern ceremonial magic tradition. It remains so because it permits diverse
intellectual interpretations to be compatible with its program of knowledge as gnosis. Interpretations of magical techniques, and results, in psychological or physiological terms are not seen as "debunkings" of magical claims to be resisted or repressed, but as alternate explanations whose validity ultimately rests in the experience of the magician. Combined with an approach which does not interpret the symbolic components of the framework literally, this orientation produces an intellectually open magical community. At the same time, differences in vocabulary are used to bound magical practice from other occult activities with somewhat similar foci.

B. Interest Structure ................................. 198-211

OTA magicians, and other practicing magicians within the tradition of ceremonial magic, see the knowledge interest of magic as emancipatory, contributing to individuation. They explicitly deny a control orientation, primarily because popular conceptions of magic carry with them connotations of interpersonal control, as well as powers over natural processes. In practice, magic may not always contribute to individual balance, however; the association of magic with attempts to achieve emancipation leaves open the question of the extent to which such attempts may be said to succeed.

C. Operational Philosophy ................................. 211-277

Many of the magical techniques employed to produce ritual manifestations are, in one or another variation, known to psychotherapy. Elements of magical training, including keeping a dream record, and pendulum work, were known to both Jung and Freud as adjuncts to psychotherapeutic investigation. Ritual techniques in OTA are in essence hypnotic, again known to psychotherapists, but rejected by both Freud and Jung as too uncontrollable to employ with disturbed patients.

The techniques are interpreted as means of gaining insight into the unconscious, of bringing about systematic changes in experience and awareness without the use of drugs. OTA maintains that the most effective means of achieving such experiences, and communicating with the "unconscious" is through ritual methods which "speak the language" of the unconscious. The idea that the unconscious is affected by concepts and symbols which are not intellectually potent provides an important way of reinterpreting older magical traditions
to make them acceptable to educated people in contemporary society. The rationale provided is that, while dressing up in black robes may seem silly to a magician, it is not silly to his "unconscious": while the magician may not believe in the existence of gods and demons, as entities, his unconscious responds to them. Hence, the dual logic of magic is tied to a rationale for older magical practices: elements of the tradition which are anachronistic from a contemporary scientific and intellectual perspective are ritually accepted by magicians; in the ritual setting, this meta-interpretation provides a justification for suspending disbelief, and acting "as though" the older perspective were true.

The use of initiation as a means of entering the OTA, combined with the way in which magical knowledge is presented, helps create an initial incentive in new magicians to proceed with magical training. The initiation ceremony is dramatic, and all members I spoke to, found themselves responding emotionally to it. Following initiation, within a very short period of time, all the secrets of OTA practice are revealed to the new magician. This is much more information than can be assimilated as it is presented, and this flood of information contributes both to validating OTA claims that much knowledge is indeed available to members, and creating an incentive for the new member to learn all that he clearly does not understand. Combined with an obvious willingness on the part of other members to accept him as an equal, and answer any questions they have, the flood of new information creates an incentive to remain active in the program.

A specialized social reality of magic in the OTA emerges from magical practice. As a new member participates in magical ritual, he has new experiences which can be precisely, and meaningfully, expressed in terms of OTA's magical categories, but is difficult to describe or explain in "ordinary" language. Once the individual begins to have such personal experiences, whose reality is supported by the reactions and interpretations of others, the concepts of magic begin to take on practical importance. The member is not required, by OTA members or leaders, to accept magical explanations for phenomena. Indeed, non-magical explanations are often entertained. But discourse proceeds within a magical vocabulary. As experiences become more numerous, and the neophyte becomes more at ease with the new terminology, most de facto accept the magical discourse, and conceptualize new experiences in these terms. Participation in attempts to socialize potential members
cements the reality of the magical perspective. Without closing off other intellectual perspectives, magicians come to acknowledge, and operate within, a specialized magical reality.

D. Role Structure and Social Base ......................... 277-352

The OTA is not a "counter culture" organization. It is not organized around new, non-hierarchical principles, nor around a "guru". It has a hierarchical organization, with a grade structure paralleling the structure of the categorical framework, with promotions from lower to higher grades based upon ritual performance and progress in the training program. Members do not live communally, but instead meet at specified times for magical activities.

The organization does not, as an organization, champion either the social or political values which were associated with protest movements in the late 1960's and early 1970's. While most members, with the exception of the founders, were relatively young when they were initiated (early 20's), few had much experience with drugs, or a desire to experiment with them. While diverse political values were permitted as personal commitments, OTA refused membership to individuals whose political commitments could not be set aside when working within the lodge. Although the founders were politically conservative, not all subsequent members shared, or were expected to share, these views; they were, however, expected to be apolitical in their orientation toward magic. Similarly, magical practice was not tied to a rejection of social institutions (nuclear family, the university), and members were expected to refrain from using magic as a means of advocating alternate social arrangements. While the interest the counterculture generated in "occult" phenomena and new experience with "altered states of consciousness" undoubtedly made it easier for OTA to find potential members interested in magic, OTA was not a countercultural organization.

By in large, the membership of the OTA is well educated. All members had some college education when they entered, and most subsequently obtained at least one degree. The social sciences and humanities were most highly represented, with some technical studies also being undertaken and completed. Recruitment is designed to eliminate from membership excessively credulous individuals, people who are looking for something to believe in, and those who demonstrate psychological problems. This is in part a
realistic attempt to avoid provoking psychological problems stemming from the use of magical techniques, as well as an attempt to make magic a socially respectable practice.

OTA seeks to establish for itself a relatively specialized niche. Magic is considered an artistic activity, whose value is personal; OTA magicians reject either healing or therapeutic functions for magic, and do not encourage members to employ either magic, or related techniques of divination, as means of earning a living. Similarly, as the Council of Themis dispute demonstrates, OTA rejects the idea of magical societies as "pressure groups" or political forces.

The occult milieu in which OTA exists has weak capabilities for self-regulation. Most groups are organized in personalistic terms, and again as the Themis dispute demonstrates, find it difficult to organize for common regulation, or delegate "sovereignty" to common institutions. The groups also have extremely limited means available to them to achieve support for their perspectives, or form significant social alliances. The OTA publishes a journal (The Seventh Ray) which serves both to convey interesting magical information and to establish the standards and orientations of the group. The alliances open to OTA, outside the occult community, are primarily contacts with academics. Like a surprising number of other small, secret groups, OTA is willing to open much of its practice to scholars whose writings may help to dispel what groups consider to be potentially dangerous stereotypes and ignorance of their activities and perspectives. The major external objective of the organization is defensive: to avoid confrontation with external authorities and to maintain the ability to carry on magical practice within existing lodge structure.

CHAPTER IV: THE ABACWEZI: A PREMODERN MAGICAL COMMUNITY ..................... 374-528

The Abacwezi tradition is a traditional form of magical practice in Bunyoro, Uganda. It rests on a collection of myths about quasi-magical political heroes (the Cwezi) which are diffused throughout much of East Africa. Abacwezi magical practice in traditional Bunyoro served a wide range of social functions, from healing and therapy to political support. With the coming of colonial rule, many of the political functions decreased in importance, or continued secretly. In part because of the
nature of its categorical framework and operational philosophy, however, it has not developed as a political, individually oriented tradition.

A. Categorical Framework ............................... 385-440

The categorical framework is a collection of myths which is less abstract than the categorical framework of the OTA, which conceptually organizes mythological motifs. One must then abstract from the myths the primary magico-religious entities and their inter-relationships. The most important myths, those of the Cwezi, present a psychological in complete account of the motifs associated with the emergence of the self. The ritual motifs of initiation, associated with the therapeutic efforts of the Abacwezi, complete these motifs.

The key myths take the form of a political history of the Bunyoro. As such, the psychological experiences which accompany magical practice carry socio-political overtones not present in the OTA's operations. The collection of myths which constitute the magical categorical framework serve as a "mythical charter" for the Nyoro social structure, with the Cwezi myths especially focusing on the political domain. The form of these myths bounds Abacwezi practice in Bunyoro from that in neighboring ethnic areas, while the special vocabulary associated with initiates bounds the community of specialists from the general public. The grounding in specific myths, rather than more synthetic constructs for organizing myths, contributes to making Abacwezi magical practice specific to different tribal cultures, and difficult to shape into a practice which can be meaningful to individuals from different regions of Uganda.

B. Interest Structure ................................. 440-445

The interest structure parallels that discovered in the operation of the OTA, but the emancipatory interest in the Abacwezi context includes both social and personal adjustment components. The form of the categorical framework, the fact that ceremonies contain public sections where social consensus on a "diagnosis" is reached, and the fact that the Abacwezi specialists were accorded social and political status contribute to the presence of a distinctly social component.
C. Operational Philosophy and Techniques ............... 445-480

Techniques used by the Abacwezi to produce altered states of conscious (trance induction) are technically less powerful than those employed by the OTA. Here the social factors become important, for trance induction through role playing (supported by strong social expectations) substitutes for either drugs (used in tribes where group structures are weaker) or for visualization aids (used in OTA and Western hypnotic techniques). The structuring of experience also demonstrates this feature. Incoming members must attempt possession and discourage in the specialized language, an effort at which they must necessarily fail, before being initiated, and given the secret knowledge to perform. Social pressure, and attempt to avoid social failure, are much more important in keeping initiates in the Abacwezi organization than in OTA, whose strategy rests on personal incentives.

The fact that magical practice is associated with therapeutic functions further cements the new initiate into its specialized social reality. Magicians are expected to perform ceremonies to cope with physical and psychological illnesses or misfortunes. In order to perform these "correctly" by public standards, magicians must adopt the specialized conventions of the Abacwezi tradition. Prevented by the possibility of punishment (in the past even death) from interpreting trance experiences publicly in any other terms, there were powerful incentives for interpreting events relevant to magico-religious practice in terms of the specialized social reality of magicians.

The major thrust of ceremonial practice also reflects the importance of social justifications for magical methodologies. Ceremonies do not employ the motifs of ascent and individual transcendence of oppositions, as OTA does, but instead rests upon the capability of individuals to re-experience, in the ritual context, social and personal misfortunes which are then adjusted. The ritual procedure for doing this parallels that discovered in the OTA, but series of ritual encounters are not undertaken to go beyond managing problematic contents.

D. Interlinked Roles and Social Base ...................... 480-503

In Bunyoro before colonial conquest, magicians exercised political influence not only indirectly, through the political significance of their historical myths, but directly, through
strategic alliances with other powerful groups (including the royal court) and a firm anchorage in the social system. The society achieved an autonomous standing; initiates were recruited for positions which carried with them authority, rather than recruiting individuals with authority in other domains (e.g., family, clan) to fill magico-religious posts. The capability to recruit effectively, and the political authority attached to the role of magician were attacked, and effectively broken, by colonial policies.

CHAPTER V: POLICY AND MAGIC ................. 529-624

Within modern society, where magical practice occurs as a specialized activity, bounded so that it does not impinge on the capability of individuals to perform other specialized roles or challenge social or political norms, policy objectives involve attempts to regulate its practice much as any other specialized epistemic community might be regulated. In other instances, like Uganda, the form of the epistemic community itself may create incentives not only to regulate it, but to frame policies which have the objective of transforming magical communities, or even eliminating them altogether. In both cases, effective policy rests importantly upon knowing the nature of specialized epistemic communities, even when their social reality seems "unreal", and being able to foresee the likely consequences of policies, as well as the political consequences of attempting, and failing, to carry out regulation. There are four major issues which generally demand policy attention: the association of magical practice with illegal activities, the possible consequences of magical beliefs for developing valued cognitive perspectives, potential religious conflicts which may emerge from magical practice, and the overt use of magical beliefs as a means of supporting, or challenging, political authority.

A. Illegal Activities and Magic ...................... 533-555

Within contemporary American society, existing legal provisions can be adapted to cope with most instances in which magical beliefs could be used illegally. Provisions against the infliction of "mental distress", false imprisonment and alienation of affection could be employed to cope with most of the elements of "magical attack". These provisions seem more likely to succeed in regulating magical practice than strategies, like those employed by colonial officials in East Africa, which attack the social base of magical operations, destroy self-regulating capabilities of magical specialists,
and make illegal uses of magical knowledge more difficult to detect and counter—sometimes precipitating illegal acts on the part of individuals attempting to protect themselves against such actions. Attempts should be made to regulate the use of magical knowledge, and claims to such knowledge, not on the "knowledge" per se.

Some attempts to restrict magico-religious operations, or fears that such activities might be forthcoming, have unanticipated side effects. One which may be important in the American context is the tendency of groups fearing regulation (e.g., Scientology) to incorporate as churches, despite histories which indicate the roots of their beliefs are in other domains (e.g., abortive attempts to be therapies). This opens the way for more serious issues of religious freedom vis a vis such groups.

B. Intellectual Development and Magic ....................... 555-577

Whether magical beliefs inhibit the development of other intellectual skills can be determined only when a knowledge of the operational philosophy of the group is known. Given an operational philosophy which does not provide such literal interpretations of magical symbols that other explanations are not possible, policies which recruit individuals with enough intellectual sophistication to provide interpretations of magical practice which can adjust to new knowledge, and a social situation which does not force a choice between magical practice and intellectual development, magic can operate as an intellectually open perspective. This is the case with the OTA.

It is less certain that magical beliefs held before other intellectual perspectives are acquired do not inhibit their emergence. This depends upon the way magicians interpret questions within their own social reality, means available for obtaining information on questions regarded as open, and the extent to which this may conflict with social or political interests in maintaining influence.

There is some fragmentary evidence that, carefully bounded, magical beliefs and practices might operate within a developing society to cope with areas of uncertainty without closing off the opportunity for intellectual development. There are indications that Uganda may be attempting to use some magical-occult beliefs in this manner.
C. Religious Reactions ........................................ 577-592

Organizing magical activities as small, experience-oriented religions in America is both compatible with existing religious norms, and intelligible within the modern context. Here groups like OTA fit into a much broader pattern of seeking experience, often judged by aesthetic criteria, as a basis for providing the integration of personal experiences, and making moral evaluations which other sectors of society cannot make on a universal basis. Within the American social context, where action and experience are differentiated, the presence of such organizations is intelligible; problems may arise, however, from the need to regulate the clash of a number of small, but sometimes intense, experience-based religions.

In societies like Uganda such forms of organization are unacceptable. The current attempt seems to be to create a situation in which political identity is not fused with religious identity, but where the two are not differentiated either. Good citizenship in Uganda is increasingly coming to mean active participation in one of the three recognized religions: Islam, Catholicism or Protestant (Anglican). The forms of religious organization typified by small religious sects or groups like the OTA, are interpreted as threats to good citizenship and opposed. Magical activities, to the extent they are legitimate, are likely to be attached to major religious traditions, an outcome at least organized Protestants reject.

D. Political Activity and Magic............................. 592-614

Within American society, whether or not magical practices have political significance is primarily a matter of whether magical practitioners seek to interpret magic politically. Many groups, like OTA, do not, and oppose attempts to use magical beliefs or practice to advance political goals.

It is possible, however, to use magical or occult frameworks for the purpose of proposing political goals, gaining allegiance for them, and infusing them with deep psychological meanings. Attempts to do this can often be detected by changes in the operational philosophies of magical groups, but frequently these changes are not intelligible to those unfamiliar with standard interpretations. Combined with the fact that magical practice may, when not properly balanced, contribute to illusions of power which can be expressed politically, it is suggested that much more de-
tailed knowledge of the ways in which small magico-religious communities interpret the experiences they encourage is needed.

Within Ugandan society, political significance rests both with the intentions of practitioners, and the responses to them, and with the form of magical categorical frameworks. Magical beliefs may still hold potential for both legitimizing political claims, a potential Amin may occasionally attempt to employ through his magico-religious claims. Similarly, accusations framed in magical or occult terms may be potent politically, as again may be the case in Uganda. Beyond this, however, magical practice rooted in frameworks (like the Abacwezi) whose symbols have political connotations even if not employed for overtly political ends, can create political issues in the face of attempts to frame national political perspectives. Finally, the continued belief in magical practices, and magical attacks, may pose direct challenges to administrator's attempts to create political and legal order in their constituencies.

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CHAPTER I

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF MAGIC

Introduction

Magic has been studied primarily in pre-modern situations: through studies of non-Western "traditional" societies or analyses of the historical experience of Western societies themselves. With the "occult revival," which achieved publicity as a feature of the American counterculture movement, it became apparent that the organized practice of magic persisted in contemporary industrial society. Are the features of magic identified in studies of pre-modern magic relevant to the contemporary American experience? Is modern American magical practice the continuation of pre-modern traditions, adapted to contemporary situations, or an entirely new phenomenon, requiring analysis and explanation sharply different from that which is currently offered by scholars attempting to explain the origin and persistence of magical activity in pre-industrial and industrializing societies? Do the potentials for social and political significance, which adhere to magic in many pre-modern societies, attach to modern magical practice as well? What policy issues does magic raise in modern and transitional contexts?
This chapter lays the groundwork for considering such questions by examining past approaches to the study of magic to establish:

(a) major claims about the nature of magical practice, belief in it, and the social and political consequences of both specialized practice and widely diffused "popular" beliefs; and

(b) a provisional definition of magic which may be used to guide inquiry into modern magic, and to compare it with pre-modern experience.

The partial perspectives on magic discussed in this chapter may then be synthesized into a more general framework for the comparative study of magical practice, allowing scholars to identify different political potentials and policy challenges which adhere to modern and pre-modern magical organizations.

**Approaches to the Study of Magic**

What is magic? Scholars do not agree. Some, like Frazer, think magic is a kind of "bastard science," an attempt to find causal relations in the natural world which is flawed by its confusing mental associations man makes with connections which exist in nature. Others, like Malinowski, contend it is not an attempt to do science at all, but is an attempt to cope with situations in which people have a deep emotional involvement but where their technical-rational techniques fail to provide control over the situation. Still others, like Beattie, see magic lying closer to art or drama, an expressive action which cannot be seen as being directed toward achieving goals, but rather toward representing meanings.
And, finally, there are others, like Freud, who see magic as a manifestation of man's unresolved psychic problems.⁴

None of these writers are writing only about magic. Most of them are concerned with a broader range of topics, and, indeed, their precise definitions of magic are usually framed by comparing it with their conceptions of religion, science, witchcraft or sorcery. Because each of these words is used differently by different authors, and because no one set of distinctions is accepted as overwhelmingly better than its competitors, both anthropologists and sociologists have begun to use the term "magico-religious" to refer to the domain of magic-witchcraft-sorcery-religion.⁵ Exploring ideas about magic, then, means at times embedding these observations in a wider magico-religious context.

The purpose of this chapter is to organize and summarize previous theoretical interpretations of magic. We shall do so by considering three approaches to the study of magic: the intellectual approach, the psychotherapeutic approach and the functionalist approach.

1) The intellectual approach. The intellectual approach has been developed primarily by logicians and philosophers, some anthropologists and a few historians. For these scholars, the most significant feature of magic is that it is based upon a special kind of thinking. Magical thinking can, however, be seen from two quite different perspectives. In one view, magical thought is seen as a mistaken way in which man has tried to understand and cope with the world, a kind of "bastard science" or "incomplete rationality." In the other view, magico-religious beliefs
embody a special kind of expressive or symbolic thinking which cannot be appropriately judged against the standard of rationality, for it serves to give expression and meaning to events, rather than to conceptually or empirically establish them. Those scholars taking the first view see magical beliefs as a hindrance to effective knowledge, while the second class of authors are more inclined to regard them as an adjunct to empirical-rational thinking.

2) The psychoanalytic approach. This approach is taken primarily by psychiatrists and psychologists. Magic's beliefs and acts are interpreted as reflections of psychic problems to be solved, either for people individually or in mass. Some authors also suggest that magico-religious activity may be a means of coping with these problems. In either case, the "origin" of magic lies in the psyche, its structure and means of adapting to life's events. Analysis focuses on trying to identify the psychological principles and processes manifested in magico-religious beliefs. Phenomena are evaluated in terms of psychological adaptiveness and stability. The evaluations vary widely, depending on the psychic model used. They range from assertions that magico-religious phenomena are illusions which men will gradually surpass to claiming that they are important adjuncts to psychic balance and development.

3) The functionalist approach. This view is held by anthropologists and sociologists. It looks at magico-religious activities as a subset of wider social belief and practice. These activities help main-
tain social life by coping with specific areas of tension and uncertainty, maintaining identity and realizing social values. They are part of the culturally given mode of apprehending the physical and social world, and as such need no special explanation of their "origin." The main focus of analysis is social action. The key aims of analysis are to find intelligible patterns of magico-religious activity, link these to social structure and find the ramifications of beliefs and actions in the operation of the larger social unit. Magico-religious phenomena are generally evaluated in terms of their social functions. Frequently the evaluations suggest that magico-religious activity should be respected as important social mechanisms and, so far as possible, be allowed to develop and operate in their social milieu. When this is impossible, they should be incrementally modified.

We shall now examine each orientation in detail.

Intellectual Approaches

James Frazer's massive attempt to explain and chronicle magico-religious beliefs, The Golden Bough, marks the beginning of a tradition which sought to define and characterize magico-religious thought. From Frazer through Levi-Bhrul to Evans-Pritchard and Beattie, anthropologists have tried to explain the coexistence of effective technical practice and apparently ineffective ritual accompaniments. In short, the problem is why an actor rational enough to know how to plant seeds might bother to accompany the planting with magico-religious activities.

Frazer suggests the first of several answers. He contends that
magico-religious acts are practiced because the performer mistakenly believes they will be effective in achieving certain goals. Magic, defined as a pragmatically oriented attempt to frame underlying causal laws, is based on two faulty kinds of reasoning.

(1) The law of similarity. This principle asserts that like produces like, that is, that an effect resembles the cause. From this principle, "the magician infers that he can produce any effect he desires merely by imitating it in advance." Magico-religious practices based on this assumption Frazer calls homopathic magic.

(2) The law of contact or contagion. This principle asserts that things which have once been in contact continue ever afterwards to act on each other, and therefore, whatever is done to a material object will automatically effect the person with whom it was once in contact. Frazer calls practices based on this principle contagious magic.

For Frazer these beliefs are errors—errors belonging to a kind of mental functioning different from that operating in science. The magician mistakes mental associations for causal connections. Homopathic and contagious magic

...
Even in its error, magic is a world view governed by a logic. It is this feature which Frazer holds distinguishes it from religion, which he maintains centers on coping with a supreme and at times capricious spiritual being. Magical practice is seen as rational in the sense that it is goal-oriented and incorporates a means of trying to realize a desired outcome by looking for specific means to the anticipated end. In particular, primitive magic has the following features.

1. Underlying all magical ritual is the process of rational thought. The ritual of magic follows from its ideology.

2. The conclusions about the efficacy of magic was reached by deduction and rational observation in much the same way that men of science reach them.

3. Even though the deductions of magic are false, they are based on genuine observation--classification of similarities which exist among phenomena is the procedure of magic as well as science.

4. The magician goes wrong in inferring that things which are like in one or more respects have had a mystical connection between them, whereas the link is not a real link, but an ideal connection in the mind of the magician; a causal relationship exists in the mind but not in nature--hence the error is to mistake an ideal analogy for a real connection.

What are the assumptions present which justify the concept that magic's logic is an error? First, one presumed that the main orienta-
tion of magic was toward the external world and its control—that magic has the same domain and knowledge interest as the physical sciences. Second, one presumed that the cognitive processes guiding this approach are, in some form or other, conscious, rational thought. These two assumptions, taken together, justify taking Aristotelian logic and empirical natural science as appropriate standards for assessing magic. It is within the context of these assumptions that intellectualist theories of magic attributed to it the features Evans-Pritchard critically explicated. As we shall attempt to show with our case studies, both of these assumptions are in error.

Frazer attempted to explain magical thinking in terms of a developmental theory of magico-religious phenomena. Frazer contended that magic developed first, as a kind of defective attempt at science. It gave way to religious thinking, perhaps as a result of its failure. Religious thinking in turn was transcended by scientific thinking. This evolutionary theory has several recognized flaws. Magic, religion and science at times co-exist in societies, and even in individual belief systems, making it hard to show a convincing evolutionary sequence. Even in terms of logical structure, it is problematic, for from Frazer's characterization of magic, its logic lies closer to scientific thinking than to religious thought. The logical ordering on this basis is as hard to establish as the developmental one.

Additional problems arise in terms of definitions. Frazer's definition of religion, based primarily on the Christian model, is hard
to apply to other cultures and has been disregarded by anthropologists doing cross-cultural work. Furthermore, his attempt to define magic as either homeopathic or contagious failed to cover the universe of cases empirical analysis uncovered. Finally, the conception which Frazer had of science as a collection of unproblematic empirical observations from which theory was somehow later derived is a formulation which cannot be accepted as characterizing scientific practice as it is now defined.

A final source of criticism has been the empirical base upon which Frazer built. Functionalists have been especially critical for two reasons.

(1) His data are not systematic examinations of magico-religious beliefs as they exist in cultural systems, but examples pulled from widely different contexts to illustrate his points. With this procedure, discrepant observations are minimized.

(2) His theoretical speculations on the underlying principles of magical thought cannot explain magicians' actions, as field work has revealed them. Magical action is more than a lived-out logic. As Evans-Pritchard remarked, if Frazer had observed what the natives did rather than inferring what they thought, he would have been less inclined to draw parallels between scientists and native magicians, and more likely to see the difference between scientific methods and traditional arts.

These criticisms do not justify concluding that there are no sig-
significant similarities between science and magic. Using an expanded concept of magico-religious phenomena, a number of authors have recently stressed the similarity between the explanatory attempts of magico-religious systems and the theoretical constructs of science. One of the most influential analyses is Robert Horton's suggested similarities between traditional African thought and scientific theorizing. These similarities include:

(1) Quest for explanation based on seeking unity, simplicity, order and regularity.
(2) Placing things in a causal context wider than that provided by common sense.
(3) Playing a complementary role to common sense.
(4) Varying theoretical level according to context.
(5) Explanation by means of abstraction, analysis and reintegration.
(6) Use of analogy between puzzling observations and already familiar phenomena.
(7) Restriction to only limited aspects of such phenomena.
(8) Development of theoretical models obscuring the original analogies.

Such general similarities, however true, cannot be used as a basis for arguing that magico-religious practice is an early, or even an incomplete, form of science. Rather they point to features which magic, religion and science share because they are epistemic communities: that they organize experience in specialized ways, not covered by 'common
sense', set boundaries on their knowledge-seeking and generate new knowledge by recognized intellectual operations. In trying to expand some of Frazer's hypothesized similarities between magical thought structures and science, Horton is not trying to argue that they are the same. Instead, he suggests that they are similar attempts, both guided by general processes. Magico-religious systems are no more or less interested in the natural causes of things than scientific theoretical thought, and they clearly do more than postulate causal connections which bear no relation to experience. In his discussion of magico-religious thought, he maintains that:

To some extent, then, it successfully grasps reality . . . . Given the basic process of theory-making and an environmental stability which gives plenty of time to adjust to experience, a peoples' belief-system may come, even in the absence of scientific method, to grasp at least some significant causal connections which lie beyond the range of common sense.

We shall argue that this is precisely what has happened with regard to magical knowledge, both in the tradition OTA adheres to and the Abacwezi practice in Bunyoro. Neither are "scientific" traditions. Yet both contain accurate insights into social and psychological processes.

A second approach to magical logic is to regard the logic of mental associations as an independent logic, as Levy-Bruhl does in his early writing on primitive thought. At first, in keeping with the idea of an evolutionary relationship, he saw a primitive mentality within which there existed primitive mystical beliefs, committed to "forces, influences, power imperceptible to the senses and nevertheless real." He contended that "primitive thought" was in a sense prelogical. It violated
the rules of logic as they would be formulated by a modern logician. While this primitive, mystical thought referred to items which from the European point of view were "unreal" and contained what appeared to be logical contradictions, the beliefs were coordinated with each other and contained patterns of regular interdependence—or logic. He groped for a formulation, which remained for him an uneasy compromise. Primitive magico-religious thought was intellectually consistent, yet not logically consistent; by European standards, their formulation of concept was irrational, but in reference to other standards, which remain unspecified, the phenomena are real and logical. What Levy-Bruhl had done was to advance in an imprecise form the idea of a finite province of meaning, later to be detailed by sociologist Alfred Schutz. This concept, further refined, led to the concept of an epistemic community and sociologists' initial attempts to study the social construction of reality. It is this approach we are seeking to apply to the OTA and Abacwezi experiences.

Levy-Bruhl's initial work was subject to much criticism. First it was maintained that, like Frazer, he collected examples from a wide range of sources, at times treating as equivalent features with different interpretations and functions in their respective societies. Second, his analysis intermingles several different referents for his term "mystical" or "prelogical" thought. At times he is speaking of the conceptual approach which primitives, and people in general, take toward the transpersonal social concepts and conventions which form their everyday life.
This is what ethnomethodologists tend to study today as the "sociology of everyday life." At other times, he seemed to be talking more about symbolic thinking, foreshadowing the concerns of Leach, Beattie, Turner and Levi-Strauss. At yet other times, he treats his mystical thought as a kind of psychology, albeit one which is now outmoded. Toward the end of his career, he incorporated these critiques into his final position, which constituted an important advance over crude evolutionary thought models, and made possible a connection with psychotherapeutic approaches.

He maintained:

there is no primitive mentality which is distinguished from the other by two characteristic features (being mystical and prelogical). There is one mystical mentality that is more marked and easily observable among 'primitives' than in our societies, but is present in every human mind. 23

He himself admitted that in reacting to the rationalist theories of primitive thought and magico-religious beliefs, he created a counter-picture which was unbalanced, yet hoped to stimulate a correction to Frazer's interpretations. 24

Anthropologists since Levy-Bruhl have approached the idea of a "mystical logic" as a logic of symbols or expressive actions. This identification rests on Durkheim's distinction between the sacred and the profane. 25 The questions of meaning and pattern have taken precedence over concerns of rationality, validity or error. The fundamental essence of symbols is their capacity to represent important social and psychological relationships, and to use these representations to interpret and structure action. Anthropologists have tended to focus on symbols and their logic
in the context of social representations, to the exclusion of psychological ones. Hence magico-religious beliefs are symbolic representations, nothing more than ways of describing the formal relations that exist between real persons and real groups in ordinary... society. Whether we follow Leach, Beattie, Turner or Levi-Strauss, we find the same basic premise shared. Magico-religious beliefs symbolize and attribute value to aspects of social existence; while they may be true in the context of human dilemmas or creative activity or symbolic imagery, one is conceptually mistaken to look for autonomous, absolute (scientific) validity for them. One must come to understand what is being expressed and what the rules of symbolic meaning are before judging "error" is possible. Our metaphoric use of language is a good illustration on the kind of problem symbolic interpretation involves. We would certainly show that we did not understand the nature of metaphor if our response to the exclamation "That man is a fox!" were to try to test the truth of the statement by putting the physical characteristics of a fox into one-to-one correspondence with the human body. But simply because this kind of judging is inappropriate does not mean that there are no rules for metaphor, or that it is impossible to make a metaphoric error. We could challenge the sense of the meaning implied by reference to context—if the man had just committed a horribly crude error in judgment, we could assert that the metaphor was wrong, that is symbolism was not appropriate in the situation. But this judgment surely would not rest on our showing that the literal features of a physical fox were missing. It instead depends on knowing that a fox is regarded as a symbol of clever-
ness or craftiness and then realizing these features are missing in this case. A crude empiricist might say that metaphor was useless because it did not accurately portray reality, but we would be unlikely to accept this as a serious critique or as a reason for eliminating metaphor from daily speech and literary convention.

This is similar to the point that Beattie makes about the magico-religious world. He maintains:

that the sensible student of myth, magic and religion will, I think, be well advised to recognize that their tenets are not scientific propositions, based on ordinary experience and on a belief in the uniformity of nature and they cannot be understood as if they were.28

We agree that they are not scientific propositions based on scientific experience, but reject the notion that they are not based on experience. They are an interpretation of experience--but not one whose aim is to set up a testable hypothesis. They certainly are not propositions from which one might discover if nature was uniform. However, they make sense only in a situation where it is agreed, or taken for granted, that nature is a kind of unity.

What kind of experience expressions are they, then? Beattie points to an answer when he says:

... the instrumental efficacy of ritual procedures (where as is generally the case, they are thought to have such efficacy) is thought, when and where it is thought about, to lie at the bottom in just this very expressiveness.29

Beattie, then, is suggesting two responses. At one level, for some group of people, they are unexamined conventions which part of the given everyday life experience. Among magico-religious specialists, knowledge of
these beliefs and practices is not unexamined. They have probed the expressiveness. As Turner's conversations on Ndembu ritual specialists show, the reflection and probing of such specialists can be extensive. This suggests an analytic reason for distinguishing between magician's perspectives on their practice and that of more "ordinary" non-magicians. Magical specialists may be more aware of the symbolic nature of their rituals, while less informed individuals may take symbolic statements too literally.

Anthropologists generally tend to treat symbols on a par with literary conventions. They do not attribute deeper psychological meaning, asserting that their functional relationship to social structure is sufficient to explain their emergence and use. Yet the outlines of this "symbolic logic" closely parallel the unconscious, symbolic logic described by Freud and elaborated by other psychotherapists. We shall agree with Turner that one need not regard social symbols as simply projections of individual psychic contents. We shall go beyond him in asserting that the operation of ritual symbolic logics reflects broad organizing motifs which are rooted in the structure of the psyche. At this point, anthropological and psychoanalytic studies of symbols may be usefully brought together to define a more general symbolic logic.

There is a final intellectualist view of magico-religious phenomena, or to comparative studies of belief in general. Peter Winch gives a stronger interpretation of some of the observations we have just made. He asserts that understanding and explanation can validly be made only
within the categories of thought and action of the people being studied, or
at a minimum, in terms of concepts and theories they can understand. 32
Instead of a general symbolic logic, Winch would maintain there are many
cultural conventions within which action takes place. Because social
action is conventional and purposive, it can be identified as social action
only in accord with the conventions governing it and the purposes in-
forming it. 33 The social world in which this action happens has its own
social unity, which existed before the observer's coming and is indepen-
dent of him. 34 This social life, a "consciousness of constituting with
others a unity," is maintained by the actors themselves, through their
interactions, intentions and expectations. 35 For Winch, then, under-
standing their social life is understanding it in terms of their available
stock of information. Understanding magic means understanding it as
magicians do.

Even without making a theoretical critique of Winch's approach,
we can see some fundamental problems with it. While we might very
well wish to argue that no good social science explanation can explain
things if it ignores the statements of the people it focuses on, we find
that there are many situations even within our own social life where we
find explanations based only on an actor's account of his own behavior
too restrictive. Indeed, some social classifications carry with them the
presumption that an account in the actor's concepts cannot constitute
real knowledge. This is certainly the case with people we call insane. 36
One might convincingly argue that in this case we do not know what it is
to be insane, but then, if we had only the patient's account as a basis for understanding, we would not understand what insanity was either. The classification would become meaningless. Similar problems arise at the individual level when we assert that some person is in error, insensitive or does not understand the implications of his behavior.37

When we shift from the level of individuals to the level of social perspectives, even more complex issues arise. We must, within the same culture, face partially conflicting social claims to knowledge, as well as different conceptions of what "knowledge," "similarity" and "evidence" are. A magician in OTA categorizes and conceptualizes things differently than a social scientist. Some claims refer to different domains, and can thus be seen as not directly incompatible. But there are other areas in which they do conflict—in intention, meaning, evidence and assertions about the nature of reality. One would not understand American society, the differences between OTA and social scientists who might study it, and how they might co-exist, if we strictly followed Winch's criteria for understanding. Furthermore, as OTA's behavior in its conflicts with other occult groups demonstrates, some of the magicians' actions are framed with reference to their conception of other group's views of them. If we accept a firm Winchian view, we cannot understand the dynamics of how internal categories and external perspectives affect each other. Winch's view makes more than social science impossible—it makes dynamic learning adjustments to different kinds of social knowledge impossible.
The theoretical perspectives we have discussed thus far have all addressed one facet of magic: its logic and the proper categorical domain to which it applies. This is a crucial issue. In assessing the arguments, we agree with Beattie and Turner that magical practice is to a large extent, governed by a symbolic logic. The origins of this logic, however, are as much to be found in the psyche as in society, a point which the psychotherapeutic approaches establish. Moreover, rejecting Frazer's "error" theory and Levy-Bruhl's early evolutionary approach, we have as yet been unable to relate any logic of symbols to cognitive, analytical thinking, again a point which psychotherapeutic approaches bring to the fore. And finally, we have not spoken at all about magicians—the people, the roles they fill and the features which led them to it. Here the psychotherapeutic and functionalist approaches must fill out the picture.

Psychoanalytic Approaches

Sigmund Freud's work marked the beginning of what we identify as psychotherapeutic theories of magical and religious beliefs. The magico-religious was not one of Freud's major concerns, but was derived from his clinical interests. He based his analysis of non-Western practices on Frazer's *Golden Bough*. This source significantly affected his theoretical work. Freud observed similarities between the reported magico-religious practice of Frazer's "primitives" and the behavior of many of his patients. He felt that his patients were trying to achieve *asocial* solutions to problems which, when handled in a social environ-
ment, through social forms, were reflected in poetry, philosophy and religion. Freud's approach "fell out" of his psychoanalytic theories, and he was aware of other aspects of religion which he could not hope to incorporate in his discussion, that were important. His view of the role of his theorizing was more restrained than those of some of his followers, for he wrote:

The reader need not fear that psychoanalysis, which first revealed the regular over-determination of psychic acts and formations, will be tempted to derive anything so complicated as religion from a single source. . . . Only a synthesis from various fields of research can decide what relative importance in the genesis of religion is to be assigned to the mechanism, but such a task exceeds the means as well as the intentions of the psychoanalyst.

Freud's basic position was that gods and demons alike "are only creations of the psychic powers of man; they have been created from and out of something." The obvious question is then "From what have they been created?". The answer is from the conflicts of the psyche, and particularly, manifestations of unconscious wishes and desires. The key to understanding magico-religious beliefs was the concept of taboo. Taboo in primitive societies was similar to symptoms of compulsion neurosis in psychoanalytic patients. The similarities which Freud found important were:

(1) lack of motivation of the commandments
(2) enforcement through inner need
(3) capacity for displacement and danger of contagion from what is prohibited
(4) the causation of ceremonial actions and commandments which
emanate from the forbidden. 41

The clinical history of compulsion neurosis pointed to a causal origin in a childhood prohibition of a pleasurable (often sexual) action. The prohibition is accepted—partly because of the greater physical strength of the prohibitor, but more significantly because the child loves the person who tries to change his behavior. The prohibition then acquires support from a strong inner force in the child—his affection for (or his desire to keep the affection of) the prohibition-issuing adult. But because of his low level of psychic development, the child does not abolish the original impulse; instead it is repressed. Both the prohibition and the impulse then remain, and the unresolved conflict (a "psychic fixation") is the source of ambivalent behavior toward the object in question. The conscious prohibition may continue to be enacted, responding to the anxiety produced in the child, but the person carrying out the action will be unable to consciously (hence intellectually) unravel the "meaning" of his action. Freud saw many magico-religious practices concerning the dead stemming from ambivalence toward the newly deceased, with unconscious hostility being projected onto ghosts or demons—thereby helping to resolve the psychic conflicts of the living. 42

The roots of most compulsive prohibitions for Freud were sexual and aggressive impulses (Eros-Thanatos) and their forbidden nature. The prohibitions could, however, be displaced onto other areas further removed from their psychic origins. Freud suggests that the taboos associated with totemism, which he identified as an early stage of reli-
gious evolution, were displacements of sex and aggression rooted pro-
hibitions, the archetype being the killing of the father and head of the
primal horde by his sons, which gave them sexual access to the women
of their "family."

Freud also contended that taboo-breaking was contagious, and
that social steps were needed to prevent a "psychic epidemic." The
reasoning behind this, often puzzling to a social scientist, is quite
simple. To the extent that the prohibited impulse has not disappeared,
but remains an unconscious wish, the prohibition's performance is needed
to prevent its reemergence. To the extent that the wish is widespread,
perhaps because it reflects a basic biological drive, the prohibition's
effect is collective. In such cases,

An individual who has violated a taboo becomes himself taboo be-
cause he has the dangerous property of tempting others to follow
his example. He arouses envy; why should he be allowed to do what
is prohibited to others? He is therefore really contagious, in so
far as every example incites to imitation, and therefore he himself
must be avoided. 43

Breaking the taboo also creates anxiety among others, who not only pro-
tect the taboo, but project their unconscious desires on the breaker—in
the course of the "punishment" frequently giving themselves the oppor-
tunity to commit the same act by justifying it as expiation. 44 An
interesting convergence from recent studies on cognitive dissonance
indicates that people placed in situations where it is profitable to act at
dissonance with their stated (and sometimes internalized) positions
and resist the impulse become more extreme in their condemnation of
others who engage in the action; on the contrary, those who "give in" moderate their views to see the action more favorably. 45 This suggests a psychological impetus inherent in the nature of prohibition making magico-religious systems toward accusation and punishment in others stemming from self-resisted impulses.

Freud uses the idea that magico-religious beliefs and actions arise (causally) from psychological fixations to suggest a way of separating magic and religion. Freud held that fixations can occur at different points in a person's life, with different psychic pathologies arising. Freud saw most religious practices arising from Oedipal fixations, that is, coming about as a result of impulses and prohibitions associated with the phallic stage of development and the initial shaping of the super-ego. Deifications, then, may, like the first strands of the superego, be the reflection of the child's view and assimilation of parents' characteristics. Following Frazer's demarcation between magic and religion, Freud associated magical practice with earlier (oral-anal) fixations--the "omnipotence of thought" rather than propitiation being the key feature. 46 Magic, then, is a form of narcissism where the self importance and the self infatuation of the magician prevents him from recognizing that his wishes are insufficient to alter himself or his environment. As in Frazer's theory, its roots preceded religion's and Freud believed both would give way to more scientific orientations.

As Freud expanded his concern with religion beyond totemism and into the role of religion in his own society, he generalized his model.
Magico-religious practice was no longer explained only in terms of societally nurtured ambivilances. It was also seen as a response to human weakness and helplessness in the face of natural uncertainty. Magico-religious practice now has two strands: a man-oriented vantage point. The two viewpoints are related, however. Freud maintained that the humanization of nature, creating "gods" and "spirits," is a way of coping with the "senseless anxiety" man feels when facing the uncontrollable, overwhelming power of nature. Once nature has thus been humanized, the situation people face is not new--it has an infantile prototype: the child's helplessness in relation to the parents. In dealing with the personified powers of nature, religious man deals with his infantile perceptions of his father, using the techniques he developed to cope with him during his childhood.

Within this basic framework, Freud suggests three functions for magico-religious practice and belief:

(1) They exorcise the terrors of nature.

(2) They reconcile man to the cruelty of fate--especially death.

(3) They compensate for the privations and sufferings a common civilized life imposes.

Within these functions, Freud suggests a gradual displacement of accent. As observation leads men toward a concept of nature developing autonomously, according to internal dictates, they can come to see the gods as withdrawn from nature--the Enlightenment concept of the creator god who after creation leaves the world to run according to the laws laid
down in its creation. Similarly, man comes to suspect that the gods cannot protect them against fate, so the function of religion gradually shifts to the third function.

Malinowski anticipated Freud's emphasis on natural uncertainties with his "pragmatic" conception of magico-religious practice. In turn, many social anthropologists, including Evans-Pritchard, Clyde Kluckhohn, corroborated Freud's second and third function. Freud, however, made a further leap. Just as individuals go through a series of developmental stages, in which they develop infantile neuroses, most of which normally disappear with further development—or can be removed by therapy, so too societies fall into states analogous to neuroses, and for similar reasons:

namely because in times of ignorance and intellectual weakness the instinctual renunciations indispensable for man's communal existence had only been achieved by means of affective force. The precipitates of these processes resembling repression which took place in prehistoric times still remained attached to civilization for long periods.

Freud then comes to the dramatic, but not unexpected, conclusion that Religion would thus be the universal obsessional neurosis of humanity; like the obsessional neurosis of children, it arose out of the Oedipus complex, out of the relation to the father.

If this view is correct, then we might expect a turning away from religion would occur with the growth process of society, or if not, it could by implication be therapeutically mitigated.

Freud's specific theory, especially his famous (or infamous) theory of the killing of the primal father, has often been criticized, but
often in a way which provides little positive theoretical insight. Much of Freud's data on primitive magico-religious practice suffered with critiques of Frazer. Similarly, further investigation has discredited his hypothesized progression from primal horde to group marriage to monogomy. But while such evidence is certainly important in uncovering the flaws in Freud's exegesis, it does not touch the basic theoretical and logical underpinnings of his work. There are at least three conceptual alternatives to considering Freud's account of religion discredited. All three are paths currently taken in analyzing magico-religious phenomena. All come down to providing slightly different opinions about the source of unconscious contents.

(1) The biological-historical assumption. Freud's theory of unconscious contents is causal and historical. Unconscious contents can be explained as the products of defense mechanisms which were activated at some past psychic crisis. The theory remains committed to looking for causal explanations in linear time (like the classic model of Western science) even though the unconscious contents do not immediately present themselves to conscious experience in these terms. Confronted with evidence of similar behavior across cultures, Freud sought a universal history, matching the universal biological impulses, as the most parsimonious explanation, as, indeed, it would be for such a theory. If man shows similar "symptoms", then perhaps there was once a shared
family situation (the primal horde) which shaped the Oedipus complex. 53

While Freud's initial theorizing about this history was wrong, the commitment to harmonizing man's biological features and his family situation continues, as we shall see when we discuss LaBarre's effort at explaining magico-religious origins. 54

(2) The deep structure hypothesis. Another possible approach is to postulate universal structural principles of the psyche which organize disparate experiences in similar ways. Such a deep structure would be more sophisticated than an animal's instinct, although it would be equally inaccessible to consciousness. Both Carl Jung and Claude Levi-Strauss have suggested deep structures of this kind, and suggested that they provide discernible regularities at a structural level for otherwise very different collections of experiences and beliefs. Similar assumptions have been made by Piaget about the intellectual development of children, by Chomsky about language and by mathematicians about abstract concepts. 55

We shall examine Jung's theory later in this section, and discuss elements of Piaget's theory when we face the difficult task of attempting to understand the emergence of social realities.

(3) The socialization hypothesis. A third alternative is to assert that Freud's explanation is correct in its broad outline, but
that specific applications of the theoretical stance will have to take into account cultural differences. Different family arrangements may mean that the Oedipal conflict will focus on other significant male figures, bypassing the physical father.  

The matrix of social and family relations also need not be as male dominated as Freud's theory suggests. In any case, such approaches accept the diversity of psychoanalytic views. Taking this approach, the value structure of the society, as well as an explicit discussion of key human values is important. Psychoanalytically oriented writing from this viewpoint is more widely known to social scientists, with Henry Stack Sullivan, Haren Horney and Eric Erickson illustrating different, yet familiar, approaches within this general area. We shall return to some of these authors when we discuss political values and magico-religious beliefs as sources of identity in different societies.

Writings on religion in the Freudian tradition are abundant. It is well past our capacity to review them here. We shall, however, briefly discuss the most recent Freudian attempt to discuss the origin of magico-religious phenomena, Weston LaBarre's *The Ghost Dance*. It has two striking features. First, it preserves rather faithfully the theoretical and logical structure of Freud's writings. Secondly, within this updated framework, it tries to come to terms explicitly with many anthropological accounts of magico-religious movements. Although his approach has some drastic shortcomings, it also clarifies
some important issues in magico-religious study and suggests potentially fruitful research strategies, some of which will be reflected in this thesis.

LaBarre's view may be condensed to a few simple postulates. The origin of magico-religious beliefs and practices lies with the experience of select individuals (shamans, priests, magicians). Their material came from a series of altered states of consciousness (dreams, trances, solitary visions) which have the common feature that they rest on sensory deprivation as the main mechanism for allowing unconscious material to surface. The contents and experiences reflect the biological and social state of man, both recent and archaic. Under certain conditions of psychological stress and ambivalence, the individual experience may be adopted by a large number of people in a society as an autistic, fantasized solution to their problems. In this case, we have a crisis cult. The magico-religious beliefs of societies are the institutionalized remnants of their crisis cults.

LaBarre's view of the unconscious is Freudian. He is therefore interested in a biological-social history, the origin of basic factors shaping man's psychic structure. Where Freud turned to an evolutionary model, LaBarre suggests an ecological one. For LaBarre, one of the most important features of man is his status as a meat-eater, importantly, a hunter. The hunting situation provides the milieu in which man's uncertainty and powerlessness in the face of nature develop, as well as the impetus for sexual dimorphism and male dominance (women cannot hunt), the beginning structure of the nuclear family and separation
of males from women and young (the young cannot hunt) and the creation of biological leisure, which permits learning (the old, while experienced, cannot hunt). Similarly, hunting encourages group formation on two levels. First, unlike gathering, hunting with primitive weapons requires collective effort in all but the most trivial instances. Second, the need for food sharing develops, since significant parts of society cannot hunt their own food, while gatherers could fend relatively well even if they were women, young or old. 59

LaBarre attempts to show that magico-religious practice began in connection with hunting magic, and that wider shamanistic practice derived from the "master of animals." Instead of a shared biological-social act (the primal killing), we have a shared ecological situation (hunting culture) which provides the foundation for the uncertainties in man's psychic condition, as well as the impetus toward the family situation, and its attendant requirements of incest taboos to regulate sexual relations in it. It is within this milieu that the shamans experience their visions and develop their techniques.

LaBarre's study of the techniques associated with magico-religious experience is excellent. Although we shall discuss magico-religious techniques in detail later, when specific case study material is presented, we will present capsule accounts of the main issues involved. First, LaBarre contends that the range of techniques he examines--trance states, solitary visions, meditation and even dreams--share a common feature. They are kinds of sensory deprivation.
When the "normal" sensory stimuli are not present, the ego regresses, allowing unconscious contents to flow forth, providing the content of the attendant magico-religious experiences. We shall generalize Labarre's thesis slightly, for there are also techniques based on sensory overload which produce similar accounts. The common feature of all the techniques is that they dramatically alter the operation of the senses, either by depriving them of stimuli, by flooding them with stimuli, or in the case of many drugs, by altering the means in which stimuli are processed. When this happens, there are indeed dramatic changes in ego functioning, both in the emergence of contents which the ego may have repressed and in the operation of the "conflict free" ego mechanisms. How these changes are interpreted and used is the important question in relating them to magico-religious practice; why they arise is the key question in disputing the origin and meaning of magico-religious practice theoretically. The two questions while separable to some extent, are not independent. For Labarre the contents arise as part of the adaptive capabilities of a complex organic and psychological system, these capabilities being primarily an attempt at internal (psychological) adaptation. They arise because of the workings of the psychological mechanisms Freudian analysis has discovered, the nature of unconscious contents and their role in interfacing with the social and natural environment.

But an individual explanation is not sufficient in discussing this topic. One must also come to terms with larger social questions.
LaBarre's attempt to do this is disastrously flawed--his contention that cultural shock, or social deprivation, is a variant of sensory deprivation, provides us with a clue to the nature of the failing. In his attempt to counter the over-emphasis social anthropologists have placed on "culture" as an explanatory variable, he too dramatically blurs the individual-collective distinction. In contending that culture is a collective defense mechanism, and treating shared social reality as an analogue of sensory stimulation, he creates a model of social reality which is unable to sustain his own definition of adaptation, his conception of what individual illness is, or his analysis of the "fit" between the magico-religious innovator and the society which makes his following possible. A meaningful interpretation must use a richer model of social reality; it is LaBarre's greatest insight to suggest that a satisfactory attempt at such a model must show how it arises in the individual in terms which can non-trivially be related to individual processes.

Whether or not LaBarre's conclusions about cargo cults stand will not be debated here. Even if his analysis of crisis cults holds for its defined domain, we will contend that he cannot generalize from these magico-religious activities and beliefs to all magico-religious practice. There are several reasons.

1) LaBarre ignores the therapeutic component of many magico-religious practices. The collection of crisis cults he represents are deviant in that they contain few attempts to be therapeutic to individuals, relying on millenial promises
as a hope-raising technique. LaBarre also ignores the role of the magico-religious practitioner as therapist. His attempts to show that shamans are social deviants is overdrawn. Part of the recruitment process may involve selecting people who have had deviant psychological experiences; in such cases, much of the training involves learning to control such experiences. But this is not a universal feature, and in many magico-religious settings, people regarded by their cultural fellows as "normal" undergo "abnormal" psychological experiences as part of their training, again with an emphasis on control and understanding; the shaman selected through this as trial becomes the "master" of his illness in order to assume the role of shaman.

(2) Many of the techniques and features which LaBarre discovered in crisis cults are not found in wider magico-religious practice; two are particularly important. First, unlike the "pragmatic" situation Malinowski noted, in the crisis cult the participants may be unable to distinguish between technical and ritual effectiveness. They may attempt to use ritual as a substitute for continued technical effort. This is not generally true of magic or religion, as Malinowski and later structural-functionalist show. The most frequent situation is one where people can and do distinguish between technical work and ritual. LaBarre's crisis cults appear to be a
special case, involving situations where the social reality has been so shaken that there is no longer a basis for being able to judge concepts like effectiveness or adaptiveness. In the breakdown of social reality, neither the technical nor the magico-religious sphere can function. It is conceptually easier to argue that these features arise from the collapse of a magico-religious practice with fundamentally different characteristics than it is to contend that the more positive, adaptive and therapeutic somehow "spins off" from the former. The fact that very few of the crisis cults LaBarre cited survived suggests that indeed they may be dramatically regressive "search behavior" in response to extreme collapses of social reality, which do not usually go on to become institutionalized magico-religious practice. This is supported by an analysis of the second way in which such cults differ from most magico-religious practice. Micro studies of magico-religious practice indicate that techniques used are usually developed by a mixture of dramatic insight (rather rare), observation and uncontrolled experimentation and professional "swapping" and modifying among different groups. His lack of balance in this area reflects his fundamental lack of concern with ego mechanisms in his theoretical presentation. It ignores the point some intellectualist approaches overstated—that magico-religious practice has a cognitive
structure. Neither the cognitive nor the psychotherapeutic approach can be reduced to the other if the attempt is to characterize the whole domain of magico-religious practice.

(3) LaBarre's reliance on the concept of adaption and mental health, both at the societal and the personal level, presumes that there are definitive judgments about what these concepts mean, although he himself does not detail either the nature of these judgments or their foundation. In the absence of any psychological data on the effects of magico-religious techniques or beliefs on individuals (either clients or practitioners) and the lack of a basis for specifying these concepts unambiguously even for Western culture, his generalizations can only be regarded as somewhat premature. More sensitive micro studies are a minimal requirement for serious consideration of his generalization across thousands of years and all magico-religious experience.

As we have indicated, there are other psychotherapeutic models for studying magico-religious phenomena. The most important representative of the second class we identified, the "deep structure" approach, is Carl Jung. While much of Jung's psychotherapeutic work is reasonably convergent with Freud's observations on psychic processes, their differences are significant. The most dramatic difference lies in their structural models of the psyche. While Freud deals only with a personal unconscious, Jung maintains there are two components of the unconscious:
the personal unconscious and the collective unconscious. The contents of
the personal unconscious were at one time conscious, but became sub-
liminal through repression. The personal unconscious is similar to
Freud's idea of the unconscious, but not so tied to sex as the source of
repression.

Jung maintained that much of the material from the unconscious,
which he encountered in his patients' dreams and fantasies, brought out
trans-personal themes and symbols, which could not be easily interpreted
in terms of a model which equated the unconscious with personally acquired
repressions. Hence he postulated the collective unconscious, whose con-
tents have not been repressed, but instead have never entered conscious-
ness. The contents

... are not repressed contents but simply contents that are not
yet conscious and have not been subjectively realized. ... This
state is neither pathological nor in any way peculiar; it is on the
contrary the original norm, whereas the psychic wholeness is com-
prehended as an ideal goal that has never yet been reached.

The collective unconscious can be thought of as a "deeper layer" of the
unconscious. Personal conscious is a top layer (closer to consciousness--
the product of ego mechanisms) of material that has been made uncon-
scious artificially. Beneath this layer is a more absolute unconscious,
where psychic processes go on independently of the upper layers of the
unconscious.

The idea of a "deep structure" of the unconscious is important for
a study of magic because, Jung contends, the powerfulness of symbols,
ritual and to some extent, therapy, depends upon the correspondence
between them and the structural dynamics of the collective unconscious. If we can discover pieces of this deep structure, we then have the potential for explaining the trans-personal contents of magico-religious beliefs, as well as possessing a key to their persistence and usefulness across time and differences in social organization.

Such a concept of the unconscious also makes it possible for Jung to assert that magico-religious practice may be an aid to psychological development, where Freud saw only blockages and illusions. So long as unconscious contents are repressed personal experiences, it is hard to see value in them per se. But Jung contends that the archetypal ordering of the collective unconscious fits into a dynamic which can impel psychological development. The unconscious can direct psychological development, and in this capacity be a "higher" guiding force than consciousness. Jung defends this rather amazing contention in the following terms:

The assumption that the human psyche possesses layers that lie below consciousness is not likely to arouse serious opposition. But that there could just as well be layers lying above consciousness seems to be a surmise which borders on a crimen laesae majestatis humane. In my experience the conscious mind can claim only a relatively central position and must accept the fact that the unconscious psyche transcends and as it were surrounds it on all sides. Unconscious contents connect it backwards with physiological states on the one hand and archetypal data on the other. But it is extended forwards by intuitions which are partly determined by the relativity of time and space in the unconscious.74

What are the contents of this collective unconscious? The archetypes. But, as is typical with Jung, the term is ambiguous and two separate usages must be defined.
The archetype qua archetype is a typical mode of apprehension, manifests itself NOT as content, but only through its ability to organize images and symbols. The archetype qua archetype does not become "known" to consciousness. It exists as a structural dominant of the psyche itself. Arche-types are the "deep structure" of the psyche.

Consciousness can perceive only the result of the dynamic-structural principles which compose archetypes. The product is psychic material which has been organized into rather stable symbolic images. In what constitutes one of his major terminological errors, Jung sometimes calls these archetypal images and sometimes simply archetypes, providing an apparent basis for the unfounded criticism that Jung believed symbols to be inherited. These archetypal images also reside in the collective unconscious, but can become known to consciousness. When this happens, they are experienced subjectively as forces which are highly numerous, and, at times, overwhelming.

For Freud the major psychological problems involved mastering the forces of the id, controlling them and adjusting them to social life. Jung recognizes this, but goes beyond it. The goal of psychological development is not to raise all unconscious contents to consciousness and make them unproblematic. This is an impossible task. Instead the goal of psychological development is to recapture, at a mature level, the unity
which prevailed before ego formation. Jung claims that while the ego cannot assimilate all unconscious contents to consciousness, it can move beyond the Freudian state of defensive hostility to a state where the ego and unconscious contents can be balanced, giving rise to the self. Individuation, the process leading to psychological integration around the self rather than the ego, is the goal of psychological development. Failing to cope with the demands of the id, or to make satisfactory adjustments to social life, many make individuation impossible, but successful coping does not make it inevitable. For beyond simply adjusting to social life lie the questions of meaning, purpose and identity. Jung holds that a complete model of the psyche must contain a goal oriented element, not simply the reactive mechanisms Freud masterfully discovered. This is one of Jung's most important points, and one which has been subsequently stressed by Erickson and Hartmann.

The ability to achieve individuation depends upon recognizing the consciousness and unconsciousness are complementary. Neither component is merely reactive to the other. Over-emphasis on either conscious or unconscious contents will lead to complementary outbursts of the opposite force. While it is possible that past periods placed too great an emphasis on institutionalizing irrational forces, the current emphasis seems to be on developing rational ego forces in opposition to the unconscious, irrational mode. This, Jung contends, sets the stage for a compensatory strengthening of unconscious forces, which may then emerge in a disagreeable, and unintelligible, manifestation of them.
which at times is capable of impairing ego functions or providing the apparent motivation for directing them in "irrational" channels. It is true that civilized life demands a concentrated, directed consciousness, but emphasis on this at the expense of unconscious adjustments may be to the disservice of a stable, functional ego. The model for the relationship between conscious and unconscious elements is not one in which unconscious elements exist, not because the superior function (consciousness) has triumphed incompletely, but because both elements are necessary. This implies that as conscious knowledge increases, the conscious-unconscious boundary will shift, but the complementary relationship continues. Since the unconscious cannot be "emptied", but only explored, it remains the complement of directed thought.

Jung hypothesized that magico-religious traditions and records were sources of vital information about the deep structure of the psyche. Magical and mystical experiences, he maintained, were in actuality records of the individuation process. In moving toward individuation, unconscious confrontations occur at two levels, both of which magico-religious traditions record. At one level there is a flood of unconscious material from the past--repressions and distortions which must be cleared away. On the other hand, unconscious symbols arise which are anticipatory, which present in symbolic form the goal of the self, and the process of moving toward its achievement. At this level, magico-religious traditions, especially those where intense personal experiences were sought and obtained, contain symbolic descriptions of the psyche.
and the individuation process. Jung demonstrated this thesis in relation to alchemy. We shall attempt to show that it is born out in the categorical framework, knowledge interest and practice of both the OTA and the Abacwezi. In addition to attempting to cope with unconscious manifestations, these organizations actively pursue unconscious experience. Many of their magical techniques are designed to produce confrontations outside the domain of their pathological production, to hasten and hopefully control the individuation process. 82

Of course, not all magico-religious practice is of this kind. Neither is most therapeutic practice. Jung distinguishes two situations. In one unconscious contents exist, but are unproblematic. They do not create serious problems for ego functions or social intercourse. Being able to arrive at this state is a minimal goal of analysis. Jung contends that maintaining a state in which unconscious contents are individually unproblematic is one function of exoteric religious practice. 83 He maintains:

... the priest is concerned only to establish an undisturbed functioning of the psyche within a recognized system of belief. As long as this system gives true expression to life, psychology can be nothing but a technical adjuvant to a healthy living and the psyche cannot be regarded as a problem in itself. 84

In the second state, unconscious contents impinge on the ego in an unacceptable way. For Jung, this can happen in two contexts. First, there is the situation Freud identifies. Something has "gone wrong" somewhere in the past, within the process of psychological development. The person develops an illness (e.g., psychosis, neurosis) in
which unconscious contents inhibit or even overwhelm ego functioning. In Jung's second case, however, the process of moving forward toward individuation may elicit unconscious contents—perhaps temporarily overwhelming—but oriented toward developing greater ego capacities. If undertaken, individuation may be an internally-stimulated process, where ego creation and adjustment was primarily externally stimulated. In the case of individuation, the conflicts are forward-looking, anticipatory and quasi-purposive. Jung contends that esoteric religion, that is, specialist oriented magico-religious traditions, frequently contain accounts of such intense confrontations—both "forward looking" individuation attempts and "backward looking" pathologies.

Many of the features of Jung's theory have the potential of correcting problems already noted with more orthodox Freudian studies of religion. In particular, it speaks to three major areas.

(1) In conjunction with observations which emphasize the therapeutic effectiveness of magico-religious systems, Jung's contention that they embody basic principles of both individuation and psychic deep structure make it possible to understand why individuals would voluntarily and consciously attempt to undergo such experiences, when they had not been socially deviant in having had such experiences imposed upon them by psychic disturbance. The answers are, of course: (a) to gain greater experience of unconscious workings to better understand and cure disturbed patients, a training
function recognized in Western therapy systems; (b) to gain greater self-knowledge and control of unconscious contents, moving toward individuation.

(2) Jung's emphasis on the complementary relationship between consciousness and unconsciousness draws attention to the need to consider both elements in examining a magico-religious system at any point in time. While Jung himself develops little in this area, he points the way toward an integration we shall at least seek to develop.

(3) The emphasis on the positive, adaptive aspects of magico-religious practices helps us account for the many cases in which the practice is not used in an anti-social, accusative mode, and does not functionally appear to be a collective neurosis. His emphasis on a forward-looking religious function helps explain instances in which esoteric magico-religious paradigms have provided contributions to shaping new cognitive realities.

Whether we move beyond adhering to these points in Jungian theory to embracing the theory, with its proposed deep structure as an insightful contribution to magico-religious study depends on whether or not his ideas can be made less subjective, and whether the redeveloped structures correspond to magico-religious data. Deciding whether or not this is a fruitful road to travel depends, of course, on having magico-religious contents on which to make an evaluation. We shall therefore defer our
reformulation and application of the details of Jung's deep structure until some descriptive material from the case studies is available.

**Functionalist Approaches**

The emphasis of most social anthropologists since Malinowski has represented a turning away from the study of conceptual and personality structures *per se* in favor of studying activities and practices which can be identified in terms of actor, activity and consequence. Malinowski's characterization of magic seems to have laid the foundations for many subsequent studies. Examining magic as it was employed in Melanesian societies, Malinowski saw it as a complement of technical knowledge. It was often used where the technical knowledge of the people in question was inadequate to assure success. This was particularly true in situations in which interest was deep and persistent, accompanied by anxiety or strong emotional feeling. In such cases magic filled the gap in knowledge and allowed an outlet for emotion, which sometimes in turn permitted other coping mechanisms to function better.

Malinowski also sought to distinguish between magic and religion. Both shared their origin in emotional stress, felt crises of life and the realization that human control was limited. Both were intimately linked to mythology and apparent miracles. But on most other points there were striking contrasts.
### Magic

1. Contains limited techniques, employed with a practical orientation.

2. Rests on simple trust in the effectiveness of spells and rites.

3. Depends on a mythology of magic, which contains the accounts of primal magical achievements and which in turn is "validated" by current magical successes.

4. Is the possession of specialists and technicians.

5. Has the potential for either good or evil use, as well as a positive doing or a negative undoing of things.

### Religion

1. Composed of a body of self-contained arts which are expressed in rituals and beliefs which have value, not utility.

2. Is based on a supernatural world of faith, with a pantheon of gods, spirits and powers.

3. Rests on a cosmology which opens vistas of future life.

4. Is the "affair of all"; where there is specialization—as in priests and visionaries, it is not a question of a profession but a personal gift.

5. Is essentially moral, and has irremediable happenings as its primary concern.

If magic begins in the emotionally anxious settings, it persists because it performs important social functions by decreasing the anxiety and emotional tensions—it is society's way of coping with those areas which lay "beyond" its rational-technical bounds. These areas include:

1. Areas where chance or risk are high;

2. Areas beyond normal achievement, including feats which are impossible by normal standards such as flying or not growing old—this may be the domain of ideals or wish fulfillment;

3. Areas which are beyond normal material and moral standards—
the realm of black magic, sorcery or witchcraft where one may kill at a distance or ignore morality;
(4) areas which are beyond reasonable expectation—such as cases in which success or failure is out of proportion with reasonable expectations of the results of intelligence and effort.

In addition, the social survival of magical beliefs is reinforced by its relation to myth. Not only does the childhood learning of myth suggest the possibility of magical power, but apparent magical successes reinforce belief in the myths. Magic also generates a kind of charismatic "myth" out of its daily practice. A magical ritual generally originates in the emotional revelation of an individual. The originator is often exceptional in his ability to express and dramatize the emotions others feel. Much of his reputation rests on his extraordinary personality characteristics. Those who carry on his rites may be considerably less sensitive and skilled; continued practice rests on increasingly exaggerated accounts of the past magician's prowess.

For Malinowski this theory implied that magic was not simply a primitive substitute for science, or technical knowledge. In practice natives could easily tell the "difference" between magic and science; they did not use magical techniques where they were confident of the outcome of an action based on their technical skill, nor did they abandon technical activities (such as planting) in hopes that ritual could produce the desired outcome. Magic was "misfortune embedded"—it dealt with those cases where the best knowledge society could produce was not
enough to remove uncertainty or the possibility for disaster.  

Subsequent studies have modified some of Malinowski's points. Evans-Pritchard showed that the reasons for continued belief in magic rested to a large extent on the nature of the belief system itself; it operated as a consistent and comprehensive system which did not (and could not?) question its fundamental premises. He also showed that the role of a firm tradition, which Malinowski observed in the Trobriand Islands, is not an important part of Zande magic, and may be linked with the more rigid "ownership" of magic in the Trobriand Islands. The utilitarian hypothesis has also needed modification. Additional case studies have identified instances of magico-religious practice which are hard to account for in utilitarian terms—perhaps the quaintest case being Australian increase ceremonies for mosquitoes.

Evans-Pritchard began his classic study of Azande magic and witchcraft from a somewhat different position. Although he too discussed the functions of magic, his initial focus was to spell out the concepts which the Azande used to organize their magico-religious world, and adhere to these concepts in showing both how they fit into a unified world view and how they were employed by particular Azande in everyday life situations. Evans-Pritchard claimed that the basis for using magic and witchcraft in daily life needed no special explanation. Magic and witchcraft were often discussed, and primary socialization provided most of the practically necessary knowledge about them. They were accepted by most people as part of their given social reality—the world of everyday
life into which they were born. Within their domain, the beliefs were
cohort and practical. From the European viewpoint, contradictions
could be seen, and experiments proposed which might have shown magi-
cal techniques ineffective. Nevertheless, the Azande do not dwell on
such contradictions, nor do they seek to perform experiments. The
socially different contexts in which "contradictory" elements appear
make them incomparable in the Azande context, while the practical every-
day life orientation of the oracles, and their ties to political authority,
make abstract experiments with them both out of keeping and dangerous.
As Evans-Pritchard notes, this situation is not markedly different
than Western attitudes toward many of the fundamental premises of
"everyday life" which form the foundation of the socially given reality.

The case for participants in magical associations is slightly dif-
ferent. The initiate comes to have a different view of magic, and a dif-
ferent foundation for his belief in it and his continued practice of it.
Commonly taken-for-granted presumptions about what magic is, what is
"trick" and what is "real" and the reasons people think it works are all
destroyed. In their place comes a professional understanding, an
experience-based understanding which both confirms and surpasses
some of the skepticism and beliefs which exists among non-initiates.
Along with this knowledge comes the requirement that the lay opinions--
although misinformed--not be upset. The magician comes to live in
another social reality, in relatively homogeneous societies one of the
few "privileged" positions from which the taken-for-granted social
reality can be examined and contrasted with another.

Evans-Pritchard addressed the question of how magical knowledge was used, as well as how it was organized. He found that magic, oracles and witchcraft-sorcery constituted three sides of a world view which unified their diverse roles. Accusations of magico-religious malpractice occurred in cases where misfortune, usually unexpected loss or death, had taken place. People allegedly practice witchcraft and sorcery in the same emotional setting, where there is envy, hatred and jealousy. In a cosmology where misfortunes are held to be the consequence of human actions, the victim clearly knows where to look for potential sources of his misfortune--among his enemies and the people who have reason to envy him and bear grudges. Hence, Evans-Pritchard's findings that accusations of witchcraft and sorcery occur primarily within networks of social contact, not across the rigid class lines which diminish social contact. Misfortune, then, is translated into a pattern of accusations which may reflect and generate conflicts.

Magico-religious "explanations" of misfortune would be empty if there were not attendant possibilities for social action. The ritualized and routinized social procedures which accompany witchcraft and sorcery provide the victim with means of doing something about his misfortune, at the same time providing important social roles for magicians and diviners. The only definitive way of knowing whether accusations are founded, what kind of forces one is facing and which social counter-action is appropriate is to resort to divination--consult the oracles. In
part the oracles are diagnostic—they tell the suffering person the source of his misfortune or ailment. They are also adjudicative, for the highest form of divination—the poison oracle—is the prince's oracle. A decisive answer from the oracle can be the basis for undertaking social action against an accused witch or sorcerer; a negative response makes personal vengeance against a person who was suspected of being responsible for the misfortune an "illegal" action.

In addition, there is recourse to magic in situations where lack of evidence or knowledge about a crime precludes legal action. Something is stolen, but the owner has no evidence on which to make an accusation. Good magic may be used as a way of isolating out and punishing the criminal. Good magic with this kind of destructive function will act only against criminals—if the magician were to try to use it as personal vengeance magic to kill a man innocent of the crime, it would rebound upon him and destroy him. Good magic acts impartially and according to the merits of the case. The Azande contend it judges equitably, settling cases judiciously as princes would do in a legal case.

Of course, not all magical practice is like this. Just as a person for reasons of malice or greed may bewitch another, so the same motives can lead a person either to use black magic (sorcery) against his enemy, or to purchase the services of one skilled in such arts. Witchcraft and sorcery are used in the same kinds of situations. Because relatively few people have a detailed knowledge of sorcery, and that purchase is possible only for the relatively rich, sorcery accusations are more common among
the nobles, witchcraft among commoners.

Magical roles among the Azande, then, relate to conflict and disputes because the cosmology in which they are grounded holds men responsible for misfortunes which may befall their fellow men. Where magical action is believed to be potentially effective in bringing about changes in men's conditions, accusations of such action are also possible responses to misfortune. Where it it believed that magical attacks occur in emotion charged situations of envy and animosity, accusations will be made in such instances—usually in the nexus of on-going conflicts, or tensions which must surface as conflicts to permit social functioning to continue. At this level, magico-religious accusations and conflicts provide the same functions Coser identifies for social conflict more generally.

Magico-religious practices may have emotional significance not tied to their function in social conflicts. Kluckhohn suggested some of these in his attempt to expand upon the emotional roots of magico-religious activities pointed to by Malinowski and Evans-Pritchard. He maintained that even apparently anti-social practices, such as witchcraft and black magic contribute to the maintenance of society by providing controlled means of expressing unconscious desires and frustrations which are culturally forbidden. Here the existence of social prohibitions, and the tendency for individuals who have felt the same impulses and resisted their expression to punish others who don't, can be mitigated by magico-religious outlets. Claiming to be a victim of magico-religious manipulation or attack becomes a way of interpreting and expressing,
with less guilt, shame and social sanctions, feelings and desires which
would otherwise be unthinkable, but which nevertheless, arise and must
be coped with by members of the society. 103 The frustrations and hos-
tility attending socialization must find outlets, but the need for cooperation
in society, especially acute in small scale preindustrial societies, makes
open expression of aggressive tendencies unacceptable, while total non-
expression becomes personally intolerable. 104 Accepting projection of
hostilities in well defined channels then is "functional" for both individuals
experiencing aggressive feelings and society--the individual finds an
emotional outlet without social approbation while the social life of the
community is stabilized by minimizing conflicts in vital relationships,
while avoiding massive individual pathology. So long as the projective-
accusative domain is kept in check by other social forces, it can serve to
keep the society functioning. For those not directly involved, accusa-
tions as well as magico-religious rituals provide a source of entertain-
ment and excitement. 105 Participants, in addition to obtaining release
of anxiety or aggression, also become the focus of social attention, which
can make society, with all its personal restrictions, also an intensely
personal source of gratification.

The initial studies' focus on magico-religious practices as mani-
ifestations of the relationship between individuals and society gave way to
another set of concerns. More recent studies, mostly of anti-social
magico-religious practices (witchcraft and sorcery) have concentrated
on how accusations of such activities are related to social structure as a
whole, not merely to individual tensions. Instead of seeing accusations as the product of intra-personal conflict, they are instead seen as a gauge for social tensions and conflicts among groups. It was important, therefore, to look at the relationship between the victim of the accusation and the accuser. The problem became to specify in which relationships such accusations occurred and what functions they served. Several general answers can be identified.

Marwick suggested that accusations of evil magico-religious practice were used in cases where legal settlement of disputes was prohibited because norms did not allow for public recognition of conflict in the relationship or where it was desired to break off a relationship rather than to settle the dispute. \(^{106}\) Gluckman suggested magico-religious accusations were used where no other institutionalized outlet for conflict existed. \(^{107}\) Douglas advanced the hypothesis that the accusations occurred in the "unstructured areas of society" and hence ought to be related to authority patterns: societies which were interdependent enough to give rise to conflicts which could not be moved away from, but unstructured enough to provide more than personalistic means for handling them should have the most accusations of personal magico-religious malevolence. \(^{108}\) Crawford, by contrast, suggested magico-religious accusations were most important in instances where there was something to be gained by arousing public opinion and expanding an initially private dispute into a collective quarrel. \(^{109}\) Taking a slightly different perspective, Evans-Pritchard noticed that accusations were
made among people of relatively similar status, and not toward people of higher status. The opposite was observed in Melanesia, where accusations involving chief-population relationships were common. Closer examination revealed that this difference supported hypotheses linking accusations to unstructured, uncertain relationships. The authorities in the Azande case were highly centralized chiefs with well defined powers and responsibilities while the Melanesian headmen had no such powers and had to depend upon their personal skill associations for their authority.

All the dimensions of accusation patterns have not yet been explored, however. Some accounts, primarily from Africa and Britain, suggest that accusations take place among close acquaintances and neighbors, sometimes involving kinsmen. On the other hand, accounts from Oceania suggest that sorcerers are thought to make their attacks on people outside their own societies. Marwick has shown that in some cases, the apparent differences are attributable to differences in evidence and method: when asked about witches or sorcerers, informants often describe them as being quite different from "normal" people and distance their actions accordingly. The anthropologist focusing instead on the people who are actually accused often finds a more mundane pattern—involving individuals who are often quite unextraordinary.

A correspondingly wide range of social functions has been linked with accusations of magico-religious aggression. It has been asserted that accusations may promote lineage or group solidarity, the need for
counteraction drawing the group together. Equally well, however, it
can split groups, where polarization occurs as a result of the accusa-
tions' exacerbating conflict. These disruptive effects have been seen
as serving to demarcate social groups, to rupture social relations which
have become too confining or to assure better geographical distribution
by encouraging villages with excess population to split. Disfunctional
results from accusations are also apparent. They include aggravating
hostilities, exacerbating fears which may lead to pre-emptive criminal
attacks and preventing peaceful cooperation. In the most dramatic
cases, widespread accusations may contribute to (or signal) a break-
down in normal social functioning.

In connection with their use in conflict situations, then, magico-
religious beliefs may be used socially to contribute to "necessary" social
functions, such as the definition and maintenance of social boundaries,
control of deviants in the name of community values, and attaining bal-
ance between the population and the environment. But the evidence does
not suggest that conflicts in these domains have inherent in them any
novel functions, nor are there inherent conflict potentials in magico-
religious beliefs which make them different from conflicts framed in
terms of other abstract concepts, like ideologies. Such conflicts may
be more intense than physical disputes over partitionable resources, but
as Coser demonstrates, this is a feature of conflicts which are inter-
preted in abstractions which are used socially in building personal
identity. If one wishes to explain massive witch hunts or ideological
purges, it is a good intellectual bet to look for underlying social structural irritations, or more importantly, bodies of knowledge capable of expressing and displacing them. Social anthropologists are correct in suggesting that individuals and groups find social uses for knowledge systems, both intentionally and quasi-intentionally. But one cannot infer from the content or logic of the knowledge alone how it will be employed socially. The purpose of our case studies will be to identify potentials for social knowledge use associated with both the content (psychotherapeutic accuracy) and the logic (symbolic effectiveness, meta-interpretations) of magical beliefs in two cases. But we shall go on to show that these potentials cannot be inferentially linked with the social functions of knowledge. Knowledge communities survive dramatic changes in their social function. Strategies for knowledge use change in response to both environmental changes, and the addition of new knowledge. Such adjustments center around epistemic communities, and the social realities they have established. It is from this perspective we shall examine both the content and the use of magical knowledge.
FOOTNOTES


3 John Beattie, *Other Cultures* (London, 1964), Chapters V and XII.


7 Frazer, *Golden Bough*, p. 35.

8 Frazer, *Golden Bough*, p. 35.


10 Jarvie and Agassi, "Rationality," p. 60.

11 E. E. Evans-Pritchard, "The Intellectualist (English) Interpretation of Magic," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts*, I (2) (Cairo, 1933), pp. 282-311.

12 LaBarre suggests the same ordering, not as a necessary develop-
mental sequence, but as a psychological ordering. Following a distinction based on attempts to manipulate based on faulty (oral-anal stage) techniques and attempts at propiation (genital stage), he contends that magic resembles primitive narcissism, while religion is an Oedipal manifestation. See Ghost, pp. 95-100.


18 Lucien Levy-Bruhl, Primitive Mentality (New York, 1923); The Soul of the Primitive (London, 1928).


25 For a critique from the rationalist view, see Goody, "Religion," pp. 142-62.


29 Beattie, "Ritual," p. 60.


31 Turner, Forest, pp. 35-7.


34 Simmel suggests this as the primary feature distinguishing an observer of society from an observer of nature in his "How is Society Possible," in Philosophy of the Social Sciences, ed. Natanson (New York, 1963), pp. 73-92.

35 Simmel, "How," p. 75.
Thomas Szasz argues this well, and shows the frightening implications in *The Manufacture of Madness* (London, 1971).


Freud, *Totem*, p. 130.


Freud, *Totem*, p. 94.


For a discussion of how social anthropology has expanded and changed its conception of the socially oriented functions of magico-religious practice, see the following section of this review of approaches, pp. 69-76.

Freud, *Future*, p. 43.
Freud, Future, p. 43.


For a general survey of structural approaches, see Jean Piaget, Structuralism (London, 1971).

This was first suggested by Malinowski during his 1920's debate with Ernest Jones. Malinowski concluded that Freud's Oedipal complex was only one of a series of "nuclear complexes" which could arise, each reflecting and affecting the family organization of the culture. For his views, see the first two sections of Bronislaw Malinowski, Sex and Repression in Savage Society (London, 1953).


For an excellent bibliography, see LaBarre, Ghost, pp. 31-68, especially footnote 6 and LaBarre, "The Influence of Freud on Anthropology," American Image, 15 (1958): 275-328, especially footnotes 57-62.
For an interesting occult commentary making the same logical-theoretical claim, but with a strikingly different value orientation, see Henry Baily Stevens, *The Recovery of Culture* (Essex, 1951). Stevens negatively evaluates the male-killing orientation of current societies and traces them to hunting, and meat eating more generally. The female revering, vegetarian group, Feraferia, which we shall mention in connection with our Los Angeles case study holds similar views.


*LaBarre, Ghost*, p. 45.

*LaBarre, Ghost*, pp. 55-57. His refusal to treat culture or society as an autonomous trans-personal entity AND his inability to show a convincing individual model of it make his definition of mentally sick people as those who do not know how to handle their emotional life meaningfully in social context hard to interpret. Even more problematic is the contention with which he follows this description of personal mental illness, for he then contends whole societies can be functionally and descriptively insane (p. 45). Clearly he has not taken his cultural point too seriously, for we find his clarification of personal craziness as disorientation with respect to
a cognitive map provided by their culture (p. 48). Extrapolating, he chides anthropologists who can recognize the former and will not recognize that "a whole society can be disoriented too--say in a cargo cult ideology, with respect to the realities of European economic behavior and the European cognitive maps concerning it." (p. 48, emphasis mine) A deeper analysis of the epistemological and methodological confusion and assumption will be subsumed in our treatment of social reality as it relates to theoretical frameworks as attempts at non-relative points from which to judge other behavior. See pp. 90-108.

The failure to do this is apparent in both main-stream sociological theory and more specific treatments of social reality, such as Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*; Schutz, "Multiple Realities"; and Holzner, *Reality Construction in Society*. For a tentative attempt to move beyond this, see our analysis of social realities, pp. 90-146.


For a highly detailed and well reasoned argument supporting the first argument for the Western case, see Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York, 1971).

This has been a more general critique of strict psychoanalytic approaches. Jung stressed the complementary nature of the unconscious and conscious forces, but did little to develop his insight systematically. Anna Freud's *Ego and Mechanisms and Defense* (New York, 1946) and especially Heinz Hartman's "ego psychology", basically outlined in his *Ego Psychology and the Problem of Adaptation* (New York, 1958) are correctives. Serious application of these insights to magico-religious practices is lacking, however.

LaBarre sharply criticizes the "rationalist" approaches to magic and religion for ignoring the "irrational". See *Ghost*, pp. 31-61. Naive "irrationalists" face similar problems to those identified with naive "rationalists". A good discussion is Evans-Pritchard, "Intellectualist," pp. 299-311.


Eric Erickson's emphasis on identity as wholeness parallels Jung's emphasis, although most of his attention is given to social rather than symbolic expressions of it. Similarly Hartman emphasizes the interdepen-
dence of the ego's "fitting together" or unifying and adaption; the ego state they point to in which the ego can temporarily suspend itself while maintaining coordinating control parallels Jung's conception of the self. See Eric Erickson, *Childhood and Society* and "Wholeness and Totality" and Heinz Hartmann, *Ego Psychology and the Problem of Adaptation*.

80 This footnote is missing in number only.


82 Freud, in discussing possible goals of therapy, spoke of the possibility of producing psychological conflicts in the service of a therapeutic goal which pointed toward a patient's being able to cope with conflict situations progressively. He rejected the method as being too dangerous, and settled for a therapeutic goal focusing more around removing a problem and preventing its reoccurrence. The ego-strengthening course he rejected, and its attendant method, are part of some magico-religious systems, particularly the Western ceremonial magic tradition, most shamanistic systems and some trainings of religious practitioners for therapeutic functions. Jung takes an intermediate position, looking for more ways to uncover unconscious contents, yet also recognizing that the activities may create their own conflicts, disturbing unproblematic situations at one level, while looking to a higher state of psychological functioning. See Freud's "Analysis Terminable or Interminable," in his *Collected Papers*, Vol. 5 (London, 1953), pp. 316-57.

83 LaBarre claims nearly the same thing, but regards the means as "non-adaptive"; Jung, on the other hand, realizes that at times such religious belief may have negative consequences, such as stifling ego develop-
ment by over-emphasizing the irrational, but contends that his is not an
a priori feature of religious practice. See LaBarre, Ghost, pp. 44-7; Jung,
Psychology and Religion; and Freud, The Future of an Illusion.

85 A. D. Macfarlane, Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England (New
York, 1970), pp. 246-7; Max Marwick, Witchcraft and Sorcery (Harmonds-
88 S. F. Nadel, "Malinowski on Magic and Religion," in Man and
89 It appears that Malinowski's observations are bounded. In cases
of extreme uncertainty or crisis, where faith in both ritual and technical
skills may fail, people may abandon their technical component in hopes of a
solution (frequently a millenial one) based on ritual alone. For numerous
examples, see LaBarre, Ghost.
90 Evans-Pritchard, Witchcraft, especially pp. 183-201; 475-8.
92 Nur Yalman, International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,
93 E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the
For the necessity of an expression of such tensions, and the role of conflict in providing it, see Lewis Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (New York, 1956).

Clyde Kluckhohn, *Navaho Witchcraft*, Peabody Museum Papers, 22 (no. 2) (Harvard University, 1944). Kluckhohn wrote after Freud's works on religion had become quite widely known, and Kluckhohn, taking the social perspective in a different culture, presents a different, but parallel analysis in some points.


Many anthropologists have noted an entertainment function for magico-religious activities. For an application of this observation to current Ameri-


113 For examples of such reports, see A. P. Elkin, "Beliefs and Practices Connected with Death in North-Eastern and Western South Australia," *Oceania*, Vol. 7 (1937); H. I. Hogbin, "Sorcery and Administration," *Oceania*, Vol. 6 (1935); and P. Lawrence, "Sorcery Among the Garia," *South Pacific*, Vol. 6 (1952).


115 T. O. Beidelman, "Witchcraft in Ukguru," in *Witchcraft and*


119 For a discussion of the problems posed by the homeostasis model of witchcraft and sorcery beliefs and accusations as stabilizers of society, see Douglas, "Introduction," Witchcraft, pp. xix-xx. In particular, she notes that the presence of widespread accusations is often assumed to indicate a breakdown in society—a superbly untestable assertion given the lack of independent criteria for judging the "health" of a society.

120 Coser, Social, pp. 111-9.
CHAPTER II

EPISTEMIC COMMUNITIES

Introduction

A number of theorists discussed in the last chapter imply a crucial role for magical practitioners, working from their specialized magical "reality", in shaping and steering the political and social significance of magical activities. Yet relatively little information is available about how specialized magical perspectives are established and maintained, or their precise relationship to the expectations and beliefs of non-magicians. Without such information, both theorists attempting to determine the significance of magical organizations for social and political organization and policy-makers, attempting to alter or control magical practice to mitigate social or political problems, find themselves lacking essential knowledge.

This chapter sets forth a theoretical construct, that of an epistemic community, which provides a foundation for exploring the specialized social reality of magic. The partial approaches to magic, discussed in the last chapter, all address some, but not all, of the components of magical epistemic communities (categorical frameworks, interest
structures, operational philosophies, role structures and social bases).

Examining magic as an epistemic community suggests logical connections among key features of magic defined in earlier approaches, connections which are significant in establishing specialized social realities. Understanding magical social realities not only helps explain why magical practices may appear in modern, as well as premodern, societies, but contributes to understanding how different components of epistemic communities contribute to social realities which provide, or avoid, political significance for magical practices and beliefs.

As we have indicated earlier, an epistemic community consists of the following components:

(1) categorical framework
(2) interest structure
(3) operational philosophy, or methodologies, which organize techniques
(4) inter-linked roles
(5) social base.

When we use the term "epistemology", we shall refer to the first three components (categorical framework, interest structure, operational philosophy) considered together.

The basic concept of an epistemic community, as well as the term itself, is drawn from sociologist Burkhart Holzner's book, *Reality Construction in Society*. In developing the concept in this chapter, however, we have deviated from Holzner's original conception. In particular, we
have specified components of an epistemology (categorical framework, interest structure, operational philosophy) which Holzner did not have. In so doing, we have drawn from other disciplines: philosophy for Korner's discussion of categorical frameworks, critical sociology for Habermas' work on knowledge interests and methodologies and psychology for Rokeach's characterization of belief system organization. We have, in addition, considered the social base as an explicit component of an epistemic community, where Holzner's work does not do so in these terms. We have been eclectic not because we wanted to be, but because it was necessary in order to arrive at a minimal framework in which we could comprehensively discuss magic as an intellectual and social phenomenon. This strategy has clear advantages, the most important being the development of a concept, which permits the integration of diverse theoretical views, leading to new insights. It also has costs. The reader, as well as the author, must endure the tediousness of jargon from many sources, asides to provide necessary background, and most significantly, the burden of assimilating unfamiliar perspectives. We believe the benefits outweigh the costs, and hope that at times beleagured readers will in the end concur.

In Chapter One we examined three ways of studying magic: the intellectualist, psychoanalytic and functionalist orientations. In this chapter we shall attempt to discuss these approaches as parts of the epistemic community of magic. While there are some exceptions, the intellectualist approach discusses the categorical framework, pri-
arily its underlying logic, the interest structure and peripherally the operational philosophy of magic. The psychotherapeutic approach concentrates on the operational philosophy and role structure, although as we shall show, it is extremely relevant to synthesizing divergent observations about magic's logic. The functionalist approach deals primarily with the social base of magic, and hence at times, its role structure. In short, the focus of each of the three approaches to magic relates to components of a magical epistemic community.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approach</th>
<th>Epistemic Community Components</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Intellectualist</td>
<td>categorical framework</td>
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<td>knowledge interests</td>
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<td>2. Psychoanalytic</td>
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<td>3. Functionalist</td>
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The aim of this chapter is to present the concept of an epistemic community, describe each of its components and establish theoretical linkages among them. Using these linkages, we shall then attempt to tie together the perspectives of the three approaches to magic discussed in the first chapter.

The components of an epistemic community are not logically or
empirically independent. Much of the coherence of social reality derives from identifiable connections among these components. The dominant distinctions in the categorical framework, and the principles which guide category construction, support the interest structure. Interest structure, in turn, constrains the operational philosophy used to generate and apply knowledge. The operational philosophy governs the application of techniques, which provides a partial basis for role structure. Dynamic interaction with the environment will establish a social base for the epistemic community. These inter-relationships provide constraints on the ability to arbitrarily link different components into viable epistemic communities, as well as providing a series of mutually reinforcing conceptual hurdles for understanding different perspectives. These conceptual differences may work unintentionally to separate different social realities. They may also be intentionally fostered as key elements in defining and maintaining the intellectual and social boundaries of epistemic communities. Epistemic communities, then, become one basis upon which divergent social realities emerge and are perpetuated.

We are then interested in several aspects of magic as an epistemic community. We would like to know to what extent the epistemology and practice of magic serves to demarcate it from other intellectual pursuits. We must also inquire about the social uses of intellectual differences. Do magicians use intellectual differences as a way of enforcing social boundaries? Do attempts to maintain social or individual identities rooted in intellectual perspectives impose extra-intellectual
barriers to understanding across perspectives? Is the form of social participation more important than epistemological issues in creating confidence in magical knowledge? We can answer these questions empirically only after we have correctly framed them theoretically. To do this, we must consider in greater detail each component of an epistemic community.

Categorical Frameworks

Categorical frameworks are ways of creating and arranging classes into which objects, both abstract and concrete, are placed. Our theoretical and empirical concern is with making underlying principles of such frameworks clear, and seeing the consequences of differences in them for framing social realities. The three components of categorical frameworks most relevant to this aim are:

(a) the structure of the categories employed;
(b) the principles which constitute categories and define differences within them;
(c) the logic which underlies the framework.

Differences in the structures, principles and logics of categorical frameworks are important because individuals operating within a particular categorical framework, and seeing it as natural, will reject another categorical framework as alien or unnatural when certain key differences exist. Rejecting different categorical frameworks, either because they cannot be understood or because it is felt they ought not be understood, is one important way in which social realities are built up
around epistemic communities. The most important distinctions in structure, principles and logic which contribute to this process will now be examined.

The structure of categories involves judgments about what types of classes are fundamental or independent, or indeed, whether such distinctions are possible or necessary. Different categorical frameworks include different judgments about which objects are logically ultimate—that is, those objects which possess characteristics, but are not themselves characteristics. Categories composed of such objects are called particulars. Different categorical frameworks also designate different objects as ontologically fundamental—that is, apart from or independent of, other objects. Categories of ontologically fundamental objects are independent. A terminology for the way in which these distinctions are made is provided in flowchart 1.

In terms of this flowchart, we can identify three possible differences among categorical frameworks, each of which contributes a different problem for an individual attempting to understand one categorical framework from the perspective of another. Some categorical frameworks will distinguish between ontologically fundamental and non-fundamental objects, conceptually independent and conceptually dependent categories. Dependent categories require knowledge of other categories to be understood, while independent categories can be understood in their own terms, without necessary reference to other categories with which they have connections. Different assignments of conceptual dependency
Independent Particulars

Maximal classes of independent particulars

Independent Particular

Single Independent Particular

Maximal classes of dependent particulars

Maximal classes of dependent attributes

Single Dependent Particular

Dependent Particulars

Are particulars logically fundamental?

no

Can the class be partitioned?

no

Maximal classes of dependent attributes

Single Dependent Particular

Dependent Attributes

Are attributes logically fundamental?

no

Can the class be partitioned?

no

Maximal classes of independent attributes

Single Independent Attribute

FLOW CHART I

Particular

Is the object logically ultimate?

no

Are particulars logically fundamental?

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have wide-ranging impacts on the meaning of statements using the
affected categories, even if the categories involved have the same ele-
ments in them. These differences are difficult to identify from language
usage, for most meaning-preserving linguistic transformations preserve
basic relationships of conceptual dependency. Conventional ways of re-
stating a misunderstood sentence, e.g., paraphrase, take for granted
the dependency relationships among categories. Coming to see that it
is the semantic structure which must be altered, and conveying the dif-
ferent meanings of similar statements, is a communicatively difficult
task.

Once differences in judgments about conceptual dependence are
recognized, however, it is relatively easy to cope with them cognitively.
One need only "promote" a dependent category to an independent one, or
vice versa. A scientist who once regarded space as a set of relation-
ships between physical objects, and hence dependent for its character-
istics upon the existence of physical objects, may without destroying
his categories of either space or physical objects, come instead to re-
gard physical objects as geometro-dynamic manifestations of space.

No new elements need be added to the categorical framework. No cate-
gories need be redrawn. While the different perspective may not be seen
as useful or compelling, once it has been linguistically identified, it is
not difficult to understand. Differences over ontological fundamentalness,
then, are most significant as communicative problems, less trouble-
some as conceptual ones.
Categorical frameworks may also differ in whether or not multiple kinds of particulars or attributes, either independent or dependent, exist. In terms of the flowchart, they may break categories down into maximal kinds or reject such a breakdown. Major differences in categorical frameworks hinge on whether or not maximal kinds of independent particulars exist. Monistic systems assert that no major distinctions among independent particulars can be made. Instead there is a single independent particular, physical atoms in monistic philosophical systems, or a single deity in monotheistic religious systems, which underlies all apparent diversity. Going from a pluralistic or dualistic system to a monistic one requires some cognitive solution to the problem of unity. How does one unite these different categories into a single unity without simply ignoring distinctions, or suggesting reasons why unity may not be an important feature? If a commitment to unity is rejected, then disagreements among categorical frameworks become essentially unsoluble unless one of the frameworks is rejected. Hence, differences over the existence of maximal kinds are primarily cognitive differences, easy to identify in discourse, but difficult to resolve intellectually.

Categorical frameworks may also have different domains. It is possible that an individual using one categorical framework has had experiences which an individual in another has not. At times, being exposed to the experience helps reduce misunderstanding, allowing the richer categorical framework to then elaborate classifications. But this
is not always so. Sometimes the experience is one a person believes it is impossible to have, at least in the terms presented, because it violates the assumptions contained in the structure or logic of his categorical framework. It may not be possible to expand the overall set of objects which are classified until the new experience has been structured differently. Similarly, it may not be possible to eliminate experiences, for example by designating them illusions, until substantial changes in understanding have taken place. These changes are among the most difficult to make, and the most difficult to explain after the fact.

A second course of boundary-encouraging misunderstandings come from differences in the criteria for locating objects in classes. Two kinds of criteria are involved, one based on principles for identifying the constituting attributes of a maximal kind, the other based on identifying individuating attributes. The first principles bound the maximal kind, while the second distinguish elements within it. When we say that an attribute is constitutive we mean that a particular's belonging to a maximal kind logically implies the applicability of the attribute.

If a collection of attributes are constitutive of one and only one maximal kind, then possessing them would logically imply membership in this category. We shall say that an attribute is individuating if for each particular in a maximal kind, there is a subattribute such that being in the maximal kind and possessing the subattribute logically implies and is implied by a particular's being a distinct element in the category. The logic underlying the categorical framework is the logic in which these
implications must hold.

Different constituting principles, applied to the same collection of elements, will produce different groupings. Two problems in understanding may arise from this. First, the constituting principles of one categorical framework may strike a person using another as not really similar. The person may have no difficulty in understanding the combination of elements, but cannot see any apparent reason for combining them. The combination may be meaningful with respect to the underlying logic of the categorical framework, which we shall discuss shortly, but meaningless with respect to another logical system. Similar problems pertain to individuating attributes, which may appear to make trivial distinctions. Again there may be no conceptual problem in seeing the distinction, but no motivation in terms of other categorical frameworks and experience for making them. This is partly a conceptual problem, for the principles may indeed be faulty. It is also a more difficult problem of domain, experience, judgment and motivation, which may be relatively difficult to attack cognitively. Such differences make the rejection of a categorical framework seem natural on the grounds that it is confused or trivial.

Another set of differences arise from the higher order interpretations possible within categorical frameworks. In our previous discussion, we have tacitly assumed attributes to describe what individuals perceive, or believe to be perceptable. We now wish to consider the possibility of attributes which are interpretative—that is, containing
significant non-perceptual, judgmental components. In these cases, there is the possibility of divergent interpretations of superficially similar categories. Consider, for example, the following statements:

(a) x is a table

(b) x is a table participating in the Platonic Form of the Table.

Without implying an absolute distinction between interpretation and description, we can consider the second statement more interpretative than the first. There are no perceptual criteria for deciding whether an instance of one of them is or is not an instance of the other. Following Korner's terminology, we shall call such statements co-ostensive. One co-ostensive attribute is interpretative of the other if possessing one attribute logically implies, but is not implied by, possessing the other. In the example above, the second statement is interpretative of the first.

Some of the most bitter differences among categorical frameworks arise from differences over co-ostensive, interpretative attributes. Simmel and Coser maintain such abstract differences are the root of many essentially unresolvable differences, and hold intellectuals responsible for exacerbating these conflicts. This is even more serious when multiple, mutually incompatible, co-ostensive interpretations exist. One might initially hope that interpretative components could be "stripped" and a kernel attribute discovered which might permit agreement. This will often be difficult, or even conceptually impossible. If the initial conceptions in categorical frameworks are interpretative, and it is believed that they must of necessity be so, then "getting down
to basics" (accepting less interpretative attributes) will require conceptual changes. Furthermore, if it is believed that all attributes contain interpretative elements, then the appeal to eliminate them in favor of some more basic attributes will be interpreted as a dogmatic claim which seeks to exault one set of attributes over another. Under such circumstances, it is probably easier to accept a premise that all constituting and individuating principles contain some interpretative elements, and seek to identify the differences among them. This activity, however, implies a commitment to agreement and discourse as knowledge, and hence, the presence of a particular knowledge interest—in this case, a hermeneutic one. Where this knowledge interest is not present, discourse among categorical frameworks may simply be perceived as non-productive. This suggests, at best, separation, at worst, the need to establish the supremacy of one categorical framework through extra-cognitive means.

This problem is both an intellectual and a social one. Intellectually, it is one of the unresolved questions facing the social sciences. We currently do not know to what extent perception in and of itself is possible, and to what extent interpretations are a necessary—and inseparable—component. Social scientists, then, cannot point to an intellectual strategy for resolving competing claims of co-ostensive attributes or statements; indeed, they have shunned the question. Socially, there is little consensus on how to resolve non-perceptual questions, especially normative ones, when permissive tolerance will not suffice. Conflict is
often accepted as unavoidable in such cases. Clearly such differences are major means by which epistemic communities set and maintain boundaries for their social realities.

Still other key differences among categorical frameworks emerge from differences in their underlying logics. Constitutive and individuating attributes are linked by logical implications to maximal kinds. While we generally mean by the term "logic" some version of classical logic, not all categorical frameworks employ classical logic as their exclusive, or even primary, logic. Just as different maximal kinds can be formed from the same collections of objects, so different maximal kinds can be formed from the same collections of objects, so different logics can underlie collections of categories. If different logics underlie two categorical frameworks, it is apparent that this serves as a major barrier to mutual intelligibility.

More importantly, however, some categorical frameworks are capable of employing multiple logics. Where the validity of constitutive and individuating principles are determined with reference to one logical system, we shall say that this logic is the underlying logic of the categorical framework. Secondary or auxiliary logics may be used in conjunction with the primary, or underlying, logic. Where such secondary logics are associated with specific maximal kinds, they may form the basis for specializations in highly differentiated categorical frameworks.

It seems reasonable at this point to ask if the same logic must always underlie categorical frameworks. If this were so, misunder-
standings could be resolved by clarifying special derived logics by reference to the common underlying logic. Most work on category systems has assumed that classical logic, or some extension of it, was the primary logic of categorical frameworks. Other logics where they existed, were assumed to be secondary logics, with restricted uses. Recently it has become clear that it is not a safe a priori assumption. Formal mathematicians have demonstrated that an autonomous branch of mathematics has as its principle logic a system which omits the law of the excluded middle. Psychotherapists like Jung have postulated that non-classical, psychological logics, underlie conscious derived ones. More recent work with computer modules of psychological behavior has suggested plausible psychologics as possible autonomous, if not primary, logics. While none of this evidence is sufficient to justify a claim for any particular logic as more primary than classical logic, it is sufficient to make untenable a claim that classical logic must be the underlying logic. In looking at differences among categorical frameworks, then, we must consider the possibility that they differ in underlying, as well as in secondary, logics.

Misunderstandings might be less among categorical frameworks if multiple logics are employed. A categorical framework with multiple logics in it must provide a way of adjusting them within its domain, and these cognitive mechanisms are available for adjusting to, but not necessarily accepting, external differences as well. Internal rationales for multiple logics include:
(1) imperfect knowledge--which, when perfected, would make it possible to employ the primary logic exclusively;

(2) simplification--we could really use the primary logic, but its use would be so complex that secondary logics are expeditious;

(3) heuristic--the primary logic is the "real" one, but it is sometimes fruitful to see other parts of the world as if they operated with other logics;

(4) pragmatic--for reasons which cannot (or are not) identified, secondary logics are useful in obtaining desired objectives.

Our basic hypothesis is that handling other categorical frameworks with different logics parallels the internal handling of multiple logics. Hence, the greatest difficulty will arise where categorical frameworks have a single underlying logic, for then it will be a task to simply grasp the fact that there could be another way of conceiving the situation.\(^{16}\) Multiple adjustments may provide the basis for understanding, but also for rationalizing away the need to seriously entertain other logics, for example, treating them as imperfect knowledge or simplifications. Which attitude prevails depends not only upon the use of a cognitive position to buoy personal identity, but also the use of the position socially to maintain collectivities.

The extent to which any of the key differences we have identified in the structure, principles or logic of categorical frameworks are cognitively resolvable depends upon the position holders of the framework take toward them. There are two key issues at stake: whether what is
essential to the categorical framework is considered essential to any
able acceptable framework, and whether or not the framework is regarded as
adequate to handle all reasonable conceptual issues. With respect to any
categorical framework, there will be certain propositions which will be
_a priori_, or internally incorrigible. That is, rejecting these propositions
would necessarily mean abandoning the categorical framework itself.
More formally, a proposition is internally incorrigible if it is implied,
in the underlying logic of the framework, by a conjunction of: (a) the
propositions which express the categorization; (b) the constitutive and
individuating principles of maximal kinds; (c) the principles of the
underlying logic. The fact that a proposition is internally incorrigible
does not necessarily imply that it is externally incorrigible—-that is,
necessary to any categorical framework in general. If, however, indi-
viduals within one categorical framework believe that its internally
incorrigible statements are necessarily externally incorrigible, then the
differences we identified in structure, principles and logics become much
more serious cognitive problems, and much more direct threats to the
validity of the categorical framework itself.

Even if such dogmatic views are not held, however, recognizing
which propositions are internally incorrigible is a difficult task.
Searching out internally incorrigible propositions, and seeing whether
they are also externally incorrigible, is an intellectual task often asso-
ciated with an emancipatory cognitive interest. Where this interest is
not present, it may be more difficult to ascertain which intellectual con-
straints are conventions of a categorical framework, and which represent more general intellectual structures.

Differences among categorical frameworks may also be enhanced if individuals within a categorical framework hold that it is unique: that it, and it alone, provides an adequate categorical structure, categorical principles and logic. While adherents to a particular categorical framework can make this claim, they cannot establish its truth. As Korner notes, unless adequacy is defined circularly, establishing this proposition implies checking a potentially infinite set of categorical frameworks, some of which are not even known. Accepting the proposition as true closes the categorical framework, while opening possibilities for using its cognitive features as means of maintaining the autonomy of its social reality and organization. Examining the categorical frameworks behind magical practice, then, can provide not only clues to the adaptive potential of its cognitive orientation, but also hints about the personal and social uses of its knowledge. It provides ways of gauging the kinds of intellectual commitment required to remain within an epistemic community, and the types of organization which can be legitimated by appeal to the structure of knowledge itself.

Turning more specifically to magic as an epistemic community, we can now shed some light on one of the most puzzling and controversial topics in the study of magic--the nature of its underlying logic. Magical epistemic communities have two complementary logics: one a symbolic logic of the unconscious, the other a conscious, directed mode of thought.
The boundaries and means of adjusting these dual logics change, but it is the fact that both are present that most clearly separates magic from "scientific" pursuits, where unconscious logics are rejected as inappropriate, as is "religious" fervor, which may at times submerge conscious, directed thought to psychological experiences. The logic of the unconscious manifests itself through symbols, as much through the form of the symbols as through their content. We shall thus address the issue of what constitutes a symbol, then move on to outline the general features of the unconscious, symbolic logic of magic.

The term symbol needs to be clearly distinguished from a sign. A sign is a convention which represents, or substitutes for, a known thing or meaning. Using a red light as a way of conveying the instruction "stop" is an example. A symbol, on the other hand, points not to a known message, but to something unknown, or partially known, whose meaning is suggested by reference to known things. Symbols as such have three crucial, defining properties. First and most prominent, they are condensed. Extensive meanings and multiple associations have been condensed in the symbol. While it is relatively easy to establish that condensation exists, it is much more difficult to judge its extent. Freud maintains that even trained analysts are inclined to underestimate condensation, regarding the material they have brought to light as complete when more interpretation might reveal additional meanings. He concludes that, strictly speaking, it is impossible to determine the amount of condensation, since one cannot exhaust all possible analytic alterna-
The inability to determine the extent of condensation provides another basis for asserting that a symbol points toward the unknown, and it not likely to be definitively interpreted.

As a result of this condensation, symbols are inherently ambiguous. This second feature means that in order to determine their meaning, reference must be made to the context in which they appear. As Freud explains:

The uncertainties which still attach to our activities as interpreters of dreams spring in part from our incomplete knowledge, which can be progressively improved as we advance further, but in part from certain characteristics of dream symbols themselves. They frequently have more than one or even several meanings, and, as with Chinese script, the correct interpretation can only be arrived at on each occasion from the context.

Jung similarly maintained the necessity of relating symbols to context because of their ambiguity outside it. Turner's analysis of ritual rests on making context part of the analysis because symbols contain a variety of disparate significata interconnected by analogous traits or by association in fact or thought. And Levi-Strauss has demonstrated that the meaning of symbols in ritual, and correspondingly, the structure and purpose of the ritual, cannot be understood without reference to the multiple possible meanings of the symbol and their context. Given this information, one immediately seeks to answer how much ambiguity is organized, how multiple meanings are linked to the same symbol. The short answer is that they are linked, through associative channels, on the basis of similarity and continuity, a process we shall describe after clarifying the nature of symbols.
The ambiguity, or context-dependent, nature of symbols is related to their third feature: their over-determination. Jung maintains that this is a characteristic of symbols because of the way symbols are formed and enhanced—their tendency to collect multiple representations around a core, "spiraling" in on the central meaning, but not "discarding" more distant representations. Hence, a network crystallizes around the core of a symbol, containing multiple "pointers" to the same meaning. Freud too holds that symbols may be over-determined, but because intense psychic elements may be eliminated from symbolic representation, and in their place, a collection of less intense items substituted, the multiplicity of less intense items conveying the meaning of the omitted, intense one. Freud suggests:

It thus seems plausible to suppose that in the dream world a psychical force is operating which on the one hand strips the elements which have a high psychial value of their intensity, and on the other hand, by means of over-determination, creates from elements of low psychial value new values, which afterwards find their way into the dream-content.

The logic of symbols is representational. Symbols represent as yet unconscious, unknown elements, and in doing so, make their conscious interpretation possible, though not necessary. Representation does not proceed in terms of abstract thought, but through concrete, often pictoral, means. Freud is credited with first establishing this with reference to dream symbolism, where expression:

... usually results in a colorless and abstract expression being changed for a pictoral and concrete one. The advantage, and accordingly the purpose, of such a change jumps to the eyes. A thing that is pictoral is, from the point of view of a dream, a thing
that is capable of being represented. . . . A dream-thought is unusable so long as it is expressed in abstract form; but once it has been transformed into pictorial language, contrasts and identifications of the kind which the dream work requires, and which it creates if they are not already present, can be established more easily than before. . . .

Jung shares Freud's principle, but where Freud sees symbolic logic as a secondary logic, used to represent limited repressed material not available to conscious thought, Jung sees it as a vehicle for representing deeper, unconscious principles as well. It is the image, the concrete representation, which is tied to emotion-charged complexes, and the image which activates them. Concepts, fashioned out of images through abstraction, move away from this original psychic reaction toward affective neutrality. Concepts can, of course, be converted back into images as Freud notes, but not all images arise this way.

Turner comes to a similar conclusion from an anthropological perspective. Examining ritual symbols, he finds they have two poles: the sensory pole, composed of concrete significata and the ideological pole, where significata are tied to concrete abstractions including concepts, norms and values. Having concepts available does not replace the need for the image in ritual. The simple reason is that images will be effective unconsciously and emotively, where concepts are not. Turner suggests that the social use of ritual recognizes, and plays upon, this fact.

Ritual, scholars are coming to see, is precisely a mechanism that periodically converts the obligatory into the desirable. The basic unit of ritual, the dominant symbol, encapsulates the major properties of the total ritual process which brings about this transmutation.
Within its framework of meanings, the dominant symbol brings the ethical and jural norms of society into close contact with strong emotional stimuli. . . . Norms and values, on the one hand, become saturated with emotion, while the gross and base emotions become ennobled through contact with social values. 

Within ritual bounds, the representational logic of symbols can be given full reign, and psycho-symbolic principles can be harnessed to link emotive forces to abstract, social norms.

The symbolic properties discussed so far, condensation, ambiguity and over-determination, all suggest a basic theoretical question: how are disparate meanings "attached" to a symbol? In answering this question, we shall also indicate how abstract, logical relations are expressed symbolically. The different meanings of symbols are linked through networks of association, hence the logic of exegesis through free association which brings pieces of the network to conscious attention and allows for symbolic interpretation. The components linked in these networks generally enter it either through a similarity or a contiguity relationship. The same two principles govern the process by which symbolic associations are expanded. From a psychotherapeutic perspective,

The material network crystallizes around the 'vehicle of meaning' through the laws of association. . . . These laws take two forms: (1) similarity, or correspondence in shape, appearance or function; and (2) contiguity, or co-existence in time or space, that is, simultaneity or sequential order.

Levi-Strauss finds similar principles governing the organization of mythological symbols. His similarity principle is metaphor, his contiguity principle, metonym. Leach characterizes the differences between metaphor and metonym as symbolic foundations.
... if we imagine another world peopled by supernatural beings then we can represent this other world in any number of ways: as a society of birds or fishes, or of wild animals, or even of beings 'like' men, and in each case we shall be using metaphor. This is one kind of symbolization. But there is also another kind in which we rely on the fact that our audience, being aware of how a particular syntagm (sentence) is formed out of the elements of the 'system' (language, code) is able to recognize the whole by being shown only a part. This is metonymy. 32

Regardless of whether the language through which the symbols are expressed is itself organized on such principles, the mythological symbols follow such patterns.

There are, then, other sources which confirm Frazer's emphasis upon similarity and contiguity in magic--not as two exhaustive types of magic, but as two general principles of the symbolic logic which underlies it. In some instances, such as the crisis cults LaBarre discusses, this unconscious logic may be the dominant one. But in magical practice it is never the exclusive logic. Ritual, as a technique, is the magician's means of setting boundaries in which the unconscious logic can be given full reign. In the ritual, the unconscious, symbolic logic is dominant; outside the ritual setting, it is generally mediated through conscious, directed thought. Magical doctrine, where it exists, is a conscious reflecting upon the unconscious, symbolic process. Magical practice is the experience of acting within the sphere of symbols. While insights from one setting may be incorporated into another--a process we shall report in our account of the OTA--magicians can and do separate these domains, as Malinowski noted earlier. Which logic is the underlying logic of the categorical framework depends upon the balance between ritual experience
and its analysis.

A major difference among ritual, dreams and myth involves the way in which abstract relations among symbols are represented. Myth employs verbal descriptions and so can rely on linguistic conventions to convey ideas like "and", "or", "not", etc. Dream representations are another matter. Here linguistic abstractions are generally absent, and abstract logical relations are conveyed primarily through concrete representations of similarity and contiguity. We shall treat each in turn.

Logical Representations Based on Contiguity

Contiguity may occur with reference either to space or to time. In everyday life, both space and time appear absolute. As one moves further away from the domain of the ego, space and time become more relative. In dreams, time does not pass at a constant rate in fixed intervals, but according to the amount of activity present. Objects do not have a fixed permanence, but exist only when they are visible. Contiguity representations in dreams must be interpreted carefully, for some features which might initially be thought to represent contiguity transformations on closer examination will be only manifestations of the relative time-space context.

Representations of Logical Connection

Whenever two elements are close together, there is a significant connection between them. A general, undifferentiated relationship among several symbols is indicated by their simultaneous appearance. This
principle is the foundation of Jung's concept of synchronicity, an acausal connecting principle under which symbols, or events, occurring simultaneously, share a common relevance.  

Synchronicity is conceptually as broad an idea as chance, which asserts that events may coincide without any particular meaning. While chance may operate in the external world, it has little role in the internal world of the psyche. As Freud maintained, 

\[ \ldots \text{collections in dreams do not consist of any chance, disconnected portions of dream material, but of portions which are fairly closely connected in dream-thoughts as well.}\]  

The principle that logical-meaningful connection is indicated by simultaneity has often been connected with magic in anthropological studies, where magic is seen as a way of supplying meaning of events which co-occur, and would often be regarded as "chance" by a Western observer. Such interpretations do not exclude concepts of causation, but represent broader ways of handling inter-relatedness. This can be seen in the case of magic by pointing to social situations in which causality is recognized, as well as demonstrating that there are symbolic representations for causality as well.

**Representations of Causal Relationships**

Freud maintains there are two ways symbolic arrangements convey causality. Where a single symbol is involved, its visible transformation into another symbol indicates that the first symbol is the cause of the second. It is not enough to notice that another symbol has appeared
where the earlier symbol was, for this reflects simply the relativity of space. 39 The dreamer must observe the actual transformation. Where collections of symbols are involved, causality is represented by their sequencing. The dependent collection (the caused) appears as the introduction, with the principal (causing) collection as the main focus of the dream or vision. 40

Representations of Contingent Relationships

Contingency is also represented by temporal sequencing. A situation and setting which have remained the same for some time, but is temporarily interrupted, only to return again represents an "if... then" relationship. The "if" has become "when". 41

Representations of Conjunction

The "and" relationship is harder to specify since it is not separated symbolically from "either-or". All alternatives, even mutually contradictory ones, appear and are given equal weight. Only the clarity of the vision can separate conjunction and alternatives. Freud suggests that vagueness may indicate alternatives, while clarity indicates two alternatives of equal validity, which may be linked by "and".

Logical Representations Based Upon Similarity

Representations of "Just Like"

This is one of the most common dream representations. When two entities are alike, this is conveyed by combining features of both
of them. These combinations may be made in several ways. A person or object may retain some of its actual features, while having others misrepresented. The figure of a person may bear the name of another related to him, while retaining its own visual features. Or the visual features may be retained, but with the gestures or mannerisms of another. Alternatively, truly composite images—new entities—may be constructed. The most naive way of doing this is to represent the attribute of one thing, along with the knowledge, or feeling, that it belongs to another. A more sophisticated means is combining features, either by overlapping one image on another, or creating a single composite image. The new structure may appear an imaginative success, like the satyrs and mermaids which are perpetuated in myth, or it may be so crude as to seem entirely absurd. Where the final composite appears incongruous, Freud considers the representation a failure. 42

Representations of Contraries

Contraries are simply handled. They are represented literally as "just the reverse". Where collections of symbols are involved, one set of symbols adjacent to another may be turned around. For particular symbols, contraries are represented by reversing the symbol, or changing it into its opposite. 43 This symbolic representation is especially relevant to studies of witchcraft and sorcery. Anthropologists attest that witches and sorcerers are often held to be the opposite of normal, social beings. For example, they may dance naked, prefer darkness to light,
walk on their hands, or recite religious rituals backwards. Neverthe-
less, accusations of witchcraft or sorcery are made against human beings
which cannot be shown to have physically such properties, but whose
crimes rather tend to be that they are in some way out of keeping in
their society. The inverted image symbolically says what the accusa-
tions socially affirm: that in significant ways, such people are contrary
to their society's conception of social man.

Thus far we have considered representations which might be
discovered by looking at a single dream or vision. Transformations of
symbols require multiple observations to discover. Jung tried to define
symbolic transformations by looking at series of dreams, visions and
patient's mandala drawings. He was then able to see patterns of trans-
formation and change within the context provided by the patient. Levi-
Strauss attempted a similar project with myth, but lacking a good
ordering of myths, or an association between the version and the "author",
he opted for collecting all versions. Then, considering the permutations,
substitutions and changes he found, he attempted to abstract transforma-
tion principles. The basic components of both men are remarkably
alike. The major difference lies in their attitude toward the dynamics
of transformation.

For both men symbolic transformation is dialectical. It rests
on identifying and changing opposites. The prelude to major transfor-
mation is the appearance, or production, of opposites. Jung identifies two
symbolic representations of opposite creation. The first is separation,
where an initial whole is split into two parts. The second is enantriodromia—
the conversion of a thing into its opposite. Both symbolic 
representations are rooted in basic psychic processes: separation in
the emergence of consciousness from initial unconsciousness and
enantriodromia in the dynamic adjustments between consciousness and
the unconscious. Levi-Strauss does not ground his insistence on
opposite formation in a view of the psyche, but instead maintains that
the form predominates theoretically and practically, while its operation
often remains unconscious to those using it.

In neither system, however, is the production of opposites the
only transformation. Mechanisms exist in both cases to transcend
opposites. Jung recognizes two possibilities. The first is a process in
which a third entity reentit,ies opposites by either combining
them within itself, or transcending them. The second process, which
Jung considers psychologically more complete, is based on balance.
Symbolic opposites are arranged in a quaternity—pairs of paired oppo-
sites. This configuration points directly to unity, for it is a precursor
to centering, the process by which the four balanced elements become a
single point. A series of transformations might begin with a unity,
fragment it, and return to a new, higher unity. This sequence, which
Jung maintains parallels the emergence of the ego and its reconciliation
in the self, might proceed as follows:

(1) given unity,

(2) separation of opposites,
(3) resolution of opposite in a third,

(4) generation of an opposite to the third element through enantiodromia,

(5) balance in the quaternity structure,

(6) return to unity through centering.

The importance of the quaternity, and Jung's basis for considering it a more complete representation of unity than the triadic structure, is its role in individuation, the creation of the self. Jung maintains that individuation occurs by raising to consciousness psychic modes of operating which are repressed or unexpressed in an individual. There are four of these processes, or as Jung terms them, psychic functions: thinking, feeling, intuition and sensation. In any individual one of these functions will predominate. For illustrative purposes, let us suppose it is thinking. The opposite function, in this case feeling, will then be relatively unconscious. One of the functions from the remaining pair will be a secondary, supporting function. Let us suppose it is sensation. Its opposite, in this case intuition, will then be unconscious. This situation is presented below in the quaternity. The individuation process,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thinking (dominant)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sensation (secondary)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Feeling (relatively unconscious)
a reconciliation of the ego and the unconscious in the self, proceeds by raising to conscious the relatively unconscious functions and integrating them into the individual's life. The relatively unconscious function may be raised to consciousness, and the process left there. In this case, unification is only partial. The last function must also be raised to consciousness. This is more difficult, and is often accompanied by a flood of unconscious symbolism, which may threaten to overwhelm conscious operations. Only after this material has been assimilated can individuation approach completion.

Jung contends the logic of symbols reflects the on-going process in the psyche. Hence, dreams with triadic structures and circular, mandala-like arrangements, are representing and pointing toward psychic processes, the logic of symbols following the operating laws of individuation. As deeper unconscious material comes to light, its arrangement corresponds to the archetypal organization of the collective unconscious, for its arrangement is less affected by ego operations. Symbols in dreams, visions, ritual and myth, then, are configured—sometimes partially, sometimes almost exclusively—according to a logic which reflects a deep psychological structure.

Levi-Strauss arrives at some similar configurations, although he does not associate them with specific psychological processes. His most famous principle is the resolution of opposites by combining their features in a third element. Take as an example his famous culinary triangle. Two opposites, cooked and rotten food, are resolved in a
third form, raw food. The triadic resolution takes place on a grid, whose horizontal axis is nature-culture and whose vertical axis is transformed-untransformed.

The parallel between this formulation and Jung's is clear. Levi-Strauss imposes analytically, as a grid, the pair of paired opposites which Jung's theory produces dynamically through transformation of the triadic structure. And indeed, Levi-Strauss' basic formula for myth bears this out. His relationship is:

\[ \frac{I}{I} : : \frac{III}{IV} \]

where I-IV are metaphoric collections of symbols. Translated, the relationship maintains that the first collection of symbols is to the second as the third is to the fourth. The pair of paired opposites is a simple instance of this relationship. Had sequential orderings of myths been available, a dynamic might have replaced the static axis structure.

The work of Freud and Jung, and the convergence with Levi-
Strauss, points toward the basic elements of the "logic" of magic which Frazer, Turner and, to some extent, Beattie have proposed. It is not a prelogic, as early Levy-Bhrul suggested, but a co-logic, which provides the basis for psychological and ritual effectiveness. To the extent that the claim that magical practice retains symbols, techniques and representations because they are useful in dealing with the psyche, at least the above basic elements ought to be present in those techniques and representations. How important they are, and to what extent they are self-consciously formulated and interpreted, is an empirical question which requires us to determine the underlying logic of the particular categorical framework within which magic operates. This task, however, must be deferred until the case studies are presented.

**Interest Structure**

The second component of an epistemic community is an interest structure. Knowledge is generated under different cognitive interests, providing different orientations toward its accumulation, definition and use. Habermas has identified three cognitive interests:

1. a technical interest, which seeks greater control over objectified processes and produces information that expands powers of technical control;

2. a hermeneutic interest, seeking to make possible the orientation of action within common traditions; and

3. an emancipatory interest, seeking to free a developed consciousness from its dependence on hypostatized powers or
Knowledge accumulation cannot be divorced from the social interest in it. The definition of what constitutes knowledge, as well as the operational philosophies which guide its generation, reflect basic social interests.

The technical interest underlies the natural sciences, which are institutionalized, systematic continuations of cumulative learning which proceeds at the prescientific level within the behavioral system of instrumental action. Defining culture in terms of tool making and tool use specifies it as the sphere of instrumental action, and the technical interest. Scientific practice, as well as pre-scientific instrumental action, aims at producing technically exploitable knowledge. Its empirical analyses disclose reality from the viewpoint of possible control over objectified processes in nature.

The hermeneutic interest underlies the cultural sciences, which lend methodological form to the process of mutual understanding which takes place on the pre-scientific level in the tradition-bound structure of communicative interaction. Defining culture as shared and transmitted symbols specifies it as the sphere of communicative interaction, and the hermeneutic interest. The hermeneutic interest maintains the inter-subjectivity of mutual understanding. Its methods of interpretation disclose reality from the viewpoint of communicating groups, organized through language. What is real is what can be experienced according to the interpretations of the prevailing communicative system.
Neither the technical nor the hermeneutic interest is difficult to understand. At root, they reflect Parson's distinction between society's domain of instrumental action and symbolic action. The emancipatory interest emerges in the context of a developed technical and hermeneutic interest. It is dependent on the orientation toward possible control and the interest in possible action based on intersubjective communication. The emancipatory interest is oriented toward identifying hypostatized powers or concepts—conventions which have come to be regarded as self-existent substances beyond the individual to adjust. Once powers or concepts are identified as hypostatized, their significance is fundamentally altered. Psychotherapy is the only modern science whose underlying interest is emancipatory. It continues systematically what proceeds pre-scientifically as efforts at reflective insight. Under the emancipatory interest, reality is disclosed from the viewpoint of what a person experiences which makes him transparent to himself. What is real is what sheds insight into the self-formative process.

Although none of the theorists discussed in Chapter One explored the concept of a knowledge interest, their writings contain hypotheses about the interest structure of magic. Those authors, like Frazer, who see magic as a flawed attempt to produce science's control of nature, suggest that magic accumulates knowledge under the technical interest. Others, like Beattie and Turner, see magical ceremonies as ways of expressing social facts and communicating them, implying that magical knowledge is accumulated under a hermeneutic
interest. We should like to introduce a third hypothesis. It is that magic accumulates knowledge under the emancipatory interest. This statement of interest is explicitly made by some Western ceremonial magicians, including members of the OTA. The hypothesis is implicit in Jung's characterization of some magico-religious writings as records of psychological insights achieved by practitioners in the course of their confrontations with unconscious contents. Since the emancipatory interest is dependent upon technical and hermeneutic interests, magic, like psychoanalysis, will be related to these interests, but neither will be the dominant interest in its interest structure.

The hypothesis that magic is governed by the emancipatory interests suggests one basis for comparing it with psychotherapy. Recent writings of shamanism and magic have suggested that both operate as primitive psychotherapeutic systems. Yet the scope of magical activity is quite different, as are the categorical frameworks, some of the techniques, and many of the social uses of magical knowledge. We shall hold a more circumscribed view. Magic and psychotherapy have the same dominant interest. Moreover, because there are systematic ties between interests and methodologies, they have somewhat similar methodologies and techniques. The appearance of psychotherapy in modern Western society provided a new standard of comparison for magic. This insight, however, does not justify equating them. Being able to analyze magic in a society where psychotherapy also exists will help demonstrate this point.
Specifying knowledge interests in the abstract, as we have done, does not provide us with much specific knowledge about the ways in which epistemic communities support social realities. Operational philosophies or methodologies provide the link between cognitive interests and techniques for generating and testing knowledge. Each knowledge interest is associated with methodologies for knowledge generation. Under the technical interest, knowledge is acquired by methodologies of controlled observation, under the hermeneutic interest by interpretative methodologies, and under the emancipatory interest by reflective methodologies. Once we understand the operational philosophies, we can identify behaviors which produce, maintain and test reality in epistemic communities. It is to these operational philosophies we now turn.

**Operational Philosophy**

Experimentation and controlled observation, as methodologies, are too widely known to bear redescribing here. It remains to simply indicate their connection with the technical interest. Experimentation and controlled observation operate by virtue of being able to set initial conditions (experimental design), observe and perhaps measure the results of operations carried out under these conditions, and express the results as basic statements. These basic statements have at times been regarded as simple descriptive statements about the relationships among objects. They are not in fact simple descriptions. They include information not only about the relationship among objects, but also information about the
success or failure of the operations performed—operations which incorporate theoretical terms. As Lakatos argues, measurement theory cannot be separated from description in experimental methodologies. Hence, using such methodologies, reality is disclosed in terms of our controlling and feedback monitoring actions, or in terms of the technical cognitive interest.

Interpretative methodologies are less well known, and hence require some description. Methodologies for interpretation have been most rigorously developed with regard to textual interpretation or translation. In such cases, the meaning of a particular phrase or passage will not be clear unless its context is known, but the context cannot be grasped except through partial translations or interpretations. The process by which both specific passages and the context as a whole are understood can be characterized as a series of steps, sometimes termed a "hermeneutic circle". By passing through these steps, the translator or interpreter can make sense of a document which may contain errors of transcription or omission. The steps are:

1. The individual begins with an apprehension of some interrelated parts, from which he attempts to grasp the meaning of the whole in which they are located.

2. The provisional understanding of the whole becomes the basis for understanding the parts better, and possibly incorporating new parts.

3. Errors in the conception of the whole manifest themselves
when it is not possible to understand individual pieces using it.

(4) This failure gives rise to an attempt to redefine meaning to take into account those problematic parts.

(5) A new conception of the whole then is formed, and parts are reinterpreted in light of it.

(6) The attempt continues until a satisfactory understanding has been reached, or until the attempt to understand is abandoned. 58

The hermeneutic circle is also employed in attempts to comprehend different categorical frameworks, or conventions of language use. In these cases, we can see the effect of the starting point on the ability to achieve understanding. Rokeach's experiments indicate that individuals with rigid cognitive structures or closed belief systems have difficulty working through the hermeneutic circle. Some have difficulty forming a provisional view of a context different from their own cognitive context, which leads them to assert that there is no sense in attempting to put pieces, which appear disjointed to them, together into a new whole at all. 59 Others cannot synthesize new provisional views once it becomes necessary to remember and take account of past errors and alterations. These individuals encountered problems not because they resisted letting go of beliefs, but because they could not create new ones by synthesizing new elements, and then reinterpreting them. 60 Blocks in the interpretative process may reflect lack of experience with situations in which rigorous interpretation is required, as may be the case for individuals within a category system with a single logic and presumptions of
external incorrigibility and adequacy. Interpretative failure may also increase attachment to such categorical frameworks.\textsuperscript{61} In such cases, the pre-understandings necessary for action-orienting inter-subjective communication cannot develop.

In interpretative methodologies, the interpreter cannot "set" the initial conditions, as the experimenter can in controlled experiments. The interpretative process must begin with the understanding of the translator, or the partners in a dialogue. The correctness of the knowledge produced depends upon the initial starting points of both parties. The knowledge produced contains not only information about the relationship of things, but also evidence of successful communication. The understanding of meaning is directed in its very structure toward attaining possible consensus. It hence is rooted in the hermeneutic cognitive interest.

Reflective methodologies, associated with the emancipatory interest, also require explanation. The test of reflective methodologies is their ability to produce insight. While reflective methodologies include activities such as mediation, which might be considered individually introspective, not all reflective methodologies are individually self-reflective. This becomes clearer if we examine psychoanalysis, and the dialogue between patient and analyst, as an example of a reflective methodology.\textsuperscript{62} Initially psychoanalysis seems to be only a special form of interpretation, which provides theoretical perspectives and technical rules for interpreting symbolic structures. But psycho-

\textsuperscript{61}...

\textsuperscript{62}...
analysis requires an expanded hermeneutic that takes into account a new dimension. The hermeneutic circle, which characterizes philological interpretation, tries to comprehend communications which have been corrupted by the impact of external conditions (textual additions or deletions) or faulty transmission (mistranslation, misunderstanding). Psychoanalysis also deals with disrupted communication—distortions of linguistic expression (obsessive thoughts), of action (repetition, compulsions) and bodily experiential expression (hysterical body symptoms). Psychoanalytic interpretation goes beyond philological interpretation because it must grasp not only the meaning of a possibly distorted communication, but the meaning of the distortion itself. The source of the distortion lies within the patient himself, but is not accessible to him. Psychoanalytic interpretation, then, becomes focused on those connections of symbols in which a subject deceives itself about itself.

This changes the whole focus of interpretation. Its aim is not to get two individuals (analyst and patient) to understand each other and agree. It is rather to lead one person (the patient) to comprehend his own expressions. This is carried out in analysis by the analyst using his techniques to identify resistances, and provoking self-reflection to remove them, thus allowing unconscious, repressed contents to become conscious and intelligible. This is not simply a matter of telling the patient the meaning of his expressions. It is necessary that genuine insight be produced, not simply intellectual affirmation. As Freud indicates:
It is a long superseded idea, and one derived from superficial appearances, that the patient suffers from a sort of ignorance, and that if one removes this ignorance by giving him information (about the causal connection of his illness with his life, about his experiences in childhood, and so on) he is bound to recover. The pathological factor is not his ignorance in itself, but the root of this ignorance in his inner resistances; it was they that called this ignorance into being, and they still maintain it now.64

Until insight into these resistances is produced, neither the disappearance of symptoms, nor acceptance of the diagnosis can be equated with a "cure". The insight to which analysis leads is that the patient's ego recognizes the representations of the illness as its own alienated self and identifies with it.65

The self-reflection of psychoanalysis takes place within a theoretical framework. The analyst uses theory to provisionally identify resistances, based upon a theory of childhood development. This theory serves as a general scheme of interpretation, and like a general theory, must provide itself by both surviving falsification attempts and providing confirmatory, new facts. Only the theory of a generalized history of infantile development, with its typical developmental variants, puts the analyst in the position of being able to combine fragments of information from the patient's account so he can reconstruct gaps of memory. From this reconstruction, he anticipates the reflective experience. These reconstructions are hypotheses, and need to be capable of some degree of confirmation or falsification. The correct application of a theory (accepted provisionally as correct) is corroborated only by the successful continuation of reflection and the self-formative process. Neither the
agreement nor the disagreement of the patient can be definitive; only the context of the self-formative process as a whole has confirming and falsifying power. 66

Hence, reflective methodologies are evaluated in terms of their ability to produce self-forming, or self-transforming, insights. To the extent that pieces of the methodology claim to be general, they sustain their claims by the insight process and its continuation. Reflective methodologies, bearing some resemblances to those used in Western psychotherapy, have been identified in several non-Western systems of shamanism and ceremonial magic. 67 The use of myths as a culturally general interpretation scheme, leading to transforming insights, has also been noted in primitive societies. 68 We shall attempt to demonstrate that both the OTA and the Abacwezi traditions employed reflective methodologies as the basis for their magical techniques.

We may now suggest a relationship between the reflective methodologies which we hypothesize characterize magical epistemic communities and our earlier claim that such communities have dual logics. The product of reflective methodologies and theory in psychoanalysis produced insight into the logic of unconscious processes. In psychoanalysis, this logic is considered to be a pathological one, whose operation may be terminated by successful therapy. Magical systems, through unconscious encounters and reflective methodologies, uncover similar elements. But in magical systems, the unconscious logic retains its status as a logic. It is accepted as part of the magician, and employed
by him in defined situations. The fact that the unconscious logic can be
uncovered is associated with the presence of reflective methodologies.
The fact that reflection does not push to eliminate its operation differ-
entiates magic from Freudian psychoanalysis.

It now becomes easier to interpret LaBarre's analysis of the
techniques he associates with magico-religious practice. We agree that
they are oriented toward internal adaptation, or even exploration. But
instead of attempting to define the range of techniques by reference to
one, sensory deprivation, we maintain that the common element behind
the techniques is that they are ways of provoking reflection and expanded
self-awareness. The operational philosophy, or collection of method-
ologies, of a magical epistemic community organizes techniques around
this common element, and it is this organization more than any parti-
cular technique which characterizes magic.

Inter-Linked Roles and Social Base

Categorical frameworks, interest structures and operational
philosophies do not exist in social vacuums. They develop and change
in social action situations, which they enhance and modify. The basic
sociological concept for analyzing social action situations is the role,
a regularized pattern of action and behavioral expectations. Roles con-
ote not only overt actions, but also covert expectations held by observers.

There are two ways of approaching the role structure of magical
epistemic communities. The first, suggested by psychoanalytic and
some functional approaches, is to examine the role of "magician" and its occupants. It has frequently been asserted that magical roles are institutionalizations of psychological, pathological behavior, and that role occupants often manifest psychological disorders which fit them for these roles. To the extent that this claim can be supported, it undermines the thesis that magic is an epistemic community with epistemological underpinnings. In its strongest form, this claim is difficult to support. Some shamans and magicians, as well as mediums, may be recruited for these roles on the basis of the social, as well as psychological, benefits which they offer. Magico-religious leadership often provides higher status than members could normally expect in everyday life, an expectation which is apparently an important incentive for women and lower status men to seek such leadership roles. Judgments by anthropologists, while usually not based on in-depth psychological knowledge, by no means supports the assertion that all, or even most, magicians are psychologically disturbed. Assessment is further complicated by the fact that role behavior, which in particular Western society might be associated with pathological behavior, may be part of an expected pattern of behavior, whose practices are not abnormal "symptoms" but routine social action. As such, their significance cannot be equated with similar behavior which is deviant in Western society. As Erik Erikson notes, a person in another culture within his everyday behavior:

... cries to his gods 'like a baby'; he hallucinates in his meditation 'like a psychotic'; he acts 'like a phobic' when confronted with contamination; and he tries to act avoidant, suspicious and stingy, 'like a compulsive neurotic'. 71
Erikson argues that it is an error to treat such behaviors as symptoms. They do not interfere with the individual's efficiency in meeting technological demands which were required for his life. Furthermore, the behaviors were learned traits which were available for use in a limited arena--magic. This is the crucial feature, for as Erikson argues with respect to the Yurok,

Such an institutionalized attitude neither spreads beyond its defined areas nor makes impossible the development to full potency of its opposite. It is probable that the really successful Yurok was the one who could cry most heartbreakingly or haggle most effectively in some situations and be full of fortitude in others--that is, the Yurok whose ego was strong enough to synthesize orality and 'sense'. In comparison, oral and anal 'types' whom we may be able to observe today in our culture are bewildered people who find themselves victims of overdeveloped organ modes without corresponding homogeneous cultural reality.72

It is true, however, that recruitment into magical practice sometimes involves illness or abnormal behavior. In these cases we must ask whether it is this illness or abnormality which makes occupants fit to occupy their roles? The general answer is no. It is the mastery of the affliction, not its possession, which qualifies the person for magical or shaminstic roles. In this sense, Lewis terms such people "woundedphysicians" for it is their insight into their suffering, and their ability to overcome its incapacitating effects which makes them capable of guiding others in similar directions.73 Myths or ceremonies of initiation often serve as the general scheme applied in such cases, where they serve to "anticipate" resistances much as the general theoretical scheme of psychoanalysis does. Seeing oneself in the mythical scheme, and using this insight
therapeutically, is the major role requirement. Where this does not take place, individuals seldom achieve magical prominence. Evidence from OTA recruitment policies supports this view. As we shall see, OTA explicitly attempts to avoid admitting people with psychological problems; in the two cases where they did, both people failed to become good magicians and resigned from the organization.

In addition to role traits, there are also typically expected role actions. Functional approaches to magic have suggested several, ranging from providing meaning and therapy to creating community entertainment. These actions are expected of magicians by non-magicians. The nature of these expectations, or indeed even their existence, depends upon the social base of the epistemic community--its relationship to other epistemic communities, relevance of on-going social concerns and acceptance by outsiders as valid. These actions, as we shall show by comparing the OTA and Abacwezi cases, do not provide the basis for defining a magical epistemic community. Instead, they provide means of gauging the social significance of that community.

More significant for defining a magical epistemic community are the actions expected by and judged by magicians themselves, in particular the actions that are required to use techniques. It is by learning these actions, and their interpretations, that operational philosophies, knowledge interests, and perhaps even aspects of categorical frameworks, are assimilated. Learning ritual techniques, and the means of bounding their effects to ritual settings, means learning practically that
that there are two "logics" involved in magical practice. Learning to make transitions between roles, and techniques of role-playing which are sometimes employed in creating trance states, is learning encountering the emancipatory interest. These role behaviors are the root of reality construction in epistemic communities. Our account of the OTA can provide detailed specifications of how this process takes place, but only its outlines can be presented for the Abacwezi case.

Thus far we have not mentioned the social context in which epistemic communities exist. We have not considered its social base. We can consider it from two vantage points. Following the functional approach to magic, we can identify the position of magicians in their society, note their social status, political connections, economic influence and location in conflict processes. As a matter of course, we shall do this for both our cases. But it is more interesting to ask how it is that a social base is established. What processes, or strategies, lead to its construction and decline? We suggest there are two major processes. First, an epistemic community must establish control over the situations in which it claims interest and expertise. Second, it must be able to find social support for its knowledge and attempts at situational control. Several knowledge-using strategies exist for each process.

Initially we shall consider the process of establishing control over relevant situations. From Holzner's discussion of epistemic communities, we can glean three strategies. First, an epistemic community can gain dominance over relevant societal resources and control over
the process by which members are recruited into the epistemic community. This strategy does not necessarily imply that the epistemic community is socially significant. Epistemic communities with little impact on other aspects of society may be able to achieve control over their resources and recruitment, but in relative isolation, perhaps because their activities are relatively private and require few resources. The OTA is such a community.

A second strategy is to control relevant situations by achieving an institutional anchorage in a crucial sector of the social system. This implies performing important social functions which have significant impacts on other social institutions. The Abacwezi achieved such linkages in the political and kinship sectors of Nyoro society, and maintained it until colonial rule.

A third strategy is to achieve some situational control by establishing alliances with other groups, either in terms of mutual support, or in terms of accepted structural restrictions, e.g., agreeing to recruit members from only selected groups. This strategy is available to epistemic communities which lack enough importance to achieve institutional linkages, but still are able, and willing, to exchange benefits with other groups. This strategy was employed to a limited extent by OTA during its confrontation with other occult groups. In general, however, its position vis-à-vis external society is currently too weak to make this approach a viable policy.

These considerations lead us to consider the second process
through which epistemic communities establish their social base—the process of finding social support for their knowledge and their attempts at institutional control. The nature of social support turns on three considerations: the extent to which the epistemic community is valuable to some group; the extent to which acceptable communications about the community are available to wider social circles and the existence of a "niche" which provides long-run viability. 76

Valuableness

To establish social support for itself, an epistemic community must be valuable to someone. Whether it must continue to be valuable once it is accepted is a more debatable point. 77 Structural-functional analysis has focused upon identifying the social utility, or disutility, of existing institutions. This is not a passive feature of epistemic communities, however. Just as epistemic communities attempt to gain some control over relevant situations, they also attempt to control the flow of support to them. How they do this depends upon several things, most immediately, who they are valuable to. The weakest case, and the one which characterizes the OTA, is the situation in which the epistemic community is valuable primarily to its members. This situation is particularly likely to arise where emancipatory interests are primary. In such an instance, the community can attempt to build up loyalty to it on the part of its members, hoping to assure wider support for it either through the extra-community activities of its members or because the
members themselves are considered particularly important to society. Success in either venture will depend crucially upon the extent to which the community controls relevant situations, and the means by which it does so. OTA can control its recruitment within limits, and hence can recruit members with relatively high potential for being seen as socially valuable (e.g., relatively well educated, thoughtful, non-extremist). OTA and a variety of other occult groups can, and do, seek alliances with external organizations (primarily academics and researchers), provide them with something valuable (data) and receive, sometimes, more public affirmation of their value and potential. As we shall see, such a position is precarious.

Epistemic communities, which are valuable to particular groups outside their own membership, are in a somewhat stronger position. They may be able to generate support for their existence by attempting to enhance their value to such groups, which in turn may open the way for more significant control over situations. The danger in such situations is that in the process of enhancing their "value", epistemic communities may sacrifice autonomous direction over their own knowledge-generating capabilities, becoming dominated by environmental "vested interests". Such charges are regularly leveled against the social sciences vis a vis the focus of their research and the knowledge interests they display.

The strongest position is the one in which an epistemic community is valuable, or regarded as valuable, to society as a whole. Medicine
and science seem generally so regarded in Western society. Such communities not only can devote fewer resources to assuring support, but may also be granted considerable autonomy in both their knowledge generating processes and the standards by which their knowledge is to be judged.

Communication

What is communicated about a specialized epistemic community to the wider public must be acceptable and within the range of the legitimate. This presumes certain minimal congruency between the legitimating values of the epistemic community and the encompassing societal loyalty structure. Holzner details the problem in terms of Western epistemic communities:

The maintenance of value congruency in the face of increasing specialization in the case of science as in that of many other working communities is a precarious process. In public crisis, with the corresponding increased appeal of isolative values, the range of toleration for separateness and deviation will then increase. The pursuit of the specialist then may be decried as 'wild goings on' and he may become a scapegoat. Examples of direct clashes between specialized work communities and public authorities are especially well-known in the case of science, but have often occurred in the crafts and in technology.\(^78\)

The image-building role of communications becomes even more important when policies regulating or prohibiting epistemic communities is based upon such data—as is the case when the content of epistemic communities is too specialized or complicated to be easily mastered "first hand", or the community structures itself so as to make direct contact with its operation difficult or impossible. Relatively
little policy made by colonial authorities regarding magico-religious practice by "native" specialists was based upon direct understanding of the content of such communities. Similar charges are made currently by magico-religious groups such as Scientology and fundamentalist sects such as the Church of God in Britain and the United States. Especially where epistemic communities cannot gain access to dominant communications channels, they are vulnerable to being defined by external sources as undesirable, dangerous or worthless. The extra-ordinary concern of OTA and a variety of other relatively unknown occult groups for controlling what is written about them reflects their relative powerlessness in this area. Their position is certainly not unique, but it is undoubtedly extreme.

Niche

For an epistemic community to survive over time it must establish a niche for itself in wider society. Negatively defined, this may mean simply avoiding becoming an issue, and obtaining the status of a "peripheral", "uninteresting" domain. Positively defined, this entails stabilizing the situations and support of the community within a flexible, but definable, arena. It means being able to avoid being dominated by pressing questions of environmental relations, and being able to operate in terms of its interests, methodologies and techniques. Failing to do this essentially means being so flooded with external demands that the internal program of the community falters. Among epistemic communities, this
frequently is what is entailed by the charge that "politics" takes up an unacceptable amount of the members' time and energy. Many short-lived groups simply fail to regularize their relations with the environment sufficiently to permit them to operate on their own terms.

The environmental activities we have described are features of epistemic communities qua epistemic communities. The fact that relationships with external social groups must be considered and that communities may have conscious or semi-conscious "strategies" for enhancing their position does not mean that they "really" exist to engage in such activities, and use their knowledge orientations as a "cover". Neither does it suggest that the knowledge orientations and interests will necessarily follow social interests. It has too often been assumed, especially with regard to magico-religious epistemic communities, that the "reality" of these communities lay in their social relations, not in their categorical frameworks, logics, operational philosophies or action organizations. One purpose of this study is to correct this view by attempting to show the inter-play between knowledge interests and social interests in reality formation.

The basic premise of our approach to social reality is that different social realities develop in epistemic communities, and are maintained within them. Our particular contention is that magic is an epistemic community, and that associated with it is an identifiable social reality. We further assert that this social reality can carry with it both social and knowledge benefits, but that the extent to which either is
actualized depends crucially upon the policies which govern magic's relationship to the external social environment. Such an approach is not the one conventionally taken in studying magic, but it is not incompatible with most of the theoretical approaches we have examined.
FOOTNOTES


5 Korner, *Categorical*, p. 20.


7 Korner, *Categorical*, p. 7 gives the formal definitions from which these verbal statements have been developed.

8 The distinction and example are drawn from Korner, *Categorical*, p. 52.


10 Merleau-Ponty has argued that interpretations are necessary parts of sensory perception. See his *Sense and Non-sense* (Evanston, Ill.: 1964); *The Structure of Behavior* (Boston, 1967); and *The Phenomology of Perception* (Atlantic Highlands, N. J., 1962). Piaget's work with children indicates at least some interpretative-cognitive facilities must develop
before perception, as we know it, takes place. See his *Construction of Reality in the Child* (New York, paperback edition, 1954).


13. A formalization of this logic, and its operation in what is called intuitionist mathematics, is found in A. Heyting, *Intuitionism--An Introduction* (Amsterdam, 1956). Evans-Pritchard earlier suggested that magic was founded on such a logic, but as we shall suggest, this seems incorrect.


16. One property of Milton Rokeach's closed belief systems is that they have a single underlying logic. His experiments with the doodlebug problem indicate not only that seeing another logic is difficult from such a perspective, but that emotional resistance may compound the cognitive task, leading to a normative commitment not to seek greater comprehension of the strange logic. Cf. *The Open and Closed Mind* (New York, 1960).

17. Korner, *Categorical*, pp. 69-74; this parallels the problem of
verifying a hypothesis, although at a much higher level. See Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge, eds. Imre Lakatos and Alan Musgrave (Cambridge, 1970).

18 Fordham, Introduction, pp. 20-1. Sapir makes a similar distinction between "referential symbols" (signs) and "condensation symbols" (symbols), which Turner notes in defining his use of symbol. Both are compatible with Jung's distinction.

19 Turner, Forest, p. 29; Whitmont, Symbolic, p. 36; Sigmund Freud, The Interpretation of Dreams (New York, 1965), pp. 313-23.

20 Freud, Interpretation, p. 13.

21 Freud, Interpretation, p. 388.

22 Whitmont, Symbolic, p. 53.

23 Turner, Forest, esp. pp. 19-47.


25 Whitmont, Symbolic, p. 121.

26 Freud, Interpretation, p. 343, emphasis his.

27 Freud, Interpretation, p. 375.

28 Whitmont, Symbolic, p. 28.


31 Whitmont, Symbolic, pp. 119-20.


33 Cf. Turner, Ritual, pp. 94-130 for the importance of ritual as a means of establishing bounds within which different principles of organization
may hold.

34 Time and space are both relative before the ego is firmly formed. See Piaget, Reality.

35 Freud, Interpretation, p. 349.


37 Freud, Interpretation, p. 349.

38 Evans-Pritchard, Witchcraft, pp. 63-83.

39 Freud, Interpretation, p. 349.

40 Freud, Interpretation, pp. 349-50.

41 Freud, Interpretation, p. 371.


43 Freud, Interpretation, pp. 262-3.

44 Jung, Collected Works, Vol. 9, ii, p. 204.


49 Habermas, Knowledge, p. 191.

50 Habermas, Knowledge, p. 191.

51 Habermas, Knowledge, p. 193.


55 Habermas, *Knowledge*, pp. 308-17.

56 Lakatos, *Criticism*, pp. 95-119.

57 Habermas, *Knowledge*, p. 309.


60 Rokeach, *Open*, p. 211.


67 Torrey, *The Mind Game*.

68 Levi-Strauss, "Effectiveness."

69 LaBarre, *Ghost*, pp. 299-397.

70 For a summary of the support for this now generally acknowledged observation, see Lewis, *Ecastic*, pp. 66-99.

A criticism of structural-functional approaches has been that they tend to assume that existing institutions and practices have functions (are socially valuable, whether or not the basis of their value is recognized) and then sets out to find them. A competing assumption is that certain institutions and practices may become so well established that they will be preserved even if there is little apparent value in doing so, beyond the fact that they are part of a body of meaningful tradition. We recognize this to be an important issue, but will not treat it here since the cases we shall discuss are ones in which it is easy to define the value different groups attach to them.

78 Holzner, _Reality_, p. 134.
CHAPTER III

THE ORDO TEMPLE ASTART (OTA)

Introduction

This chapter examines one modern magical epistemic community: the Ordo Templi Astart (OTA) of Southern California. The OTA was formed in 1970 by C. R. Runyon, who remains its leader. Its membership is primarily young people, most with college degrees. Although OTA was formed during the "counterculture" movement, and was certainly easier to establish in that environment, most of its members neither seek radically new social norms, nor advocate "dropping out" of society. OTA is one part of their lives--lives which in most other respects are not particularly unusual. Since OTA exists in an environment of other magico-religious and occult organizations, it from time to time makes contact with these. While some short-term ties develop, OTA has long-term ties with only one other group, Feraferia, headed by Fred Adams. Several OTA members have been initiated into Feraferia after their joining OTA. Hence, OTA is not entirely "secret" but retains a commitment to limiting the diffusion of its knowledge and controlling carefully the size and characteristics of its membership.

The purpose of OTA is to practice ceremonial magic. Ceremonial
magic involves using trance induction techniques, in a ritual setting, to produce visual images of "spirits" and permit direct communication with them. The trances of ceremonial magic are significantly different from spiritualist seances. Magicians attempt to control the possession experience far more than spiritualists. Only the receiver (person coming into contact with the spirit) is expected to experience manifestations. The spirit with whom contact is sought is selected before the ritual begins, and only manifestations of that spirit are permitted. Other manifestations signal a poor operation, and would lead to a termination of the operation. Furthermore, magicians are not simply the passive receivers of spiritual influences, but command the appearance and disappearance of their spirits, and sometimes attempt to channel their spiritual forces as well.

The structure of the rituals employed, the categorical framework used to organize activities, and some of the techniques employed, belong to a Western magical tradition at least five hundred years old. Elements of Jewish mysticism (the Qabbala), theurgy, neoplatonic philosophy and Rosicrucian writings were blended with mythology (sometimes pagan) by Renaissance magicians to provide the foundation of the Western ceremonial magic tradition. Modern magicians (including OTA members) have adopted these older, traditional, categorical frameworks and symbols. They use them along with newer innovations for one basic purpose: to provide means of enhancing the range of personal experience ("producing changes in consciousness in accordance with will"), in OTA's case without the use of harmful or illegal drugs. In establishing their program, OTA drew upon other
magical organizations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, most importantly an English group called the Golden Dawn. While some of the elements of OTA's practice are unique, many more derive from the well established (though little known) tradition of ceremonial magic. The tradition includes not only a number of classical texts on magic, and the rituals of older groups, but also recent expositions of magical practice by men who have themselves been magicians (S. L. M. Mathers, Aleister Crowley, Isreal Regardie, William Butler, Garreth Knight, etc.). Most frequently, the experience of these men has been attained in small lodges, organized like the OTA.

Why do such old beliefs reemerge in contemporary society? How do traditions like ceremonial magic, or other occult perspectives like Wicca (witchcraft), alchemy or astrology, survive and adapt themselves to modern society? Why do relatively well educated people, who do not reject the social and political values of "mainstream" American society join such groups? How do they adjust their participation in what are clearly not "mainstream" organizations to their everyday lives?

We shall attempt to answer such questions by demonstrating that the OTA has adopted older magical perspectives into a specialized tradition—one which strips away from magic many social functions associated with it in premodern societies (healing, therapy, occupational possibilities) and leaves a set of beliefs and practices which helps provide individuals with a new range of personal experience, and a means of integrating the "personal" domain of their lives. It provides an aesthetic setting for expressing features
of human life which are increasingly "irrelevant" to anyone except the individual who experiences them.

OTA is important because it is one of a wide range of options for integrating "personal" meaning which are arising in contemporary American society. Ranging from fringe religions to occult organizations, through a wide range of quasi-therapeutic groups, these activities share an emphasis upon direct, personal experience rather than elaborate intellectual frameworks which purport to provide tightly knit explanations of general experience. The main focus of many of these groups is to provide personal insight—often in small, relatively restricted settings. Frequently such groups remain small by choice, and engage in little serious "advertising". Their significance lies not in their potential to grow into mass movements, but in the very fact that they do not wish to. The observer is struck by the fact that such organizations proliferate, create informal networks of communication among each other, and publicize enough about their program to allay their fears of being misunderstood by a hostile public, and provide themselves with the ability to recruit a small number of people. Possibilities for organization into something larger exists, but are in general shunned.

We shall attempt to demonstrate in this chapter that one such group, the OTA, can within the context of a highly differentiated society, create quasi-private social realities which can be sustained without interfering with the social commitments of their members. We have picked the OTA, in particular, because it not only demonstrates the way in which this occurs in contemporary American society but also adds insights about the operation
of magical beliefs in societies in which those beliefs are more familiar
to the general public. In arguing that OTA has contributed to a specializa-
tion of magic, which nevertheless, maintains some crucial features of pre-
modern magical practice, we hope to clarify both the contemporary, modern
situation, and provide a different perspective on magical practice in pre-
modern societies. If, as OTA suggests, old magical perspectives can be
stripped of their potentially undesirable associations with outmoded attempts
to cope with physical events, their ties with accusations which support scape-
goating, or their role in clandestine political activity, leaving behind a
viable tradition which is personally beneficial, then policies which have as
their aim the destruction of magical perspectives may be misguided, and
even impossible.

Categorical Framework

In performing magical rituals, OTA magicians maintain that they are
bringing about changes in consciousness in accordance with their will. As
they do this, they claim to explore religiously and artistically, through the
vehicle of theurgic ritual, features of the "collective unconscious" which
Jung attempted to identify scientifically. The symbols, motifs and actions
of their rituals are coordinated and organized by their categorical framework,
The Tree of Life, drawn from the Qabbala. Its ten central categories (the
Sephiroth) and twenty-two subsidiary categories (the paths) form the basis
of an elaborate set of correspondences which specify the connection between
the physical and abstract poles of magical symbols, and provide an inter-
nally consistent means of organizing the components of a ritual to provide
a simultaneous expression of a single motif. It is the single focus of all the ritual stimuli which provides magicians with the capability to direct manifestations of the unconscious, symbolic logic into channels chosen at will by magicians before ritual operations are undertaken.

It is in its capacity to provide complex, open-ended collection of internally consistent correspondences that OTA magicians employ Qabbala. The term Qabbala is used by students of mysticism to describe a large collection of Jewish mystical writings, the most important of which is a collection of mystical commentaries on the Torah called the Zohar. In their capacity as magicians, members of the OTA use the term differently. They refer to part of this tradition, in particular the set of categories which underlies its cosmology. These categories, graphically represented as the Tree of Life, their interpretations, and the multitude of correspondences associated with them are, for the OTA, the Qabbala. Relatively little attention is paid to traditional Jewish religious interpretations. OTA magicians refer to the Zohar in describing the historical origins of the Qabbalistic framework, but none of them have read the entire work. Neither do they employ the techniques of literary interpretation developed in this context.

Qabbala is not intellectually necessary to the practice of ceremonial magic. Other categorical frameworks, capable of inter-relating a diverse range of stimuli and incorporating complexity-generating algorithms, could provide the basis for ritual operations. OTA members do not maintain that
Qabbala is externally incorrigible—that its features are necessary to any magical epistemology. Neither do they maintain that it is unique—that it alone is adequate to handle the conceptual issues arising in magical practice. Ceremonial magic would be possible even if Qabbala were replaced by another categorical framework. Magicians in the OTA adhere to Qabbala as their categorical framework for three reasons: its historical significance for the development of magical texts, its ability to organize important symbols in the Western religious tradition, and its ability to function as a symbolic "map of the psyche".

Historically, the roots of ceremonial magic lay in a Renaissance synthesis of the Qabbalistic framework with newly emerging classical texts on theurgic practice and the astrological correspondences which pervaded the study of natural phenomena (herbs, stones, incenses) and medicine. Theurgic texts, providing the outlines of rituals similar in structure to OTA's, appeared within the context of the Hermetic tradition, believed to be ancient Egyptian knowledge mediated through Greek classical civilization, but in fact products of gnostic religions of about the second century AD. The synthesis attempted to bring pagan knowledge into line with existing mystical speculations and schemes for organizing knowledge of the natural world. After the dating of the Hermetic manuscripts was proven to be in error, classing them as heresy rather than pre-Christian insight, little serious intellectual effort was devoted to Hermetic philosophy or ceremonial magic. No new grand synthesis was ever done. As interest in ceremonial magic revived, the categorical framework from the Renaissance was adopted,
partially modified, but never recast. Hence man like Runyon, interested in exploring the claims of ceremonial magic and theurgy, learn to do so within the Qabbalistic categorical framework.

Since other categorical frameworks could be developed, and history does not provide a strong justification for the existing one, why adhere to it? Runyon maintains that its advantages stem from the fact that Qabbala organizes ritual experience around the religious experience prevalent in Judeo-Christian culture. One might learn a categorical framework based upon Eastern religions, and even having learned it, use it successfully in ritual operations. But in doing so, the magician imposes both an intellectual and psychological burden upon himself. He must operate outside the milieu of his cultural experience, working against, not with, his primary socialization into religious symbols, mythology and fantasy. Qabbala, on the other hand, is a categorical framework which organizes these symbols and motifs into a more intuitively apprehendable framework, one whose romantic appeal provides an incentive to learn, and employ, the framework. The tradition answers a need OTA magicians see in modern society for viable and meaningful outlets for both creative imagination and artistic fantasy in the context of meaningful cultural traditions and the experience of previous ages. Like many other neopagan groups, including Wicca and Feraferia, OTA believes that modern society downgrades the past, and traditional "rites of passage", pushes aside their less formalized insights in favor of psychologically sterile technological advances, and in so doing, not only loses sight of potentially valuable knowledge, but also contributes to a sense of anomie. In response
to this situation, OTA does not advocate uncritical "faith" in old traditions, but for a more sophisticated suspension of disbelief within the context of ritual activity.

Not all symbolic organizing schemes with claims to traditional existence are equally effective in providing potentially deep ritual insights. OTA maintains that Qabbala, coming out of a tradition of mystical insights into the unconscious, contains within it basic psychological motifs, which like the projections of unconscious structure Jung found in alchemical writings, provide sufficiently accurate representations of basic principles of the psyche to guide personal explorations of it. OTA magicians are not concerned with finding such structures in Qabbala. They see themselves more as artists working with its materials than systematic investigators of its scientific contents. Yet their unexamined contention is a profitable speculation, for the analysis which we shall present indicates that there are significant parallels between Qabbalistic sephiroth and Jung's theory of the structure of the psyche. The arrangement of the sephiroth on the Tree corresponds to the process of individuation as Jung describes it. The unfolding of the Tree recounts symbolically the emergence of the structure of the psyche, while the traditional program of the magician, the ascent up the Tree, mythologically reconstructs the individuation process. This structure of the Qabbalistic categorical framework is consonant with what modern magicians claim to be the aim of magical practice: individuation.

The Qabbalistic categorical framework has only one logically ultimate element, the Ain Soph. The Ain Soph is the impersonal "hidden"
God, existing before creation. Scholem characterizes the difference between the concept of a personal God and the **Ain Soph**, which

... signifies 'the infinite' as such; not, as has frequently been suggested, 'He who is infinite' but 'that which is infinite'. Issac the Blind calls it the *deus absconditus* 'that which is not conceivable by thinking' not 'He who is not', etc. It is clear that with this postulate of an impersonal basic reality in God, which becomes a person--or appears as a person--only in the process of Creation and revelation, Qabbalism abandons the personalistic basis of the Biblical conception of God.\(^\text{11}\)

The **Ain Soph** is more akin to the basic force behind the universe, whose patterning constitutes it. This force is impersonal and abstract. It may appear as a personalized god, but this is a result of man's attempts to comprehend it, not a feature of divinity itself.\(^\text{12}\)

The **Ain Soph** exists prior to the definition of attributes, both logically in terms of the categorical framework and temporally, in terms of the creation account in which the framework is couched. Hence, it cannot be completely defined within the categorical framework, for it exists prior to the principle of limiting and defining attributes. It is not a proper topic for analytic reasoning, according to the stipulations of the framework. Mathers makes this clear:

Shall we then say that the Negative, the Limitless, the Absolute are, logically speaking, absurd, since they are ideas which our reason cannot define? No, for could we define them, we should make them, so to speak, contained by our reason and therefore not superior to it; for a subject to be capable of definition it is requisite that certain limits be assignable to it. How can we limit the illimitable?\(^\text{13}\)

Stripped of its rhetoric, the Qabbalistic conception of the **Ain Soph** contains one central assertion. It suggests that an important element of reality exists before human consciousness, and hence cannot be grasped
and defined within its conceptions. If we interpret this assertion at a personal level, it has a direct parallel in analytic psychology. Its thesis is that consciousness in a child develops from an initial unconsciousness. While this initial state can be described theoretically, these theoretical statements cannot be completely accurate characterizations of it. Describing it is apprehending it in terms of consciousness, and its separation from unconsciousness, which is precisely the feature the initial state does not have. Descriptions can identify the features the state does not have (a differentiated consciousness, fixed conception of space and time, object permanence, etc.), but it cannot convey the positive image of existence in this state. This is precisely the problem Mathers refers to. Qabbalistic speculation on creation, like many other myths, presents as an external, cosmic beginning the initial state of the human psyche.

The components of the psyche, as they emerge from this initial state, are given by the ten sephiroth of the Tree of Life.

Kether is the first Sephira. It is the first limitation of the Ain Soph, and as such introduces not only the concept of limitation, but also the principle of perfect limitation: balance or equilibrium. Kether can limit and concentrate the Ain Soph because all attributes exist in perfect balance within it. This is the beginning of Qabbala, for as the Siphra Dtzenioutha (Book of Concealed Mystery) asserts in its first line, "The Book of Concealed Mystery is the book of the equilibrium of balance." Magical writing is clear in defining this equilibrium as a balance, achieved by using all forces in correct measure to counterbalance each other, not by eliminating "dis-
TABLE I

THE QABBALISTIC TREE OF LIFE
Circles represent the ten sephiroth. The connecting parallel lines are the twenty-two paths connecting sephiroth. The creation process flows down (Kether to Malkuth) while the psychic unity process ascends (Malkuth to Kether).
ruptive' forces.

Equilibrium is that harmony which results from the analogy of contrar-
ies: it is the dead centre where, the opposition of opposing forces being
equal in strength, rest succeeds motion. It is the central point. It is
the 'point within the circle' of ancient symbolism. It is the living
synthesis of counterbalanced power.\footnote{\textsuperscript{17}}

Kether represents the unity attainable by man. It comes as a result
of accepting all facets of the personality, thus eliminating personal repres-
sions and over compensations. The perfect man is the man who has given
adequate expression to all facets of himself, and stabilized these expres-
sions. As an ethical commitment, the concept of balance places magic
closer to psychotherapy than orthodox Christian or Jewish doctrine. OTA
magicians reject in principle religious emphasis upon developing "good"
traits and overcoming "bad" ones.\footnote{\textsuperscript{18}} Magical training and ethics leave
the task of determining the correct balance to the magician himself. As
Gerald Yorke, once a practicing magician, recognizes, this leaves magic
with few practical ethics to guide the magician in facing himself.\footnote{\textsuperscript{19}} Psycho-
therapists are bound by professional ethics, as well as societal norms, which
provide a practical standard against which to access balance. Magicians,
organized outside such systematic contacts with either clients or regula-
tors, have no such touchstone. As both Yerke and some OTA members
recognize, this increases the risk that the magician will at some point be-
come the victim of his own illusions, incapable of dealing with the uncon-
scious elements which magical techniques have helped to expose.

As a perfect balance, Kether contains within itself the other nine
sephiroth. As we noted in our analysis of symbolic-mythological logic,
opposition is necessary to move beyond this condition. The next two sephirot, Chokmah and Binah, establish the basic pattern of opposition. Chokmah is associated with consciousness and wisdom, the active pursuit of knowledge. It is the ability to make distinctions, to engage in analytic reasoning. Binah is associated with understanding, a more passive, synthetic knowledge. Magicians describe this opposition as will opposed by imagination, or intuition. This is the basic opposition Jung suggests between directed thinking, and undirected or associative thinking, more open to unconscious influence. Physiologists report a similar difference in consciousness, associated with differences between the two hemispheres of the brain.

The belief that there are two forms of consciousness has been with us for centuries. Reason versus passion is one of its guises; mind versus intuition is another. The feminine, the sacred, the mysterious historically have lined up against the masculine, the profane and the logical. . . . What is new is the discovery that the two modes of consciousness have a physiological basis. They are not simply a reflection of culture or philosophy. The evidence accumulates that the human brain has specialized, and that each half of that organ is responsible for a distinct mode of thought.

The findings indicate that the left hemisphere, which controls the right side of the body, is primarily involved with analytic thinking. It processes information sequentially, and organizes it in a basically linear way. The right hemisphere is primarily responsible for orientation in space, artistic talents and body awareness, and operates in a simultaneous, wholistic mode.

Normally, the two hemispheres operate complementarily, and the features of each's operation are difficult to determine. Experiments performed upon patients where the two hemispheres had been surgically separated, the so-called "split brain" experiments, provided dramatic evidence
of the different principles. The left hemisphere, controlling the right side of the body, responded to language. The right hand could move in response to verbal instructions. The right hemisphere, however, did not respond well to verbal communication, and the patients found it difficult, or impossible, to respond to verbal commands with their left hands. Even more dramatic was the response to emotional provocation, in which the left hand might attempt an attack, while the right hand struggled to restrain it. In discussing these findings, it was suggested that these results suggest that the left hemisphere-right hemisphere differences provide

... a loose analogy to the conflict between Freud's conscious and unconscious processes. Freud's famous dichotomy holds that the conscious mind largely controls language and rational discourse, while the unconscious is much less accessible to reason or verbal analysis. The unconscious may communicate through gestures, face and body movements or tone of voice. In split brain patients, the verbal, rational system, disconnected from the source of information, may be countermanded by body language.23

These physiological findings suggest new importance to Turner's assertion that symbols have two poles: an abstract, ideological pole and a concrete, physical one. The abstract pole is conceptual, rooted in the verbal and cognitive life of a society. The concrete pole is experiential, rooted in the sensations and language of the body. Symbols contain both principles, reflect both hemispheric principles. The purpose of ritual is to fuse them, to remove any possible opposition in their operation. Hence, as Durkheim noted, ritual is the vehicle through which the obligatory may be converted into the desired.24

Chokmah and Binah, as symbols, parallel Jung's equally symbolic characterization of the Great Father and the Great Mother, the two most
powerful archetypes of the collective unconscious. The abstract pole of these archetypes is the archetype en sich, the abstract organizing principle of the psyche. It is the organization of psychological experience into conscious and unconscious components, perhaps itself a reflection of physiological organization. The concrete poles are the materials which are organized—the experiences of daily life whose arrangement gives substance to the archetype en sich. The archetypes, as general organizing principles, are activated in the child's early life by the physical experience of his parents. Their activation breaks the initial, self-contained unity of the child's life, and associates with the parents the numinosity of the archetypes themselves.

The first encounter, that between the child and parents or parental figures, not only actualizes but mediates—mediates the compelling numinosity of the archetypal urgency and the capacity for human experiencing. Father and mother appear as all-powerful divine figures to the child; they are the first representation of the divine on earth; God is not only the projection of the father, as Freud saw it exclusively, but father and mother carry the projections of the male and female archetypes of the divine. 25

Chokmah and Binah represent the distinction between consciousness and unconsciousness, actualized by experience not only with people who cannot be incorporated into the child's primitive unity, but also by experience with both sexes. The experiences occur together, and become psychologically inseparable. Hence, Chokmah bears the title Abba, father, and Binah Aima, mother. 26

Ceremonial magicians and Qabbalists often group the first three sephirot together as the Supernal Triad. These are separated from the remaining sephirot by the abyss. What can this mean psychologically? The answer is not difficult, if we remember that the process of psycho-spiritual
development is considered to be an ascent up the Tree of Life, reversing the process of emanation. Reaching Kether means, then, assimilating consciousness and unconsciousness to a new state of awareness, becoming the new Adam in Qabbalistic terminology, achieving enlightenment in Eastern parlance. Crossing the abyss, as magicians describe it, is the process of merging the final components of the self into a new cosmic awareness of unity. Jungian psychotherapy does not cross the abyss. For Jung, individuation is assimilating to consciousness some of the less numinous archetypes of the unconscious, represented Qabbalistically by the lower sephiroth, and accepting both conscious and unconscious principles as components of the psyche. He maintains that consciousness must never be merged with unconscious, for to do so would be to regress to the primitive undifferentiated state of the early child. Hence, he holds that the archetypes of the Great Father and the Great Mother cannot be assimilated in the individuation process. Both Qabbalistic and magical doctrine asserts that this merging is possible, and that while it constitutes a "return" to unity, it is not what psychologists would call regression. The difference is that the ego has been built, and is not disintegrated, but transformed in the "crossing of the Abyss". In practical terms, the abyss marks the difference between what Jungian psychotherapy considers possible and psychologically healthy, and what magicians and mystics hold forth as the ultimate state of psycho-spiritual development.

Below the Abyss lie the remaining seven sephiroth. The fourth sephira, Chesed, associated with grace, or mercy. It is opposed by Geburah,
might. Chesed, like Binah, is associated with the right hand, male pillar of the Tree. Yet its attributes, as Regardie notes, are those conventionally associated with women. This fact has puzzled magicians, and while we may simply suggest that Qabbalists have different cultural stereotypes of men and women, this seems unsupported by the extent to which both mystics and magicians, in their other writings, accept more conventional images.

The puzzle disappears if we consider two features of the Tree separately. First, we note that the Tree is divided into different pillars. The sephiroth on the right hand side are considered to form a male, active pillar, while those on the left constitute a female, passive pillar. At the abstract level, these pillars represent the principle of opposition, with each opposition being resolved in a third sephira lying on the middle pillar. This is the level at which the structure is interpreted by the OTA, and most available texts on Qabbala, as it relates to ceremonial magic. At a more physical level, however, these pillars represent the perspective on the Tree which should be taken, given the sex of the individual approaching it. Hence, the right hand pillar should contain the elements of the psyche most important for a male to recognize, the left hand those most crucial for a female, and the middle pillar those whose importance is not sexually linked.

We can check this interpretation by considering the second feature of the Tree, the nature of the sephiroth composing the pillars. Chesed is indeed associated with female traits, but it is the female as seen from the male perspective—what Jung identified as the anima. The anima is the archetypal principle which organizes men's understanding of women. It is
activated by a man's personal contact with women. The physical content of
the anima are these experiences and perceptions, organized as an "ideal"
woman. The anima is unconscious, and difficult to raise to consciousness.
Its assimilation is one of the major hurdles in the individuation process.
Hence, it will be an important part of the unconscious, as it is experienced
by a male. The same traits, in women, would be relatively conscious
components of personality, and hence, not encountered as archetypal con-
tents.

The functional equivalent of the anima in women is the animus. It
is the archetypal organizing principle for a woman's understanding of men.
Geburah, with its emphasis on strength and martial skill, points to the con-
tents of the archetype--the experiences and perceptions of men gleaned from
experience with them and accounts of them. The animus in a woman is un-
conscious, and must be raised to consciousness during the process of in-
dividuation. Hence, the experience of the unconscious a woman encounters
will be confrontation with the animus, traits a man will have as part of his
conscious personality.

The correctness of this interpretation is strengthened by looking again
at the remaining sephiroth. The sixth sephira, Tiphareth, is associated
with beauty. It represents balance, not the absolute balance of Kether, but a
mixture of severity and mercy which can stabilize the lower part of the Tree.
Tiphareth is the center of the microcosmic world, the intermediary between
spiritual forces and bodily functions. Magicians of the OTA, following
Regardie, Yorke and Gray, identify Tiphareth with the developed ego.
The identification is reinforced by the wealth of symbolism which links Tipareth with the sun, with symbols of the ego from astrology, alchemy and Jung's analysis. Tipareth lies in the middle pillar, unrelated to sexual differences, and central to the process of individuation.

Below Tipareth lie Netzach and Hod. Netzach lies on the male pillar, and its attributes relate to love, victory and emotional sensitivity. It relates to those emotions which men personally suppress in response to cultural dictates, the stereotypically identified "female" attributes in men. Jung maintains that those characteristics which are conspicuously absent from the outward character (persona) will be found within him. His inner constitution will complement his external personality. The more a person adopts an outward personality in conformity with cultural expectations of "masculine" or "feminine" roles, the greater the influence of the suppressed traits in the unconscious.

A very feminine woman has a masculine soul, and a very masculine man has a feminine soul. The contrast is due to the fact that a man is not in all things wholly masculine, but also has certain feminine traits. The more masculine his outer attitude is, the more his feminine traits are obliterated: instead they appear in his unconscious. This is why it is just those very virile men who are most subject to characteristic weaknesses; their attitude to the unconscious has a womanish weakness and impressionability.

Netzach represents these unconscious elements in a man, whose contents are often the elements of the external personality of a woman. Similarly, Hod, splendor, associated with intellectual skill, shrewdness and analytic capability, points to the traits most likely to be absent in women whose outer personality is constructed in conformity with stereotypic expectations. Conversely it is often just the most feminine women who in their inner.
lives, display an inattractability, an obstinacy and a willfullness that are to be found with comparable intensity only in a man's outer attitude. These masculine traits, excluded from the womanly outer attitude, have become qualities of her soul. . . . Whereas logic and objectivity are usually the predominant features of a man's outer attitude, or are at least regarded as ideals, in the case of a woman it is feeling. But in the soul it is the other way around: inwardly it is the man who feels and the woman who reflects. 35

Yesod, foundation, reconciles Netzach and Hod. Yesod is associated in magical interpretation with both sexual drives and the astral plane. By examining these associations, we can see that Yesod is a symbolic representation of Freud's personal unconscious, or what Jung called the shadow. Yesod is a repository of repressed personal contents—emotions, drives and wishes which cannot be expressed, basic physical impulses which cannot be enacted. Features of the astral plane reinforce this identification. The contents of the astral plane include: personal spirits of the dead not correctly prepared for the after-life (guilt-ambivalence about dead), incubi and succubi (personified sexual fantasies) and elementals or nature spirits (personifications of basic 'id' drives). Magicians hold the realm of Yesod to be an ensnaring place of dangerous illusions, where the magician must exercise caution. 36 It is also held to be the easiest spiritual domain to gain access to, and hence the one most likely to be encountered without adequate preparation. Problems of obsession and psychic attack are associated with the astral plane. It is the plane where human manipulation of others is easiest.

At the bottom of the Tree lies Malkuth, or kingdom. It represents the physical world, matter in its entirety, and all the forms perceived by human senses. It represents the final end point of the emanation process, and the point from which an individual begins his psycho-spiritual quest for
unity.

The six sephiroth below the abyss and above Malkuth are frequently grouped together as Zauir Am-pin, the microprosopus, or the sun. 37 Taken collectively, these symbolize the self, the center of the psyche where the ego has been adjusted to the unconscious. The goal of the magician below the abyss is to create the self from the ego and unconsciousness, to achieve what the Golden Dawn, the AA and the OTA call the operation of the knowledge and conversation of the Holy Guardian Angel (K and C of HGA). 38 The "Holy Guardian Angel" is the symbol of the self. Its "knowledge and conversation" is establishing the self as the new center of the self. This is the goal of the individuation process, and the desired endpoint of Jungian psychotherapy.

Magicians hold that spiritual progress is an ascent up the Tree, from Malkuth to Kether. If we consider this statement to specify the steps in the individuation process, we arrive at the same basic sequence Jung specified psychoanalytically. The initial task is confrontation with the shadow, or the work of exploring the personal unconscious which Freud elaborated. Next the person must face those aspects of himself which have been denied their proper position in his external personality, recognize both male and female elements within himself. These tasks require a strengthened ego, one capable of resisting assimilation to the unconscious. Once this strength is established, the animus or anima is raised to consciousness and assimilated. Centering and the symbolism of the self then complete individuation by establishing conscious recognition of the complementary role of the un-
conscious, and freeing its complementary operation from ego interference. This gives rise to the self. This admittedly crude outline of Jung’s theory is precisely the sequence dictated by the "ascent up the Tree".

In addition to saying that magicians believe Qabbala to provide a "map of the psyche", it is now possible to say that the outline of their "map" corresponds to formulations discovered in a modern school of psychotherapy. This is not, of course, to say that Qabbala is "scientific" psychotherapy. OTA magicians would not make this claim, but instead assert that they have information about the psyche, accumulated through experience and observation and organized symbolically, which is accurate enough to provide a basis for understanding, and altering, the psyche. They are interested in working within this system, not transforming it into a scientific discipline, with the different orientation that implies. Qabbala remains a pre-scientific compilation of knowledge, capable of being interpreted with reference to recent scientific advances in psychotherapy, but maintaining a broader scope than could be scientifically supported, at least with present scientific knowledge.

Thus far we have considered only the abstract pole of the sephiroth. Equally important is the physical pole. Much of the literature on magic is taken up with providing correspondences between sephiroth and planets, incenses, plants, animals, colors, sounds and physical positions, as well as spiritual entities such as angels, gods and goddesses, mythological figures and the names of God. Some of these correspondences establish the physical role of the sephiroth, a necessary requirement for ritual practice.
More is involved, though. Qabbala is a totalizing framework. That is, it holds that its basic symbols apply at all levels of life, and provide a means of interpreting these varied experiences. Hence, the process of establishing correspondences goes beyond simply making links to the physical realm, and becomes a means of interpreting other abstract symbols in relation to its own abstractions. As Crowley maintained, Qabbala is not only "a language fitted to describe certain classes of phenomena and to express certain classes of ideas which escape regular terminology" but also "an unsectarian and elastic terminology by means of which it is possible to equate the mental processes of people apparently diverse owing to the constraints imposed upon them by the peculiarities of their literary expression." The correspondences we present illustratively in Table II are regarded by members of OTA as the product of what we might term "crude empiricism" on the part of past magicians, mystics and astrologers. 42 It is often difficult to provide theoretical rationales for the associations, even within magical theory. OTA accepts them because their correctness seems to be established in practical working with them. They do not regard them as inviolable, and have on occasion attempted to modify them. 43 Their rationale is pragmatic, not ideological.

But why have the elaborate correspondences at all? Here the answer is two fold. First, ritual effectiveness in OTA, as for the cases Turner studied, depends upon being able to link physical sensations with abstract conceptions and visual representations. The correspondences provide these links, and hence, are the key to ritual operation. This is the basic reason
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<td>Color</td>
<td>Zodiac</td>
<td>Kerub</td>
<td>Weapon &amp; Sacrament</td>
<td>Archangel</td>
<td>YHVH</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spirit</td>
<td>Universal 'active', bi-sexual creative energy--'God'-- Origin of Ultra-electro-magnetic fluids. AKASHA in the Yoga tattwas, Odic force, Vril, Azoth, prana, etc.</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>Infinity zodiac</td>
<td>(Sigils)</td>
<td>Ampulla, Oil, Kiss, Semen, Blood</td>
<td>Yatveh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sephiroth</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Color</td>
<td>Planet</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Angel</td>
<td>Qlippoth</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<td>Kether</td>
<td>Crown</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Infinity</td>
<td>Yatveh Metatron</td>
<td>Thaumiel</td>
<td>Two Contending Forces</td>
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<td>Wisdom</td>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>Zodiac</td>
<td>Raziel</td>
<td>Ghogiel</td>
<td>The Hinders</td>
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<tr>
<td>Binah</td>
<td>Understanding</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Saturn</td>
<td>Lead</td>
<td>Tzaphqiel Cassiel</td>
<td>Satriel Zaziel</td>
<td>The Concealers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chesed</td>
<td>Mercy</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Jupiter</td>
<td>Tin</td>
<td>Tzadqiel Sachiel</td>
<td>Agshekeloh Hismael</td>
<td>The Breakers in Pieces</td>
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<tr>
<td>Geburah</td>
<td>Power</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Mars</td>
<td>Iron</td>
<td>Kamael Zamael</td>
<td>Golohab Bartzabel</td>
<td>The Burners</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tiphareth</td>
<td>Beauty</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>Tagiriron Sorath</td>
<td>The Disputers</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Color</td>
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<td>Qlippoth</td>
<td>Goetia Demons</td>
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<td>Netzach</td>
<td>Victory</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Venus</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Haniel</td>
<td>Gharab Kedemel</td>
<td>The Ravens of Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hod</td>
<td>Majesty</td>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>Mercury</td>
<td>Mercury</td>
<td>Raphael</td>
<td>Samael Taphtharharath</td>
<td>The Liar or Poison of God</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yesod</td>
<td>Foundation</td>
<td>Violet</td>
<td>Moon</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>Gabriel</td>
<td>Gamaliel Lilith</td>
<td>The Obscene Ones</td>
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<tr>
<td>Malkuth</td>
<td>Kingdom</td>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>Earth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Auriel</td>
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so much attention is given them in magical texts. Second, Qabbala’s scope depends on these correspondences. The cosmic significance of magic rests in its fundamental premise: That which is above is like unto that which is below and that which is below is like unto that which is above, to achieve the unity of the one thing. Correspondences, whether seen as projections of the psyche's structure outward or reflections of similar underlying principles in both realms, form the basis practically employing this maxim. In addition, correspondences are necessary to link Qabbala back to mythical themes. Qabbala is not, like a myth, a collection of significant themes. It is a level above this, a scheme for organizing and summarizing these themes. But as Jung has shown, the work of the psyche occurs in themes and motifs. To relate dreams to Qabbala, or myths to the Tree of Life, is to provide a relevant operationalization of its categories. This is what correspondences do.

The Sephiroth are by far the most important component of the Tree of Life. They are supplemented by twenty-two "paths", dependent attributes, each associated with a letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and correspondingly a number, since Hebrew contains no numerals, a Tarot card and an allegorical interpretation. The paths describe the experiences encountered in movement up the Tree. Garreth Knight, a former magician, states that...
effected in two ways from Malkuth to Yesod or vice versa and the same applies to all Paths. 47

The paths, then, provide a "map" of the experiences associated with individuation, as the sephiroth did of the structure of the process.

The paths are of less interest to magicians than the Sephiroth. While most OTA rituals require frequent reference to the correspondences of the sephiroth, no references to path correspondences are necessary. There are two subsidiary roles for the paths. The first rests on their association with the Tarot cards. Through this association, they link divination by Tarot cards with the framework of wider magical practice. This provides magicians with a systematic way of probing their own experiences (paths) and using associations which stem from them to generate new insights into themselves, and sometimes into others. Second, through their association with Hebrew letters, the paths are linked to techniques of the literal Qabbala, interpretation of words and numbers in terms of their numerical equivalences. These techniques generate complexity, and are sure means of expanding the meaning or interpretation of a particular word or phrase. Such complexity generation was used by Crowley, but is not employed by members of the OTA. Hence, the role of the paths is more limited, and their significance is overshadowed by the sephiroth. For this reason, we shall not discuss them in detail.

Thus far we have argued that the Qabbala provides primarily insight into the psyche, and yet have asserted that it claims for itself a cosmic significance. These are two partially conflicting claims, which imply quite different things about the legitimate, as opposed to the perceived, scope of
magic. Magicians themselves have different ways of interpreting the scope of magic. Yet despite considerable variation, these different interpretations are all tolerated within the magical community. We shall examine these views, and their coexistence, for they demonstrate both the ease with which high level meta-interpretations take place within magical doctrine, and the few basic commitments which establish the boundaries of magical thought.

The two general approaches to the scope of magic are the objectivist and the subjectivist. In the first approach, the magician holds that the entities which are classified in the Tree of Life have an objective existence in the world. That is, the one underlying force, the Ain Soph, manifested across many levels of consciousness, some above man, some below him. While the same force ultimately underlies them all, they have an objective existence in their own planes, just as man's physical body has an objective existence in the material world. Regardie summarizes this view:

It considers all individual things, the Gods and all the forces of Nature to exist independently of one another and exterior to the individual consciousness; that the Theurgist is but an infinitesimal portion of the majestic grandeur of universality. The theory presupposes that the spiritual hierarchies exist in the most objective fashion conceivable. Somewhere in the universe on some subtle invisible plane, is an intelligence named Taphtharthatath, for example, who is as real a being in his own as one's tailor is in his, and that like the tailor he responds when called forth by the appropriate methods. . . . The same remarks apply to the various subtle planes of Nature with which the magician comes in contact. Though they are invisible, and are composed of a very subtle and rarified substance, yet they likewise are objective to his own mind.

This view is most in keeping with the public religious tradition of Christian-
objective existence can be questioned by groups which still remain Christian. Such entities include the devil, angels and discarnate souls. The view is also in keeping with Jewish public tradition, again with its emphasis upon a personal God (at minimum) and hosts of spiritual ministers. Holding that the Ain Soph lay behind a personal God and spirits which were aspects of it was one thing—asserting that these had no objective existence quite another.

In this view, there is a proper domain for Qabbala as a means of understanding the human psyche, or soul. A variety of means have been developed to map the human psyche in terms of the Tree.

In the universe-oriented view, a single "force", the Ain Soph, pervades the universe. It takes on different forms, whose manifestations will be perceived differently from different perspectives in the universe. The perceiving entity will experience the universe and its forms in a way conditioned by its position in it. Hence, man experiences gods, angels and demons because his psyche is structured to organize forces in this way. Similarly, he experiences the physical world as discrete, bounded entities because his senses reveal it this way. This is Crowley's view, which he sees as mediating between objectivist and subjectivist theories of reality. In his view,

... Magical Theory accepts the absolute reality of all things in the most objective sense. But all perceptions are neither the observer nor the observed; they are representations of the relation between them. We cannot affirm any quality in an object as being independent of our sensorium, or as being in itself that which it seems to us. ... I am incapable of perceiving any phenomenon except by means of the arbitrary instruments of my senses; it is thus correct to say that the Universe as I know it is subjective, without denying its objectivity.

Man has a structure, and this structure shapes the way he can know the
universe. His structure is not projected upon the universe, in the sense of being over-laid on it; it is simply the human condition for knowing it at all. The aim of magic is to provide some ways of transcending some of these limitations, see the world differently, and gain knowledge of man's position in it. Through such practice, he may recognize his perceptions for what they are, and so know himself and his knowledge capabilities in perspective.

In the psyche-oriented view, magic is seen as a tradition which has preserved and systematized the results of indepth explorations of the psyche, and thus made possible a basis for dealing with it. This is the view of magic held by the OTA. The gods, spirits and demons portrayed are representations of the psyche. When magical works are read, they must be read in relation to man, because they are first and foremost about man himself. Nature, animate and inanimate, is used to symbolize and portray the nature of man's psyche. Using the natural and spiritual symbolism, as presented, it is possible to gain a deeper understanding of, and communication with, the parts of the psyche which remain unknown and unconscious. Treating the symbolized process in nature as through they were statements about the character of the physical world is a mistake, and one which Western magicians made in the past. The past perspective of magicians was mistaken, vis a vis current knowledge, because valid principles about human consciousness and the psyche were projected upon an inappropriate domain, nature, in the absence of conscious, analytic knowledge. This state of affairs was a step in the development of man's knowledge of the world and
himself, and as such, was productive. To continue to adhere to this scope for magic now would be to ignore existing knowledge, and hence, perpetuate an illusion. To go to the other extreme and deny the symbolic potency of the images transmitted through magical writings and their importance to the psyche would be an equally serious illusion. The aim is to recognize both domains, and give each its rightful place in human knowledge and development. In terms of communicating with the unconsciousness, it is useful—and perhaps necessary—to treat symbolized entities as though they were objectively real, and correspondence as though they were held objectively as well as symbolically, for this is the way the unconscious operates. But one must not mistake dealings with the unconscious for conscious dealings with the world. The two are connected, although the nature and extent of the connection is not yet known. Attempting to explore the psyche, as well as its connection with the natural world, requires that neither be allowed to absorb the other. In Jungian terminology, allowing the ego functions and the orientation toward the external world to be absorbed by the unconscious would lead to a loss of needed ego functions; allowing the ego to dominate the domain of the self leads to a false and inflated conception of the value of rational, analytic approaches. The aim is to follow the "middle way".

So long as the categorical framework and its interpretation are not considered externally incorrigible, these positions are relatively easy to interpret to each other. From the objectivist point of view, both subjectivist positions allow a magician to achieve some practical effects, for the human psyche is indeed structured as they believe it to be. But this is not
the full story, and to the extent that magicians do not acknowledge the existence and power of other organized manifestations of consciousness above and below their own, they will work only with dim reflections of the real strength these forces have. They will understand the pieces of potential which exist in them, but will fail to see that far greater powers than their own exist, and hence, will fail to link up with those higher entities to achieve the knowledge and self-expansion they could have. Self-understanding is a prerequisite, but alone is weak and misses the mark.

From the universe-oriented perspective, the objectivist view is caught by the position man occupies in the universe. It mistakes the human way of seeing things for an "objective" way things are. Nevertheless, practice based on such a premise may be useful, for the structure it is based upon ties into a larger picture. If followed diligently, it may transcend its own limitations--coming to see its initial view's limitations, not so much by cognitively correcting them, but by experiencing beyond them. The psyche oriented position tells part of the story. It may very well be that the structure of the psyche has been accurately mapped, and that the process of balancing unconscious and conscious orientations, individuation, etc. are prerequisites for coming to understand larger patterns in the universe, of which these are partial instances. The process goes beyond this, however, and if the larger relevance is not seen, man cannot put himself in perspective--and hence, cannot see himself in his place, nor understand the principles, purposes and ethics of individuation.

The psyche-oriented approach sees the objectivists as extending the
logic and operation of the psyche too far. It is indeed important to be able
to use personalizations in dealing with the unconscious, but not necessary
(or maybe even useful) to believe in their objective reality at all levels.
Exoteric, public religion is important, but those pushing deeper realize
the reason for the strict, objectified, personalized gods and adjust their
practice accordingly. This is not to say there is "no God"—there may or may
not be—but only that if there is, he is not "like" the psychic personification
of him (her or them), but rather, "like" the Ain Soph. In terms of the
world of nature, many objectivist views are outdated—they are made clearer
by newer work. There are still pieces of the physical world which are yet
unknown, for the universe is larger than the orientation science takes toward
it, and symbolic expressions of these areas may turn out to be important
clues in reorienting and expanding the view of the objective world. But in
most cases, the phenomena which are accurately pointed to by symbolic
means will be formulated and expressed in other ways, e.g., analytic ones.
These need not, and ought not be antagonistic, but neither are they identi-
cal. In relation to the universe-oriented view, similar critiques hold, but
less firmly. The current objective world is accepted by the psyche-oriented
approach, and to the extent that that is "denied" by universe-oriented groups,
the critiques hold. But there is a distinct possibility that what may be
emerging is a new view of the "objective" world, and to this psyche-oriented
perspective is open, as may be significant sections of the physical and social
sciences.

These issues are wide-sweeping and fundamental at the epistemo-
logical level. Yet among practicing magicians, those who actually use
techniques, there is surprisingly little dogmatism about epistemological
differences. One can hold any of the three views described and be a magi-
cian. The reason is that all three views share important features, features
of the categorical framework which set the boundaries of magic as an intel-
lectual endeavor. These basic commitments include:

1) A view of knowledge as gnosis, that is, having significant com-
ponents which go beyond intellectual analysis and includes a
transcending of purely intellectual reasoning. This commitment
is given by accepting the vocabulary of the Qabbala as a working
technical language, for it is the whole point of the structure of
the upper levels of the Tree, and the motif of the ascent.

2) A basic agreement that a logic of symbols is connected to this
gnosis, although not complete agreement upon its exact import.
This is essential to magic, for it is the minimal statement of its
'dual logic' structure. Accepting only a cognitive logic turns
magic into a kind of philosophy; relying only on a symbolic one
converts it to extreme mysticism, or psychological pathology.

3) A commitment to experience is necessary, both for gnosis and
for symbolic experience. As we shall see, this commitment is
the minimal acceptance of the emancipatory interest as the
dominant interest in magical epistemic communities.

4) A basic commitment to unity, and its achievement, as a goal for
gnosis, or a result of it. This again reflects the very structure
of the Tree of Life. Without this, the emanation process could not be accepted as a reasonable symbolization of the beginning of either the psyche or the world.

When we identify these commitments, we are really noticing the practical manifestations of the abstract differences Kroner contended would contribute to boundaries among categorical frameworks. The fact that there is a single independent particular is, as Kroner hypothesized, extremely important. It defines the attitude toward unity which magicians take. It, first of all, means that constructing unity is not the magical task, but instead magic allows it to manifest. In part, this includes the methods of rearrangement (bricolage) which Levi-Strauss identified. Beyond bricolage, however, lies the possibility of transformation, both of man and the universe as he knows it. The OTA's key postulate, "As above, so below," is a refinement of the basic assumption of unity, which makes both the multi-leveled application of the Tree of Life and the general laws of magical transformations meaningful from a magical perspective.

What ceremonial magic, as represented by the Golden Dawn tradition and the OTA, is to preserve the commitment to a neo-Platonic view of the universe? When the foundations of this ceremonial magic tradition emerged in the Renaissance, it did so at a time when the Aristotelian conception of the universe, and correspondingly the "natural", was being challenged by the influx of classical writings. These writings presented other views of the universe, among them the neo-Platonic writings and the works of Greek and Roman theurgists who built their magical philosophy around
them. Eventually, both the Aristotelian and the neo-Platonic views gave way to a third, mechanistic, view of the universe. This view remains unacceptable to OTA magicians today. While they reject the specific structures presented by ancient neo-Platonic philosophers, they remain committed to the premise that the universe is a single, living system. Such magicians accept the findings of science, but do not credit the mechanistic framework in which some of them were produced as an adequate one. This has several practical consequences. First, magicians are most interested in those areas of science which seem to be providing evidence which suggests the inadequacy of a mechanistic view of the universe. This includes astronomy and micro-physics. Second, magicians reject Skinnerian and behaviorist approaches to the study of man and society since they reinforce a mechanistic view of the universe. Third, much of OTA's interest in occult subjects not directly connected to magical practice, such as plant communication studies, Reich's orgone accumulator, or ESP, stems from the fact that these fields provide evidence and speculation not explicable from a mechanistic view of the universe. Magicians are not interested in the inexplicable per se, but in inexplicable things which point toward the inadequacy of the mechanistic conception of the universe, and man.

One of the key features of magic, then, is that it has helped keep alive as an alternative reality a wholistic conception of the universe. Currently, both young adults and some sophisticated scientists as well, assert that the mechanistic conception of the universe, which marked the emergence of science, has to be outgrown and replaced with a more syn-
thetic, less material one. The search for such a framework makes magic attractive to educated young people, such as OTA's membership, as well as to academic scholars, both those seeking to understand parapsychological phenomena and those interested in pursuing the sociological import of such groups. In this context, OTA is interesting not because it is "anti-rational", which it is not, but because it combines a high level of education, and a strong emphasis of the ability to think rigorously, with a commitment to a different view of "natural" phenomena and "relevance" than is common in intellectual circles. The precise content of this world view fluctuates, for magic as OTA practices it is an open system subject to numerous meta-interpretations. What is important is the scope, and the structure, it enunciates.

The scope of practical magic is tied directly to the vocabulary of the Qabbala. There are many "occult" vocabularies which contain partly-overlapping descriptions of experiences which are not common to everyday life and its vocabulary. Incoming magicians learn to precisely define, and experience, different states of consciousness within the vocabulary of Qabbala. Don't underestimate the importance of this. The specialized terminology makes it possible to talk meaningfully, about non-standard experiences that can only be described vaguely as "strange" or "weird" or "wild" in everyday English. Hence, Crowley calls Qabbala "a language fitted to describe certain classes of phenomena and to express certain classes of ideas which escape regular phraseology." Outside the vocabulary of Qabbala, it is simply difficult to convey in anything less than vague
metaphors, the nature of the experiences. Furthermore, the actual experiencing of some of these states takes place within the Qabbalistic vocabulary, and their immediate interpretation is undertaken only within the Qabbalistic terminology. In this sense, the vocabulary of the Tree of Life provides the basis for a common community of discourse, extending beyond a particular lodge. Within this community, discussion is easy, in spite of differences of opinion. Outside it, it requires a hermeneutic commitment—even when after the fact it is seen that the experiences indeed were "similar". Within the occult community, the basic consensus on the general nature of the universe, and man, is broken into distinct epistemic communities by specialized terminologies describing it. The extremely diverse vocabularies of OTA and Theosophy, or Scientology, reinforce differences in ethics or techniques. It is almost as difficult for a person from one framework to talk to someone in another as it is for a person ignorant of the occult altogether to do so. The deep cleavages in the modern occult world involves issues of practice, ethics and ultimate purpose. They remain cleavages, however, not because groups are dogmatic about their stances, but because there is no "neutral discussion language" in which to address them. Initial socialization comes in one categorical framework; unless the individual in question rejects that framework, he rarely socializes himself into another. The communication barriers are used, as we shall show, to reinforce the boundaries of several occult traditions, including ceremonial magic as it is practiced in OTA.

Within the magical epistemic community, however, there is wide
tolerance of diverse experience. As we indicated earlier, substantial differences in epistemological interpretations can co-exist as "magic". This is the result of two features which stem from magic's categorical framework. First, and most important, the magicians in OTA, and those in related lodges I have interviewed, do not consider their vocabulary externally incorrigible. It is both permissible, and expected, that magicians adopt their interpretations to changes in their situation. Hence, advances in psychotherapy—like Jungian findings—are incorporated into Qabbalistic doctrine. New interpretations of older techniques—like biofeedback—are given serious consideration as a means of making magic more effective. While OTA considers the tradition of ceremonial magic they represent to be ancient and valuable, they also see it as the victim of many distortions: gross copying errors in early texts passed on as "facts", fragmentation of the magical perspective in the periods where it remained dominant, purposeful distortions of texts to conceal correct interpretations from all but a select few, and excessive credulity on the part of some practitioners. Given this picture of their tradition, OTA does not find it difficult to assert its basic worth, at the same time remaining extremely open to relevant new information. Their practical commitment is to "rebuild the magical tradition"—to make it credible and intelligible to modern Americans.

A second feature which fosters tolerance within magic's epistemic community is the concept of gnosis itself. Magicians accept their classification system provisionally, realizing that many of its aspects cannot be fully understood until they are experienced. Individual experience is the
final arbiter of epistemological disputes. As Regardie writes,

In connection with the complex philosophical controversy of centuries relating to the subjectivity or objectivity of phenomena, there are some highly abstruse problems to be resolved by each individual Therugist. Each one clamours imperiously for response. The Qabbala leave the whole question open to be answered eventually in the light of spiritual experience. Not lightly to be passed over is this great problem, although the magical practice need not be affected by one view held in preference to another.62

Most of the disputes which fragment groups within the magical tradition stem from personal incompatibilities, control relationships, and group tensions. They do not reflect epistemological or ethnical issues, as disputes with outside occult groups do. We shall return to this issue in our discussion of the social base of magic.

In addition to providing a psychological grounding for magic, then, Qabbala as a categorical framework also helps establish the boundaries of magic. Its view of the universe sets it off from much orthodox intellectual activity, and associates it with the so-called "occult community". Within this community, the interpretative attributes, primarily the sephiroth and the paths, provide a technical vocabulary for members, and barriers to understanding for other occult orientations. These barriers operate, as Kroner hypothesized, to make communication without an explicit commitment to achieving understanding, difficult. But within magic, the same feature of attributes, that they are interpretative, combines with the conception of knowledge as gnosis to produce a tolerant, open and responsive outlook.

What makes these intellectual barriers so formidable? The answer
is relatively simple. In many specialized activities, "ordinary language" serves as a meta-language, a language in which differences in specialized languages can be discussed. With respect to the phenomena magic, and other occult groups explore, "ordinary language" is extremely impoverished. It cannot easily serve as a meta-language. The same situation holds true for extremely specialized fields of science, where the concepts are so dependent for their conception on specialized languages that they have little meaning in "ordinary language". The difference, of course, is that magic is not socially recognized as a "specialized perspective", but a deviant one. Common social understandings about "specialization" help individuals at least accept the need for virtually unintelligible scientific or academic perspectives. Magicians simply lie beyond the pale of these understandings in modern Western society, but are covered by them in societies where people "believe" in magic. Most of the differences we find in the social implications of magical knowledge produced by the OTA and the Abacwezi stem from this feature.

**Interest Structure**

Why enter the bounds of magic? What is the purpose of magical knowledge? OTA, and associated traditions of Western ceremonial magic, define magic's interest structure as emancipatory, and answer the questions from that perspective. Fra. Khedemel, of the OTA, wrote:

> Basically magic is the Western counterpart to Yoga. One would go into it for much the same reasons that persons today study Yoga: self-improvement, self-knowledge and so on.63

The goal of the process of magic is to create a self-guided individual. The
accomplished magician neither attempts to lose his "self", nor submits to being directed and compelled by external or unknown internal forces. This involves coming to terms with oneself, the initial step toward emancipatory expansion. Again, the OTA statement is useful:

The genuine practice of Western Magick is Egocentric. This is quite compatible with both ancient and modern Kabbalistic theory. The 'self' is important, valuable and worthy of improvement and expansion. In keeping with this, the only way is obviously self-improvement, self-knowledge and self-control. . . . One of the basic Kabbalistic theorems is that an individual human being is a miniature of the Universe entire, including a small fragment of what most people call 'God'. It is this spark or flame that separates Men from Apes. One of the goals of the individual practitioner is to nurture this spark of divinity within him, and permit it to help and guide him. 64

This interest is in sharp contradiction with the expectations of many people who initially come into contact with the OTA. Considerable effort is made to convey the emancipatory interest beyond the technical, or control, interest which is the most prevalent expectation. This is done in several ways.

1) Not only is the program of magic described positively, as indicated above, but its opposite--a control orientation--is characterized negatively. To attempt to control or influence other people against their will, or with the hope of altering their will, is OTA's definition of black magic. It is not the entities employed in magical "demons" or "gods" which determines its ethical legitimacy, but the interest under which knowledge is undertaken. It is not necessarily even the intent to do harm which is misplaced, but simply the intent to use magic as a means of psychological control. 65 A question item tapping this appears on
the examination each prospective member takes, and hence, the
topic is discussed with each member before his/her initiation.

2) In describing the magical program, OTA makes a distinction be-
tween the psychological system of Skinner and the psychology of
Alder, and those of Jung which OTA adheres to.66 The basis
for making the distinction is two fold. First, they maintain that
such approaches have an image of man which prevents an expan-
sive view of human beings. Skinner's concept of what motivates
man, and the potential he holds for understanding and shaping
himself, is rejected as simply too limited. Interestingly, while
the OTA sees Jungian psychology as the most compatible with
its goals, it does not reject Freudian approaches as it does
Skinner or Alder. Freudians are credited with major discoveries
about part of man's nature, but not with having explored its full
potential. A second reason for the distinction is in the purpose
of the systems. The behaviorist orientation is seen as mechani-
cal and manipulative, an orientation which, as we have seen, is
rejected, even though some insights may be used in ritual train-
ing. "Station-training", for example, is basically an associative
conditioning technique.

It is apparent that while the commitment to knowledge seeking and use
may be emancipatory, it is not socially emancipatory. OTA is not socially
revolutionary in its program. The changes OTA seeks to bring about are
individual, not societal.
This has not always been so in the Western ceremonial magical tradition. Crowley, in formulating his Law of Thelema, did so in universal terms, announcing a new psycho-spiritual era (the Age of Horus), a new moral-spiritual code (The Book of the Law), and a religion which he attempted to propagate qua religion. OTA rejects such attempts as inappropriate to magical practice, and while it respects Crowley as a magician, it rejects both his Thelmeic teachings and his propagation efforts. It also opposes attempts to transform society from a magical platform in current groups, as the account of its dealings with associated occult groups in the "Themis War" demonstrates.

The OTA interest is not escapist, however. It does not reject the external world, attempt to deny its reality, withdraw from its activity or cope with its pressures and demands through wish-based techniques. They distinguish themselves from what they perceive as escapist, withdrawal orientations on the part of some systems of Eastern mystical thought and the "subculture" of the late 1960's in terms of being firmly rooted in the existing social world. They further identify the OTA program with work, rather than as an escape from striving and accomplishment-oriented ethics. The message comes across both in introductory lectures and in the humor of the Seventh Ray, where the following cartoon appeared.

The OTA is not alone in defining its knowledge-seeking interests as emancipatory. Magician practitioners in the modern era, from the Golden Dawn on, have uniformly held that expansive, inner knowledge, not control or ecstasy, was the chief purpose of magical knowledge. The Golden Dawn
SON, DID YOU EVER CONSIDER WORKING FOR IT?
stressed this in its neophyte initiation, and the instructions provided after initiation. Crowley, in stating basic principles of magic, maintains that individuals have a conscious will and a True Will, which when conjoined, permit him to "be what he is" and relate to himself and his environment and expand to his full, and generally unsuspected, potential. Regardie suggests that the aim of magic, as intending to produce:

... the deliberate exhilaration of the Will and the Imagination, the end state being the purification of the personality and the attainment of a spiritual state of consciousness, in which the ego enters into a union either with its own Higher Self or a God.

Butler's training program follows the same orientation toward magical knowledge. In short, major figures in the magical world maintain that the foremost knowledge interest in magic is what might be termed individuation, self-realization or self-actualization.

William Gray, a long-standing magical practitioner and author, published in the OTA Journal, defined the purpose of magic in terms of self-realization:

Is there a genuine motive justifying Magic and spiritually supporting its basic beliefs with adequate authenticity? Yes. One and only one. INDIVIDUATION, Attainment of True Inner Identity, At-One-Ment, Gaining the Grail of Spiritual Selfhood, or whatever else the Great Work of linking Human and Divine Life may be called. Magic means 'Magistery' or mastery of one's own Self-state.

Gray specifically rejects both an orientation toward control, and a primary valuation of technique. On the first issue, he contends:

We are all too sadly familiar with the endless stream of applicants approaching Magic for making money, gaining advantages over others, seeking "powers", and the rest of such reasons... All too often, Man considers Magic as the x factor relating him with impossible impracticalities. Far too frequently he equates it with greed-gratification and malice-mechanism (sic).
Similarly, he rejects a focus based on learning techniques:

Why should we pursue or practice it (magic)? In order to become the beings we were willed to be by the Individuating Intention inherent in each of us. Such should be the root, stem and seed of our Magical motivations. All else is diversification and effect. Methodologies of Magic are concomitants of its motivating Constant. Once get this constant clear along its Lightline by consistent motivation, and the rest will relate rightly in due course.  

These magicians have been quoted at length, both to establish the knowledge interest they hold and to suggest that the issue of a knowledge interest is one which magicians face explicitly, and need not be gingerly inferred from their statements. There is a practical reason for this. The most commonly held views about magic attribute to it a control interest, especially with regard to achieving personal control over others. The most prevalently encountered academic view that magic is systematic self-delusion, wish-fulfillment, ego regression or escapism. Getting individuals to consider magic as magicians see it, requires an open emphasis on its emancipatory interest. In this point, at least, the pragmatics of recruitment prove to be a benefit to the scholar.

Having demonstrated that magicians see their interest structure as emancipatory, it is now necessary to see to what extent this claim can be supported. Does magic emancipate? This is a difficult question. As is well known, it is hard to demonstrate conclusively that Freudian psychotherapy either cures or emancipates. With magic, the case is even harder to establish one way or the other, primarily because the equivalent of clinical data is lacking. The only information which might come close to providing a basis for such an evaluation are a collection of personal magical
records for many magicians of the Golden Dawn and the AA held by Gerald Yorke. These magical records contain detailed descriptions of the actions magicians undertook, the visions they had, and their subjective reactions to their experiences. A psychotherapeutic analysis of such material might help evaluate the claims magicians make. Since these records will be released only after the death of the magicians who kept them, however, there is little opportunity to clarify their contents by either conversation or testing of the individuals in question. In keeping with magical norms, private records of OTA members were not available to me.

Nevertheless, some inferences can be made. First, emancipation is not the universal result of magical practice. Magical techniques, as we shall demonstrate, are high risk methods in comparison with psychoanalytic techniques. One of Crowley's students was eventually driven to suicide, another died of a disease contracted in Crowley's magical retreat, and Crowley himself became firmly addicted to heroin as a result of his magical experiments—a habit he was unable to break despite several attempts. Several of his female assistants involved in his magical work were driven to alcoholism and were psychologically unbalanced. Some members of the Golden Dawn's disasters were less dramatic, but its legacy of personal strife, and Mather's tendency (like Crowley) to live for long periods of time on other's finances, indicate that a balance between society and the self had not been completely resolved. Other Golden Dawn members, less well known magically, appear to have received important personal insights in the course of practicing magic, but it is difficult to attribute causal significance to it.
without details of the nature of their "practice".

Attitudes of older magicians may provide a bit more insight. The most striking feature I noticed is that most of these older men, while remaining interested in ceremonial magic, no longer practice it. Gerald Yorke explained that he felt that magic offered important insights into the psyche, but was insufficiently grounded in ethics to provide a sound framework for psychological development. After his studies with Crowley, he turned to Eastern religions to find a firmer ethical grounding, and has ceased magical practice. He does not condemn magic, and has kept one of the best archives of Golden Dawn documents and Crowley's writings. But he sees it as a risky venture, which does not sufficiently discriminate between psychological illusion, and the conquest of such illusion leading to emancipation from them. This he attributes, in part, to the absence of a 'guru', capable of engaging the magician in a dialogue about his experiences, and suggesting interpretations to guide him past recognized psychological delusions. What is missing is someone to play the role the analyst plays in Freudian or Jungian therapy.

William Gray has related ceremonial magic closely with liberal Catholic teachings, apparently for the same reason—that without some ethical foundation, magic is simply too risky. He is strongly committed to its potential for emancipation, but at the same time, increasingly hesitant about advising new groups on magic. Garreth Knight, practicing magician, author of a two-volume work on Qabbala and part owner of an occult publishing company, recently quit magical practice and became immersed
in orthodox Anglican teachings. Israel Regardie, while interested in magic and in publishing books and training aids, apparently has himself given up the practice, having achieved the insights it provides. 81

OTA itself is too young to be a good test case. Over its three year history it has systematically recruited people without identifiable psychological problems. Hence, short-term therapeutic effects are not a relevant measure of progress toward emancipation. The long-term evaluation of magical practice cannot yet be determined. In the context of my discussions with selected OTA members, they all claim that magic has contributed to their ability to concentrate, focus attention, and develop neglected aspects of their personality. 82 Some members, in addition, claim it has increased their sensitivity and range of experience. No cases of dramatic psychological problems exist, while a couple of cases seem to indicate a greater willingness, and capability, to deal with personal and social problems. In the absence of more in depth personality evaluations, however, it is difficult to document specific changes which would parallel Jung's evaluation of his patient's progress toward individuation.

OTA members are aware of Yorke's critique of magic. Runyon agrees with it in principle, and sees the need for a firmer ethical grounding, but the lodge has not seriously attempted to develop it. There are reasons for this. First, they count on their screening to minimize incoming psychological problems. Second, they take measures to prevent members from over-rating ritual experiences, or seeing them as all expansive revelations. Third, they associate the most disastrous consequences of magic
with attempts to turn it into a "religion", e.g., Crowley's espousal of Thelema. Hence, they prefer to rely upon safeguards built into the ritual process, and the evolution of personal norms as the major guides of the magical process.

As we noted theoretically, the emancipatory interest depends upon both a hermeneutic and a technical interest. Both these interests are present in magical practice. In the OTA, the hermeneutic interest manifests itself in the conception of ritual as communication with the unconscious, as well as the interpretation of its products. The same basic interest governed communication with "gods" and "demons" in the Renaissance objectivist view, and is reflected as such in objectivist views in the current magical tradition. Magicians use the motto "Know thyself" as a summary of their goal. In practice, this means understand yourself through experience, not only at the conscious level, but at the unconscious level as well. Ritual is the means by which the magician gains direct access to his unconscious contents, and is capable of communicating with them. Instead of using dialogue to raise unconscious contents to consciousness, the magician learns to experience his unconscious contents—primarily through controlled trance states. Within the ritual bounds, these contents are given visual form, and are expressed freely by the person entering into the trance state. Over a series of rituals, the individual carries out a "dialogue" with these unconscious manifestations, and through these experiences and reflection upon them, gains the knowledge necessary to achieve the "balance" among them which points toward psychic unity.
Members of the OTA recognize both hermeneutic and emancipatory interests, and attribute to them the same secondary-primary ordering we described theoretically. One concrete way of seeing this ordering is to consider the fact that contact with the psycho-spiritual world must at all times be governed by the magician's will. It is goal directed. When visualization of the unconscious is sought, the magician must accept only the visualization which was intended to be produced. All other contents must be banished. Similarly, ritual operations are not to be undertaken to "see what happens" or discover what a spirit has to say. It must have a purpose, and be conducted in accordance with it. The interpretative, qua interpretative, is subordinate.

The hermeneutic interest manifests itself also in a preference for a specific knowledge-seeking environment. The OTA maintains:

Because intra-personal relationship factors have such a great bearing on any success in this work, it is our contention, based on intensive practical experience, that parapsychological phenomenon and effects can best be achieved and perfected within the closed coterie of an initiatory lodge rather than the laboratory or the university group.  

There are certainly other factors, besides the knowledge interest, which might prompt this preference for a private, relatively uncontrolled experimental and operational environment. But the hermeneutic interest supports it. If the only aim were to avoid possible "failure", but the knowledge interest were technical, then we would expect to see movements within the "closed coterie" toward assuring control, and attempting to isolate major contributory factors to ritual success. This, however, is not the case. As Runyon put it, it would be possible to have an investigator come in and try
to decide what made an operation work. He might try it with everything present, then without the circle, without the sigil and finally observe that when the triangle was removed, the conjuration failed. But he would have missed the point of the ritual, and of magic. It is because they recognize the secondary hermeneutic interest as important, both in technique and in orientation, that OTA regards magic as an art, not a science.

It remains, finally, to establish the position, if any, of a technical interest. The first impression that one might get of the contention that manifestations must appear only under will, and that the magician must be in control of the ritual process, is that it indicates a basic knowledge interest in control, in "programming" or conditioning the psyche. It is, I must admit, the first impression I had in observing the OTA. Yet the impression is wrong. Control does not mean, in this instance, making things happen in the psyche. It means keeping the direction of developments in the hands of consciousness. One can, of course, have some control over the psyche, but this control comes by virtue of being able to communicate with it. A structure is "imposed" upon the psyche, but not in the sense of "conditioning" it to respond the same way under ritual conditions. It is "imposed" much more like a language might be "imposed" upon conversation. The structure used is provisional, and the initial meanings of symbols, correspondences and ritual practice will change as the practice progresses. The aim is not to produce the same manifestations over and over, but to have growth and expansions over many rituals. The setting and symbolic structure are the same, but the experience and knowledge ought not be. The
process is one of adjusting experiences and awarenesses, contributing to psycho-spiritual development. As awareness changes, so will interpretations, as Crowley observed. 89

Operational Philosophy and Techniques

The major techniques used by the OTA, as well as the basic elements of its operational philosophy, are learned by new magicians through their experiences in initiation, their participation in OTA rituals, a practical training program, and informal programs of reading and discussion. The way in which new magicians are exposed to the fundamentals of magical knowledge are as important in establishing their social reality as is the content itself. Unlike the first understanding of Qabbala and the purpose of magic, which is presented in open class lectures prior to initiation, techniques and their operational philosophy are not explained as a "theory", but are drawn out of the experiences the new magician has within OTA. For us to present this information, divorced from the OTA socialization process, would be misleading. We shall, therefore, follow the course of a new magician from his initiation onward, presenting the basic knowledge which makes him an OTA magician as it is presented to him.

Initiation marks the transition from the status of interested outsider to OTA member. As a social phenomenon, the initiation ceremony removes the barrier of secrecy. There is no information withheld from even the most junior member of the lodge, while even the most informed outsider cannot obtain the details of OTA's actual working arrangements. Acceptance is not a gradual process. Once initiated, the person is a full
member of OTA. This constitutes a dramatic change of status, and is intended to do so by lodge members. A new member's first post-initiation experience is to be presented to the reader, as rapidly as possible, with the full scope of OTA knowledge, which will only be assimilated over time. Within a short time, sometimes a matter of several hours, he will be given its operating secrets and will participate in a full ceremonial operation. The effect of this technique is two-fold. It first establishes dramatically OTA's claim that members indeed have the special knowledge, equipment and techniques they were told existed. This is important, for a major source of disillusionment with occult organizations stems from the new member's feeling that the knowledge he/she was promised does not exist. As Crowley summarized his experience with the Golden Dawn's extremely gradual unfolding of knowledge, "After binding me to an oath of secrecy on pain of death, they revealed to me the 'mystery' of the Hebrew alphabet!" The second effect of OTA's revelation technique is to create enthusiasm for the subsequent training process. The new magician is given more information than he can assimilate, is shown the complexity of setting up an operation, and allowed to feel its drama. Flooding him with information makes him aware of how little he knows about magic, and how much he can learn. Requirements for subsequent attendance, or explicit attempts to establish the "authority" of lodge instructors, are not necessary. It is painfully obvious to the new magician how much he does not know, but equally obvious that members will teach him anything he wants to know. Commitment to OTA, as a lodge, is generally established by the time the new magician
leaves his initiation.

The initiation is then a rite of passage. Its symbolic structure is consistent with its social function. The motifs of coming out of darkness into light, a rebirth through testing, dominate it, as they do many other rites of passage. For OTA members, the initiation also operates as a symbolic enactment of the individuation process. What the neophyte experiences in his initiation, he will enact again in the development magical practice should contribute to. The initiation, then, has significance for the experiences the magician will have. This interpretation of the initiation ceremony is, of course, not available to the person going through it. It does become clear to him as he develops magically, and assists in the initiation of others. The initiation of other members, then, has significance for older members as well, for they then see with a clearer magical perspective the significance of what they initially simply accepted as a practical requirement for membership.

The OTA initiation has four basic components, again general to rites of passage. They are: (1) preparation, including purification and reception; (2) testing; (3) initiation ceremony--symbolic death and rebirth; (4) setting out the new identity. The major difference between OTA's initiation and the rites of passage described in most anthropological texts is that the OTA initiation is entirely voluntary, and hence must build into itself and the lodge the means of binding and enforcement which the wider social context provides in most anthropological accounts.
Preparation

Candidates arriving at the temple facilities for initiation are greeted upon arrival by a member acting as their Thesmothetes, or guardian of the rites. He presents himself to them with the following speech:

Greetings. I am your Thesmothetes. The Master of the Temple has appointed me to be your guide and sponsor throughout the initiation. You must trust me completely and carry out every instruction I give you quickly, perfectly and without question. If I do not have that promise from you now I cannot be responsible for you and we may not proceed. Do you so promise?

Upon promising, the candidates are taken to a waiting area where they are questioned as to whether they have chosen a magical name, to become the name they will be known by in the lodge after initiation. If they have, they are then instructed to sign the following pledge using their printed magical name and their legal signature, again being told that without the signature the initiation cannot proceed.

I, the undersigned, as a candidate for admission into the OTA henceforth to be known as ________________, do hereby submit myself to the rigorous ordeal in the course of this my initiation into the Ancient Mysteries of the Hermetic Art. I have been appraised of the dangers, both physical and spiritual that I must face and endure and if I should be incapacitated, found unworthy or otherwise refused to continue, I do now promise and bind myself never to reveal that portion of the initiation which I have received. I swear this on my sacred honor.

The physical dangers involved in the initiation are so slight that the OTA need not extract this pledge in order to "protect" itself in case of disaster. The pledge is a rather ingenious way of fulfilling the ancient means of conveying to the candidate that this is a serious matter, and suggesting to him that it is dangerous. It is relatively hard to conduct modern initiations that can convey this with a sense of reality appropriate to the ancient warn-
ings, where it appears physical death was a viable possibility. Signing a pledge which promises silence if incapacitated, is about as close as a reasonable modern initiation can come to introducing the nagging suspicion that things are not entirely in one's control.

When the pledge has been signed, the candidate is instructed to bathe and dress in the white robe symbolizing purity. There are no fasting or abstinence requirements for initiatory preparations, with the bathing being the only external act of purification involved. After the purification, the candidate waits for the onset of the testing.

Testing

The first test is the test of solitude, derived from the account of the Egyptian initiations, but also a feature in many other magico-religious systems. \(^9\) (The strongest example of a solitude tradition are the Eastern systems, with their emphasis on patient, solitary workings.) The candidate is lead to a "Place of Bondage in Solitude", usually a place outside the temple, but in view of the Thesmothetes. The candidate is blindfolded and bound, then set into position, where he will remain "for no more than three hours." The test is explained to him, again in terms of the Egyptian Mysteries precedent. Part of the explanation emphasizes the practicality of the test:

The test symbolizes the bondage of the flesh and the earthbound darkness of mortal man--but it had another more practical purpose: the ancient Magi of our Sacred Tradition knew that people who were not at peace with themselves could not long endure the company of their own thoughts and fears alone in the black silence. . . .

From this point on, the candidate is referred to as "Child of Earth".
Darkness and earth are associated with the state of bondage, existence in Malkuth. The symbolism of initiation presents the motifs of the struggle to break psychological bondages, and move toward selfhood. The same motifs are applied to the course of the soul after death in Egyptian and Tibetan writings. Magicians hold that the Egyptian Book of the Dead, more correctly translated, the *Coming Forth by Day*, and the Tibetan Book of the Dead, whose correct translation is *The Great Liberation* ("Liberation by Hearing on the After-Death Plane") are fundamentally about initiation to selfhood. Their use by adepts in those traditions was not only as a ceremony for the dead, but as a programme of religious initiation and training, as Evans-Wentz indicates. It is this premise which justifies the heavy borrowing from Egyptian initiations and accounts based on the Book of the Dead.

After the allotted time has passed, the Thesmothetes releases the candidate, but allows the blindfold to remain, indicating that the candidate is still in the bonds of his ignorance. The blindfolded candidate then enters the test of the Labyrinth, where he is confronted and challenged by the Sphinx. The blindfold is removed, and the candidate is confronted by a man wearing the black and white mask of an Egyptian woman. It addresses him:

*Child of the Earth, know that I am the Sphinx, the guardian of the Labyrinth that leads to the Abyss--across which lies the Temple of Light. If you would enter the Labyrinth, you must give me the Key to the Universe. Do you know it?*

The candidate, who has not been coached, must rely for guidance on the Thesmothetes, who whispers "As above, so below", which the candidate
repeats. He is then allowed to pass, having been introduced to the OTA key.

The candidate is lead to the temple in a round about way, his blindfold having been replaced. As they approach the Abyss, the first of the special effects comes into play as the sound of wind is heard and strange lighting effects occur. As they approach, Thesmothetes identifies the Abyss as "the bottomless crevass that forever separates the world of the flesh from the world of the Spirit." At the edge of the Abyss they are challenged by the Typhon, who speaks with an echo chamber effect. The blind is removed, and the candidate sees a masked, hooded figure whose mask is a convex mirror in which the candidate can see the distortion of his own face. The Typhon addresses him:

Child of the Earth, know that I am Typhon, the Beast of the Abyss, eternal enemy of all who seek the Pure Light. I am lust, pride and vanity. Look upon me and be damned.

The Typhon continues to challenge their passage, demanding to be vanquished before they can continue. Thesmothetes inquires: "What are the words and by what sign are you vanquished?" The Typhon replies: "By the Creed of Thoth-Hermes and the Pentagram of Solomon." Typhon then pushes toward the candidate, thrusting the mirror mask in his face. Thesmothetes again whispers instructions to stand firm and repeat the words "To know, to dare, to will, to keep silent." Typhon retreats a couple of steps, but still blocks the passage. Thesmothetes then gives the candidate his instructions for making the Pentagram of Solomon, which the candidate must attempt until it is correctly done. At this point, the Typhon
withdraws, and the candidate approaches the temple.

Initiation Ceremony

As the candidate enters the temple he is confronted by the Priestess, standing before the pillars of Jachin and Boaz, the two pillars reported to have stood within the temple of Solomon, also representing the two pillars of the Tree of Life. The Priestess demands of the candidate "the way", to which he replies, "know thyself", and the secret of the way, to which he replies, "thou art god". At this point, the candidate makes his final commitment, for the Priestess addresses him:

You have answered correctly and now you must prove your courage in the test of pain and rebirth. Child of the Earth, this is your point of no return. Once you cast off your vestment and stand naked before this portal with your arms outstretched in the eternal sign of Osiris, there is no turning back. Do you now freely and gladly choose to undertake the Great Work?

The candidate, if he agrees, removes his white garment, and stands facing the veil of the temple with his arms outstretched in the sign of Osiris, the slain and resurrected god of the Egyptians.

The ritual here symbolizes the point in psychological development where the individual stands as it were between two identities, being able to rightfully claim neither of them. He has become aware of his unconscious contents, both personal repressions and collective archetypes, and so is no longer the blind, ignorant creature symbolized by the beginning condition of bondage. Neither has he achieved, in actuality, the self his knowledge may ultimately contribute to. He has not become the "Child of Light". He stands symbolically in the most intense and difficult state
of the individuation process, the point at which one can no longer operate unaware of his unconscious, but also cannot see where the apparent psychological chaos which he is experiencing leads. At this point, the person must push forward. To attempt to quit invites psychological disaster, for the old level of ego functioning can no longer cope with the existing psychological pressures unproblematically. At this point, both magic and psychoanalysis stress the vital importance of finishing what has been begun.

The same period is characterized by strong resistance to continuing, and a series of unconscious and conscious efforts at blocking it. Hence it is appropriate that the candidate at this point in the initiation undergoes the test of pain, a series of three light whip lashes across the buttocks. Symbolically he is being torn, and suffering the pain which will attend the psychological process of individuation, if he ever reaches this stage in the sequence. Mystics such as St. John of the Cross have provided detailed descriptions of this "dark night of the soul", which magicians like Crowley describe in connection with attempts to carry out the magical program.

The Priestess then inquires of the Thesmothetes, "Has he/she stood the pain well and proudly?" Upon hearing that the candidate has, the Priestess greets him "Child of Earth, come forward out of darkness and enter the Light." The candidate is then permitted to part the veil, and enter the inner portion of the temple, where the Priestess is standing. The Priestess steps forward and anoints the candidate with oil. The oil is applied in the shape of the Qabbalistic cross, the forehead being annointed as the word "Ateh" is pronounced, the chest as "Malkuth" is said, the right shoulder
with "Ve-Geburah" and the left shoulder with "Ve-Gedulah". The Priestess steps back as she concludes with "Le Olam. Amen." This ritual is standard OTA procedure, being incorporated into the Lesser Pentagram ritual, a presentation of the significance of the Pentagram in Qabbalistic symbolism. It is used in all ritual operations, and its use here signifies both the completion of the psychic process the initiation ritual portrays and the beginning of a participant's role in the OTA. The Priestess conveys this to the candidate, no longer addressed as Child of Earth, but instead as Child of Light, as she dresses him in the OTA robe:

Child of the Light. You have passed all the ordeals and you have penetrated to the very Inner Sanctum of the Mysteries. You have been anointed with the Holy Oil and you now wear the vestments of the Art.

There is, however, a final test which awaits the candidate. This is called the test of purpose, and its aim is to symbolize the fact that the abuse of the strength and power which comes from psychic unity will lead to disaster, as will the misuse of the tool--magic--by which the final state's achievement is aided. The candidate is presented with two cups, one a gold one on his right, the other a silver one on his left. The gold one symbolizes the search for wisdom, truth and immortality; the silver the path of power and domination. He is commanded to choose without hesitation and completely drink the contents of the chosen cup. Thesmothetes whispers instructions to choose the gold cup, on the right, which the candidate does, drinking the wine it contains. He is then instructed to taste carefully the hot, bitter mixture in the silver cup. The choice he has made is explained to him:
In ancient times the Magi of our tradition placed a deadly poison in the silver cup so that even if the candidate had the knowledge and the courage to win through all the ordeals and enter the Inner Sanctum of the temple, he would not live to misuse the secrets he had gained.

This choice is also an instruction in OTA ethics, for OTA believes that a "black" or "white" magic is defined in terms of the intent of the magician, and the purpose to which he puts his magical tools. Knowledge and competence without correct purpose spells black magic, with its capacity to destroy both the subject and the object of its practice.

When this has been completed, the Neophyte kneels at the altar and repeats after the Priest the Neophyte's oath, which he will sign by name and with a drop of his blood. The oath, presented in Figure 2, establishes the Neophyte's commitment to OTA, and sets out the parameters in which he will undertake his training and use the products of it.

The ritual oath will be supplemented later by a contract the Neophyte will sign with the CHS. Unlike the Neophyte's oath, the contract has potential legal significance. It is an attempt by OTA to protect itself from both the host of legal problems which have beset groups like the Golden Dawn and the AA regarding secret material and copyrights. In addition, it tries to protect the church from future actions on the part of members which might be damaging (sections 2, 4c, 4d), an attempt to prevent accusations similar to those raised against Scientology. Finally, it hopes to put some teeth into OTA's determination not to permit a proliferation of unauthorized chapters (section 4h) or unsanctioned commercial operations based on OTA (section 4g). A copy of the CHS membership agreement is given in Figure 3.
FIGURE I

Ordo Templi Ashtart

OATH OF THE NEOPTYTES
II. GRADE 1° = 10°

I,__________________________________________, with my hand upon this Holy Book, in the presence of the Lord of the Universe, Who works in silence and naught but silence can express, in this Hall of the ORDER OF THE TEMPLE OF ASTARTE, under warrant from Grand Lodge, do, of my own free will, hereby and hereon, most solemnly promise to keep secret this Order, the names of its members and the proceedings that take place at its meetings, from every person in the world who has not been initiated into it; nor will I discuss them with any member who has resigned or been expelled. I undertake to maintain a kindly and benevolent relation with all the Fratres and Sorores of this Order and to respect and obey the dictates of its Officers. I solemnly promise to keep secret any information I may have gathered concerning this Order before taking this oath. I further promise to keep all documents, rituals, literature and personal confidence related to this Order and its members sacrosanct and inviolate. I solemnly promise to persevere with courage and personal commitment in pursuit of the Great Work even as I shall persevere through this ceremony which symbolizes it. I will not debase my mystical knowledge in the practice of black magic at any time except in defense of the Order under direction of the officers of the Order. I will not disgrace or defame this Order by practising the Art of Magick with the aid of illegal drugs at any time or at any place. I swear upon this Holy Book and upon the integrity of my Immortal Soul to observe all these things without evasion, equivocation or mental reservation, under the penalty of being expelled from this Order for my perjury and my offence. Furthermore, if I break this, my Magickal Oath, I submit myself, by my own consent to psychic punishment and karmic retribution set in motion by the Divine Guardians of this Order, before Whom my soul now stands... and, as I bow my neck under the Sword of The Grand Master, so do I commit myself unto their hands for vengeance or for reward... Help me my Mighty and Secret Soul and the Father of My Soul Who works in silence and Whom naught but silence can express!

SO HATE IT BE!

Signiture of neophyte_________________________ In blood

Date:_____________________________ Initiating Officer:_________________________
FIGURE II

IN CONSIDERATION for acceptance and admittance into the Church of the Hermetic Sciences (Inc.), (and/or its affiliate organizations), hereafter referred to as 'the Church' or 'the Corporation':

I, Cheryl Christensen

residing at 8 Carlyle Place, City of Edinburgh, U.K.

I hereby bind myself to uphold the terms and conditions of this contract and agreement, as follows:

I affirm myself to be of sound mind and body, and declaring myself responsible for my actions and obligations, I attest that I fully understand all that is contained in this document, and I further attest that I have signed this document of my own free will, under no duress or enticement, in good faith, and with no other verbal agreement which is not also contained herein.

This agreement is between myself, (the party of the first part), the officers and/or directors of the Church (and/or its affiliate organizations) (the parties of the second part), and all other members or persons (parties of the third part) subscribing to such or similar agreements with the Church, either before or after the date and time of my entrance into this agreement.

It is agreed between the various parties that:

(A) My name or my photograph shall not be released, without my consent, for any commercial or profit-making activity, without the written consent of each person who is mentioned, referred to, or whose photograph or description is used.

(B) I understand and accept that the programs, instruction, rituals, and mental activities of the Church, its members, officers and employees, are of a religious nature, and cannot be challenged as to their validity, believability, or method of application on scientific, medical, or psychological grounds.

(C) I hereby waive and disclaim any future statements I might make to the effect that I was misled as to the benefits of any kind, that I might obtain from the above mentioned programs, instruction, rituals, or activities.

(D) I hereby release the Church, its officers, directors, members and employees, and any other persons, from any and all responsibility and/or liability for any unwanted or doubted effects, permanent or residual, either mental or physical, upon any other individuals, misspelled or otherwise, in the execution of the above mentioned programs, instruction, rituals, or activities. I further positively declare my relations, status, peers and assignee, as well as any and all other persons, from initiating any legal action for damages, on my behalf, against the Church, its officers, directors, members or employees.

(E) I agree to keep secret all publications, papers, journals, instructions, rituals, techniques, and activities, such as formal and informal, the names and photographs of any or all other members, and the contents, of the above mentioned programs, instruction, rituals, or activities. The Church and the Church's directors, members, and employees, shall be free to use or not to use my relations, status, peers and assignee, as well as any and all other persons, for any and all purposes, including but not limited to, all matters, concerning the Church, its officers, directors, members or employees.

(F) I understand and accept that any honors, offices or degrees I may receive from the Church are academic and religious, and do not bestow or imply any administrative, financial, or policy control of the Church, its membership or affiliate organizations.

(G) I will not use the name or initials of the Church (and/or its affiliate organizations), its insignia or seal, or any degree of honors from the Church, in connection with any publicity, commercial venture, media exploitation, or any other profit-making activity, without the written consent of each person who is mentioned, referred to, or whose photograph or description is used.

(H) I understand and accept that the programs, instruction, rituals, and mental activities of the Church, its members, officers and employees, are of a religious nature, and cannot be challenged as to their validity, believability, or method of application on scientific, medical, or psychological grounds.

This agreement is between myself, (the party of the first part), the officers and/or directors of the Church (and/or its affiliate organizations), and all other members or persons (parties of the third part) subscribing to such or similar agreements with the Church, either before or after the date and time of my entrance into this agreement.

I hereby affirm the receipt of a full and complete copy of this contract.

Date of Signature: January 5, 1972

Signature of Cheryl Christensen

Signature of Frederick C. Reams

Above signature witnessed by:

Signature witnessed by:

Seal
Instruction: Setting out the New Identity

The final stage of the initiation presents the Neophyte with a description of the elemental weapons. For each of the four basic elements—earth, air, fire and water—there corresponds a magical implement used in ceremonial workings. The symbol of the earth, the pentacle, "is round, passive and female in nature. It represents the eternal clay from which all things are created." As an implement of Earth, the pentacle is associated with the Arch-angel Auriel, and is associated with the North. The symbol of the water element is the cup, also round, passive and female; it is under the domain of the Arch-angel Gabriel, the ruler of the West.

The corresponding active, male elements are fire and air.

The Wand is the Magical Implement symbolizing the Fire Element. It is phallic, active and masculine. It is the mighty rod of creation and its flame brings warmth and Light—the province of the Arch-angel Michael.

The creative activity of the wand, associated with the South, is complemented by the equally masculine symbols for Air, the sword and dagger, the province of Raphael, ruler of the Eastern Quadrant. These are the implements of defense and sacrifice.

The descriptions of the elemental weapons, which the Neophyte will later construct for himself, is accompanied by a demonstration of their ritual use. The pentacle and the cup are used in the Qabbalistic Eucharest. The pentacle holds the bread and salt, which serve as the "host", while the cup holds the wine. The bread represents the vegetative wealth of the earth, while the salt symbolizes its mineral wealth. The wine represents the Water of Life, and together they represent the basic elements which sustain
physical life and form the firm background for undertaking spiritual en-
deavors. The wand is lifted and held aloft, as the Neophyte will himself
do when he begins forming the magical symbols with it, creating the aura
in which operations take place. Finally the sword is demonstrated and the
dagger is used to serve the incense, illustrating its linkage with sacrifice:

The incense represents the burnt offering of Ancient times. Its odor
is carried on the winds of the Air—the province of the Arch-angel
Raphael.

In addition to the four elements, there is a fifth element, alternately
termed akasha, spirit or ether. It parallels the transcendant function in
Jung's terminology. OTA describes it:

Child of the Light—you should know that there is a fifth and crowning
Element, the most subtle yet the mightiest of all. It is the very Spirit
of Life itself. Its power animates and permeates all things. It is the
true essence and hidden meaning of what men call 'God'—Its power is
Love and its symbol is the kiss.

After the description, the Neophyte is kissed, on the forehead by members
of the same sex, on the lips by members of the opposite sex. Each mem-
ber also gives the grip associated with the lodge. With this ceremony the
discussion of the elements and their associated implements is complete.

The final instruction presents the motto of the order: "Know Thy-
self."

The motto of our Mystic Order is Nosce te Ipsum—know thyself. And
by that we infer that thou shouldest know thyself emotionally, mentally
and spiritually, for this is the Great Work of true Magick and therein
lies the secret of immortality.

The symbolic presentation of this is the unveiling of the first two Tarot
cards, the Priest and the Priestess. The Priest is presented as symbolic
of wisdom, the process of mentally knowing, with all the attributions linked
with it.

Child of the Light, you will note that the Magus is crowned by the flaming cornet of the Sun, the mystic source of Light and creation. This is the Masculine Sphere, ruling the Wand of Fire and the Sword and Dagger of the Air. You will further note the colors of his robe: Red and Yellow to symbolize the powers of Fire and Air. He illuminates, he creates, he destroys. He is the giver of Wisdom. He is the first and third letters of the Tetragrammaton.

The opposite, with which the Priest must be complemented, is the Priestess, the unconscious, intuitive force which balances wisdom.

Child of the light, you will note that the Priestess is crowned with the shining cornet of the Moon, the receiver and reflector of Light, the Egg of Creation. This is the Feminine Sphere ruling the Cup of Waters and the Pantacle of the Earth. You will further note the colors of her robe; blue and green to symbolize the powers of Water and Earth. She is fertile, she nurtures, she provides. She is the giver of intuitive Understanding—and therefore her image symbolizes what cannot be put into words. She is the Goddess of Initiation and the keeper of the deepest Mysteries. She is the second and final letters of the Tetragrammaton.

The presentation of the Tarot cards sets out the basic correspondences which belong to the elements, and will later be learned by the Neophyte. More importantly, they illustrate the process of linking internal contents through symbols with external manifestations. This, as we have explained, is a fundamental aim of magical practice, and one that must be "learned by showing" until the Neophyte can grasp the underlying principles and become at ease with symbolic attributions. This is the basic interpretative skill for magic, divination and astrology, and the foundation of being able to use symbols for psycho-therapeutic purposes. The initiation ritual, then, presents the first instance of what the initiate will discover in all the ritual operations: a demonstration of the process of creating symbolic links, judging their compatibility and exploiting the associations between them effectively.
But the effectiveness of this process depends not only on the ritual activities, but also on the training program. The two complement each other, and we shall shortly focus on examining this symbiosis.

In its main outline, then, the initiation ceremony spells out the course and perils of the magical process which the initiate may be about to embark on. Magical progress is a reliving at different symbolic levels of the initiation motif, and as this experience develops, a greater awareness of the symbolism behind the initiation evolves. The meaning of the initiation is not grasped immediately at the symbolic level, and indeed, there have been several cases in which the people initiated could not, in casual discussion, recall the details of their initiation. The same people, however, in the ritual setting of assisting in other people's initiations, regain increasingly vivid accounts of their own. Hence, the meaning and significance of the initiation at the symbolic level is a socially developed one which is sustained and enhanced by continued ritual activity and the process of teaching and instilling the process in other, new members.

Shortly after initiation, generally the same evening, the Neophyte is taken into the inner part of the temple, surrounded by the equipment used in operations, and listens while Liber Astarte, OTA's quasi-poetic account of its operating secrets, is read. The text links the means by which trance states are ritually induced to Qabbalistic terminology and publically available magical doctrine. The presentation is made in terms of three secrets: the secret of God, the secret of Man and the secret of the method of the art. The secret of God is the easiest to grasp, for its outlines have
already been made clear in the initiation ceremony. Briefly stated, it is:

'As above, so below' might also be written: 'As within, so without.'
For the darkness of Nepesch is the path to the Light of Nechemah.
Seek within thyself and brave the terrors of thine own depths! 'Know thyself—for thou art God' is the first key to the Secret.100

The secret of God, then, is OTA's way of stating that the art of theurgy is concerned with manifesting and exploring internal contents and relating them to external forms.101 The God-image, the self, is God.

The second and third secrets are harder to understand, for they must both be known for either to be understood. Put elliptically, the secret of man is:

Then recall that Man was created in the image of God—This is the second key. Now you should know that the image of God doth mean 'the Face of God'—which is like unto thine own!

The third secret is derivative, and at first not much clearer. But the wording is important.

Herein lies the third key—and is the ancient method of Magick, and yet there are few who dare to look upon the face of God, so for all their conjuring, the secret yet eludes the credulous... For they will blast their minds and sell their souls before they will face God—and stare into His eyes. For in his face, which is like unto thine own, are all the Gods and Fiends contained, and every visage of Heaven and Hell most truly reflected.103

The combined effect of these two secrets is to provide the most important knowledge of OTA ritual method: that the external manifestations of the internal psychic contents are created by the transformations in the visual image of the receiver's face as he gazes with a fixed stare into his own reflection in the magical mirror!

This being known, what remains to be understood is the arrangement of the operation, and the source of this secret. Both the arrange-
ment and the secret are derived from the *Lesser Key of Solomon* or the *Lemegeton*, a medieval-early Renaissance grimoire upon which Cornelius Agrippa drew.\(^{104}\) It is the fact that the OTA method is derived from the Lemegeton, which does not explicitly state it, and that the relevant passage appears to have been inaccurately translated in the partial selections which have been printed which justifies treating the ritual method as a secret. For this reason, open classes are not given an account of the method by which the visual manifestations are produced; neither are members allowed to disclose this method publicly.

The arrangement in which the process of conjuration and manifestation takes place is crucial, for it symbolically plays out the important psychological processes to which it intends to contribute. In this sense, the symbolic arrangement is analogous to the process which occurs spontaneously in cases of psychological transformations observed clinically where the psyche produces symbols of the final state, and the stages in the process toward achieving it, as both compensations for the tensions and contradictions in the process and as aids toward its final achievement. Hence, the symbolic arrangement of the ritual setting will serve both to symbolize and direct the process which the practical operations themselves contribute to. The symbols will, of course, be derived from the Qabbala and the Hermetic tradition, and hence their exegesis by OTA will be in these terms.

There are two main components of the ritual arrangement. The first is the magical circle. It is drawn on the ground, in the OTA case, painted
into a permanent location on the temple floor. The receiver stands at the center of the circle. The operator stands behind the receiver, also within the bounds of the circle. The second component is the triangle of the art, a heavy triangle located outside the circle, and propped up so that its center is at the eye level of the receiver when the latter is located at the center of the circle, where the magical mirror is located. The arrangement of an actual temple set up is, as we shall see shortly, more complicated than this basic design, but since our present purpose is to understand the symbolic meaning of the basic organization, we shall temporarily ignore complicating factors.

The symbolic significance of the components is elaborated in Liber Astarte.

(1) The circle represents the Ain-Soph.

(2) The center of the circle, where the receiver is located, is the Ain-Soph Aur, the collecting of the "limitless light", which emanates from this center. (The receiver holds candles.)

(3) The triangle of the art represents the manifestation of the emanation process, as described in the account of the origin of the Supernal Triangle, and the resolution of the three and the four.

The first 'point' thou shalt create without thy circle of the art is alone and has no relation to anything. It merely exists. The second 'point' thou shalt establish doth form a line unto the first, and yet this also is without relation or substance. The third 'point' describes the triangle and both define a plane--yet without thickness. It is one dimensional. 'Point four' is the primal solid, symbol of first creation--the Daughter of the Tetragrammaton! This, then, is the cosmic arcanum of the 'triangle of the art'.

This, of course, is the formula for the emanation from Kether.
The principle of correspondence and harmony so stressed in magicians from Ficino onward, find expression in the ritual process. For each of the spirits evoked, there are corresponding metals, used in constructing the lamen, colors, in which the sigil, or symbolic signature, of the spirit is painted. The spirit will be associated with an element (earth, air, fire, water) which will be associated with an Archangel and quadrant of the circle, which will suggest the direction in which the temple set up will take place. The spirit will be associated with a sephira, whose number will be the number of times the circle will be circumambulated before the conjuration beings. The ritual must fully occupy the magician, engage his total being. Hence, all the senses and awarenesses must be activated, while all other thoughts and associations are banished. It is thus the simultaneous operation of forces which makes a powerful ritual setting. It is now easier to see why having exactly the right components are so important, for one discordant element will destroy the harmony and balance of the ritual process.

Following the reading of Liber Astarte the Neophyte will witness his first operation, a contact operation in which a light trance will be induced in a receiver, for the purpose of producing a visual manifestation of a particular spirit. Since operations require substantial preparation, the ritual generally does not take place the same day as the initiation, but follows within the next few days. The Neophyte is present for all the steps of the operation, although generally as an observer. The operation involves five steps: 1) preparation; 2) temple opening; 3) conjuration; 4) temple
Preparation

The preparation stage is the most time consuming. It entails three tasks: selecting the spirit to be called and detailing the purpose of the operation, preparing equipment and assigning roles, and psychologically preparing the participants. In OTA's interpretation, the spirit selected can be thought of as a particular facet of the personality, or unconscious contents, of the receiver. The general nature of the spirit is established by knowing the sephira to which it is attributed. Its specific characteristics are established by research into the magical, or mythological, attributes associated with it. OTA magicians thus far have not permitted "fishing" operations. Only spirits whose characteristics can be identified are summoned in operations. In most operations, spirits are selected from either the Lemegeton or The Sacred Magic of Abremelin the Mage, both of which contain extensive lists with descriptions and correspondences. Occasionally standard works of mythology may be referenced in attempting to trace down the identity of a particular spirit.

One reason the OTA is so careful about checking characteristics of spirits is that they feel their method of operation is powerful enough, and the Qabbalistic correspondences effective enough, to produce psychological manifestations which accurately reflect the forces spirits represent. If all magical texts could be taken as completely accurate, then one might be confident that unknown spirits, whose names were given, might represent what their rough correspondences indicated. But given the fact that many
of the names are degenerate, sometimes due to miscopyings of Hebrew letters and subsequently defective transliterations, sometimes due to transformations introduced by Christian dogma, it is difficult to judge from the name alone what kind of entity is being summoned. There are two kinds of distortions which OTA feels it is necessary to correct for: misattribution of the sex of the spirit, and inaccurate knowledge of its powers and nature. Many of the spirits in the old books of ceremonial magic are in reality pagan gods and goddesses, treated as spirits or demons from Jewish or Christian perspectives. According to the medieval Judeo-Christian attributions, all spirits were treated as male entities, although in fact many of them are pagan goddesses. One primary example is the Greek goddess Astarte, who is presented in the Lemegeton as Astoroth, a male demon. Since OTA's policy is to use male receivers for male entities and female receivers for female entities, correct identification of sex is crucial. The second error is that the power and attributions of an entity are often wrong, again the Jewish-Christian policy being to treat gods and goddesses from pagan traditions as demons. It is very important to separate a misclassification of a pagan god or goddess whose domain is a positive force from cases where an entity represents a truly demonic (shadow) force in its own system. OTA tries to avoid operations involving the latter, and hence again, knowing the correct picture is important.

In cases where there is uncertainty, OTA members will fall back on mythological accounts in an attempt to ascertain the correct identity of entities. If no hints as to the identity of a spirit can be found, the procedure
is generally to chose another spirit from the same Sephira whose identity
is known, and perform the operation using the known entity. If some hint,
but no firm evidence, emerges, an "experimental" operation may be performed
using an advanced receiver. In this case, one of the purposes of the opera-
tion is to attempt to move toward a firmer establishing of the identity of the
entity. Occasionally a completely unknown entity may be contacted, but
only with very experienced operators and receivers, and usually as the
private experiments of individuals rather than as lodge projects.

Regardless of the status of the spirit selected, there must always
be a positive purpose for summoning an entity, and the purpose must involve
the type of force the entity is associated with. Curiosity qua curiosity is
not a legitimate reason for undertaking an operation. The reason is simple.
Each operation induces in the receiver, and to some extent in the parti-
cipants in general, an emotional state appropriate to the operation. A good
operation induces an intense emotional state. The operation, then, must
suggest the direction in which this force is to be channeled; if no channel
is suggested, the force becomes simply a source of tension, especially in
the receiver, and will have to be "worked out"—generally by being projected
onto personal affairs in daily life. But the object of magic in general, and
operations in particular, is to provide an alternative to this process by
moving to make the internal-external linkages conscious. Hence, any
operation that does not provide for this process is retrograde within the
standards under which it is undertaken.

The second activity in preparation is preparing equipment and assign-
ing roles. There are instances in which the latter activity may come first.
For example, on the basis of progress in the training program, it may be
decided that it is time for a particular member to receive, in which case
an attempt will be made to set up an operation which fits the experience
and predisposition of the receiver. In other cases, members simply ask
"Who wants to receive?" and similar adjustments may be made. The order
is not particularly important, for in either case, the receiver and the en-
tity must be matched: the sex of both must be the same, and the power of
the entity, or its familiarity, must roughly parallel the experience of the
receiver.

Several pieces of equipment must be made for each operation. The
lamen is one item which will be different for each operation, for it requires
that the sigil of the particular spirit in question be used. The lamen is a
metal disk, the type of metal agreeing with the spirit being evoked, which
is hung around the neck of the receiver. On one side is the sigil, or seal,
associated with the spirit. On the other side is the pentagram of Solomon.
The sigil is used in the early parts of the operation, where the attempt is
to contact the spirit. The sigil then helps draw the entity in question.
When the contact is to be terminated, the lamen will be turned over, ex-
posing the pentagram, and thus helping to banish, or disperse the forces
which have been evoked. Making the lamen, then, involves having a disk of
the proper metal, which is generally already available in the lodge, and
having the sigil of the spirit to paint on it in the color appropriate to the en-
tity. If the spirit is a straight Lemegeton entity, the sigils are given for
each one, and it is simply a matter of painting the figure on the lamen. If the spirit is not a Lemegeton creature, however, it may be necessary to construct a sigil, derived from the name of the spirit. Once derived, this sigil is then used in a standard manner.

In addition to being placed on the lamen, the sigil is also drawn on the surface of the mirror in the color appropriate to the spirit. The magic mirror is a convex mirror especially prepared to give a good reflection of the person's image. The sigil on the mirror aids in focusing attention, and also contributes to the changes which will occur in the image when continuous staring begins to generate different figures. The sigil, then, serves as a kind of symbolic "trigger" for suggesting to the unconscious mind the "fantasy" which is appropriate to the situation.

The temple must also be properly set up. This involves moving the triangle into proper position vis-a-vis the circle and the appropriate quadrant, arranging the altar, preparing the incense burner, and providing the implements needed to serve the incense in their correct positions within the circle, but between the receiver and the mirror so the smoke will rise in front of the image in the mirror. Ritual implements must be placed in their proper positions, so that the ceremony can proceed without fumbling or disruption. If the operator is not yet completely sure of the exact wording of the conjuration, a copy of the required invocations and greetings must be placed in appropriate positions, and lighting adjusted so that they can be referred to in case of need.

Finally, the remaining ritual roles must be assigned. All members
who are present will participate in the ritual. The main roles are operator and receiver, and once these are filled, other positions are filled on the basis of available people. Two people will be assigned to perform the temple opening ceremony, one to supervise the performance of the creed recitation and the invocation, and possibly another to direct the circumambulation. One person will serve incense. Except for cases in which the number of participants is very small, all will not fit in the main nine-foot magical circle, and, hence, the remaining members will be positioned in auxiliary circles at the quadrants. All members must be within one of the circles for the duration of the operation.

In the initial ritual efforts, attempts were made to coordinate the time of the operation with the astrological associations of the spirit. Experimentation showed that this had no effect on the effectiveness of operations, and contacts are now performed at times which are convenient to the members, generally between 9:00 and 11:00 p.m. Neither is any attempt made to use fasting, abstinence or even a solemn atmosphere. There is a good deal of informal joking--some of it clearly tension reducing, especially when new or experimental operations are being tried. Drinking before the ceremonies is not prohibited, although it never involves more than small amounts of wine or beer as individual members prefer. Operations where members are drunk or under the influence of drugs are strictly prohibited.

The lack of what appear to be common prohibitions and purifications before magical ceremonies is, again, a matter of OTA pragmatism. OTA
sees these efforts as, in general, means of compensating for methods which are less effective in raising unconscious contents or in producing visualization. The OTA method does not require sensory deprivation or physically weakened positions to create visualizations, and, as such, the members do not undertake rigorous programs to induce such conditions. In terms of creating an atmosphere appropriate to the operation, OTA relies on the psychological preparations of the ten to fifteen minutes immediately prior to the operation to create the proper state of mind, and except for a slow reduction in joking as the time approaches, there are no attempts to rigidly control the evening's events. All of these features are part of OTA's attempts to remove from the practice of ceremonial magic those elements which are either excessively mystical or which serve no useful function in the presence of an effective system. OTA relies heavily on the power of the mirror-conjuration to produce unconscious effects and visualizations, and by in large, its faith is well placed.

Immediately before the operation, the members "robe up", get into the robes used for ceremonial workings. Once in robes, the psychological preparation begins. The group sits in a circle, holding hands. One member directs the preparation, instructing members first to calm their minds and remain silent. Then in a quiet, regular tone of voice, the members will be instructed to recall the purpose of the operation, their unity in achieving its purpose and their connection as a group. Frequently they will be told to consider themselves to be a circle of power, with the force pushing through them. As their hands are raised, the power grows. The group's
joined hands will then slowly rise in the air, accompanied by instructions of "Higher, higher, hold it, take it with you into the temple". The purpose of the session is to remove thoughts of other things, to prepare the group's mind for the operation by focusing attention on one thing—the coming ritual. This is an essential part of the operation. On one occasion where a serious error was made in temple opening, the operation was abrogated, and the offender seriously called to task. The group then went back into the meditative-preparative state, for longer than usual, as an absolute prerequisite to beginning the ritual a second time. The session was effective in removing the tension and anger associated with the error, and the subsequent operation was judged a success by OTA standards.

**Temple Opening**

Each ritual ceremony begins with a series of preparations which ready the temple for operation. These are called "opening the temple". The purpose of this ceremony is to draw a sharp line between the temple as a physical facility and the temple as the location of a ritual operation. Before the temple is opened, it is a physical location in which members move freely, arranging materials, practicing rituals or experimenting with effects. When the temple is open, members move only ritually in it, with other speaking and movement being serious violations of conduct, which are destructive of the group's purpose. In terms of anthropological distinctions, the temple opening marks the status of the temple facility as "sacred" rather than "profane".

Two members, acting as Priest and Priestess, precede the rest
of the group into the temple. They then proceed to light the candles at the four quadrants. The Priest, standing in the East, says "Let there be light in the West." The Priestess, standing in the West lights the candle, then says "Let there be light in the East." The Priest then lights the Eastern candle. The Priest moves to the Southern quadrant, while the Priestess goes to the North. The procedure is then repeated for these positions.

After the candles have been lit, the Priest takes a position behind the altar, as the Priestess moves to the gong and strikes it three times to signal the remaining members to enter.

Members then enter, and position themselves around the outside of the circle. The Priest then begins the ritual questioning. He asks: "What is the Key?" to which the members in unison respond: "As above, so below." The Priest then asks for the creed. Members all touch the forehead, saying "To know", hold their fist outstretched before the body saying "To dare", touch the left breast and say "To will" and finally declare "To keep silent" as they place their index finger over their lips. 

The Priest then inquires: "What is the way?" to which the response is "Know Thyself". Finally he asks: "What is the secret of the Way?" Members reply: "Thou art God." The Priest then makes the sign of temple opening, and declares "The Temple is open."

At this point the Priest steps down from the altar, and is replaced by the First Deacon, who reads the invocation of the Bornless One. The invocation is a powerful preliminary invocation used by magicians of the Golden Dawn-AA era. It is an Egyptian ritual, which appears to have first
been published as part of a Fragment of a Graeco-Egyptian Work upon Magic in 1852, and subsequently reprinted in Budge's more widely known Egyptian Magic. The enormous ritual appeal of the innovation can be seen from its first paragraph, which is a rhythmic account of the primordial unity:

Thee I invoke, the Bornless One.
Thee, that didst create the Earth and the Heavens:
Thee, that didst create the Night and the Day.
Thee, that did create the Darkness and the Light.
Thou art Osorronophris: Whom no man has seen at any time.
Thou art Jabas.
Thou art Japos.
Thou hast distinguished between the Just and the Unjust.
Thou didst make the Female and the Male.
Thou didst produce the Seed and the Fruit.
Thou didst form Men to love one another, and to hate one another.

The Deacon then identifies himself with the unity:

I am _____________, Thy Prophet, unto Whom Thou didst commit Thy Mysteries. Thou didst produce the moist and the dry, and that which nourisheth all created Life. Hear Thou Me, for I am the Angel of Paphro Osorronophris: this is Thy True Name. . . .

When the invocation has been completed, the Deacon announces the beginning of the circumambulation, the process of walking around the magic circle as a group. The circumambulation will take place in the "Sphere" appropriate to the entity of the operation, and members will walk as many times counter-clockwise as the number of the entity's Sephira. During the circumambulation, each member will chant. They will move in rhythm to the drum beat by the Deacon, who will also maintain the count and signal the conclusion of the circumambulation by several sharp beats on the drum.

When the circumambulation is complete, all members participate in the Lesser Pentagram Ritual, again a heritage from the Golden Dawn. (See Appendix 1.) The Lesser Pentagram is a key symbolic statement, com-
bining the motif of the circle, the four quarters--linked to the god names, arch-angels and quadrants and the pentagram. It is symbolic of the work of ceremonial magic, and is used both to begin calling forth spiritual contents, and as a means of controlling them, and protecting the magician from undesired entities. It is thus used both before an operation and after it, and also serves as a personal protective device for individual magicians in personal workings.

The ritual begins with the forming of the Qabbalistic cross, which we have described in connection with initiation. After this is completed, the magicians face East, and make the sign of the pentagram with either the sword or the dagger. When the pentagram is completed, the dagger is stabbed sharply in the center and the god-name of the Tetragrammaton (Yod-Heh-Vau-Heh or Yatveh) is pronounced in a deep, vibrant tone. Holding the sword or dagger outstretched so as to make a circle around the person performing the ritual, the person turns to the South and repeats the process with the name Adonai. Turning West, it is repeated with the name Eheih. Turning North, the name Agla is vibrated. Upon returning East, and hence completing the circle, the linkage with the protective arch-angels is made by reciting:

Before me Raphael, behind me Michael, at my right hand Michael, at my left hand Uriel. Before me flames the pentagrams and above me shines the six-rayed star.

The ritual is concluded with the Qabbalistic cross. Once completed, the conjuration which forms the operation itself can begin.

The temple opening and ritual preparation, then, establishes the
sacred elements, and symbolically presents the context in which any particular operation is meaningful, and the larger end toward which all the operations are seen to act. The exact sequence, timing and wording are essential, for they establish the symbolic universe and the natural order. Ritual flaws and omissions are errors which misrepresent the process going on. Minor mistakes will be tolerated in the ceremony, although other members are sensitive to them and they reduce the effectiveness of the operation. But persistent errors, or errors which involve incorrect attributions or misrepresentation of the symbolic universe, are grounds for aborting the operation, rather than allowing it to continue under abnormal conditions.

Conjuration

After the Lesser Pentagram Ritual has been completed, the receiver is positioned in front of the mirror, which is now uncovered. The operator takes his position behind the receiver, and the incense server is positioned between the receiver and the outer ring of the circle. The lamen is positioned around the receiver's neck, with the sigil facing the mirror. The tapers are lighted and positioned so that the receiver can see his face clearly in the mirror. The incense is served, creating a light cloud of smoke between the receiver's face and the mirror. When these arrangements have been completed, the operator begins to recite the conjuration. The recitation is intended to be hypnotic, and the tone sought is a steady, firm one without dramatic flairs or radical changes of tone which will call attention to the operator rather than to the image in the mirror.
The conjuration is a short one, directly from the Lemegeton. It may be spoken several times, but, in general, most OTA operations now take effect using less than three conjurations. The words are:

I invoke and conjure thee, Spirit ______________, strengthened by Almighty God, and I command thee by Baralamensis, Baldachiensis, Paumachie, Apoloresedes and by the Princes Geno and Liachide, Ministers of the seat of Tartarus, and chief princes of the throne of Apologia in the 9th region.

I command thee by Him who spake and it was done, by the most Holy and Glorious names: Adonai, El, Elohim, Elohe, Zeboath, Elion, Eschere, Yah and the Tetragrammaton.

Do thou appear forthwith and show thyself to us, here before this circle, within that triangle, in a fair and human form, without horror or deformity and without delay. Come now forthwith from whatever part of the world thou art and answer our questions. Come visibly, come affably and manifest that which we desire; being commanded by the Name of the Eternal and living God, Helorem.

I also command thee by the Name of the particular God to whom thou owest thine obedience: the Mighty ______________, and by the name of the King who rules over thee: ______________, Emperor of the ______________.

Come at once and fulfill our desires. Come we persist unto the end.

I conjure thee by Him to whom all creatures are obedient, by that Ineffable name: The Tetragrammaton, by which the elements are overthrown, the Sea turns back, the Fire is generated, the Earth moves, the Air is sundered, and all the Host of things Celestial, of things Terrestrial, of things infernal, do tremble and are confounded together.

Appear before us visibly and speak unto us affably, in a clear and intelligible voice, in our mother tongue, free from ambiguity and guile.

Come therefore in the name of Adonai Zeboath. Come, why dost thou tarry? Adonai Saday, King of Kings, commands thee.

As the conjuration is repeated, it is frequently possible for the operator to tell when the receiver is getting a manifestation. The hands of the receiver tend to quiver, followed at times by a more general shaking of
the body. When these manifestations are seen, conjuration will generally stop, and there will be a welcome to the spirit. At other times, especially after two or three conjurations, the operator will address the receiver and ask if the spirit is present. An answer of "no" or a report of a fading in and out will produce more conjurations.

When the receiver begins to get a manifestation, the first sign is a "blackout". That is, the image of the person's face in the mirror will disappear, leaving only the black surface of the mirror visible. This condition can last some time, and is sometimes interspersed with a reappearance of the receiver's own face. In this case, there is no manifestation, and conjuration continues. At other times, however, the image which appears in the mirror after the blackout is not the face of the receiver, but another image, usually a transformation of the receiver's face. This image does not tend to be stable the first couple of times it is seen, and the blackout condition returns. This state is called fade out and is considered to be a partial manifestation. Here conjuration will also continue, but in general not much more time is needed before the image is seen continuously by the receiver. In this early stage, any dramatic shifting of the eyes, such as glancing to the side, looking off the mirror or repeated blinking, will destroy both the blackout and the transformed image, effectively killing the manifestation. Once the image has stabilized, however, it is not so easily removed, and the receiver may "watch" the image for its reactions to the questions that are put to it.

Once a contact is established, the operator will put questions to the
receiver. The receiver, in turn, conveys answers stemming from its contact with the manifestation. In the case of a very light trance, these answers are more or less the same ones which might be given by the person in a normal waking state. Cases of good contact manifest changes in the tone and vocabulary of the receiver, and the receiver may report either hearing a voice speaking the answers which the receiver then repeats, "feeling" the answer, or in some cases, hearing his own voice speak answers that were not previously thought out. In all of these cases, however, the receiver maintains his sense of being the observer of the image in the mirror, with his own sense of position in tact.

Occasionally in cases of deep contact, there will be a "cross-over" into a possession. In such cases, the receiver no longer has a sense of being an observer of the contents in the mirror, but instead feels himself drawn into the mirror and becoming the manifestation which exists there. Depending on the entity involved, this can be either a pleasant sensation, or one that is resisted by the receiver. In either case, it is an operational error, for the manifestation gets stronger than was desired in the operation. In such cases, the questioning is terminated and the license to depart is begun. There are legitimate possession operations in OTA, but they are undertaken with a different technique and with a much more conservative selection of spirits.

After the public questioning session is completed, the receiver is allowed a minute or two of "private" contact with the entity in the operation. This period is an OTA innovation designed to meet complaints of receivers
that operations were being cut off too soon, and that too much of the focus was external, leaving no opportunity to experience or know feelings or messages which might come from the experience itself. As a matter of magical technique, though, OTA does not favor holding manifestations for a long time, and contact operations are usually under an hour, from temple opening to completion.

If OTA is generally conservative in its use of the method, continually stressing control and limited psychic impact, it is also circumspect about the reasons for which operations are undertaken. The folklore tradition of magic is full of reportedly effective means of locating hidden treasure, gaining power and wealth, obtaining the affections of members of the opposite sex and curing a variety of serious and mundane diseases. OTA rejects such formulae as a bastardization and misunderstanding of the program of magic. Most operations in OTA are undertaken for what might be broadly defined as "supportive" aims. Common purposes are: strength in times of personal difficulty, increased knowledge, increased insight regarding important decisions to be made, protection during periods of crisis and consultation on affairs governing the ritual structure and operation of the lodge. The overall effect, combined with the training program, is to create a steady progress to more stable psychological and physical situations.

When it is time for the manifestation to end, the operation may be brought to an end in several ways. In the easiest case, the manifestation simply fades, being replaced by the face of the receiver. In such cases,
the formal license to depart is then given, and the operation is over. In other cases, the license to depart is given while the manifestation is still present, with the intention of causing it to fade. The tone of the license to depart is not hypnotic, but direct and accompanied by strong movements on the part of the operator, such as reaching over the receiver to turn over the lamen, which disrupts the attention of the receiver and ends the manifestation. In a few cases, the manifestation is not felt to be completely gone after a few repetitions of the license to depart. It is then necessary to move to the exorcism, which is a stronger command to the spirit, and if necessary in the last resort, to burn the sigil of the entity along with threats and firmness. When the manifestation disappears, however, the milder and more polite license is repeated. The license, then, is the proper ending for any operation, and marks the withdrawal of the manifestation:

O Spirit _____________, because thou hast diligently heeded to the rites of Magick and hast answered our demands, I do hereby license thee to depart, without injury to any Man or thing. Depart I say, but be ready to return when duly summoned by the sacred rites of Magick. I order thee to withdraw peaceably and quietly and may the Peace of God continue between me and thee. Depart, depart, depart I say and be gone.

**Temple Closing**

The temple closing essentially returns the temple to the status of a physical place. The Lesser Pentagram ritual is performed, as in temple opening, but this time with the intent of banishing any lingering influence. After the ritual is completed, the Priest announces:

Atēh, Gebor, Le-Olahm. The work is finished, the work is done. Abrahadabra--the temple is closed.
The members then file out, except for the Priest and Priestess, who then go through the extinguishing of the lights at the four quadrants, the same procedure as their lighting except that the words are now "extinguish the light" as opposed to "let there be light."

**Debriefing**

Just as the period of psychological preparation before the operation served as a bridge between the world of everyday life and the ritual setting, so the debriefing serves to make that transition in reverse. The first part of the debriefing is a questioning of the receiver. He will be asked how the manifestation appeared, and attempts will be made to get enough information to provide the basis for a sketch. There will be questions concerning the depth of the trance, any feelings or reactions which might have been present, along with any contents of the private communication which might want to be shared. The receiver is encouraged to talk as much as he wishes about the manifestation, to describe it and to give his reactions to it, as well as his intellectual judgments about it. This stage is recognized as important by OTA on two grounds. First, it provides information for the log, which contains a standard account of each operation undertaken. A sample form for an operation is provided in Figure 3. Generally the scribe will have either taken notes on the account, or logged the operation within the next day. This is seen as giving OTA a basis for assessing its performance. The second reason is more basic, for OTA contends that if the receiver is to make constructive use of the operation experiences, rather than becoming excessively fascinated by their contents and so losing
FIGURE III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date:</th>
<th>Noon</th>
<th>Planetary Phase</th>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Time Inclusive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theurgic Op</td>
<td>Training Session</td>
<td>Initiation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Festival</td>
<td>Communion</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**OPERATION:**
- **Type:**
- **Entity:**
- **Sepherot:**

**Observer and Guests**

- **Insense**
- **No. of Conj.**
- **Visual Intensity**

**TRAINING:**
- **Type:**
- **Method:**
- **Chapel:**
- **Temple:**
- **Other:**
- **Instructor(s):**
- **Students:**

**Observers & Guests**

**INITIATION:**
- **Priest(s):**
- **Priestess(es):**
- **Thes.:**
- **Typhon:**
- **Sphinx:**
- **Master-at-arms:**
- **Assistant:**
- **Initiate(s):**
- **Funds collected:**

**COMMUNION:**
- **Priest:**
- **Priestess:**
- **Assistants:**

**SPECIAL SERVICE:**
- **Type:**
- **Participants:**

**REMARKS:**

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touch with exoteric, conscious reality, he must essentially "talk out" the experience, until he sees nothing more of interest to say about it. It then can be handled in a healthy perspective.

As the intensity of the first accounts of the manifestation wear off, questions turn next to matters of technique: was the conjuration too fast, too loud, distracting or disruptive? Was there too much incense? Did the operation end too soon? Were the correct questions asked? Does the experience suggest any modification in dealing with further operations? This set of questions again has a dual significance. First, it provides technical feedback for OTA on its method, and has led to several modifications in technique, especially in possession operations. Second, however, it acts as a way of moving away from discussions of the manifestation without abruptly cutting off the discussion. By switching away from the manifestation to questions still related to the world of magic, albeit pragmatic ones, it smooths the way toward the external reality.

After some time, the discussion begins to run down. This process is encouraged. People will begin to drift off, joking will become more frequent and the process of derobing will begin. The debriefing, then, literally ends when no one present has any more interest in carrying it on, and all participants are ready to return to their other activities. Again, this is extremely functional, for the numinosity of the experience, the excitement and the tension are allowed to fade out, giving the experience a chance to settle into the routine. It still remains meaningful, but it does not dominate the meaningful. In this way, OTA solves one of the most difficult
problems of working with intense psychological experiences: the tendency for the experiences to take on a life of their own which pushes out the every-day life, making the person maladaptive and uninterested in the day to day routine of the exoteric world. OTA's orientation toward magic regards this as an error, and members who see their experiences as "revelations" are likely to be kidded and teased into a more limited appraisal of their significance. This is one way of preventing drastic ego-inflation, but it is heavily dependent on the members having strong contacts with each other and valuing each other's assessments. In a larger, more autonomous group, another method is likely to be required to keep the boundary OTA desires between the magical and the external worlds.

After he has witnessed several contact operations, the new magician is introduced to the deeper manifestations of unconscious contents in possession operations.

The OTA possession operations follow many of the basic outlines presented here. The main difference is in technique, which is somewhat modified to introduce a deeper trance state. The modifications are as follows.

(1) The receiver lies prone, under the convex magical mirror, which is arranged so that the person can easily see the image of his face when lying on the possession couch. The receiver's head is placed in the triangle, which is now laid flat on the couch.

(2) The conjuration remains the same, but instead of being spoken behind the receiver by an impassive operator, the conjuration is recited
as the receiver is rhythmically massaged with warm oil. Members arrange themselves on both sides of the receiver's body and massage in a synchronized series of movements. Both hands are laid flat on the receiver's body. They are then moved up, toward the chest and down toward the feet, each member of the group moving across the area which he can easily reach, keeping time with other members' movements. The operator is one of the people participating in the massage, and the speed and rhythm of the massaging is keyed to the speed and rhythm of the conjuration's recitation. The aim is to create a state of hypnosis using both visual and tactile effects. This creates a deeper trance state, and allows for a possession or dissociation. Although there are obviously sexual feelings operating during the operating, it is not an act of sexual magic. Contact with genitals is forbidden, and the massage moves up and down the legs extending upward only to the middle of the chest.

The results of possession operations are more dramatic. In several cases there have been very radical changes in personality and voice in the possession state, as well as much more dramatic and clear visions. The majority of these operations were performed using the patron goddess of the temple, Asthart or Astarte as the entity invoked; while there were some general similarities among the receivers, especially characteristic body movements at the onset of the trance state, there is no cumulative, group vision of Astarte. Several women in the lodge have received Astarte in possessions, and all report different feelings about the entity during the possession. A few operations were done using Bune, another female entity
from the sephiroth of Netzach. Different images were reported, but there were so few cases (two) that comparison is difficult.

The possession operations raise much stronger feelings on the part of receivers after the ceremony, and debriefings are usually more intense. A part of the additional interest is that frequently the receiver does not know what was said during the trance state, and is anxious to find out what happened. Substantial parts of the conversation held during the possession trance may not be remembered, and usually several members will reconstruct their perceptions, providing information on their feelings and reactions, as well as their judgments about the intensity of phenomena involved. These are compared with the receiver's judgments, attempting to congeal different feelings and perceptions into a group response. Despite the importance of the group participation, any attempt to impose a "collective" image of Astarte on the personal manifestations recorded was strongly resisted; the receiver generally has a strong sense of the reality of her manifestation, and while OTA has an interest in seeking out collective uniformities, any translation of these questions into expectations brings strong reactions. One particular case involved a series of Astarte possessions in which the same receiver was used, developing in the process a rather strong image of Astarte. The result was to attempt to diversify receivers and balance out the manifestations in order to prevent the diety from being "monopolized" by one person.

Until December 1972 there had been no male possessions. At that time, however, there was a fairly universal consensus that the operation
of contacting Baal, the consort of Astarte, should be tried. The response was interesting, for although most members agreed to attempt the operation, there was a strong current of uncertainty, and the expectation of possible embarrassment resulting from sexual stimulation. During the two hours before the operation, there was almost continual joking, most of it anticipating possible scenarios and presenting them in a humorous way. At one level this unplanned anxiety displacement was functional, for it made it possible for members to express their feelings without making serious commitments to their personal uncertainties. At another level, it was a serious handicap to a good ritual attitude, and preceded one of the most serious errors in ritual opening which had occurred, resulting in an abortion of the operation and a new beginning from the pre-operation meditation stage. Nevertheless, the operation did achieve positive, if small, results and the consensus after was a combination of relief and intention to further develop the method.

The experience of the possession experiment suggests the importance of the implicit roles in the lodge. While OTA is strongly in favor of both males and females operating and receiving, and makes at least one experience in each role a required part of training and advancement, there is a tendency for women to receive and for men to operate; likewise, a tendency for Runyon and White to operate more than they receive. OTA tries to prevent such tendencies from becoming rules, explicit or implicit, since a balance of self-development means a flexibility and ability to achieve both a commanding and a receiving capacity; organizational commitment is
seen to require opportunities for all members to participate and assume responsibility. The operation experience, however, indicates that the combination of a new technical arrangement of female operator and high-ranking male receiver, exacerbates uncertainty existing at all levels.

The ritual work of the new magician is supplemented by practical training exercises which introduce him to the techniques needed to take on the role of operator, and be able to achieve good visualizations as a receiver. The training techniques are phased. In order to advance from one grade to another the magician must have completed specified training exercises. A list of these requirements for advancement are provided in Table III. The training process is not rigidly sequenced, however. The incoming magician will learn early techniques not required until later stages, partly because the group as a whole may be concentrating on them. He will also be introduced to most of the techniques quite quickly, and be expected to later devote enough time and practice to become proficient at them. The first techniques are simple ones designed to create awareness of unconscious contents. These include the pendulum technique, hypnotic practice exercises and techniques of visualization.

The pendulum technique is held by OTA members to be a means of communicating with the unconscious by magnifying and interpreting small, involuntary muscle movements. In it a string with a weight attached to it is held between the thumb and the index finger while the elbow rests on a flat surface. The wrist is kept parallel to the surface. After a period of time the weight at the end of the string will begin to swing. Apparently,
### TABLE III

**O.T.A. GRADE STRUCTURES AND REQUIREMENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade Level</th>
<th>Requirements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pre-Initiation (Probationer)</strong></td>
<td>Attends three or more 'open classes' or equivalent. Reads Cavendish and Crow. Is tested. Voted upon by all present active members above the grade of Neophyte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zelator (2=9)</strong></td>
<td>Is responsible for O.G.D. zelator material. Continues to perfect self-hypnotic ability. Participates as a receiver in at least one successful Theurgic Operation and in some other capacity in some other operation. Is introduced to Astral Projection techniques. Reads E. Grey, and works basic Tarot. Reads Butler (M.T.W.), Culling (G.B.G.) and Crowley's Goetia. Develops a full understanding of the Goetia Technique. Completes basic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE III - Continued

psychometric pendulum self-analysis. Written and Oral exam.  
Is Ordained if over 21. 1st examination of Magickal Record. Is awarded Practicus.

PRACTICUS (3=8)

Is responsible for O.G.D. Theosicus and Practicus material.  
Take principle role in at least one initiation. Acts as Operator in at least one successful Theurgic Operation, and submits log entry. Is graded on same. Teaches one 'open class'. Is responsible for at least one phase of 'in-lodge' training of lower grades.  
Reads 1st. Bardon, W.G. Grey, Regardie's Middle pillar, Waite's B.C.M. Assists in at least one Full Possession operation.  
Achieves proficiency in either Astral Projection or attains sonambulistic state through self-hypnosis (technical augmentation if needed). Written and Oral exam. 2nd. examination of Magickal Record. Is awarded Philosophus.

PHILOSOPHUS (4=7)

phase of Magickal work suitable for inclusion in Order papers, and graded as such. Takes active role in Order administration. Undertakes 3 day Magickal retreat (K & C of H. G. A.). Writes at least one original ceremony and/or performs at least one quasi-religious service (depending upon individual's background). Is graded upon the completeness of his Magickal Record. If not already Ordained, is Ordained. Is examined for initiation into R. R. et A. C.
slight muscle twitches in the hand and arm, unnoticeable to the person holding the string, are responsible for the movement. The weight will swing in four general directions. It may move in a line east to west, or in a line north to south. Alternatively, it may swing clockwise or counterclockwise. Each of these movements is calibrated to one of four possible responses to questions—yes, no, don't know or will not answer. Using this device, the Neophyte works out simple questions, whose answers are not emotionally charged, and obtains answers from the pendulum technique. As facility with the technique develops, the magician will ask more probing questions about his emotional life, blocks in ritual practice, questions related to major choices to be made, or even exploration of possible reincarnations. Fully developed, the pendulum becomes the simplest method of personal divination.

Techniques

A large number of the techniques for gaining access to unconscious contents in ceremonial magic are variations of trance-induction techniques, often termed classed as OTA does, as hypnosis. It is not entirely clear how hypnotic effects are produced, although a major hypothesis is one LaBarre accepts, that the effects are produced as a result of some variety of sensory deprivation, which allows ego strength to diminish, and unconscious contents to emerge (regression). If this hypothesis is accepted, then evidence suggests that varieties of sensory deprivation can be produced by different levels of attention to the external world.

The most predominant magical hypnotic techniques are based upon
staring. Those specifically employed for single individuals include:

1) staring into a crystal, the crystal-gazing associated with the famed crystal ball;

2) staring at a focused light source or candle;

3) staring into a reflective surface (water, water with ink, or a variety of mirrors);

4) staring at a symbol, as the ability develops, staring at an imagined symbol.

To these we should add an associated Eastern technique which follows the same principle. This is focusing the eyes at a specified point in space, essentially staring at nothing.

The complexity of the phenomena associated with each method varies, as does the purpose for which the contents are used. In all cases, however, the purpose is to induce a trance state in which at least visual and possibly auditory manifestations will occur.\textsuperscript{115} In some cases the desired effect is to produce a state of deep hypnosis, that is:

that level of hypnosis that permits the subject to function adequately and directly at an unconscious level of awareness without interference by the conscious mind.\textsuperscript{116}

Such trances are difficult to attain on an individual basis, especially initially. The ability to effectively pass into deep trance states is learned. The training methods of both the Golden Dawn and the AA make it clear that there were in both basic training exercises which were designed to help initiates prepare for and participate in the more advanced hypnotic work.\textsuperscript{117} In some cases, the ability to pass into a very light trance, repeating posi-
tive, identitive statements, creates the conditions for auto-suggesting increasingly better performances. In some cases of divination, such as crystal gazing, the aim is simply to let contents rise from unconsciousness. They may then be interpreted, either on the basis of immediate responses of the person having the manifestations, or by another assistant—usually acting as the "operator" or the guide of the hypnotic process. This method was used by John Dee, Renaissance English scholar and court astrologer to Elizabeth I to assemble a collection of angelic visions which gave rise to the Enocian system of magic, and its accompanying "angelic language." Similar results were generated by systems of staring into dishes of inked water, although we have no complete records of such activities. In some cases of symbol staring, similar results are sought, with effects stemming from distortions occurring in the symbol, which are interpreted by the practitioner. The method here resembles a variation of the Rorschach technique used by clinical psychologists. The symbols have enough form and familiarity for the subject to begin with a structured interpretation, yet enough ambiguity to maintain alternate interpretations. Reinterpretations can begin on the conscious level, and proceed as the trance state deepens. There are interesting parallels between such techniques and recent research on Rorschach testing under hypnosis. A series of tests were done to compare the associations of persons under hypnosis with their fully conscious associations, as well as their associations at different age regressions under hypnosis. Significant differences were found on both counts, and the sug-
gestion was made that this technique might be able to efficiently aid in tracing psychogenetic development and the development of personal anxiety.

The scope of hypnotic techniques in OTA is limited to producing visual and auditory effects, and associated changes in the receiver's voice, mannerisms and subjective sense of position and body image. Changes like these are psychological. While other magical authors relate magical practice to healing, OTA has not been concerned with developing healing skills. Experiments in medical hypnosis have reported that physical characteristics, such as sensitivity to pain, rate of heart beat, and even the chemical content of the urine, can be effected by hypnotic techniques. They have further found that such changes can be produced as effectively, and sometimes more effectively, with imagined hypnotic aids than with real ones. Asking people to imagine themselves listening to a metronome, or imagine themselves staring at a moving silver disk can provide better hypnotic induction than providing the actual physical stimuli. This provides a piece of missing evidence which allows us sociologists' studies of hypnosis as "role playing", attempting to explain hypnotic induction in terms of physical responses to visual stimuli. There is a continuum between what Jung calls active imagination and trance induction. The concentration on physical objects has as its purpose closing off attention to other stimuli and forcing attention to focus on a single feature. It is this focusing, to the exclusion of all other stimuli, which produces the effects. It produces a kind of sensory deprivation. But the ability to concentrate attention need
not be the result of an actual physical stimulus. It can be learned, through meditative techniques, or acquired through the practices of role-playing, simulating concentration and thus learning to achieve it. OTA begins with the physical stimulus, noting that by the time you get to the higher levels of magical skill, you simply do not need them. The Abacwezi, as we shall see, use role playing as the major vehicle for learning trance inductive skills.

Both medical studies and OTA practice indicate that individuals vary in their ability to enter trances. Even the presence of physical staring aids, or visual focus with operator suggestion, will not produce trances in some people. OTA has two members who cannot receive manifestations, and interestingly enough, cannot "fake" receiving them. Neither the medical studies nor the sociological ones, to my knowledge, have produced satisfactory explanations of the mechanism which links either focused attention or focused role playing to physical changes. In the absence of such evidence, it would be foolhearty for us to try to do so here. We shall, however, attempt to see to what extent such as yet unexplained changes might be relevant to the role of magicians as healers in societies like Bunyoro.

In addition to techniques which assist in allowing unconscious images and symbols to arise, OTA makes use of one concentration varient which eliminates them. These are meditative techniques which provide a capability to still thoughts, and empty the mind. Such techniques are standard in Eastern yoga and meditations systems, but OTA does not employ them
nearly as extensively. They are used as an adjunct to image-creating techniques, while in the Eastern systems, images are suppressed in favor of stilling the mind. In OTA the meditational work merely helps calm the mind, to prepare it to be more receptive to ritual techniques, and to aid in banishing the contents after the ritual is completed. The method is to concentrate upon breathing, driving other thoughts from the mind. Such techniques were used in the Golden Dawn and in Crowley's work, and entered OTA through its contacts with Western magical practice, which dictates its use.

In addition to techniques to generate unconscious contents, there are techniques to aid visualization. The ability to visualize is seen as crucial to magical practice, in part as we have indicated before, because of its commitment to the "language" of the unconscious. There are two initial aids, or training devices, employed to aid visualization. The first is the "blue light", a simple device made from a night-light. It is a small circle through which a blue light shines. If one focuses on the light, eye strain will cause the image to split. With practice, the magician can come to control the splitting, and provide an initial means of producing a visual image.

The second aid is a complementary color card. A card is painted in a specified color, for example, green, and a symbol is then painted on the background in a complementary color, in this case, red. The person stares at the card, then closes his eyes. The symbol will appear as an after-image in the complementary color, against a complementary back-
ground (red background, green image). The magician tries to hold the image as long as possible. When the facility to hold the image is achieved, he then attempts to expand and contract its size, and control its movement. Both these techniques are preparatory for wand work, in which the magician uses his wand to trace a figure in the air, and attempts to visualize its path and hold the image it creates.

Ambitious techniques for duplicating this technique with all the senses are presented in Bardon's *Initiation Into Hermetics*, but OTA has made little attempt to use them. It is more interested in linking other senses to vision than to creating independent "image" producing facilities. The training technique used to achieve this is called station-training. The magician sets up a series of symbols, in this instance planetary symbols, painted in the color appropriate to the planet, as determined from the correspondences we described earlier. Accompanying the symbol is the metal with which it corresponds. Burning at the station is an incense which corresponds to the planet. The magician stares at the symbol, touches the metal, and inhales the incense while the musical note corresponding to the planet is played. They then move on to the next station, which contains a different symbol and corresponding metal, color, incense and note. After moving through all stations, generally four, the magician sits quietly in a meditation position and attempts to reproduce the experience of each station. He then is given one feature of the situation, and from this stimulus, attempts to bring back the experience, not only visualizing the symbol, but hearing the note, feeling the metal and smelling the incense.
It should be clear from even this very condensed description of training techniques that OTA does not see the results of its training techniques or operations as special "manifestations" of supranatural forces or of unusual "gifts". They contend that what they are doing is developing and focusing capabilities which are latent in most people. The ability to enter a trance state, the ability to visualize in complementary colors, or to recall total stimulus patterns, given a fragment of them, is a normal human ability. What magic does is to develop them, and use them in achieving different types and levels of awareness. As we suggested earlier, magical techniques and training are primary manifestations of the technical cognitive interest.

In addition to magical training, the new magician engages in personal magical development. He keeps a magical record, an account of attempted techniques, rituals and results. He also keeps a dream record, which forms the basis of his attempt to practically interpret their symbolic structure. In addition, he may attempt to apply magical categories to elements of everyday experience. For example, attempting to categorize everyday objects as wands, swords, pentacles or daggers, and incorporating them into ritual practice is a good way of establishing the personal significance of the four magical implements. Similarly, attempting to classify objects, ideas and personal moods in terms of the Qabbalistic framework provides another way of establishing the personal meaning of magical concepts. This level of personal work is important if the magician hopes to go beyond the use of existing rituals to devise his own rituals.
for specific purposes.

A final element of the new magician's training comes from reading other magicians' works. OTA is heavily oriented toward intellectual activities, including reading, examining other disciplines and looking for new potentially useful techniques to aid magical training. New members quickly learn that much informal lodge activity involves reading and discussing books, and formulating magical experiments based upon them. Often these ideas get no further than the discussion level, but they are nonetheless important. It is one way a new magician tests his perceptions, ideas and the worth of his magical creativity. It is also a concrete manifestation of OTA's commitment to balancing intellectual activity and ritual practice. Magicians are not reading to find rationalizations of their practice, nor to find falsifications of it. They are instead seeking wider interpretations, more knowledge of myths and symbols and improved and innovative techniques. They will experiment with alternate systems to enhance magical practice. The commitment to ceremonial magic and OTA is taken for granted. Once this commitment is established, new knowledge can be related to magic and critically applied. Rationalizations of practice are low priority items. Members are convinced by their experience of the value of ceremonial magic, and find enough new people interested without elaborate rationalizations to keep the lodge recruitment process active.

"Selling" magic outside this context is not an OTA objective.

In the process of learning the specifics of ritual practice and techniques, new magicians gradually accumulate a knowledge of the operation-
al philosophy of magic. The operational philosophy not only suggests what kinds of techniques need to be developed and how they are to be applied, but also provides the rationale for them. It is the ordering necessary for directing magical activity, as well as the intellectual rationale for performing specific actions. The simplest component of the operational philosophy specifies that the purpose of particular techniques is to aid in the expansion of consciousness, most frequently through a probing of the unconscious. This not only explains the purpose of established techniques, such as hypnotic exercises, but establishes the potential relevance of methods from other sources, including meditation and biofeedback, as well as the reason for undertaking special projects such as astral projection.

OTA recognizes that drugs may be useful in opening up avenues of psychological experience, but rejects them as part of lodge work. One reason is that they are illegal. A second is that they are more or less uncontrolable, and difficult to focus. Desirable magical techniques must be directable as well as powerful. Methods like dream control, vision production and techniques like automatic writing are now generally relevant for this reason.

Magical means of expanding consciousness also differ from those conventional means psychotherapy would use. Magicians are less concerned with verbalizations of unconscious contents, and more concerned with sensory experiences of them. Hence, raising unconscious contents to consciousness means making them accessible to conscious experience, not only conscious reflection. A more important difference is that magicians
also seek techniques for dealing with unconscious contents which do not depend upon making them conscious.

Repeated symbols, invocations and suggestions may affect unconscious contents directly and positively. Rather than simply gaining facility in interpreting symbols, the magician also learns to deal in the language of the psyche. Placing himself in altered states of consciousness, he then becomes capable of acting "appropriately" (e.g., in accordance with the symbolic correspondence and signs) in these states. Producing visions in which symbols are explored and symbolized forces of the unconscious handled by symbolic action on the part of the magician, attempts to intervene in dreams symbolically, thus eliminating the distortion of secondary revision processes, and attempts to project consciousness into symbols include examples of techniques developed under this principle. The rationale behind many of the techniques employed and developed is the contention that they provide powerful, direct means of gaining access to the psyche and affecting it. Magicians do not hesitate to use some techniques employed by psychologists, such as dream records or free association, which are found in magical texts predating modern psychotherapy. But they maintain that stronger, more direct techniques exist, with greater potential for affecting the psyche than conventional Freudian methods.

The operational philosophy also suggests a rationale for symbols and practices in terms of their unconscious value. Magicians often comment to incoming Neophytes, "You may not 'believe' in Astarte, but your unconscious does." "You may think that dressing up in black robes and
masks is silly, but your unconscious doesn't." "You may not take that literally, but your unconscious does." "You may not think there is a connection between you and an image containing your blood or hair, but your unconscious does." An important intellectual rationale for continuing to operate in terms of spirits, the four elements and mythological personification is that these forms appeal to the unconscious, where intellectual constructs do not. Because magical practice involves acting within the logic of the unconscious, not eliminating it, many intellectually questionable concepts are maintained because they are important in the logic of the unconscious.

This component of the operational philosophy explains one feature of the OTA which might otherwise be puzzling. This is the fact that while they hold a subjectivist view of the scope of magic, they carry out ceremonies and rituals which seem predicated upon the objectivist view. Why not eliminate the gods and demons and substitute them with the personality aspects, or unconscious complexes magicians assert they stand for? When I first began studying OTA, this idea occurred to me. Having heard the first knowledge lecture, which defined the scope of magic, I went home and read through the old grimories, looking for the "modern equivalents" of the ceremonies. The next week I reported my attempt, and was astonished at the response. Not only did the magicians think the attempt was misguided, but it was regarded as positively counter-productive. The reason in retrospect is simply stated. They maintained that the old ceremonies are effective at the unconscious level because they correspond to its structure. One
could, of course, produce concepts based upon these symbols. But they would not evoke the affective response the symbolic entities do, nor would they have the unconscious effect. The interpretations might be interesting intellectually, but they would be impotent ritually. The old forms are kept, even though meta-interpretations change, because they are potent psychologically.

This part of OTA's operational philosophy has important theoretical relevance for it demonstrates the error of assuming that magicians have cognitive interpretations that parallel their ritual actions. OTA magicians handle concepts like "images" in ritual, they follow literal interpretations in the ritual context, and they enact homeopathic and contagious principles. Their intellectual structure is different. They do such things because they "work" psychologically, or using a slightly more academic explanation, because these ritual elements parallel important features of the logic of the unconscious, and so may be effective in reaching it. OTA members know and can explain why they do not act in ritual settings like they think in interpreting ritual importance.

The second key principle in the operational philosophy governs the way in which techniques are applied. The motif is the ascent up the Tree. The method of ascent must be balanced. This suggests several applications of both conscious analysis and techniques for producing unconscious material. First, there must be a way of judging one's psychic condition and identifying the components and their relative balance or imbalance. This may be done analytically, by listing the major traits which the magi-
OTA recommends such a procedure. The magician can see then what sephiroth are dominant in his personality, and which need to be enhanced to balance them. Another means of approaching the same question is to use one's horoscope as a starting point. By examining the planets and their signs, and using correspondences to refer these back to the Tree of Life, it is possible to determine the balances and imbalances which astrologically hold. One of the reasons OTA requires magicians to learn enough astrology to cast a natal chart is to aid in such interpretations.

One may also use some of the techniques for raising unconscious contents for this purpose. The pendulum technique may be used to probe for features of the personality obscured from the magician's reflection. Lying under the Tratakam light may allow emotions to rise which provide clues to personality traits which are not ordinarily expressed. Analyzing dream records in terms of Qabbalistic symbolism points to the same task. Finally, meditations where free association of concepts takes place, while technically imperfect, may provide insights into personality facets consciously ignored, much as psychoanalytic free association does.

Once a tentative picture of balances and imbalances exists, it is necessary to be able to isolate and deal with specific forces. Unless this can be done, no change can be made in an imbalanced situation. Most of the techniques of ritual evocation (drawing forces from within the person) attempt to do this. Use of ritual correspondences, linking all facets of the magician to the aspect being isolated is the interpretative method used.
Balance means equally strong opposing principles. A weak principle is strengthened by evoking it often. Here the interpretative principle involves the production of opposites, a working enactment of the symbolic generation of opposites discussed earlier.

The representation of balance and unity in Qabbalistic doctrine is based upon four, Jung's notion of the quaternity. The principle antedates Jungian psychology, and is one of the fundamental features of Qabbalistic thought. Mathers summarizes Qabbalistic doctrine by saying:

Let us not lose sight of the great qabbalistic idea, that the trinity is always completed by and finds its realization in the quaternary.

The basic symbolic representation of this principle is the Tetragrammaton, the four letter name of God regarded to embody essence. The letters in the name are Yod-He-Vau-He (YHVH). The word they spell is unpronounceable, that is qabbalists claim that its pronunciation has been lost. Legend holds that the person who could pronounce the name would rule the universe. It is clear why this is so: to pronounce the name, as a single word, would be to effect the transformation of the four (balance) to the one (unity)—the process Jung identifies as centering, and the final stage of individuation. What Crowley calls the "formula" of the Tetragrammaton is the principle of operational philosophy which guides the setup of ritual, the principle by which separate symbols are combined into a viable ritual (defined in terms of embodying balance) and the way in which techniques are combined into a program. The use of the Tetragrammaton as a "formula" is the key interpretative method of the bulk of the work of ceremonial magic. The principle is applied at all levels, interpreting the framework and its corres-
pondences through another set of correspondences to embody the Tetra-
grammaaton. 134

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Sections of Tree</th>
<th>Element</th>
<th>World</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Y, Yod</td>
<td>Kether</td>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Atziloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H, He</td>
<td>Chokmah, Binah</td>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Briah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V, Vau</td>
<td>Microprosopus (Chesed, Geburah, Tiphereth, Netzach, Hod, Yesod)</td>
<td>Air</td>
<td>Yetzirah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H, He</td>
<td>Malkuth</td>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>Asiah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition, the letters are associated with suits of the Tarot (Y with wands, H with Cups, V with Swords and H with pentacles) and with the elemental weapons of the magician (Y with the wand, H with the cup, V with the sword and H with the pentacle). Completeness embodies the principle of the Tetragrammaton at all levels; "As above, so below." The idea of a whole is symbolically conceived in terms of the Tetragrammaton formula. In terms of the hermeneutic circle or spiral, parts are first assigned to some component of the Tetragrammaton, the provisional view of the wholeness is determined by looking at the relationship among these elements, and their relationship to the Tetragrammaton formula. This is a judgment in terms of comparisons of relations, as Levi-Strauss describes it. The meaning of the configuration at hand, then, is provisionally established in terms of its relationship to the balanced whole. Parts may then be re-examined in light of this judgment, and symbols expanded (association, complexity generating techniques) to provide a richer picture. Being able to do this is the key to ritual design, and the divination, ranging from
astrology to the Tarot. Being able to enact it physically impacts on the unconscious, and hence, works toward perfect balance. A single enactment which embodies this is the "Lesser Pentagram" technique. If this principle of operational philosophy is understood, one will indeed, as the texts claim, have understood the essence of being a magician. In Western ceremonial magic, the dominant unity principle is the Tetragrammaton. This need not be so, and if one can identify similarly dominant unity principles in other systems, one would expect them to follow a similar logic.

The operation philosophy is the key toward being a practicing magician. One who knows categorical frameworks and logics may be a scholarly occultist, but not a magician. As Fra. Khedmel puts it, "Reading doth not a magician make." On the other hand, one who masters technical skills may have similar experiences, but not be able to interpret them. Only when the techniques and doctrine can be linked does magic emerge. When this link can be made, the basis of magic as a coherent reality becomes clear, and from this coherent position it is possible to order and interpret new symbols and techniques.

In terms of our framework, then, we can reinterpret the idea asserted throughout the magical literature that magic is based upon imagination and will. In the commitment to imagination, we have a primary focus of the hermeneutic interest. One develops symbols, techniques for enacting them, means of making contact with unconscious forces in terms of them. In the commitment to will, we have the emancipatory interest, which develops techniques to free unconscious processes from their limitations and
make them available for consciously directed tasks. Most predominant here is the ability to project under will, or to transfer psychic contents to outside forces while maintaining awareness. Here also lies the emphasis on being able to properly coordinate these emancipated forces toward individuation. It is here magic seems to falter most, perhaps as Yorke has suggested, because it today lacks a set of ethical principles which links man to the universe, and establishes the "responsibilities", not only the capabilities, which he has toward other forms of the underlying existence principle.

**Role Structure and Social Base**

Contrary to many popular images of occult groups, OTA is socially, politically and structurally a relatively conservative organization. It does not advocate innovative social life styles, such as communes, nor does it uphold new social values, such as a rejection of authority or downplaying of work. OTA's policy prohibits political roles for magic, especially the association of a magical world view with radical political perspectives. Beyond this, it rejects as potential members individuals holding extreme political views. The lodge organization is hierarchical, with an emphasis of rights and responsibilities. Egalitarianism, as either a societal or an organizational principle, is rejected. Evidence of such an orientation is found at all levels of the OTA: in the manner in which it was founded, the characteristics of its members, its internal structure and operation, and its dealings with outside groups.

OTA owes its existence to one man, C. R. Runyon. Initially, as
founder of OTA and subsequently as the unquestioned head of the organization, Runyon's beliefs and values have shaped the structure of OTA and defined its position vis-à-vis the external world. Runyon's personal beliefs about authority, social values and politics provided the initial policies of the OTA. We shall first examine his views, and show how they came to represent OTA policy. We shall then examine the process by which they have been ratified, with minor changes, by subsequent members.

When OTA was founded in the summer of 1970, Runyon was a draftsman for an aircraft company and part-time author. He had served as a career officer in the Green Berets, a post he resigned when America's Vietnam involvement grew. The reason for his resignation was not moral opposition to the war, but opposition to the political steering of the war and its constricting effect on the military. He felt that the war could not be won as long as high political officials and economic interests dictated policies designed to serve their aims, rather than the tactical and strategic needs of the military. He thus shared with some radical critics the idea that a political-economic elite was manipulating the war, but did not share the value premises from which they criticized its operation. Similarly, he shared the view that politicians used the CIA as an adjunct to policy, but criticized it for the harmful consequences this had for the CIA rather than for its moral impropriety. His personal view was that intelligence operations were necessary for national survival, and hence, ought to be accepted as "realistic" political tools.

The first OTA member Runyon recruited shared these views. He
was Nelson White, a man who had served eight years in the Navy as a medical officer. At the time he joined OTA, White worked as an instructor for the deaf. He shared Runyon's political views. The two men were also alike in terms of their social background. Both were in their early thirties, both were white, both came from upper middle class homes, had Protestant religious training and college degrees. Neither belonged to, or admired, the "counter-culture" which was such a prominent part of the Southern California milieu at the time. Together Runyon and White established the outline of OTA structure and recruiting policy.

Runyon had had previous contact with the occult world, while White had not. Runyon, then, contributed most of the criteria for defining OTA vis a vis other occult groups. Runyon's first contact with the occult world came from his interests as an author. He wanted to write a novel about voodoo, and sought out organizations to give him experience and ideas. This was his first direct contact with the occult. He did not write the novel, but his initial contact led him to explore other parts of the occult community, including a number of Satanist groups. In this milieu, he apparently became aware of the grimories of magic, and in turn, the wider literature on magic, which did not assume Satanist beliefs. Runyon was dissatisfied with the occult groups he encountered. He rejected Satanist beliefs, and this rejection became the basis of the OTA policy of opposing "negative egregorie religions", religions established on the basis of rejecting another existing religion. He also perceived many of the groups to be "fronts" for some other kind of activity, such as homosexuality, thrill-
seeking or just a means of entertainment. This perception was the origin of OTA's policy of not accepting homosexuals, or political activists, as members.

By the time Runyon formed OTA, his interest was in practicing ceremonial magic, as he believed it to be practiced, and making that practice the genuine focus of a socially respectable lodge. How did he arrive at this commitment to practice magic? The answer is that Runyon, like some traditional shamans, had a "creative illness" which he overcame through magical practice. While in Los Angeles, Runyon had a severe gallstone attack. Doctors recommended surgery, but at the same time, doubted that he could survive the operation, given his physical condition at the time. He asked them if they would perform the operation if he could improve his physical health. They said they would, but doubted he could do anything that would make a difference. Runyon, using the techniques of self-hypnosis he had discovered in his reading, undertook a program to use self-hypnosis and meditation to prepare himself for the operation. He succeeded, and survived the operation. The experience convinced him that there was a core of valid and effective magical knowledge, and he became committed to finding it. He read the magical literature, experimented with its techniques, and arrived at a method of ritual operation which he believed unlocked the secrets obliquely referred to in the texts. His experience, and his practical application, became the foundation of his commitment to magical practice.

Why organize a lodge? There are two reasons. First, he incorrect-
ly believed that the magical tradition represented by the Golden Dawn, the AA and the OTO had died out in America. He had been unable to make contact with a working lodge in Southern California. His experience simply underlines the problem of fragmented structures and secret organizations, for there were several operating lodges and authors of magical texts in the area. But, as we shall see, it was not until OTA was established that he could make contact with that structure.

A second reason was that ceremonial magic both held a potential for personal benefit, and provided an approach to knowledge that was both needed and "marketable" in the existing society. He saw the popularity of the counter-culture as an indication of a need for magico-religious experience at the same time he saw it as incapable of providing it. His aim was to focus on building up an alternative to the "counter-culture" emphasis on mysticism and Eastern values for people whose roots were still in the individualistic tradition, and who valued thought and critical approaches rather than what he saw as extreme credibility and a denial of thought in the counter-culture. The situation is summarized by OTA as follows:

The OTA is unique in the United States as a responsible legally constituted organization of its kind. At one end of the present occult 'spectrum' there are the pseudo 'witchcraft' covens and underground 'sub-culture' groups ranging from psychedelic satanism to ersatz sufism, while at the other end there are the transcendental 'mail order mystery schools'. Between these extremes of perversity and mediocrity lies a vast grey area inhabited by phantom 'Orders', 'Lodges' and 'Brotherhoods' which for the most part are long dormant or never existed at all. It was for these and other reasons that the ORDO TEMPLI ASHT ART became a physical reality in the Summer of 1970.

Runyon established the OTA on two bases. First, he used his understanding of the organization and categorical framework of the Golden Dawn as the...
basis for the OTA. He had read the available books on magic and the Golden Dawn, including the works of Gray, Regardie, Butler, as well as Aliester Crowley. From his reading he gained an outline of the traditional form of magical lodges, and their roots in Rosicrucian symbolism and Hermetic doctrine. He incorporated these features into the OTA structure. Second, he used his understanding of magical techniques, as he had used them, as the basis for OTA's ritual and training program. Traditional magical implements were made according to specifications provided in existing texts. Ritual conjurations followed the grimoire accounts. The ceremonial mirror technique followed Runyon's own practical experimentation with different ways of producing visual manifestations, as suggested in available texts. His "authority" was his knowledge of what he felt to be a viable means of working the traditional system of ceremonial magic.

Runyon's values, reading and personal experience are all reflected directly in the now formalized characterization of the OTA. As its first Seventh Ray announced,

The Ordo Templi Ashtar of The Order of the Temple of Astarte is a Rosicrucian-Hermetic 'Lodge' which practices Ceremonial Magick in the Western Occult Tradition, basing its rituals and techniques upon Qabbalistic theory. The OTA, like the various Masonic Rites and Fraternities it somewhat resembles is secret and initiatory. . . . Applicants are carefully screened as to intelligence, motivation, aptitude, mental and emotional stability and moral character. There is no place in the OTA for the social drop-out, the illegal drug user, the sexual deviate or the political extremist. Neither do we seek the credulous hysteric who is searching for an 'absolute' to 'believe in'.

Groups forming around a single person interested in some aspect of personal interest and reading are common in the occult world. It is less common
to find the group recruiting members, institutionalizing as group norms the values of the founder, and maintaining these norms in encounters with the wider structure of groups and recognized authorities. Unless these things are done, a new organization like OTA, cannot become part of the epistemic community of magic, and the vision of the founder remains essentially a private vision, not a social reality. OTA has successfully established itself as a social reality, both with respect to its own membership, and in relation to older magical traditions and hierarchies.

The initial step in this process was developing a recruitment strategy. Runyon met White on a personal basis, and initiated him informally. Moving OTA beyond a club for friends meant finding ways of attracting strangers to OTA. There is, of course, the initial paradox: how does an organization which is secret advertise for itself? The traditional magical literature provides little clue as to how this ought to be done. Unlike some magico-religious secret societies, the ceremonial magic tradition never seems to have developed a regularized recruitment and initiation policy; the closest one seems to come is the model in which truly diligent seekers are eventually matched with organizations or teachers capable of meeting their needs. They, in turn, suggest other worthy seekers for membership. Obvi-ously, while such a model may play an important part in the initiation and socialization into an organization, its primary function cannot be to suggest recruitment strategies in a society where the tradition in question cannot establish itself as "worth seeking" until it establishes itself as existing.

If, however, the legendary model does not function as a practical
strategy, it does point to an important feature in the Western ceremonial magic tradition. Unlike many magico-religious traditions, it does not provide for primary socialization as a magician. Most magicians are self-made, even in the sense that they are themselves the ones who seek to become magicians. The Renaissance tradition emphasizes this without exception, and indeed, Jung notices this feature as one which suggests parallels with the development of the psyche. This is in remarkable contrast with systems like the Abacwezi, which initiates young children as "household mediums", or the current wicca tradition which maintains that the most powerful witches are those who have learned the trade from their parents as children. Thus, from the viewpoint of maintaining social realities, we observe that one of the most powerful methods--primary socialization--is not present.

The OTA recruitment policy is a clever compromise between secrecy and publicity, between ancient standards and modern technology. It is certainly not unique in its basic outlines; similar systems are used by a wide range of other occult groups in America and Britain, including certain branches of the wicca tradition, some Druidic groups and other magical organizations. OTA differs mainly in the self-consciousness of its methods, and the discrimination with which final criteria are applied.

The first stage of the recruitment process is simply to get the attention of people. In the early stages of OTA, this was a major concern. As the group developed its reputation, the need for this declined, and the early techniques dropped away. There were two major ways of simply
"making contact" with individuals. The first was to publish ads in papers which might reach interested audiences. This was tried in 1970, with ads being placed in the various underground papers, singles newsletters and other public forums. In general, this route did not yield members; those people who answered were generally screened out early in the process.

OTA now places no ads in the "general public" media, although as its reputation has grown and its contacts in the occult world have grown, it has been increasingly able to advertise in more specialized occult publications, in addition to putting out their own quarterly bulletin.

A second method was to place notices, posters or announcements in places where potentially interested groups could be reached. In its early days, OTA printed a series of professional quality posters, which it posted on most of the college campuses, as well as in several local occult bookshops and magical supply shops. This method was more successful in bringing in candidates who eventually became members, with the first five members being the result of the "poster" strategy.

Both the poster and the ad bore either a phone number or a post office box number through which an interested person might get in touch with the organization. An attempt was made at this stage to get some basic information about the person calling and encouraging likely sounding candidates, while discouraging sensation seekers, disturbed cases and people with dubious motives. If the applicant sounded at all promising, he or she was provided with the address and time of the next "open class" meeting.

The basis of the recruiting process was the open class. OTA still
continues to hold them, and they seem likely to remain an important part of the organization as long as it is interested at all in new members. There are three different open class sessions, presented in a rotating sequence. Each one is a public lecture on some aspect of the ceremonial magic tradition and OTA's position within it. Primary topics are Qaballah, the History of Magic and Ceremonial Magic. After the lecture, there is a question session. These meetings are intended to acquaint interested people with the basic focus of OTA. They are also the primary source of dialogue between perspective members and OTA members. Generally class attendance is large, running at times as large as fifty, but with many single-shot attenders. There is no specified point at which one must declare oneself a perspective member. In fact, there are two cases of people who eventually became members attending classes for almost a year before their final decision was made. Anyone intending to join must attend all the classes, however.

When a person indicates that he is interested in joining the organization, has attended at least three open classes and is considered potentially acceptable by the OTA member or members overseeing the classes, he is given a written test. The test consists of basically three parts. The first are a series of true-false opinion questions, designed mainly to elicit information on what OTA considers to be key questions. The second section is a test of magical knowledge--basically a test of the material from open class lectures and the books which are recommended for reading as supplementary information. The third section is an essay, in which the perspec-
tive member is asked to write an essay describing what they think a magical operation is like. The essay is intended to test the imagination of the candidate, as well as the basic orientation he or she brings with him about magic.

The OTA policy is to test only those people who they think have serious membership possibilities. OTA estimates that only about 10% of those attending open classes reach the test stage. For these people the test is not used as a pass-fail device. It is instead an "interviewing tool", a means of opening discussion on a range of issues which OTA considers important to an admission decision. The most important part of the test in this content is the first section, which provides background information and answers to thirty questions which tap attitudes on most of the main values OTA seeks in its members.

The test was designed by Runyon and White, and has been applied to all incoming members except these men themselves. The test represents a practical specification of the values Runyon and White sought in OTA members. It also provides us with limited data which may be used to judge the extent to which there are differences, either in background or in attitudes, between people accepted for membership, and candidates rejected. Using the test results for the 36 people tested between July 1970 and June 1972, we can discern some clear differences. The summary statistics for background variables are presented in Table IV.

The differences are by in large self-evident, but a few features are worth special mention. The age difference between members and non-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Members (N=17)</th>
<th>Non-members (N=19)</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Range</td>
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<td>18-48</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
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<td>29.2 years*</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sex</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Male</td>
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<td><strong>Marital Status</strong></td>
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<td>Married</td>
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<td>42.1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Race</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Religion</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>47.0%</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
<td>31.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>23.5%**</td>
<td>21.0%***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None - Agnostic</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE IV - Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Members (N=17)</th>
<th>Non-members (N=19)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Occupation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>76.5%</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
<td>68.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. a.</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education (highest achieved)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>76.5%</td>
<td>57.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. A.</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. a.</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No. Foreign Languages Known</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>57.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>41.2%</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 or more</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. a.</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*N=18

**One person in each of the following categories: Jewish, Vedanta, Pagan, eclectic.

***Distributed 2 Jewish, 1 Hindu, 1 Pagan.
members does reflect a substantial difference in the number of people above thirty in either class. There were only two tested members over 30 (one 35, one 46) while there were six non-members (range 49-48). Both of the older members are now inactive--one having moved out of the area and lost contact with the organization, the other having been expelled for concealing a felony charge and violating OTA ethics. Most of the current membership, then, entered as students, although about half are now working, and all of them are still under 30 years of age.

The age distribution is also closely related to the marital status and occupation of the members. Noting that the incoming members were overwhelmingly single and students, while the older members and candidates were by in large married and entirely working, one might suggest an "experience gap" between the members of the organization and older candidates. While this might have been a strong argument initially, it becomes less likely over time. The current membership of OTA now includes substantially more married and working people. There have been four marriages involving OTA members, three among members, in the past three years. These included both White and Runyon. In addition, many of the people who entered the organization as students are now working (approximately 50%), again including White and Runyon. The group is, therefore, more heterogeneous along these two dimensions than the figures based on distributions at the time of membership would indicate.

Another likely explanation of the age difference is the possibility of
a "generation gap" based on what might be loosely termed "counter-culture" values. This explanation, while perhaps having some explanatory power in the wider "occult" community, is certainly wrong for OTA. The group, while young, is overwhelmingly individualistic, work-oriented and Western in their orientation, with mainstream political views and a strong commitment to intellectual striving and accumulation of knowledge. Neither do they view themselves as "drop outs" or advocate such positions. They are not politically radical, nor do they reject the structure of basic social institutions, in sharp contrast to some of the "occult" groups seeking to make magic an aid to social revolution. The members are not part of the "drug culture" and do not see themselves as sympathetic to their claims of enlightenment on the basis of drug experiences. Neither will they advocate the use of drugs as part of the magical program, although they agree in general that they may be a useful, initial way of realizing the potential of people to experience different states of consciousness.

The religious distribution is worth noting on two points. First, despite the fairly large percentage differences between Catholic and Protestant for the members and non-members, there is no policy which OTA uses to admit either group differentially, and this distinction is not a consideration, even in private discussions, in deciding whether an individual ought to become a member. There is a tendency on the part of the top leadership to be wary of taking many Jewish members, although this does not come to a point of prohibition. A key consideration here is the belief that there is a strong sense of shared identity among Jewish people, and that
this feature may override others in the mind of Jewish members deciding on admissions of new members. OTA believes, probably correctly, that its requirement of unanimity on membership admissions, with secret voting, can be easily upset by groups with strong feelings on any single issue.

A second consideration is that OTA definitely prefers members who have had a religious upbringing. They believe that the practice of ceremonial magic is linked to operating within an implanted religious tradition, whether or not the religious teachings are literally "believed". It is important, however, that the religious teachings have not been rejected, thus blocking their positive use. It is, then, conditionally important that 21.0% of the people rejected claimed either no religion or considered themselves agnostic. If such people felt that they could not work comfortably with religious symbols in ceremonies, then they might well be unsuited to the OTA practice of ceremonial magic. This is certainly consistent with the place of theurgy in the program of religion we observed in the Renaissance formulation of ceremonial magic.

The importance of religious orientation enters again when we turn to the thirty attitudinal questions on the OTA screening test. (See Table V.) The first question asks about childhood religious training. The member/non-member difference does not seem extreme, with 64.7% of the members claiming strong religious training as a child and 57.9% of the non-members. When we use this question in conjunction with the background question on religious affiliation, however, a different picture emerges. None of the members, even those with little religious training, considered
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Perhaps</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Perhaps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. As a child, did you have strong religious training?</td>
<td>12(70.6%)</td>
<td>5(29.4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11(57.9%)</td>
<td>8(42.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. As a child, did you read faerie tales and mythology?</td>
<td>15(88.2%)</td>
<td>2(11.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17(89.5%)</td>
<td>2(10.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Do you now read science-fiction or fantasy?</td>
<td>16(94.1%)</td>
<td>1(5.9%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12(63.2%)</td>
<td>7(36.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Do you believe in astrology, reincarnation, spirits, poltergists or telepathy?</td>
<td>14(82.4%)</td>
<td>2(11.8%)</td>
<td>1(5.9%)</td>
<td>16(84.2%)</td>
<td>3(15.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Do you believe that such spirits, however powerful they may seem, are manifestations of the mind?</td>
<td>9(52.9%)</td>
<td>6(35.3%)</td>
<td>2(11.8%)</td>
<td>12(63.2%)</td>
<td>17(89.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Have you ever had a psychic experience?</td>
<td>14(82.4%)</td>
<td>2(11.8%)</td>
<td>1(5.9%)</td>
<td>16(84.2%)</td>
<td>3(15.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Have you ever been in contact with any 'spirit' or entity?</td>
<td>6(35.3%)</td>
<td>9(52.9%)</td>
<td>2(11.8%)</td>
<td>9(47.4%)</td>
<td>10(52.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Have you ever experienced astral projection?</td>
<td>6(35.3%)</td>
<td>11(64.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10(52.6%)</td>
<td>9(47.4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Members</td>
<td>Non-Members</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Perhaps</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Perhaps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Do you think you have latent psychic powers that might be developed with training?</td>
<td>17(100%)</td>
<td>0(0.0%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15(78.9%)</td>
<td>2(10.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Have you ever been an active member in any of the following: (A) Witchcraft (wicca) covens?, (b) Satanic Group, B.R.; F.A.M., etc.; (C) Magick Lodge?</td>
<td>9(0.0%)</td>
<td>17(100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16(84.2%)</td>
<td>3(15.8%)</td>
<td>2(10.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Can you work with others toward a common goal?</td>
<td>17(100%)</td>
<td>0(0.0%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10(100%)</td>
<td>0(0.0%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Do you suspect the existence of a hidden group of 'occult adepts' influencing the destiny of mankind?</td>
<td>5(29.4%)</td>
<td>12(70.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7(36.8%)</td>
<td>11(57.9%)</td>
<td>1(5.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Have you ever been arrested for other than minor traffic violations?</td>
<td>4(23.5%)</td>
<td>13(76.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1(5.3%)</td>
<td>18(94.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Do you think that a Magickal lodge should be run democratically?</td>
<td>4(23.5%)</td>
<td>12(70.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7(36.8%)</td>
<td>10(52.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Have you ever been in a mental institution?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Members</strong></td>
<td><strong>Non-Members</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Perhaps</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Perhaps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 (5.9%)</td>
<td>16 (94.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (15.8%)</td>
<td>16 (84.2%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>16. Do you have any artistic ability or play a musical instrument?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Members</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>17. Do you feel an attraction to the dark, sinister aspects of Magick?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Members</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 (35.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>18. Are you allergic to any common food or drug? (coffee, aspirin, chocolate, etc.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Name allergen</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (11.8%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>19. Would you agree that black magick is any Magick used for harmful purposes?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Members</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 (94.1%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>20. Would you say that the command and control of so-called 'evil spirits' for any purpose, good or harmful, is black magick?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Members</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 (5.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Would you agree that sex ia a genuine source of Magick power?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Would you consider yourself bi-sexual?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Do you suspect that certain drugs are used in Magickal rituals?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Are you a social drinker?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Do you feel that you have strong qualities of leadership?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Do you think that under certain circumstances, a blood sacrifice might be justified in ritual Magick?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Could you carry out drills and memorize material, without being given the reason for doing so?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
themselves without religion or agnostic. On the other hand, only one of the non-member agnostics claimed strong religious training. The non-member agnostics, then, neither had strong past experience with religion nor felt any positive ties toward it in the present. Given the ties between theurgy and religious symbolism, this is likely to be a factor working against their becoming ceremonial magicians.

Questions two and three can be considered attempts to continue to tap the symbolic and imaginative inputs of prospective members. Members and non-members alike had a high exposure to fairy tales and myths as children (88.2% and 89.5% respectively). The members had a nearly unanimous current interest in imaginative accounts, with 94.1% claiming to read science fiction or fantasy accounts at the time of the testing, compared with 63.2% of the non-members. The picture of a member, then, emerges as the OTA value orientation suggests it should: people interested in fantasizing, with a good religious and mythological base on which to do it.

Similar probing is undertaken to tap general orientation to the "occult". Questions 4, 5 and 12 are attempts to get such information. In general, OTA is looking for a positive orientation to spirits, etc., without extreme judgments as to their importance. A consistent, but not striking, pattern in this direction emerges for both groups. These questions are paralleled at the experiential level with questions 6, 7 and 8. Here OTA's orientation is clear. While it will accept people with aptitudes for psychic experiences, it is not seeking members with powerful, uncontrollable psychic tendencies. Its emphasis, instead, is on developing the inherent capabilities
of people in a balanced and controlled program, hence anticipating a yes answer to question 9. A rather clear pattern among members develops in this direction, with non-members reporting more experiences and less belief in latent powers which can be developed with training.

The development and training, since it is to take place in a lodge context, requires certain minimal collectively oriented capabilities. In questions 11, 14 and 25, OTA tries to tap these. There is universal perception, among members and non-members alike, of being able to work together for a common goal. Members, however, are both less committed to a democratic organization for a lodge, 23.5% feeling a lodge should be democratically run compared with 36.8% of the non-members, and more inclined to see themselves as having leadership capabilities, with 76.5% of the members seeing themselves as having strong leadership capabilities, compared with only 42.1% of the non-members. This pattern fits the OTA lodge system well, for it is a hierarchy within which members assume leadership responsibilities when they have mastered the knowledge required for them to do so. Responsibility and authority are shared, although not by an egalitarian algorithm. Leadership, understood as part of an effort to achieve a common goal, and responsibility are two of the main organizational values of OTA, again contrasting their orientation with the attributed egalitarianism and freedom from responsibility frequently linked with "youth values" and hence by implication to much occult activity.

OTA also asks a series of personal questions; two of them, numbers 18 and 24, are pragmatic ones designed to avoid mistakes in ritual
and social practice. The others, however, are "flags" for points which OTA considers important. Question 10 probes membership in other occult organizations. Membership in Satanist organizations will disqualify a person from OTA membership. Question 22 is designed to locate homosexuals, and interviewing will separate these people from those who claim bisexuality on general theoretical or occult grounds. Having homosexual relations will disqualify a person from OTA membership. Question 13 attempts to locate people with felony convictions, who are ineligible as OTA members. Question 15 attempts to locate people who have had severe mental disturbances, which might be reactivated by magical practice. They are not automatically ineligible for membership, but would require careful supervision, which would presume a full knowledge on the part of at least the top OTA membership of the nature of the mental problem in question.

Following these flags is seen by OTA as basic good sense in building an occult organization, and their organizational experience bears this out. There were two cases of members who misrepresented their personal lives on the tests, one concealing a felony charge, the other masking his membership in the Church of Satan. In both cases, serious trouble arose within the organization, resulting in the eventual removal of the members in question. While neither the felony conviction nor the Satanic membership were the direct causes of the problems which arose, OTA sees them as indicators of behavior and orientations which are likely to cause trouble within OTA, as well as endangering the good public standing the organization seeks to maintain for itself. These "flag" provisions are now strictly en-
forced, and have taken on the status of published requirements for OTA membership. 148

The final two sets of questions attempt to tap attitudes toward magical theory and magical practice. Questions 19, 20, 21, 23 and 26 address magical theory. The results are interesting. In general, members tend to show orientations closer to official OTA positions, for example, regarding black magic as magic used for harmful purposes (use, intent) rather than the command and control of so-called 'evil spirits' (method). They are inclined to view sex as a genuine source of magical power, and somewhat less uniformly see instances in which blood sacrifice might be a legitimate part of magic, provided it is not human. 149 The largest misconception members had, which is identified as such in the interview, is that drugs are used in magical rituals. In OTA, they are not.

The final set of questions deal with magical practice. Questions 27-30 attempt to identify sources of misconception or hesitancy which might affect either initiation or ritual practice. During the testing, OTA members will clarify questions, pointing out the difference between ritual nudity and sensational physical display, establishing the fact that ritual scourging is symbolic and token, and that sexual activity is a private option not required for lodge working.

Finally, a willingness to work is considered essential in a magician. OTA attempts to tap attitudes toward work in question 27. As we have already indicated, OTA membership means not only the physical work of making equipment, but the intellectual commitment to reading and dis-
cussing which dominates informal lodge activity.

OTA recruitment has by in large been successful in selecting individuals with values commensurate with the early standards Runyon and White selected. The group itself is not homogeneous with regard to all these commitments. Some members have personal political views far to the left of Runyon's, and not all members agree with his attitudes on homosexuality. But they are willing to treat their differences as irrelevant to the practice of magic, which is all OTA really requires. Members who may not be convinced at the ideological level of the correctness of the more conservative views often concede that following them as pragmatic recruitment guides will minimize the problems OTA will face as an organization. The practice of requiring unanimous approval of new members is accepted for similar reasons. There have been thus far no major disputes over recruitment policy, and no major changes in the policy. It operates, therefore, to produce a group of people who are tolerant of each other within the broad guidelines they accept as members. As we shall see in the discussion of the "Themis War", such tolerance does not extend to groups which differ on these fundamentals.

The recruitment standards and the definition of OTA's position in society heavily reflect the personal values of the founder. There is nothing in the literature of magic which makes such criteria "necessary". Neither does the record of magical practice in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries provide unanimous support for them. Crowley used drugs extensively and incorporated them into his magical practice. He associated his magico-
religious revelation, the Book of the Law, with political and social transforma-
tions. He was bisexual, and indeed, introduced a homosexual ritual into the OTO initiation program. Crowley’s activities were repugnant to many magicians, but did not disqualify him from being considered a magician, and indeed, one of the most talented of modern times. The OTA norms represented choices which, once made, located OTA in an on-going controversy in the magical community. OTA's own norms were more important in locating it within the magical network than Runyon initially imagined they would be, as the accounts we shall present of dealings with other occult groups will demonstrate. But where the choice was between upholding these norms and forging new alliances which might violate them, Runyon supported the norms and the permissive consensus of the other members supported him.

Within the magical literature, there is historical precedent for organizing as a secret society. Philosophers (alleged by magicians to be initiates) such as Pythogorous and Plato, advocated secret knowledge. The Rosicrucian legend, which formed a central motif for the Mermetic Rosicrucian groups from which the Golden Dawn emerged, announced itself as a secret tradition, one which valued secrecy for its own sake. More modern writings stress four mottos of magical practice: To know, to dare, to will and to keep silent. The rationales differ. OTA defends secrecy for pragmatic reasons--it is necessary to provide the close working group ritual practice requires. Others, like William Gray, defend it as having ritual significance.
Occult secrecy means confining awareness within chosen circles for some express purpose of efficacy. The entire potency of whatever is so surrounded lies in the fact that it is so concentrated. This is especially so in Magic. To condense effective energy it has to be contained or "held secret". 153

The rationales differ, the message is the same. Magical practice should be secret.

The actual form of magical groups supports the literature. As early as 1912 one of the men attempting to form a federation of occult groups noted that there were two quite different types of organizations: large, open groups centering around lectures and publications to spread an occult intellectual perspective and small, closed lodges, passing information through informal networks and manuscript exchanges. 154 Magical organizations fell into the second group, and continue to do so. While there have been notorious breaches of secrecy, leading to the publication of almost all the "secret" rituals of the major modern groups, the organization into secret, initiatory societies has proceeded apace. In choosing to organize OTA as a secret initiatory lodge, Runyon simply followed all the publicly available models for magical groups.

The particular form of OTA's organization is hierarchical, paralleling that of the Golden Dawn and the AA. In fact, Runyon simply adopted Crowley's grade structure, and the Golden Dawn's group structure. 155 The lodge members are assigned particular grades, each associated with a sephira on the Tree of Life. The grade structure is as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Sephira Associated</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neophyte</td>
<td>Malkuth (10)</td>
<td>1 = 10 (the first grade is the tenth sephira)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zealator</td>
<td>Yesod (9)</td>
<td>2 = 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practicus</td>
<td>Hod (8)</td>
<td>3 = 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophus</td>
<td>Netzach (7)</td>
<td>4 = 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adeptus Minor</td>
<td>Tiphereth (6)</td>
<td>5 = 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adeptus Major</td>
<td>Geburah (5)</td>
<td>6 = 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adeptus Exemptus</td>
<td>Chesed (4)</td>
<td>7 = 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magister Templi</td>
<td>Binah (3)</td>
<td>8 = 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magus</td>
<td>Chokmah (2)</td>
<td>9 = 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ipissimus</td>
<td>Kether (1)</td>
<td>10 = 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Runyon holds the highest grade in the lodge (adeptus minor) with other members distributed below him.

Viewed from the non-magical world, the OTA is a subsidiary order sponsored by the Church of Hermetic Sciences (CHS), which is legally incorporated in California as a church. OTA antedates the CHS, whose final incorporation papers were processed at the end of 1970. In all matters dealing with the external world of law and business, the CHS is the institution which acts, while OTA is the institution which functions at a ritual level. CHS, then, confers ordinations on qualified members of OTA who are over twenty-one, has tax exempt status, issues the legally binding contract which new initiates sign, copyrights the Seventh Ray and other publications by members and serves as a focus for other activities involving non-OTA members.
The church also provides a public focus, identifying officers who can be held responsible for its activities by their legal names, while OTA guarantees anonymity by publishing only the magical names of members, the names they assume within OTA upon their initiation. Runyon is the President of CHS, White the Vice-President and Sellars the Secretary Treasurer. This accurately reflected the hierarchy of initiated members who were permanently residing in California, as required by law. Sellars' move to New York created a vacancy in the position Secretary-Treasurer. The new post was not filled by a mechanical reference to hierarchy, but involved selecting one of a number of potential candidates on the basis of their reliability and responsibility. The candidate eventually selected was ordained after his selection, in recognition again of the legal requirements.

Incorporation offers a number of benefits. First, it provides a number of monetary advantages, such as tax exemption and tax deductibility of contributions, which are valuable in their own right. They are especially important in somewhat easing the financial burden on Runyon and White, both of whom have contributed substantial sums to building up the CHS and OTA, neither of which can as yet cover its costs. Second, it provides members with some shield from arbitrary or unfounded charges regarding their practice, and gives them collectively a set of legal rights in addition to their rights as individuals. It also acts as a counter to much of the flagrant publication of information which plagued societies like the Golden Dawn, for such acts can then be handled as violations of copyrights, a much more respectable legal question than the accusations Mathers raised against
Crowley. Finally, the incorporation separates CHS and OTA from the multitude of ephemeral groups which arise and disappear, for its incorporation requires proof of activity and membership in order to continue. In short, it signals to the external occult world that there is "something there".

On the other hand, incorporation places certain constraints on CHS. The first is that its membership cannot remain entirely secret, and hence can be identified and publicly held accountable. CHS does not regard this as a handicap, and indeed, has gone out of its way to make its program and activities clear to the legal authorities and local police. Upon opening its first church in Pasadena in 1971, Runyon provided the Pasadena authorities with information on its purposes, attitudes and work, as well as issuing an invitation for them to inspect the premises. A second constraint is that it requires a much greater attention to record keeping than most occult organizations are inclined to put out. Again, this is not seen as a serious constraint, and relatively good records were being kept even in the initial stages of OTA.

Incorporation also implies certain relationships vis a vis other occult groups. Since OTA values its relationship to CHS and hopes to maintain it on a good basis, it is also concerned with maintaining standards which will not call into question the practice or qualifications of incorporation. Thus, when OTA perceived what it considered to be a possible abuse of incorporation on the part of another occult organization, it interpreted this action as a potential threat to its own status, as accounts of the "Themis
The organization, then, has both a legal and a ceremonial existence, like most churches in America. Generally, the impact of their legal existence is quite small, and the main focus of activity can be the ritual-developmental use of magic. Nevertheless, there are certain circumstances in which the two considerations merge, and relationships with the external milieu become central. What these are, and how they compare with the external relations of other magico-religious institutions remains for another chapter.

Seen from the vantage point of occult credentials, the OTA is connected with, although distinct from, an OTO lodge which claims a charter from Aleister Crowley. On 17 April 1971, Louis Culling, an old occultist and occult author, signed over to Runyon "command and jurisdiction" of a lodge "publicly known as the Thelma Club and as also the New Aeon Experiment." At the time of the signing, OTA had not yet resolved the doctrinal issue of where it stood vis a vis Thelema, Crowley's religious vision, and the Thelamites he had left behind him. Contact with various Thelamites, plus a greater understanding of what Thelma meant in practice, led Runyon (and OTA) to move away from accepting an identification as a Thelemic OTO lodge. When the head of another OTO chapter in the Los Angeles area, Grady McMurtry, and Runyon made contact in February 1971, Runyon wrote: "We are THELEMITES (at least we think we are--)")". And on 17 April 1971 (the day the dispensation from Culling was signed) Runyon wrote McMurtry asserting that, except for some necessary correction in Crowley's
approach, "THELEMA is our way of life." The same letter asked for a personal letter of warrant or dispensation for CHS to sponsor an OTO chapter, not to replace the OTA. The correspondence continued for some time, with inconclusive results. In December 1971 OTA acquired a collection of OTO rituals, but was definitely cooling on the idea of sponsoring an OTO lodge under CHS auspices. The issue was finally concluded in a letter to McMurtry, who had heard of OTA's possession of the OTO rituals. Runyon wrote:

We are not, and have no future plans for running an OTO Lodge down here in Los Angeles. As you know, ever since we discovered how dogmatic and 'religious' the Templers seem to be regarding Liber Al, we have not considered ourselves Thelemites. We are sympathetic—to a certain extent—but in a 'philosophical' rather than an institutional way.

Thus, by March 1972, OTA had established its identity independent of the Thelemic tradition. Runyon still held the letter of warrant and dispensation from Culling. With Culling's death in 1973, Runyon holds a charter which some occultists regard as significant, but at present is firm in his refusal to act on it. This seems cemented by the Seventh Ray announcement in a review of Francis King's *Sexuality, Magic and Perversion*:

It is ludicrously ironic that the O.T.O., that Sanctuary of the Gnosis and Shrine of the Great Secret of the NINTH DEGREE (IX°) has become a sub-culture skid-row for sexual cripples of every variety here in California. Until recently we have made no clear statement as to why the ORDO TEMPLI ASHTART is not 'Thelemic' and why it does not call itself the O.T.O., even though it has some authority to do so. Mr. King has made this task easier for us, and forthcoming issues of the SEVENTH RAY will feature articles dealing specifically with this matter and the problems related to it (i.e., drugs, Liber Al vel Legis, etc.).

OTA has already begun to face some of the organizational difficulties that have plagued other magical lodges.
Tension between Personal Ties and Magical Practice

Given the current organization, being a member of OTA carries with it, almost as part of the role, maintaining fraternal relationships with other members. Where such expectations are not met, members may leave, or be expelled. Thus far there have not been major personality clashes within the OTA, although there have been periods of considerable tension. Yet the form of the organization, and the nature of the psychological work, seems to breed such problems as the size of the group rises. OTA has been spared some of the problems of the Golden Dawn by the simple fact that members are initiated, then drawn to other parts of the country by job or scholarly commitments. Most continue to practice magic, and OTA continues to grow.

Tension between Vocation and Avocation

In the current setting, there is potential for making money in the "occult business", but often in ways which compromise the purpose of the undertaking. Thus far OTA has not shown a profit, although it is nearly at the point of paying its way. Given the great difference between what the public thinks magic is, and wants from it, and the image magicians have, it is difficult to imagine that there would be no conflict. OTA has rejected selling "charters", providing initiation by mail, teaching correspondence courses on magic, and in general, putting commercial aims before magical ones as illegitimate. Some members have performed Tarot divinations for pay, but in general, this not the motif. The alternative is to publish, and here OTA has undertaken several ventures:
1) It publishes its own quarterly journal, *The Seventh Ray*, which is available, on a subscription basis, to non-members. Its current circulation is limited, but growing, with approximately 80 paying subscribers.


3) Articles are written for other magical and occult journals, but rarely for pay.

What this basically means is that it is difficult to be a legitimate, full time, professional magician. There simply is not a social role for the magician as a professional. As Truzzi noted, there is a role for occultists as entertainers, but this conflicts sharply with the norms of magical development.

OTA has thus far escaped the problem posed by people claiming "bogus" charters, offering fraudulent initiations under the organization's auspices, or becoming involved with the law for fraud. All of these problems have plagued the Golden Dawn, the OTO and to some extent, even the AA. The OTA takes "self help" measure of reproducing all charters issued in the *Seventh Ray*, and announcing the fact, to provide a way for concerned individuals to check authenticity of alleged "branches". It also copyrights its material, but does not really expect this precaution to provide legal protection. They do hope that it will limit, if not deter, unauthorized capitalization of OTA's information.
The role of magician, as OTA conceives it, is not an occupational role. None of the members expect to make their living, or even augment their income, by being professional magicians. Neither do members regard magic as a kind of entertainment. They see it as a private activity, one which is fun, but which also contributes to personal development. This attitude toward magic has important implications both for OTA's future as an organization and societal reaction to it. Most importantly, this view of the role of the magician means that OTA, as an organization, is valuable only to its own members. It contributes nothing, except possibly entertainment, to non-members. Given its conservative social and political stance, it is also unlikely to draw outside attention to itself. This means that its success as an organization will rest upon its ability to make a real contribution to the lives of its members. Without such a contribution, it will disappear once changes in popular culture direct attention away from occult subjects.

Why is the role of magicians, as OTA perceives it, so circumscribed vis-à-vis the external world? One answer lies in the difficulty of devising any meaningful role for magicians in current society. This, however, cannot be a decisive answer, for some occultists do become "professionals" and establish at least marginal livelihoods. Here the fundamental ideals of OTA and its relatively conservative orientation become important. OTA has, as an organization, sought to avoid activities which come directly into conflict with established laws. Any type of magical healing, even if the process could be made to produce positive results, would bring them into
conflict with established laws. Any type of magical healing, even if the process could be made to produce positive results, would bring them into conflict with orthodox medical standards. OTA seeks to avoid this. The organization has received letters from individuals seeking help with physical problems, and responds with the advice that they seek recognized professional assistance. Runyon's experience has convinced him that magical techniques can be useful in bringing about physical changes, but even in his own case, the practice was undertaken when all other approaches had been exhausted, and were used only to make it possible to apply orthodox surgical techniques. Because OTA makes no claim to "divine power" and does not reject scientific insight, its case for magical healing is a limited one. Like most other potential benefits from magic, they see it properly restricted to initiated members.

The same basic observation holds for therapy. OTA does not see itself in the therapy business, even though the latitude for therapies in Southern California might have been wide enough to include them. One OTA member was a student of psychotherapy and has now established a private practice. But this practice is completely independent of lodge activity, and indeed, the member is relatively inactive in lodge workings. Other members have not shown any propensity to become "irregular" therapists. Runyon, at least, is well aware of the complexity of psychological disturbances. OTA's method is geared primarily to making normal people aware of unconscious forces, and developing their ability to cope with them. It deals primarily with invocations and evocations--the bringing out uncon-
scious contents. It does not develop expertise in exorcism, and has know-
ledge of it only as a fall-back in case of an operational failure. Pathology
is not the primary focus of OTA magic.

OTA values reinforce this orientation toward therapy. From its
first recruiting onward, OTA has been oriented toward working with in-
telligent, adjusted people who were interested in seeing what their potential
was. It tried to eliminate people who had uncontrollable psychological mani-
festations, delusions of grandeur, or control aspirations. It saw itself as
appealing to people who perhaps had not found the meaning in their lives,
and were open to attempting to find one. They rejected people who wanted
"meaning" to come from simple identification with a "cause". This re-
cruiting effort was both a realistic assessment of the kinds of people for
whom OTA practice would be most useful, and a personal preference for
the kind of people OTA members sought to associate with. It is difficult to
merge these preferences and the secret, closely knit organization, with a
strong emphasis on treatment.

Although OTA has been reluctant to establish professional ties with
non-initiates, it has been less reluctant to build ties with other occultists
and occult organizations. There have been three major kinds of external
dealings:

1) Attempts to make contact with major authors writing on cere-
monial magic and/or "grand old men" of the earlier Golden
Dawn-AA tradition. As we have already seen, this was nearly
impossible for a new inquirer. Once the lodge was established,
the situation changed somewhat. OTA was able to contact such men as an organization, and invite them to its rather impressive temple and allow them to observe a ritual. This does several things. First, and foremost, it means the contacting party (OTA) is not demanding time, attention and teaching, but rather offers the potential for "specialist" exchange. Second, the ritual establishes the competence of the OTA magically. Finally, the temple and facilities, the incorporation and the equipment all indicate commitment, and suggest that the group is trying to be serious about magic. Once OTA had made contact with Regardie and Culling, both in the Los Angeles area, and established a standing, they became aware of other organizations and magicians, and could gain entry through reference to them. My own work both benefited from and contributed to, this process, for while in Europe, I was able to contact several major magicians on the strength of recommendations from within the "network", and in turn, establish a personal link between them and OTA.

2) Developing a "working relationship" between OTA and a pagan, nature religion called Feraferia. This group, headed by Fred Adams, dates from the 1950's. The personal friendship between Runyon and Adams provided OTA and its members with a really extraordinary insight into occult works, pagan history, mythology and creative ritual, for Adams is one of the most knowledgeable and creative men in the occult world. OTA also joined the Council
of Themis, a loose organization of neo-pagan and pagan groups, organized and maintained primarily by Adams. This brought them into contact with a wide range of groups, most of them outside the ceremonial magic domain.

3) Exploratory contacts with other groups in the Los Angeles area. OTA made efforts to contact personally groups which were part of the ceremonial magic tradition, such as the OTO. In other cases, contact was made primarily by: (a) attending open services, seminars, etc., both for groups organized on an initiatory model and those representing essentially public knowledge dispensing groups; (b) making contacts through occult bookshops and suppliers, one of the easiest ways to discover the "lay of the land" in a new area; (c) exploratory working relationships with groups on the part of individual members of OTA, without involvement of the organization per se.

Two striking patterns stand out. First, the connections in the social world of both magic and wider occult groups is a personal one. While the publishing market provides a kind of institutionalized, impersonal medium, the occult world itself is not organized this way. It has an interaction pattern which rests primarily upon personal ties, not institutionalized roles. Obligations, expectations and cooperation are primarily centered around individuals as people, not roles. The conflict within the Council of Themis demonstrates this dramatically. Second, most interactions which involved the OTA as an organization were those involving Runyon. Other contacts
are made by "members of the O.T.A". This is an accurate reflection of the extent to which the organization and maintenance of the lodge and church depend upon Runyon. He directs, and takes responsibility for most of the work of the organization, although he does not dominate it. In this respect, his leadership role parallels that of Crowley in the AA and the English OTO and Mathers in the Golden Dawn.

It is relatively easy to consider such personalized leadership as an influence benefit. In many respects it is. But there are very substantial burdens which fall to the personalized leader in such an organization. Past analyses of the Golden Dawn and the AA have attributed their fragmentation to rebellion against personalized leadership. This is only part of the story. The other part is the institutional vacuum which arises in the wake of such challenges. Because the burdens of leadership have not been diffused, in the aftermath of a leadership challenge the organization must either rapidly develop an effective institutional structure to share organizational tasks, or find someone else willing and able to carry on as leader. The Golden Dawn failed to do either. It proliferated into a score of minor groups, none of which was able to draw many members, and produced no major magical figures. Crowley granted scores of charters, most of which produced only minor organizations and no outstanding magical leaders. Furthermore, given the network of personal ties which governed magical contacts, losing an organization harmed a leader less than one might expect. Mathers remained a recognized magician and carried on independent magical activities. Crowley continued to attract students and magical con-
tacts as an individual up to his death. Regardie never built a lodge, but made a reputation as an individual. Butler, Gray and Knight remain respected magical figures, yet none today heads an organization. Why?

The answer can be seen in the structure of OTA today, especially in the nature of its leadership role. It is a good deal of work to run a magical lodge, and the bulk of the work still falls upon Runyon, recently Runyon and his wife. Assuring that there are the physical facilities of a temple is primarily his task. OTA's temple has always been located in Runyon's home. He, and the OTA temple, have moved four times since OTA began. Each move has entailed building a new temple. Each time Runyon has organized the construction, and provided a large share of the labor required. No one else has sought to take on this task, and it is doubtful that anyone else will in the future. OTA puts out the Seventh Ray each quarter. Runyon designs the layout, solicits contributions from other members, fills in gaps when such contributions are not forthcoming, writes the editorial, and takes responsibility for the printing and distribution of the copies. Runyon is responsible for arranging to have OTA advertisements placed in other occult publications, handling OTA correspondence and arranging the files. He has contributed the bulk of the innovations in ritual workings, working on a personal basis with Fred Adams of Feraferia. Should Runyon resign tomorrow, it would be difficult to anticipate OTA carrying on in its present form. Other members can be committed to magical practice as a part-time activity with limited requirements because Runyon is committed enough to provide much more time and energy into
assuring this structure is maintained.

The network of connections which have been made between OTA and other magicians go primarily through Runyon. At this point, he could continue to operate in that network, even if OTA membership fell to two or three. The establishment of a lodge was necessary in making the connections. It was through establishing the OTA that Runyon established himself as a practicing magician. There are other ways to sustain that role beside heading a large lodge. They include publishing, seeking wider publicity with outside academics or news media, and developing magical innovations. In practice, writing books of magic has been the surest way to influence in the wider occult world.

When the strains of this kind of leadership role are combined with the tensions arising within the secret, initiatory group structure and the unlikelihood of a "career" as a magician, the result is an extremely unstable organizational milieu. OTA will probably not be immune to such instability. It requires only interest, and an openness to new experience, to join OTA. In the absence of power or monetary payoffs, it requires a much deeper commitment, and more personal skill at organization, to maintain and direct a lodge. The individual benefits, which magical teaching identifies as the most important, can be for the most part maintained without the group organization. Members who have moved away from OTA headquarters have by in large maintained contact, and their personal practice, but have not organized lodges themselves. The tendency over time, given mobility, is probably toward a diffuse, personalized network, like the
ones developed around earlier magical organizations.

Having seen the basic values the original founders of OTA held out, and the organizational framework in which they became associated with OTA as an institution, it remains to be seen how they have shaped OTA's interaction with other occult groups. Such information is often difficult to obtain in the context of day to day contacts. Fortunately, from analytic viewpoints, OTA became involved in a series of conflicts, the "Themis War", which provided challenges to many of the values OTA considered basic. In the context of this conflict, we can see the way in which OTA remained committed to these values, the fears they had of their external environment, and the consequence of the conflict for the survival of OTA.

Conflict and Cooperation in the Occult Context

Until the time of the Themis War, which began in the spring of 1972, the Council of Themis had put out only one "official" publication, a letter sent out as an invitation to join the council. It spelled out in one page all that was officially stated about the organization. In terms of aims, the Council was seen primarily as a forum for communication among pagan and neo-pagan groups.

Council of Themis is a Whole-Earth, trans-sectarian council of nature religions, and will serve as a forum for the free exchange of information, ideas and other mutually helpful resources. Within this general context, COT made few commitments to its members, nor demanded much from them. COT stated:

Themis will keep your group supplied with names and addresses of her growing Council, and thus enable you to begin dialogue independently or in open forum with other participant groups. . . . In time, we may
conjointly develop a regularly published forum for the expression and discussion of Pan-Pagan concerns.173

In turn, becoming a member of Themis was quite simple. A group desiring membership simply paid $2 and sent its name and address. There was no initial screening process, on the assumption that since the Council was non-sectarian, it would not be rejecting groups who felt that they had something in common with the Council's objectives. Instead the Council requested:

As soon as possible, send a succinct manifesto of the salient articles of your strain of Pagan faith, philosophy and life way and also forward a copy to each member of the Council. From every other member of the Council you will receive a like statement. With your groupmates, consider the various points of the various statements from other Pagans. Probe, question, formulate your reactions to each set of articles, and distribute copies of these reactions to every member of the Council. Then, after this stage of multilateral introduction, developing quite naturally through on-going communications.174

The purpose of the Council, then, was simply to make contact with similar magico-religious groups. The degree of closeness among members, the extent to which they chose to identify themselves with other members and the basic content of the Council were all left open to individual group initiative. The Council was seen as a communication vehicle with cooperation as its aim. Hence, within this context, it is understandable that: (a) no formal organizational structure, either of responsibility nor of authority was ever established; (b) no provision for conflict was made; (c) no mechanism for group decision was entertained.

The Council began January 25, 1969, with Feraferia being enrolled as the first member by the Council founder. The second member enrolled was The Church of All Worlds, a pagan religion at least partly based on
Heinlein's *Stranger in a Strange Land*. From this nucleus, the Council expanded considerably. By July 1972, the Council list of names and addresses included 35 groups from many parts of the USA, Britain, Italy, France and Brazil. During this time, formal "responsibility" for the Council shifted several times, but updating of membership lists and general correspondence was retained by Adams, often through personal letters.

The Council continued to be governed in this fashion, with occasional periods of tension, until late Spring 1972, when a series of originally doctrinal-personal disputes provided the touch-off of a series of disputes that clearly and publicly demonstrated the political, social and ethical differences among the members of the Council of Themis. Perhaps more than any other single incident it demonstrated how incorrect it is to equate "magic" and "pagan" with the counter-culture and its mores and values. It also demonstrates the sensitivity of such groups toward outside-oriented publicity.

In the discussions and expulsions that followed, there were a series of cleavages. They included differences on the following dimensions:

1) Legal status. Several of the groups, including the Church of All Worlds, Feraferia and OTA have legally incorporated as churches, and are entitled to benefits accruing to churches. Other organizations have not sought legal incorporation and/or have not been granted legal church status. The Psychedelic Church of Venus and the Hellenic Group, the two organizations...
expelled, did not have legal church status.

2) Recruitment policy. Some groups, such as OTA and Feraferia, do not grant membership or affiliation through the mail, but only to people whom they have personally met and scrutinized. Wicca covens generally follow the same policy. Other groups, such as the Church of All Worlds, will grant affiliation to individuals and groups who profess similar standards without personal scrutiny of the groups. The distinction in part parallels a long-standing magico-religious difference between mass groups, such as Theosophy and Anthrosophical Society, and smaller initiatory groups, such as Ceremonial Magic.

3) Militancy. Some groups, notably the Psychedelic Church of Venus and the Hellenic Group, seek to provoke confrontations with the established authorities and religious values, with the aim of making their religion a force for socio-political change. Other groups, such as Feraferia and OTA, reject such policies, and see themselves living within the existing situation, and focusing on personal development, perhaps eventually leading to changes in society through changes in people.

4) Participation. Some groups, especially OTA and Feraferia, are hierarchical in structure, emphasizing knowledge and responsibility as leadership criteria, both in terms of cultural values and decision-making. Other groups, whose internal structure is not known to me, argued in favor of a more "demo-
dratic" decision-making structure.

5) Counter-cultural values. In general, most of the groups involved could not be properly classed as "hippies"; some, such as OTA, are openly hostile to values associated with the counter-culture, such as public use of illegal drugs, rejection of conventional work standards, extreme political views, or the glorification of non-analytic ways of thinking, and rejection of science and technology. Others, such as Feraferia, reject science and technology, decry male-oriented values and are more utopian in their schemes. Still others, such as the Psychedelic Church of Venus, seek to associate "extreme" cultural standards and political views with their religious activities. In terms of the organized magical-Wican structure, the latter may well be a minority.176

These differences among groups are clearly recognized by Adams, even as the Council of Themis was being founded in 1969. The aim, however, was to avoid sectarian quarrels and seek a form and arena of cooperation where doctrinal/socio-political differences could be set aside and joint development encouraged. The aim was never to build a "united front" of groups, nor to foster the emergence of a single, all encompassing organization. Within this context, Themis as an information exchange/interaction forum was seen as a possible haven from the need for bureaucratic organization and formal structures. Upon later reflection, Adams re-evaluated this route:
As Founder-Coordinator I assume full responsibility for one oversight. At the outset of Themis there should have been a precise statement of the limits to be recognized by groups petitioning membership, with respect to their corporate image within the community at large and the laws of their land. Qualifications of good decorum are being forged as a result of this controversy.\textsuperscript{177}

Again, the Council's activities were hampered by the lack of any stated mechanism for bringing members together in a joint decision situation. For some time, Adams and other groups, including OTA, had been concerned by the activities of PCV and its British counterpart, C of A. But any attempts to mobilize the complaints into effective action on the part of the council were failures. As Adams explained,

I suggested to the complaining members six or seven times that we put the matter to a vote. Each time this proposal was rejected, for different reasons by different people. Some of us hoped that the two Churches in question would simply fade out of the Themis picture if we "sent them to Coventry", that is, ignored them.\textsuperscript{178}

The two situations were obviously related. Given a rather general unwillingness to impose organizational and decisional mechanisms upon themselves, the groups in question were left with little means of effective action. Traditional methods, such as "coventry" (an agreement not to have contact with an offending group), could be effective on a doctrinal level, but could hardly have any effect on a group's externally oriented actions, nor on the associations which outsiders might draw between such actions and the beliefs and values of other magico-religious groups. Such issues could have been effectively handled by establishing criteria for council membership, but these criteria, in turn, required collective agreement on issues which were likely to raise the specter of both doctrinal, sectarian disputes AND of increasing bureaucratic-organizational involvement. The prevalence of
deep reluctance to take these steps is evidenced in Runyon's attempt to explain a later expulsion notice:

Adams and I deeply sympathize with some members of the COT who entered the Pagan-Occult modality to escape the disturbing realities of bureaucracy and politics. We realize that some of you experienced an instinctive hostile reaction to the Expulsion Notice. It was the iron fist of 'reality' punching through a gossamer veil of dreams. 179

Tensions notwithstanding, the COT might have continued without dramatic change had it not been for a "crisis situation" which compressed into one rather short time period the settling of many diverse issues. There were three main components, whose temporal conjunction was critical.

1) What began as a mild exchange of doctrinal differences between two women in two COT organizations (Feraferia and CAW) expanded dramatically when it became the forum in which accusations and recriminations regarding the two groups' relations with an external scholar-author (Hans Holtzer) were raised. In addition to expanding the scope of issues to include norms of behavior vis a vis outside scholars, it drew OTA into the exchange, and opened the way for recriminations vis a vis dealings with scholars and authors.

2) Both PCV and COA undertook magical activities which in addition to being doctrinally abhorrent to many COT members, were perceived as being a threat to COT's standing with society at large.

3) PCV initiated an organizational referendum suggesting ties with CAW which
(a) would have removed them from potential control of COT even if the Council would have agreed on the need for collective decision making, and

(b) gave the appearance to Feraferia and OTA that CAW was engaging in a "power play" for influence in COT.

The unfolding of this crisis led to public statements on many doctrinal-ethical issues within the COT community, and resulted in a splitting in the COT, and a restructuring of magico-religious ties. It is important to follow through this crisis in some detail for three reasons.

1) It illustrates a process of "occult politics" which is frequently observed in the modern occult world. Similar issues were raised, in a similar dispute a few years ago in the British "Wica War", as well as in several major fusions in the Ceremonial Magic tradition, especially the fragmentation of the Golden Dawn.

2) It illustrates the importance of relations with the external world to sections of the occult-pagan community, as well as their expectations about that world.

3) It suggests the necessity for scholar-observers to be aware of their potential disruptiveness to processes they study, and suggests some ways in which they could be less unreflexive about their effects.

With these analytical issues in mind, let us turn to a brief recounting of the
dispute, as it relates to OTA and its position vis à vis other groups. 180

The Holtzer Issue

Hans Holtzer is widely known in the popular press as an "occult investigator", whose topics range from haunted houses, ghosts, and poltergeists to witchcraft. His most recent project was a book entitled The New Pagans, in which he recounted information about several people and groups he regarded as pagan, including OTA and Feraferia.

It is not clear from his book exactly what criteria, if any, Holtzer used in selecting his cases for study. Feraferia is recognized as the oldest of the groups now called pagan or neo-pagan, with its beginning in 1957. 181 The term "pagan" was not applied to Feraferia, however, until 1961, when it arose in the context of discussion with the Church of All Worlds, founded at that time by Tim Zell and Lance Cristie. The fact that the Church of All Worlds was not included in Holtzer's book indicates, at least, that he was not following a historically-oriented study of groups which call themselves pagan. Neither is it likely that he was unaware of the historical connection between the title "pagan" and CAW, since the rather miffed CAW review of his book indicates that Holtzer had been receiving their publication, the Green Egg, for two years. 182 The few sparse references to CAW in The New Pagans indicates that Holtzer simply did not choose to include them in his book.

CAW resentment of this exclusion, and their "theory of exclusion" becomes clear in a letter to Fred Adams from the head of CAW, Tim Zell, when he writes, after criticizing Holtzer's account of the formation of the
Council of Themis:

We (CAW) are also greatly upset that you (Adams) seemed to cooperate in this very one-sided look at the religion we are all a part of (The New Pagans), for never did you ever mention to us that such a book was being written. I only found out about it a couple of months ago by sheer accident, from a passing comment in a private letter between some Alexandrian Witches, a copy of which was sent to me for another purpose. Nor, does it seem, did you ever suggest to Hans that he contact us for inclusion in this group. Is this the way you promote Neo-Pagan ecumenicism and harmonious cooperation among fellow Pagani? Seems damn hypocritical to me! We went to great lengths to put Susan Stockton in touch with all other groups when she approached us with the idea of doing such a book, and you were the first people we mentioned. ... I, for one, am very upset about this whole affair. 183

The same general theme is repeated even more strongly in a letter Zell's wife wrote to the leading woman of Feraferia and Fred, where this discourtesy is discussed in the context of doctrinal implications:

It would seem that you (Fred) are responsible for our (CAW) being virtually ignored by Hans Holtzer in his writing The New Pagans. I would very much like to know the story behind this. It is my hypothesis that you simply didn't mention the CAW to him as a bona-fide Pagan religion. Certainly you didn't inform us that such a book was being written. ... Susan Stockton would not have known of Feraferia's existence if Tim (Zell) had not referred her to you. It is hard to believe that you would not return the favor, but if such is the case, I find it extremely discourteous! I have been wondering if an open letter discussing some of these points in the GE (Green Egg) might not be in order. I feel quite strongly that this new age is no time for inflated illusions of superiority on the part of any one group. 184

The threat to escalate the issue to discussion in the public forum, combined with the fact that a carbon copy of the letter containing the accusation was sent to Susan Stockton led Adams to consult with Runyon of OTA. Runyon, in turn, wrote a sharp response to Zell, on behalf of Adams, countering with his own accusations and counter-threats.

In reference to the Holtzer charges, Runyon wrote:

Your attitude toward Holtzer's NEW PAGANS is rather petulant (sic)
and childish. He did not make a special trip to see you because he feels that you are a 'subculture science-fiction Grok flock', not a Pagan or occult group. And although I haven't much respect for Holtzer, in this case he is technically correct. You are like the proverbial monkey with his trapped in the cookie jar—again, you can't have it both ways. You will recall we helped you get a better shake from Ellwood—and your present sour-grapes 'Stockton ploy' is rather disgusting. We will see that it backfires on you.

At this juncture, the issue of "favor trading" with outsiders writing texts, articles, books, etc. became blatantly explicit on both sides of the argument. Zell had, for some time, been directly advocating outside authors as a way of making significant distinctions within the occult world, and at the same time, advancing the cause of groups such as CAW. In a letter to Runyon earlier in the year, discussing what was then the emerging issue of how to handle the increasingly embarrassing activities of the PCV, Zell responded:

Unfortunately, there is nothing I can see offhand (though I'll work on it) that we can do to prevent JFP (Jefferson Fuck Polk, the head of PCV) from going around doing weird things in the name of Paganism. However, we do have one opportunity to erase any harm he may cause, by treating him the same way Anton LaVey (head of the Church of Satan, Los Angeles) got treated when he went around claiming his activities were 'witchcraft': Several authors are presently writing books about Neo-Paganism. It would not take much for us to suggest to them that JFP and PCV are not, by any concept held in common among such groups, in any way connected with Neo-Paganism, regardless of JFP's contentions to the contrary. If such a public statement was made, we would have ample evidence to present should the need arise to prove in court or some such our disassociations from PCV. Please speak to Bob Ellwood about this. I will talk to Susan Roberts (Stockton).

The incident referred to as OTA's helping CAW get a "better shake" from Ellwood is yet another instance of the same policy on the part of CAW. While Ellwood's book was in manuscript, OTA members proofing the section on OTA noticed that the article following their write-up was on CAW.
This came to the attention of Zell, who wrote Nelson White of OTA, and asked him to contact Ellwood on his coverage of CAW. Ellwood complied, sending a letter to Zell and enclosing his original manuscript. Zell replied with a recrimination-ridden letter, making a number of critiques of Ellwood's treatment of the church. Ellwood incorporated some of the suggested critiques, defended other points of his article, and sent the final copy to Zell, upon which the exchange concluded peacefully.  

Within this context, Zell appeared publicity oriented, as a means of cutting down possible opposition from outside, or linking of the more "undesirable" pagan groups with CAW. This policy was an almost direct outflow of the CAW recruitment policy, which did not provide heavy screening of members, but allowed for association by mail of individuals who could not possibly be controlled, or even effectively monitored, by CAW headquarters. The leaving of a public record was a means for the relatively open, non-control oriented CAW to make clear its stand on issues, without forcing it into hierarchical, domination-oriented organizational modes. As we shall see shortly, this organizational method, and use of public forums, clashed sharply with the organizational mode of OTA.

Runyon's letter to Zell significantly escalated the exchange in several ways. First, it introduced a new party (OTA) into the exchange. Second, it made tactless statements about CAW, including critiques of its organizational mode and its doctrine. Third, it raised other issues of dispute (e.g., an "exchange of ordinations" letter Zell earlier circulated). Fourth, the letter indicated that carbons of the exchange had been sent to SIX other
parties (including several sources not even in the COT). The latter action
was intended to be a 'lesson' taught in response to Zell's sending a carbon
of the Zell/FF exchange to author Susan Roberts Stockton. The carbons
indicated on the 26 April Runyon-Zell letter were never sent. Yet, com-
combined with the other escalations, the belief on the part of Zell that they had
been sent set the stage for a more dramatic break in OTA/CAW relations.
Finally, the closing paragraph of the Runyon letter essentially cut off the
possibility for further communication by stating:

If you decide you still want to play in the big leagues I suggest you
manage a sincere letter of apology to Fred and Svet (of FF). Don't
bother writing me. I don't have the time or the interest in your af-
fairs to make it worth your trouble.\textsuperscript{188}

Zell's response to this letter was directed to Nelson White, the
second ranking member of OTA. The letter answered most of the accusa-
tions in Runyon's letter at a doctrinal level. The letter construes the dis-
pute in terms of an exchange between the two women of CAW and FF, and
completely ignores the Holtzer-Stockton issues. Zell asks:

Do you know what Carroll is referring to when he speaks of our 'pre-
sent sour-grapes Stockton ploy' which he says 'is rather disgusting.
We will see it backfires on you!' If we're going to have something
backfire on us, I would certainly like to know what it is supposed to be
we were firing in the first place!\textsuperscript{189}

Hence, by seeing the earlier exchanges as essentially personal-doctrinal
issues, Zell hypothesizes the reason for Runyon's involvement by asking,
"Does Carroll (Runyon) have some sort of affair going with Svetlana or some-
thing?"

The underlying doctrinal issues: what constituted "pagan", the
respective roles of CAW and FF in the history of the movement, and the issue
of who was being "arrogant toward" or "symbotic upon" the other harked back to a longer series of personal disputes, generally not surfacing. Raising them in the exchanges between the women of CAW and FF probably increased the level of tension and irritation, and set the stage for a massive coming-together of a series of smaller disagreements. But the ending of the Zell/White letter was conciliatory, admitting the hostility of the women's exchanges, asking for clarification from FF, and promising that a letter to Fred or Sevt would be written. OTA in turn prepared a quasi-conciliatory letter, designed to explain OTA's role in the issue, and clarify the issue of the spurious carbons. Before this letter could be sent, however, another series of events was to take place which would widen the scope of the disagreement, and virtually assure an unmendable rift in the Council of Themis.

In early May, two groups, both members of the Council of Themis, separately issued notices of programs which raised anxiety among OTA and Feraferia members, and indeed, among a much wider audience in the COT. Their actions raised the issue of what standards, if any, the COT expected of groups which were to remain publicly associated with the council.

The Church of Aphrodite, a London group headed by Paul Pelowski, alternately known as the Reverend Jefferson Fuck, issued a statement entitled "The Sacrifice of a Lamb". The statement began with an analysis of two schools of thought represented in the Zagreb World Population Conference, 1965. They essentially saw the system and the movement, the latter being the base position for the Hellenic Group's stand. But they saw themselves
as moving very much beyond this basic protest position.

Some of us in the movement want to change the system by abolishing the nuclear family and replacing it with communes, or with free unions of some kind; others want to smash the system with 'people's power', workers' control, free festivals' and such like.

A handful of us went further and formed nature-worship religions or, like we in the Hellenic Group, are actively reviving the worship of such deities as Aphrodite and Priapus, Dionysus and Apollo and other Olympians.

People in our group think we have offended Hephaestus (Vulcan to the Romans) who presides over the blast furnace and the forge. We believe we have abused his blast furnaces and that's why he is letting the machine we have built destroy us. 190

Given this analysis of the current world situation, the Hellenic group proposed a solution: the sacrifice of a lamb to win back the favor of Hephaestus. The sacrifice, they contended, should ideally take place in Greece, at one of the ancient Temples of Hephaestus, which they would reach by making a donkey trip across the continent of Europe in their priestly robes, preaching their gospel as they went.

The proposal of the Hellenic group immediately offended the sensibilities of several COT members, especially regarding the purposeful association of the Council with animal sacrifice. Adams eloquently put the case in his Memorandum on the affair:

Oh, I am well acquainted with the findings of Frazier, Harrison and Graves concerning the bloody phases of the Old Paganism and the destructive aspects and epithets of Divinities as conceived in ancient times. I agree that we must not be ethnocentrically judgmental about the psycho-religious dynamics of exotic cultures, nor even our ancestors remote from us in time. But what we do in our time we must evaluate and judge rigorously! It is absurd to argue that everything the Old Pagans did provides license for us to do the same. If Pagan traditions had not been interrupted, they would have changed tremendously thru the centuries by a process of evolution. The Age of Aquarius requires new and purified forms of the Old Religion. I am not asserting that the
catabolic processes of Nature as 'evil' and do not inhere in the Nature of the Goddess and the Gods. But it is the task of the New Paganism to refine and transform the ways in which celebrants relate to the polarity of anabolism and catabolism, of generation and destruction. . . . To insist that it is all right for Pagans to sacrifice animals in religious ceremonies, that this is 'authentic' because our Pagan forebears did it, sounds just as crazy as a modern Christian minister would sound if he insisted his congregation had the right to burn one of us Pagans at the stake because Christians of old did that. 191

The emphasis on blood sacrifice, combined with the C of A's earlier policy of passing out marijuana in Hyde Park and advertising the public availability of male prostitutes on their premises, which resulted in questioning by the police and subsequent denunciation of those officers as "pigs", was seen as a threat both by USA COT members and the Wiccan representatives of COT in Britain. 192

At approximately the same time, the Psychedelic Church of Venus of Berkeley issued a call for groups to join it in holding a Kali festival. Their intention was to hold a public festival in honor of Kali, the Hindu personification of the destruction/death principle, and the Goddess around which the Thugee cult of assassins was organized. 193 Their description of Kali left little doubt as to the focus of their worship:

She was Kali, the Black One. She was very dark, with long loose hair flying about her and four arms. In one of her hands she had a giant sword; with the other she held the severed head of a man. She wore earrings of two corpses, one for each ear. She had a necklace of severed heads of men. Her only garment was a skirt made of the severed hands of men. Her tongue hung out, her eyes were red. 194

Perhaps more than any other single incident, the Kali festival raises the spectre of the sinister and the violent which is perceived by many magico-religious groups to be prominent in the minds of "ordinary people" with no knowledge of magic or Paganism. As Runyon explained:
these events, trivial as they seem now, might be blown up out of all proportion in the future—especially if another Manson Clan affair should ever be connected with any COT affiliate. The June 19, 1972 cover article in TIME MAGAZINE is so disturbing to us all that I do not believe I need to belabor this point. After the Manson and Brayton affairs here in California, a 'Kali Cult', even if it is sponsored by harmless exhibitionists, is a dubious luxury we cannot afford in COT...".

These two statements, arriving almost simultaneously, focused the attention of many COT members on the need for ethical and social standards, a topic which had been raised several times with little action being taken vis a vis PCV and C of A. The catalyst which sparked action this time, however, was soon to be added.

The Nesting Proposal

On 1 May 1972, the PCV circulated a proposal entitled: "Let's Join the Church of All Worlds: Nationalize Paganism!!" In the referendum, they explained some basic features of the CAW, and then proposed:

I suggest that the Psychedelic Venus Church (now about 160 strong) become an autonomous nest of the CAW. Already numerous other smaller covents and cells have joined the mother church. Any similar non-conflicting organizations like PSYVEN can become an autonomous branch or nest of the CAW.

The proposal went on to list some of the advantages to be gained from joining CAW. They included:

1) Advancing the cause of "up front" paganism. Up front paganism is a politically militant force designed to confront and challenge the existing social order. As the memorandum explained: "As a national church we can fight our oppressors more effectively and even come out into the open; we have been in hiding too long."
2) They would benefit from the national communications system of CAW's **Green Egg**, yet also be able to retain their own newsletter.

3) CAW was an incorporated church, with tax exempt status. Once this status was transferred to California, PVC anticipated being able to operate with the legal protection of a corporation.

This memorandum was seen as threatening by OTA and FF for several reasons. Initially, it was seen as a move by CAW to extend its influence in COT by absorbing smaller groups into its structure, with the effect that they would become impervious to COT control, even if such control could be agreed upon. Although there was no mention in the Referendum of CAW consent to this action on the part of PVC, there were several actions that suggested past precedents for the current move.

1) Several members of COT were affiliated with CAW as autonomous nests, including a Wicca coven. The CAW requirements for becoming a nest were rather open, and did not require severing any existing religious ties. 198

2) CAW had previously circulated a proposal among COT members suggesting that those groups offering "ordinations" should exchange them among themselves. This circular arose in what to OTA seemed a rather strange context. On 16 January 1972, Runyon wrote Zell raising the issue of the role of CAW as essentially destructive of a genuine occult-pagan movement, and a means of using the forum of that movement as a front for political
agitation. On 1 February, Zell responded by indicating his concern with PVC, and suggesting a number of possible means of removing them from COT, isolating them and preventing additional groups of this kind from entering the council structure. In the meantime, however, CAW circulated a letter to all COT members (dated January 19, 1972), which made the following proposal.

We have another suggestion: we know some of you have a process of training which includes ordination into a priesthood. We ourselves have such a program. Some groups we know send ordination certificates and D. D. degrees on mail-order request (such as ULC). Others we know have a long and involved process of many degrees of initiation, including ordination (such as OTA and CAW). We are suggesting that one or two people, at least, who are the 'leaders' and perhaps founders of each group could take the initiative and offer automatic ordination to the founders or leaders of other groups, providing they can offer ordination at all. We see this as a positive step in pan-Pagan ecumenicism, and CAW, for our part, is indeed willing to make this offer on a reciprocal basis.

This past action was seen dimly by OTA, and several other COT members. Indeed, this was one of the issues raised by Runyon in his letter to Zell (26 April 1972) in which he commented:

Your 'exchange of ordination' gambit was very irritating to us here in Pasadena (and to others, as you have learned). We considered sending out a directive to all council members reminding them that you have no 'official' council status and to disregard your suggestion. Out of courtesy and good taste, we did not.

Zell's response to this issue in his letter to White was direct.

Sorry about the ordination exchange offer. It was not meant as a 'gambit', but an idea which we were interested in getting feedback on. We have, and we accept that it was not such a hot idea. So, it seemed a plausible suggestion at the time, and was certainly not meant to be 'very irritating'.

Given past experience with CAW on both the issue of PVC actions,
and the ordination exchange offer, OTA and FF concluded that

Zell was responsible. In a letter drafted, but not sent, to CAW,

Runyon gives his perceptions:

It appeared—and still does appear—from the text of the document, that they had not only been offered a CAW charter, but had already conferred with you, or at the least, Lance Cristy, on the mechanics of corporation transfer. This was very far from the usual PVC sensationalist banter. 204

Given this context, and the background of a hostile exchange of letters, OTA and FF jointly moved to expel BOTH PVC and C of A from the Council of Themis. This expulsion notice was dated 10 May, and stipulated the following provisions:

(1) PVC and HG (C of A) were expelled from COT for

(a) Public advocation of the use of illegal drugs in defiance of the law (PVC)
(b) Public exploitation of sexual practices on the pretext that such activity is 'religious', thereby degrading Paganism and embarrassing the other members of THE COUNCIL by association (PVC and HG)
(c) Continual attempts to involve other COUNCIL members in various political 'fronts, activist groups' and dubious associations (PVC)
(d) Advocation and promotion of the public 'bloody sacrifice' of a lamb on the pretext that such activity is religious—which would result in considerable social aprobrium for Paganism and embarrassment for COUNCIL members by association.

(2) The expulsions were final and irrevocable, and could not be circumvented by another COT member chartering either organization as an enclave of its organization. In the event that this were attempted, the group would be subject to automatic expulsion on the same grounds as PVC or HG, since their action would be seen as condoning that position.

(3) The Directorate of the COT regretted the firm action, but saw it as necessary to protect the majority of the members from continual embarrassment and the actual danger of association with organizations which had exploited the COUNCIL's open format for their covert and overt socio-political purposes. 205
The expulsion raised an additional set of issues, and it is worth examining these in some detail. First, note that ALL of the charges had to do with the relationship of the expelled groups with EXTERNAL society. It was the public advocacy of illegal drugs, the public exploitation of sexual practices, the promotion of public bloody sacrifice and attempts to involve members in political (public) activities. The action was taken in response to a perceived and growing THREAT to the existence of the magico-religious community represented by the COT. This is abundantly clear from the commentary Adams issued on the expulsions, where he stated:

What, then, DID we expel the Berkeley and London groups for? Let me put it this way. So far as I am concerned personally, if they victimize no one by coercion, cajolery or deception, they can do anything they want. I might even be moved to defend with my life their right to determine their own patterns of activity. **BUT THEY MAY NOT DELIBERATELY AND WITH ADVERTISEMENT BREAK THE LAWS OF THEIR LANDS, WITH THE EXPRESS INTENTION OF BAITING AND PROVOKING THE MAJORITY ESTABLISHMENT, AND RETAIN MEMBERSHIP IN THIS COUNCIL OF THEMIS**.

This is the clearest statement of what the QTA/FF perception of the situation was. Both were convinced of the threat of these groups to their position vis à vis civil society, and both perceived the threat that, failing to act immediately, they might, by institutional readjustment, be prevented from acting at all. The logic behind their reasoning is clearly stated in the Adams Commentaries:

We cannot permit groups to remain in COT if they are determined to anger and incense the civil communities, because the civil community is much, much stronger than the Council and may fairly be moved to make reprisals against all Her constituents, regardless of their autonomy, organizational and moral, in relation to each other. In their hearts my Fellows in Themis know that this is true. . . . I ask my readers to imagine what a prosecuting attorney in cross-examination could do with their assurance that membership in COT did not constitute
responsibility for, or agreement with, some other group in the Council that was being prosecuted for repeated and deliberate and publicized violations of State or Federal law? 207

Hence, Adams and Runyon acted in response to their perception of an external public as generally incapable of making "sophisticated" distinctions among so-called occult movements, tending to associate Paganism, Magic and Wicca with Satanism. Their perception further included a public (at least in California) basically fearful of the occult-associated "death cult", including most prominently, the Manson clan, and some aspects of the Process. Their perceptions along this line were further strengthened by the cover of the June 19 Time magazine, which came out during the midst of the "Themis War", bearing the cover title: "The Occult Revival--Satan Returns". The lack of distinction in this article between occult groups, and their allowing no category for either Ceremonial Magic or Pagan religion, seemed a confirmation of their earlier analysis of the situation. 208

In the minds of other members of the COT, however, the issue was not so uni-dimensional. While all members who either answered a poll circulated by CAW and/or expressed written opinions on the expulsions decried the public stance of PVC and HG, many of them were more concerned about: (1) the assumption of arbitrary power by Adams and Runyon in the COT framework; (2) the style in which Runyon carried on his discussion; and (3) the appearance of "Machiavellian" political maneuverings in the Council and/or the likely outcome of these activities. So, from the time of the expulsion order, the main issues became both those of the required public stance of COT members, and the structure of the Council,
who spoke authoritatively for it (if anyone should) and what the future of the association would be.

Five days after the expulsion notice was sent out, Runyon sent a letter to Zell. It was an attempt to present Zell with both an explanation of the Runyon perceptions, and a recommended "policy" for CAW. The PVC referendum was enclosed, commenting that while there was a small chance that CAW had not seen the memorandum, "... you must realize that the only logical assumption we could have reached was otherwise." It was suggested that CAW dissociate themselves from the PVC, and condone the emergency action of expelling them from COT. The strong theme was that the Runyon/Adams action was a rejection of "upfront paganism" and any connection between the COT and "militant, anti-social" forces. In terms of relevant indicators of sincerity, Runyon put much store on his final line: "Please get in touch with Frederick Adams as soon as possible." 210

A week passed without any answer. Then White, the second-in-command of OTA, requested that the letter be kept private, and ought not fall into Runyon's hands. The letter, he asserted, continued to interpret the Runyon actions in light of the hypothesized "affair" between Svetlana and him, and counseled:

There is a lot you don't know about us, and about our peculiar talents. Svetlana and Poke know even less. Since you are a friend to me, I am writing this letter for two purposes: first, in order to elicit a response to you in regards to the content of my last letter to you and Runyon's last letter to me, and second, in order to let you know enough in advance to be able to get out of the way. The shit is about to hit the fan. 211
The letter was seen by OTA as provocative and insulting, primarily for the presupposition that a slanderous attack on Runyon would be sent to his closest associate, as a confidential document, and as an "answer" to actions seen in the light of general social and political issues. It reconfirmed both OTA and FF's belief that the referendum had been an "empire-building" ploy on the part of CAW, who must, in turn, have supported their social and political position. By this point, the Runyon/Adams position was essentially formed, and remained basically unchanged throughout the remaining exchanges. Their aims, at this point were three-fold, and ordered as follows:

1) To keep the NAME COT from being "dishonored" or from being used by another collection of groups (not headed by Adams). If this meant "losing" the membership of COT in mass it was a price they were willing to pay. Keeping the groups together in the Council was less important than establishing the position of COT on this issue.

2) Keep COT from being put in a position where it could be taken over at a later date, while Adams was in Europe (a trip planned for Fall, 1972).

3) Seek, if possible, a reconciliation with Zell, which would involve his acceptance of the expulsions, and leave open the possibility for negotiating new criteria for membership in and organization of the Council. 212

Within this framework, the lack of response from CAW to the issues
in the expulsion notice, the general lack of any attempt to seek out Adams,
and the tone of the letter to White suggested that the CAW might well have
been engaged in a political move to take over control of COT. When local
networks lead them to suspect that a coalition-building process was beginning
around CAW to challenge the expulsions, Adams and Runyon sent the follow-
ing telegram to Zell:

Informant indicates you are challenging PVC HG expulsions. Evidence
renders this position untenable. Urgent we receive statement your
intentions prior 3 June 1972 or general memorandum will be posted.
We will negotiate to avoid this action if possible stop your move.213

At this point, the 'waiting game' began. Runyon and Adams were
preparing their explanation of the expulsions, and collecting relevant sup-
porting documentation, including the HG memorandum "sacrifice of a
lamb", the "nesting proposal" and PVC's proposed Kali festival. Their
intention was to circulate this information 3 June, if no news came from
Zell, in an attempt to raise their issues in a public forum by issuing a
general memorandum to all council members, something which had not been
done in the four years the council had been in existence. Pressure of events
made it impossible for them to meet the 3 June deadline. In retrospect,
they consider the delay advantageous, for in the interim, Zell brought forth
a memorandum of his own, which opened up the possibility for making a more
persuasive case for the Adams/Runyon position.

The Zell memorandum consisted of two parts. The first, dated
27 May 1972, was their version of the dispute. It represented selections
from the letters between the women of CAW and FF, representing only ideo-
logical issues, omitting the Holtzer accusations. The basic focus was pre-
senting the dispute as a dispute about whose religion was more developed and in tune with the spirit of the "Age of Aquarius". The Runyon letter was presented as an "interference" in this somewhat hostile exchange. It also included a denial of any knowledge of the PVC "nesting proposal", which nevertheless stated that were PCV to meet their criteria, they, like any other group, could affiliate with CAW. While this would be subject to investigation, CAW concluded:

Nonetheless, the various letters we have received from Jefferson Fuck and published in GE had been thoughtful and positive—a far cry from the mad ravings of Poke Runyon of the OTA. We have personally seen no evidence to indicate to us that PVC is in any way threatening to ourselves or the Neo-Pagan movement. 214

The issue of the expulsions was raised in this context as an illegal action on the part of a non-existent "directorate". They stated the case in the following terms:

None of the present members of the Council were ever presented with any kind of referendum proposing the formation of a governing body, nor do I think they would have agreed to such anyway. The Council is an association for communication and cooperation, not an organization that needs to be governed. If problems arise regarding certain members of the Council, the issue should be brought before all the other members for discussion, the offending groups given a chance to present their case, and any decision reached would have to be arrived at by consensus, or at the very least, by majority vote. For certain members of the Council to assume authority over the rest of us and arbitrarily presume to dictate policies and order the rest of the members around is an act of the most flagrantly presumptuous assumption! . . . Our own observations and values tend to regard as more threatening to the general harmony among Neo-Pagan groups the very sort of attitudes expressed in these communiques from OTA, rather than the relatively harmless (to our knowledge) activities of a couple of sex-and-dope cults. 215

The second part of the memorandum printed the Adams/Runyon telegram, the CAW response of "waiting" to "call the bluff" and a series of sur-
vey items: a proposed public statement for COT and a referendum regarding the Council of Themis. The referendum was supported by the core of the CAW coalition: Church of the Eternal Source (an Egyptian religious organization), Dancers of the Sacred Circle (a split-off of Feraferia), and Ed Sitch (a Wiccan, associated with the journal the *Pagan Way*). 216

With this statement, the "Zell position" was clearly defined. Adams and Runyon countered with their own memorandum which indicated the "selectiveness" of Zell's account of the initial phases of the dispute, a chronology of events, an explanation of the issues behind the expulsions, documentation of the PVC and HG activities, and full printing of the series of letters involved in later stages of the dispute. In short, they made public the full range of issues, as they had seen them, and the grounds on which they had reacted. The Adams statement, instead of a survey, asked for "Letters of faith and credit" from those groups agreeing with the actions.

By this point the "Themis War" was defined by two positions, each representing a coalition of groups, posing two important questions. The first position (Adams/Runyon) raised the question of external social relations, the problem of "safety" for COT members, and the view of a threat so overwhelming that extraordinary action was necessary to counter it. The second (CAW coalition) saw less external threat and raised the spectre of arbitrary assumption of authority and illegitimate power within the COT framework. The two positions attempted to force the choice into one of two basic modes: accept the intensity of the threat to COT members or accept the threat of illegitimate authority.
Within this structure, most members did nothing. They neither wrote letters of faith and credit, nor responded in great numbers to the questionnaire. On 21 August 1972, the results of the questionnaire were released. Of the 35 questionnaires sent out, only 13 (37%) were returned. Results of opened questions were not reported. The response to the yes-no questions was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you feel that the COT should write up bylaws and administrative proceedings or general statements of principles such as a charter?</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you feel that future prospective members of the Council should be required to submit a succinct manifesto prior to being considered for acceptance?</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you think provisions should be made for terminating the membership in the Council of any group whose actions jeopardize the other members?</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you think the COT needs a directorate?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you accept the authority of Fred Adams and Carroll Runyon in acting as such a &quot;directorate&quot;?</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the basis of your knowledge of them, would you support the removal of the Psychedelic Venus Church from membership in the Council?</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the basis of your knowledge of them, would you support the removal of the Hellenic Group (London Church of Aphrodite) from membership in the Council?</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The memorandum concluded that the survey represented a vote of "no confidence" in Runyon and Adams, and called for them to relinquish control, and institute more democratic procedures. As might be expected, Runyon and Adams did not agree to this procedure. Both men agreed that Runyon would be an unacceptable leader to most Council members, both because of his strong stand during the "war" and the fact that OTA was a relatively new addition to the COT. Adams, as founder, probably had a more genuine basis of support. He planned to be out of the country the next year, however, and was not a genuine candidate for leadership. Adams and Runyon concluded that an election under these circumstances would leave the CAW coalition in control. Thus, after discussions with Adams, Runyon and Zell, the Council of Themis split. Zell and his supporters formed a new council, The Council of Earth Religions, while Adams and Runyon retained the name Council of Themis.

This is not an unusual means of settling occult disputes. It is consistent with the pattern followed in the wake of the Golden Dawn break-up, as well as the conflict in the OTO following Crowley's death. The "war" among British wiccans in 1971-1972 ended similarly. Why? The simplest factors lie at the personal level. The "organizations" involved rarely have stances separable from the personal views of their members. Hence, when ideals values clash, the clash quickly becomes a personal one. Even if compromise positions can be developed, there are not means except personal trust, for assuring they will be adhered to. Yet the first effect of the conflict is to destroy this personal trust. Runyon was unwilling to
see the elections which might lead to Zell's victory because he believed that Zell's initial stance was his real one, and that his behavior during the conflict indicated that he might well use the compromise to achieve his initial goals. Runyon did not personally trust Zell, and saw little leverage for restraining him once Adams was outside the country. Ideological compromises notwithstanding, Zell's presence in the Council was perceived as dangerous and counterproductive.

The second factor has to do with the symbolic importance attached to the role of founder. The founder is not an elected leader. As the person who put together the organization, no matter how simply, he is the person who remains entitled to direct it. The major concern for Runyon and Adams at the conclusion of the dispute was not keeping the membership together, but retaining the right to the name Council of Themis, and the right to continue to produce documents, attract groups with that name, and trace the legacy of the organization back to its founding under that name. The aim was to keep the "tradition" of the Council, including Adams' founding role. The strong feeling was that if others disagreed with the founder, and were no longer willing to be part of the Council, the right thing to do was to form their own council, not to "take over" the existing one. Hence, Adams asked for letters of faith and credit, of loyalty and commitment to the Council. He was not soliciting opinions, but hoping to gauge loyalty. Zell and his allies, on the other hand, hoped to mobilize support for their stance by showing that most members shared their views. What happened in practice was that those loyal to Zell answered his questionnaire, while the rest did
not. In effect, their reporting their views to him was a "letter of faith and credit".

So long as organizations follow personalities, and institutional roles are essentially charismatic, there is little possibility for a sustained magical, or occult, upsurge. Instead there is a cyclical pattern. A new organization forms around a particular leader, and accumulates followers. Conflicts arise, and define that group and others vis a vis the existing milieu. The disputing and factionalism decreases the attractiveness of the groups to new members, who are interested in magic or occult subjects, but not in the perceived pettiness of the groups. Membership drops off, and the people who were "original" members establish their position in the informal network which results, the network of conflict and cooperation which structures the epistemic community. As this network drops out of public view, people interested in magic or the occult, primarily those who have read about it, attempt to make contact with what to them is a "hidden" tradition, or failing to do so, set out to re-establish it. The organizational instability of the magical community contributes to the cyclical "magical revivals" which have occurred since the 1880's.

These features, in turn, feed very real concerns about relations with the external environment. Since magical groups have not, and perhaps cannot, become strong enough to withstand pressure from the outside, what to do about such potential pressure becomes a crucial issue. More revolutionary occult groups, like some revolutionary political organizations of the same period, sought to provoke a response, in hopes of catalyzing opinions
and conveying their disgust with current social, as well as religious, standards. More conservative groups, such as OTA, merely attempted to establish a niche in which they could practice magic. From their perspective, the greatest threat to their personal safety came from groups who sought to draw unfavorable public attention to their activities. They then reacted out of a genuinely felt sense of threat to reduce their risk, even if that meant reducing their constituency. It is difficult to know how realistic these fears were, and are. OTA admits this. But in face of uncertainty, they are conservative in their actions, planning for the "worst case" and so accepting intermediate loses as part of the requirements for continued security.

The constraint's role and environment place upon the social use of magical knowledge contribute directly to some problems of magical practice. In particular, they increase, not decrease, the likelihood of self-deception in magical work. Not only are ethical constraints weak, as we pointed out earlier, but the necessity for a large measure of organizational self-help mitigates against the self-criticism which might operate in its absence to protect the magician from falling prey to his own illusions. Magical "public opinion" has a reduced role in pointing out personal errors, for such criticism is often perceived as a difference in magical "politics". Hence, men like Yorke and Regardie have increasingly taken less active advising roles. Yorke is still willing to meet with aspiring magicians, but is pessimistic about their prospects for individual enlightenment, as well as his own ability to help them see the potential errors in their approach. The institutional instability also contributes to members' decisions to work
alone, which removes them from effective help or criticism from people who share knowledge of their aims and techniques. The tendency for the social structure to produce isolation, either at the group or individual level, greatly increases the psychological risks attendant in magical techniques, such as those the OTA uses.
FOOTNOTES


2 This was the core concept of Qabbala employed in earlier texts on ceremonial magic, reaching as far back as Cornelius Agrippa, *The Third Book of Occult Philosophy* (1651).

3 These techniques, which comprise what is called the literal Qabbala, are all means of equating words and phrases relying on the fact that in the Hebrew language the same characters represent both letters of the alphabet and numbers. Hence, it is possible to find a number which represents a word or phrase, by treating each letter in it as a digit and summing them. Words and phrases with the same numerical value are then treated as mutually illuminating. These techniques are essentially complexity generating algorithms which may be applied to texts. OTA is not concerned with textual analysis, and uses open-ended symbolic means of generating complexity. Some earlier magicians in both the Golden Dawn and the AA were familiar with the literal Qabbala, and used it in developing their own texts. Cf. Mather's explanation of them in *The Kabbalah Unveiled* (London, 1926), and Aliester Crowley's articles in the *Equinox*, Volume I.

4 Phone discussion with Runyon, founder of OTA, December 1973.

5 Translations of the Hermetic writings were just beginning to become available in complete form; they escaped severest censure by the Church because it was believed that they were ancient writings, dating from the period
of Moses, which in their convergence with some central tenents of Christian belief, demonstrated support for the Christian claim that nature itself, if properly interpreted, could lead men to an understanding of the Christian God. (Romans 1: 16-32). In this emerging corpus were theurgic rituals employing operators and receivers, evoking spirits to visible appearance, with evocations, welcomes and licenses to depart closely paralleling those found in more degenerate Goetiaic texts and those used by OTA today. For examples, see G.R.S. Mead's translations of the Hermetic texts, _Thrice-Greatest Hermes: Studies in Hellenistic Theosophy and Gnosis_ (London, 1964) and _The Leyden Papyrus_, ed. F.L. Griffith and Herbert Thompson (New York, 1974) which provides a translation of a second century Greek-Egyptian manuscript which almost directly parallels existing theurgic structure.


7 Phone conversation with Runyon, December 1973.

8 Runyon develops this theme in his magical fiction, "Adamson's Quest," _The Seventh Ray_, Vol. II, no. 3 (Summer 1973) which continues in each subsequent issue.

9 Runyon vehemently opposes any attempts to identify OTA with scientific investigation of the psyche, or pseudo-scientific attempts to justify mystical traditions on other grounds.

10 Strictly speaking, Qabbalistic thought sometimes distinguishes
the Ain (negative existence), the Ain Soph (the limitless) and the Ain Soph Aur (limitless light). These are considered equally unknowable (the three veils of negative existence) and are often ignored by magicians, who focus simply on the Ain Soph as the primary substance. Cf. Mathers, Kabbalah, pp. 19-20.

11 Scholem, Major, p. 12.
13 Mathers, Kabbalah, pp. 16-7.
15 Neumann, Origins, pp. 25-38 provides other myths with the same features.
16 The Book of Concealed Mystery, 1.1, trans. Mathers, Unveiled, p. 43.
17 Mathers, Unveiled, p. 16.
18 Runyon, OTA open class, August 1970.
20 Regardie, Tree, p. 76.
23 Ornstein, "Right," p. 90.
24 Psychological symbols seem simply a dramatic illustration of the
necessity of including both principles. Wittgenstein much earlier noted that human communication must include both elements, and hence, included physical gestures and actions in his concept of a language game.


30. Regardie, Tree, p. 51.

31. OTA knowledge lecture, any open class (first heard August 1971).


38 Details of this operation are given in *The Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage*, trans. Mathers (Chicago, 1932).

39 Runyon, OTA informal discussion, December 1972.

40 For the most comprehensive list available, see Crowley, *777*.

The most essential correspondence, which OTA produces for incoming members, are presented in Table II.


42 OTA, open classes, August 1971.

43 At one point, OTA switched the directions associated with basic archangel names, and hence, color scheme and physical layout of the temple, as well as some aspects of the basic ritual. They found that the consequence of this change was the necessity to make a multitude of tedious adjustments which disrupted ritual practice. After a period of experimenting with their alteration, they reverted to the traditional system. See the account in the *Seventh Ray*, 2, no. 4 (Winter 1973): n.p..

44 Almost one-third of the older magical texts, such as the *Lemegaton*, *The Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage* and the grimories reproduced in *Idries Shaw, The Secret Lore of Magic* (New York, 1957) are taken up with such correspondences.

45 OTA's statement of the maxim of Hermes Tristmegistus.

46 These correspondences are standard, and found in almost any text on Qabbala that relates to magic. Cf. Regardie, *Golden Dawn*, Vol. I. Even more than for the sephiroth, presentation rests on correspondences. Most
interpretations of the paths rest either on discussing the Hebrew letter or the Tarot card associated with the path.


48 Terminology follows Regardie, *Tree*, p. 73.

49 Regardie, *Tree*, p. 73.

50 OTA associates portions of the Tree of Life with portions of the psyche as Jung defines it. For example, they hold that Yesod is the area of the personal unconscious and associate some of the higher spheres with the domain of the collective unconscious. They have not, however, systematically tried to relate Jungian structures and the details of the Tree of Life. Israel Regardie also speculates on the relationship between the Jungian structure of the psyche and the Tree of Life. He is hesitant, however, to attempt a one to one mapping of the two. Personal conversation, Los Angeles, California, December 1973.


52 OTA, open class lectures and discussion, August 1970.

53 This is the position of a variety of yoga theorists who order different yogas in terms of the directness with which they lead to this final goal. Bakti yoga, or devotion to a deity, is one route, which parallels the orientation of much of Western mysticism. It leads to experiences which transcends, but leaves the person without a means of expressing his experience except in terms of a deity (or religious pantheon) which
the experience goes beyond. Hence, the "ineffible" quality of much mystical experience—"God is all and all is God" or "God transcends our knowing": "Nothing else can be said."

54 Gerald Yorke, a former student of Crowley, now specialist in Oriental religions, makes this critique of magical practice in the West, as exemplified by the Golden Dawn and subsequent organizations. Taking the individualistic approach, they cannot find a place for even the purposefulness of the psyche, and as a result, generally falter. Interview, London, December 1971. Cf. his introduction to Ellic Howe, The Magicians of the Golden Dawn (London, 1972), pp. ix-xix.


56 Fred Adams, of Feraferia (a neo-pagan group whose membership partly overlaps that of OTA) has conducted an extensive study of facets of modern astronomy, including quasars, time-space warps and black holes. Over the last two years he has linked many of these concepts
into his neo-pagan vision of the world. For discussions of features of micro-physics which magicians find congenial to their views, see Arthur Keestler, *The Roots of Coincidence* (New York, 1972).

57 Seventh Ray, front cover, any edition.


59 See Martello Truzi's newsletter, *The Zededic*, which circulates to some fifty academics engaged in the formal study of the "occult".

60 Crowley, *777*, p. 125.

61 The single most important feature in my research interviews was my ability to "speak" the magical vocabulary. Once this was established, differences in perspective, organization, etc. could be made intelligible. Correspondingly, the most difficult task of the research writing has been to convey these ideas clearly to individuals who do not, and perhaps will not, provisionally accept this specialized language. This problem is not unique to magic. One of the most important limitations on the policy application of specialized social science research, if the statements of policy-makers are accurate, is the unintelligibility, and perceived irrelevance, of its professional terminology.

62 Regardie, *Tree*, p. 73, emphasis mine.


65 Khedemel, "What-III."


67 Khedemel, "What-I."

68 Cf. the ritual in Regardie, Golden Dawn, II, pp. 11-68.

69 Crowley, Magick, pp. xi-xxv.

70 Regardie, Tree, p. 106.


72 This is also the view of Gerald Yorke, interview London, December 1971; and Garreth Knight (psu), magician and author of an interpretation of Qabbalistic symbolism, interview, London, March 1972.


74 Gray, "Why."

75 Gray, "Why"; similar views are expressed more diversely throughout his Inner Traditions of Magic.

76 Most of these are catalogued in the Warburg Institute (London), although Yorke personally still holds the majority of them.


79 His materials provided much of the information used in Ellic Howe's *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn* (London, 1972) which is introduced by Yorke. His documents are the basis of Francis King's *Astral Projection, Magic and Alchemy*, which is dedicated to Yorke. Yorke placed the originals of the Crowley diaries and writings edited and annotated by John Symonds and Kenneth Grant as *The Magical Record of the Beast 666* (Montreal, 1972) in the Warburg Institute library in the early 1970s.


81 Interview, December 1973, and conversations with OTA members in the same period.


83 For an example, see Franz Bardon, *The Practice of Magical Evocation* (Wuppertal, West Germany, 1970).

84 OTA knowledge lecture, August 1971.


86 Runyon, interview, December 1971.


88 Runyon, phone conversation, April 1974.


91 The term, as well as the basic structure of the ritual is taken from the account in Paul Christian, *The History and Practice of Magic*
Christian attributes the account to Iamblicus; the relevant reference seems to be *Iamblichi de Mysteriis Egyptiorum* (folio, Oxonii, 1687).

92 OTA Neophyte Initiation Ritual, confidential copy.

93 The strongest example of a solitude tradition are the Eastern systems, with their emphasis on patient, solitary workings.

94 OTA, December 1972.


98 The reports of this process were gathered in discussions with OTA members of initiations in August 1970 and December 1972.

99 For text, see Appendix.

100 *Liber Astarte*, 7, 8.


102 *Liber Astarte*, 8, 9.

103 *Liber Astarte*, 9, 12, 13.

104 OTA's copy of the *Lemegeton*, which does not exist as a complete work in print, is a copy of an English manuscript of the Latin, dating from 1686.

105 Special release from the OTA was obtained to allow discussion.
of the ritual procedure in this thesis.

106 Jung, Collected Works, Vol. 12, p. 27.

107 Liber Astarte, 18-22.

108 Here the corpus of a very wide range of literature agrees, with accounts of magicians to complaints of witchhunters agreeing that curiosity in matters involving spirits brings no good.

109 This is a technical process which will not be detailed here. See Agrippa, Occult, III, Chapter XXX for details.


111 Reprinted in The Lesser Key of Solomon, Goetia (Chicago, 1916), p. 5. This translation was published in conjunction with members of the Golden Dawn.

112 See pp. 218-23.

113 Most of the techniques OTA uses fall under the general heading of "hypnotic" in a general use of the term. See G.W. Williams, "Hypnosis in Perspective," in Experimental Hypnosis, ed. Leslie LeCron (Secaucus, N.Y., 1972), pp. 4-21.

114 LaBarre, Ghost, provides an extensive bibliography; for a supplementary set of references, see Tart, Altered, pp. 325-27.

115 Barrett, Magus, pp. 33ff; Agrippa, Occult, I, p. 178; Bardon, Initiation, pp. 194-204; King, Astral, pp. 57-100; OTA interviews/observation.

116 Milton Erickson, "Deep Hypnosis and its Induction," Lecron,


A detailed record is available in M. Casaubon, *A True and Faithful Relation of What Passed for Many Years between Dr. John Dee . . . and Some Spirits* (London, 1659).


125 Erickson, "Deep" presents several means for attempting to increase range of people who can be hypnotized by tailoring methods of hypnotic trance induction to the individual.

126 Gray, *Inner Traditions*.

127 Regardie, *Middle*.

128 This footnote is missing in number only.

129 This footnote is missing in number only.

130 For a report on OTA attempts to do this, see the *Seventh Ray*, (Summer 1974).


132 This is also advocated as the starting point for his magical training program in Bardon, *Initiation*.

133 Mathers, *Unveiled*, p. 35.


137 Interview, August 1970.


139 Based on discussions in August 1970.


141 "What is the OTA?" *Seventh Ray*, Vol. 1, no. 1.

142 The clearest statement is the Rosicrucian account of its initial membership and replacement.


144 An informal survey of 15 occult groups in Britain who were publicity oriented enough to advertise in the *Aquarian Guide* turned up several variants on this model.

145 This was how I first located the group in July 1970.

146 Information on the use of the test is based on a letter from Runyon, 3 August 1973.

147 For an example of the conflict of OTA and groups with this orientation, see the account of the "Themis War."

148 See, "How do I Join the OTA?" *Seventh Ray*, backcover, any issue.

149 In those instances where OTA has performed rituals calling
for blood, it has used powdered steer's blood, and has never performed a blood sacrifice.

150 This is the eleventh degree in the OTO initiation sequence.

For the ritual, without an indication of how it should be practiced, see Francis King, ed., The Secret Rituals of the OTO (New York, 1973).

For accounts of Crowley's use of these practices, with a more explicit indication of their nature, see John Symonds and Kenneth Grant, eds., The Magical Record of the Beast 666 (Montreal, 1972). I am grateful to Gerald Yorke for making this material available to me from his collection before its publication.

151 Agrippa, Occult, III.

152 Portions of the texts are reprinted in King, Ritual. Francis Yates has suggested that the Rosicrucians of this period were "reactionary Hermeticists," who refused to accept the dating of Hermes Tristmegistus as an event which challenged their knowledge foundations, and instead withdrew from the intellectual debate and the increasingly hostile environment of political-religious turmoil. See Yates, Giordano, pp. 398-402.


154 King, Ritual, pp. 102-4.

155 Discussion, August 1970.


157 See later in this chapter, pp. 320-352.
Liber Al is the document in which Crowley announced his Thelemic vision. It is also called The Book of the Law.

Gnostic News, published by Lewellian Press, accords OTA the only valid OTO charter. Letter from Runyon to Christensen, 8 March 1972.


In only one instance, over four years, did such tension lead to a resignation-expulsion.

For an account of the numerous personal quarrels that created the network of magical organizations from which modern identifications spring, see King, Ritual and Ellic Howe, The Magicians of the Golden Dawn (London, 1972).

Accounts may be found in King, Ritual; Culling, "The History of Louis T. Culling with the Ordo Templi Orientis (OTO) (mimeo, n.d.); and Aliester Crowley, The Confessions of Aliester Crowley (New York, 1970).

OTA group discussion, December 1972.

OTA group discussion, December 1972.

This is the general orientation of King, Ritual; Howe,
Magicians and Symonds, Beast.

171 For example, there are four OTA members on the East coast, but no organized groups have been built around them. This is not for lack of authorization, which would be forthcoming if members desired it. I include myself in these figures. I was given authorization to begin a lodge, but did not act upon it.

172 COT invitation.

173 COT invitation.

174 COT invitation.

175 Open Communication to Members of Themis, CAW, 27 May 1972.

176 There is no good evidence on this score. In general, my experience with some twenty odd organized groups finds very few that could be classed clearly, in terms of age, work status, values or aspirations with the "drug culture", the "new left" or "permissive culture". The same cleavages that run through US-British society in general, are reflected at least in part, in the magico-religious community.

177 Adams, "Commentaries on the Expulsion of PVC (Berkeley) and C of A (London) which was effected on May 10, 1972," p. 2.


179 Carroll Runyon, A Chronology of Events, p. 2.

180 It must be clearly recognized that one of the constraints on me, as an "inside" observer, is that I could not observe the other "sides" of this dispute, nor can I feasibly approach them directly for a
"recounting" since my doing so would be in and of itself simply another exacabator of the issues. Hence my view will be "biased" as it is seen from the OTA position, as an incident illuminating a work basically on the tradition OTA represents. It is in no manner or means an "objective" account, even if "objective" is used simply to mean a relatively equal weighting for all positions.

181 In fact, the 1957 organization was the Hesperian Society, which was also essentially Fred Adam's work and the direct precursor to Feraferia, in which his ideas were more ritually defined.


184 J. Zell to Fred and Svelana, reprinted in Adams/Runyon General Memorandum, 6 July 1972, p. 7.

185 Runyon to the Zells, 26 April 1972.

186 Zell to Runyon, 1 February 1972.

187 Documentation includes White to Ellwood letter, 10 January 1972; Ellwood to Zell, with xerox of manuscript, 12 January 1972; Zell response and comments to Ellwood, 14 January; Ellwood reply and revised manuscript to Zell, 20 January; and final Zell comments to Ellwood, 24 January 1972.

188 Runyon to Zell, 26 April 1972.

189 Zell to White, 27 April 1972.

190 Hellenic Group, "The Sacrifice of a Lamb," (n. d.). (Mimeo.)
193 PCV, Shakti Power.
194 PCV, Shakti Power.
195 Runyon, A Chronology of Events, in Adams/Runyon General Memorandum, p. 5.
196 May 1 Referendum, Psychedelic Venus Church.
197 May 1 Referendum, Psychedelic Venus Church.
198 May 1 Referendum, Psychedelic Venus Church.
199 Runyon to Zell, 16 January 1972.
200 Zell To Runyon, 1 February 1972.
201 Zell to GOT members, 19 January 1972.
202 Runyon to Zell, 26 April 1972.
203 Zell to White, 27 April 1972.
204 Zell draft, May 1972.
205 Expulsion Notice, 10 May 1972.
206 Adams, "Commentaries . . .", in General Memorandum, 6 July 1972.
207 Adams, "Commentaries . . .", in General Memorandum, 6 July 1972.
208 Interviews with Runyon and Adams, June 1972.
210 Runyon to Zell, 15 March 1972.
211 Zell to White, March 1972.
212 Interview with Runyon, June 1972.


214 Zell memorandum, mid-June 1972.


216 Zell memorandum, mid-June 1972.

217 Memorandum from Harold Moss to members of COT, 17 August 1972.

218 Interview, June 1972; phone conversations, August 1972.

219 Phone conversation, August 1972.

220 Interview, December 1971.
CHAPTER IV

THE ABACWEZI

The Abacwezi Tradition

Somewhere around 1500, a new magico-religious tradition emerged in the Interlacustrine regions of East-Central Africa. The Abacwezi tradition began in Bunyoro, Uganda and gradually diffused over much of the Interlacustrine region. As it spread it became established in societies with widely varying socio-political structures, which provided radically different environments for the tradition. As might be expected, the social base and environmental relations were widely different across this mix of societies, ranging from the Abacwezi tradition of synthetic force which supported the emerging Nyoro state, to Rwanda, where the related Ryangombe cult became a vehicle of social protest.

The differences across time and place highlight a feature observed in our examination of the Western ceremonial magic tradition. This is the fact that the symbolic structure remained relatively constant, with very substantial changes in the interpretation of the symbols' significance, accommodating them to changing social and political environments. Berger observes:
Geographical diffusion brought kubandwa into contact with a variety of local situations which fostered changes in both its organization and its cultural significance. These changes occurred especially in features most dependent on their socio-political setting, while other aspects of the cults such as the basic themes of initiation remained relatively constant everywhere. The key areas of innovation lay in the ideological significance of kubandwa and its relationship to the pre-existing political, religious and kinship systems.

This is an important observation, for the basic techniques and themes which remain relatively constant are similar to those found in Western ceremonial practice, and the process of symbolic reinterpretation which Berger alludes to in the historical diffusion of the tradition is consistent with the symbolic logic we defined earlier. The "egregorie" is different—the elements of structure and adaptation similar.

The historic importance of the Abacwezi tradition lay in two features—a new technique, kubandwa, which made spirit possession by large numbers of people possible, and a new myth, the account of the Cwezi, which provided a different categorical framework within which kubandwa functioned. These innovations made a significant impact on the earlier religious tradition, and in the case of Bunyoro, absorbed and transformed it.

To the earlier religious tradition, the Abacwezi tradition brought several new elements. First, it introduced a new spiritual category—the mbandwa spirits. These spirits occupied an intermediary position between a relatively removed "high God" and ancestral ghosts. It is important to realize that although the Cwezi were considered to have been hero-kings, ruling Bunyoro for a time, the Cwezi mbandwa which
exist today are not ghosts. The Cwezi mbandwa are instead unchanging, timeless powers. Both the "white" mbandwa, the spiritual principles symbolized by the Cwezi rulers, and the "black" mbandwa, foreign or malevolent spiritual principles, are impersonal forces. It has been this intermediary spiritual category, not the "high God" or ghosts, which has been the means through which the Abacwezi tradition has expanded its conceptual framework to incorporate new environmental phenomena.

The most important innovation of the Abacwezi tradition was its use of spirit possession as a means for large numbers of people to come into direct contact with spirits relevant to their lives. Before the introduction of an initiatory training which enabled "ordinary" people to be possessed, possession was primarily the province of a few "mediums" who might be visited for advice. The medium consulted the spirit, then made a diagnosis on the basis of the consultation. The client never directly experiences possession. Nyakatura, in describing the religious history of Bunyoro, makes clear the innovation introduced with the coming of the Abacwezi tradition.

When we consider our early history, it seems that the first people to settle and live in Kitara, . . . did not practice spirit possession. There were, however, divination and prophesy. For example, if a person met a problem which proved beyond human understanding then a wise man or diviner was consulted. I should therefore say that divination (kuragura) is different from spirit possession (kubandwa).

The Abacwezi tradition, then, introduced an important technical innovation--theurgy. With its ritual practices, it was possible to bring
about possession, apparently both by dissociation and dramatic technique. One need not, then, rely upon only select individuals to enter trance states, nor upon the extreme physical measures used to induce trance states in shamanistic practice. With the introduction of the initiatory ritual technique linked to instruction in trance induction, there arose a theurgic system, quite parallel to Western therugic practice, which transformed the domain of magico-religious experience wherever it spread.

The innovation in spiritual categories and the technique of theurgy were linked, for the objects of possession were primarily spirits of the mbandwa category. Those initiated into the Abacwezi society generally became mediums (babandwa, singular mubandwa) for some mbandwa spirit. While illness thought to involve other spirits (ghosts, animal spirits) could be handled through the therugic system, people did not cultivate mediumship relationships with these forces. The aim was not to become tied to spirits of the dead, from whom little in the way of positive power could flow, but instead to permit the dead to remain in their world and not interfere in the life of the living.

The Abacwezi tradition, like the Western ceremonial magic tradition, is an epistemic community. It shares with Western ceremonial magic some features of a totalizing categorical framework, a hermeneutic-emancipatory interest structure, elements of theurgic technique and a secret society organization. It differs from it in that unlike the Western tradition, the Abacwezi tradition in Bunyoro became
firmly established in socio-political life, taking on features of a "mythical charter" which justified the traditional social structure, legitimated the line of Bito kings, and provided tangible social and economic benefits for initiates.

In the pages which follow, we shall seek to explore the Abacwezi tradition, primarily with respect to Bunyoro, but drawing in other Interlacustrine societies where they provide enlightening contrasts. Since independent field work was not completed, much of the analysis will rest upon secondary sources. These sources vary in their accuracy, the sources of their biases, and their areas of strength and weakness. Before analyzing the Abacwezi tradition, then, we shall briefly state the relevant features of the sources we shall rely upon.

Sources

There are now a number of sources available on the embandwa tradition in East and Central Africa. The most focused compilation thus far is Iris Berger's recently completed thesis, The Kubandwa Religious Complex of Interlacustrine East Africa: An Historical Study, c. 1500-1900. This thesis represents a careful and extensive review of different embandwa cult's practices over the rather large area--Bunyoro, Ankole, Rwanda, and the Congo--where the same form of kudandwa (embandwa) practice existed. It is particularly useful in that it is one of the few studies dealing with the mythology and practice of both the French-speaking and the English-speaking traditions. Another
recent attempt to comparatively access embandwa tradition is Luc De Heusch's structural analysis of Rwanda and the surrounding areas. Although the historical theory he proposes to account for the rise of the Cwezi is questionable and has been often criticized by other scholars in the field, the structural analysis of the changes in focus, direction and symbolism in different forms of the Cwezi mythology is an excellent attempt to organize the disparate traditions which, until this time, have struck most historical scholars as less than useful "political" distortion.

These two general works are exceptionally useful in providing a much needed comparative back-drop for other regional accounts. It is worth noting at the outset that while general comparative works for this region are relatively scarce, accounts of the traditional histories of different tribal groups in the area are more adequately recorded than is the case for much of Africa. With particular respect to Bunyoro, which remains the focus of our study, the oral traditions of at least the ruling clan are reasonably complete as a result of a series of factors. First, the Bunyoro were conscious of their past and took care to formulate and transmit an oral historical tradition. Second, early European explorers and missionaries were able to record some of this material before it was forgotten or repressed by colonial emphases on modern values and standards. Finally, a number of Bunyoro scholars later recorded accounts of the tribe's history. As a result, there is a good, albeit not perfect, collection of historical-mythological material which
can serve as a basis for setting in context more recent anthropological research, as well as a focus for archeological exploration.

The major sources on the history and mythology of Bunyoro from the colonial era are:

(1) Fisher, *Twilight Tales of the Black Baganda*,
(2) Gorju, *Entre le Victoria l'Albert et l'Edouard*,
(3) Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu* and *The Bakitara*.

In addition, there are references, though generally not systematically developed studies, to Bunyoro in the published accounts of explorers such as Speke, Burton, Baker, Grant and Emin Pasha. Since these fragmentary accounts, for the most part, suffer from similar flaws and have similar strengths, we will evaluate them collectively. The main weakness in this class of accounts is the short period of time spent in the areas observed and the attendant misinterpretations of the customs and traditions they recorded. Often judgments were substantiated by little more than their apparent "reasonableness", as was the case in influential judgment that the Bahima (and the Cwezi) were Galla migrants--based on physical similarities between the two groups which became apparent to Speke in his travels. In addition, the accounts are generally incomplete, containing observations on practices which interested the explorers--either because of their "strangeness" or because they were central to their problems and aims. As such, the function and significance of both institutions and customs is sometimes incorrectly inferred. Such problems are almost inevitable with accounts of this form,
and generally require a piecemeal and specific judgment of the reliability of accounts. On the other hand, the accounts are the earliest available, and record practices and traditions which belonged to a society as yet relatively unchanged by colonial influence. In this capacity, they are valuable accounts.

Among the later colonial accounts, Fisher's account is highly regarded. It is based on accounts from two kings--Daudi Kasagama (Mukama of Toro) and Andereya Duhaga (Mukama of Bunyoro)--of the traditions of their kingdoms. The statements are regarded as authoritative, although perhaps with a slight bias in favor of Toro; the introduction and concluding chapters are impassioned statements of the missionary conception of early Ugandan society which do not intrude into the narrative itself.  

Gorju's account, to some extent, builds upon Fisher's account, but is supplemented by his own extensive field notes, which cover not only Bunyoro-Toro, but also Ankole and the Bahima traditions of the southwest. He devotes more space to the Cwezi, and theorizes that they are Hamites--whom he considered to be related to the Bahima of the area. He also attempted to date the disappearance of the Cwezi, setting the time of their disappearance as only 300 years in the past. Although the dating he suggested has now more or less been accepted as too recent, and his theories of the origin of the Cwezi challenged, the observations he records are considered accurate.

Roscoe's work requires a more cautious evaluation. The works
which followed his classic The Baganda are in places superficial, partly because he allowed the conclusions he had established about the Baganda to sway his judgments of other tribes.\footnote{17} The most seriously inaccurate treatment is his discussion of kingship and political organization; his discussion of custom and religion are relatively well regarded.\footnote{18} His Northern Bantu, an earlier work, contains some observations which Roscoe admits later he could not reconfirm, and hence needs to be read in conjunction with later, overlapping treatments.

Another collection of traditional material comes from natives of Bunyoro who wrote down the oral traditions they collected. The major works in this category are:

1) Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro (On the Kings of Bunyoro),
2) K. W. (Kabalega-Winyi), 'The Kings of Bunyoro Kitara',
3) Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro Kitara (Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara), recently published in English as Anatomy of an African Kingdom.

The three works share two common features. First, all were written in the colonial period. Thus, they were interested in maintaining and establishing for the new generation the outlines of traditional history, yet circumscribed in their approach by colonial requirements. Their writings took place in the context of charges and allegations that there was no systematic history which provided any basis for Bunyoro's claims to past greatness or sustained its claims that Buganda had once been a small part of the empire of Bunyoro-Kitara. As a result, they
share a second feature. All three play down the mythical-supernatural elements in the traditional accounts recorded earlier. They become attempts to produce history as the European conception of history stipulated: devoid of supernatural forces, careful about chronologies, specific in names, places and details and accurate portrayals of the outcomes of battles and political clashes. They were extremely successful in these aims, especially K. W. and Nyakatura. Yet, in terms of our focus of study, this success was a mixed blessing, for it makes the symbolic themes in the embandwa practice which may relate to traditional accounts harder to locate.

Bikunya’s writing borrows heavily from Fisher, but essentially removes the supernatural elements in her account. It is a short work, which adds little to Fisher’s account.

The collection of articles by K. W. are of more value. They are the work of Sir Tito Winyi, Mukama of Bunyoro, in collaboration with his father, Kabalega, the Mukama who bitterly resisted English influence in Bunyoro and was finally defeated and exiled. In addition to the traditional material, Winyi used material he later collected from the north and areas reaching south into Rwanda. The recent kingship material (Babito reign) occupies most of the article, and provided the first account which could systematically be compared with Baganda chronologies of their kings.

Nyakatura was a government official who collected traditional histories in the course of his career in Bunyoro. While there are method-
ological criticisms of his interviewing procedure—especially his failure to identify his informants and their relevant regional and clan ties—his work is highly regarded by modern historians, albeit as "raw material" for a more scientific history. It is the most complete study available, and the touchstone from which most educated Banyoro will begin discussion of their history.

There remains a final collection of sources. These are the relatively modern works in history and anthropology. With regard to Bunyoro, these revolve around the work of two men: R. A. Dunbar and John Beattie. Dunbar's *History of Bunyoro-Kitara* is the only attempt to date to compile a relatively comprehensive history of Bunyoro. Unfortunately, except for the first three chapters, the book is a history of Europeans-in-Bunyoro, and quickly becomes of marginal value for our present concerns. Beattie's work, on the other hand, is the mainstay upon which our present analysis must rest. Based on two visits to Bunyoro in the 1950's, Beattie has produced at least twenty articles and three monographs on Bunyoro—including a fairly extensive treatment of the embandwa tradition as he encountered it in the 1950's. Taken together, his works constitute the most complete treatment of Bunyoro existing today. Given the inability to replicate his studies or recheck his observations in the current political and social conditions in Uganda, Beattie's works must, for the time being, remain the foundation of our examination of the embandwa tradition in Bunyoro.

There are several other articles which are important in our focus
on embandwa practice. They come from regions other than Bunyoro, and recount slightly different details of practice.¹⁹

Categorical Framework

Primarily because there was no literate tradition in Bunyoro before its contact with Western representatives, there are no written texts which set out the basic elements of the Abacwezi categorical framework as Qabbalistic writings do for the Western ceremonial magic tradition. Nevertheless, from the variety of writings which now exist, it is possible to set out at least the basic elements of the underlying categorical framework. The present scholarly literature on Bunyoro does not present a "natural" classification scheme to complement its discussion of spiritual classifications. It will thus be difficult to reconstruct and interpret the correspondences which are central to ceremonial practice. Nevertheless, a preliminary attempt in this direction can be made, with the hope that further research may enhance and correct this provisional view.

The spiritual domain is composed of three major categories:

1) The creator God, Ruhanga (or Ruhanga-Nkya),

2) Mbandwa spirits,

3) Ghosts (basimu, singular muzimu), both human and animal.

The creator God and ancestral ghosts are both categories which existed in the pre-Abacwezi religion, and are characteristic of many African religions. Both were incorporated into the Abacwezi magico-religious synthesis, and became integral parts of its intellectual frame-
The Creator

Ruhanga is regarded as the creator of the world. There is no account of how he came to be, but the implication is simply that he has always existed. With Ruhanga was his brother, Nkya, who was considered "another way of describing the creator." Fisher presents the account of Ruhanga, and remarks on its parallel with the Christian concept of God as "many" and "one".

If one questions very closely the old witch-priests they will speak of a First Cause--a Creator who was plurality in one person; before any offering was sacrificed the priest always threw dust in the air and exclaimed, 'Ruhanga-Nkya-Kankya', which meant 'God-His brother-One person indivisible'.

Accepting Ruhanga and Nyka as elements of the same unity, it is then clear from the account of creation that Ruhanga is creative capability, for it is Ruhanga who brings forth all that exists. Nyka is creative impetus, for it is he who initiates creation by complaining to Ruhanga: "Things are very dull, we possess nothing, and there is nothing in existence. Did you not promise to create? But you have accomplished nothing that I can see." 23

Urged on by Nyka's demands and complaints, Ruhanga creates. Pointing upward with his right hand, he declares, "This is Heaven." Pointing downward with his left hand, he says, "This is earth." Following the separation of heaven and earth comes light and darkness. A stone flung into the heavens becomes the sun, and Ruhanga declares, "... henceforth darkness is over--that shall be called the sun." But
when Nyka fears the light of the sun, Ruhanga withdraws it and moves it westward, where it is covered with a cloud. With another stone, he then creates the moon, a cold, white light. Finally, he institutes sleep, the activity to go with darkness, and waking, to mark the day.

In this first phase of creation, then, we find the emergence of several important oppositions as phases of creation: right-left, heaven (above)-earth (below), light-darkness, heat-cold. An important polarity which is completely omitted in the account of the creation, but is important symbolically, is the male-female distinction. Although later in the narrative, Nkya has four sons, there is no mention either of their mother, or of their production by miraculous means. Neither is there a firm distinction between men and gods. As we shall see shortly, there is no account of the creation of man, but a series of events in which changes occur eventually distinguishing men from gods. As the account maintains, "In those days Heaven was quite close to earth." 26

In other phases of creation, Ruhanga creates tall grasses and trees to shade Nkya from the sun. Rain originates when Ruhanga, having returned to heaven to "see how things were going on there", washes his hands, and spills the water down upon the earth. 27 Nkya, drenched by the water, asks what it is. He is told by Ruhanga: "That is rain, which on falling to earth will cool the sun." 28 Nyka accepts the benefit of rain, but demands a shelter, since the rain makes him uncomfortable. Ruhanga tells him how to make a house from branches,
but Nyka is unable to follow the instructions. Ruhanga then seizes a stone and striking it, breaks it into three pieces which become three basic tools, a knife, an axe and a mallet. These he gives to Nkya, and instructs him to cut down saplings to form a hut, which will provide a refuge from both the sun and the rain.

With the shelter provided, Nkya complains that his environment is unappealing: there is nothing for him to look at. Ruhanga then creates shrubs, flowers, insects, birds and wild beasts. The external world is now interesting, but Nkya still feels lonely in his hut, since Ruhanga spends much time in Heaven. Ruhanga then provides goats and sheep (domesticated animals) to be his house companions.

The question of food has not as yet arisen, for apparently, neither Ruhanga nor Nkya initially required food. Yet, as they talk one day, Nkya asks Ruhanga why he had formed their bodies and stomachs, since they seemed quite useless. Ruhanga then creates cows, fells a tree and carves a bowl into which they may be milked. Mkya is delighted, but at the same time suggests "that he would not feel very comfortable with a bag of liquid inside him; could not Ruhanga think of something a little more solid?" Ruhanga then planted a creeper, which brought forth leaves and fruit. Ruhanga told Nyka to use these as food. He then instructed Nkya to plant the young shoots of the creeper close together (cultivated food) to prevent their spreading and being trampled by cattle. Ruhanga then formed a pot out of clay and placed it upon three small ant-hills. He put the food inside, lay wood
under the pot, and struck a fire with two stones. He thus taught Nkya to cook food, as well as to remove and eat the cooked food without burning himself.

When this was finished, Ruhanga told Nkya: "Now I have supplied all your requirements, your eyes, mouth and body are satisfied, but it would have been better for mankind had you not heeded the stomach; for it will be your master, it will cause pain, labour and theft." Nkya maintains that hunger is necessary, for without it there would be no submission among men; men will only obey those who provide him with food. Ruhanga seeks to balance this stark equation, and takes in his hand two bags, which have but a single mouth—one called Hunger, the other Mercy. Pouring their contents upon the world, he says:

Wherever man is, there shall hunger dwell, and mercy; sorrow and love shall go together, no one shall perish of hunger, for mercy shall feed him. The rich shall harken to the voice of the poor and provide for him.

This second phase of the creation myth, then, presents the origins of nature and culture. Shelter, food, tools, domesticated animals and plants and cooking (domesticated fire) are key elements of culture which distinguish man's life in society from his life in nature. Provisionally, we may distinguish the following differences (oppositions) in nature and culture:
Nature
exposure to elements  
hands  
loneliness  
wild animals  
wild plants  
raw  
burning heat  
("rock where the sun had shown" when struck with a stone, yields fire)  
found  
(trees, clay)

Culture
shelter  
tools (axe, knife, mallet)  
companionship  
domesticated animals  
(sheep, goats, cows)  
domesticated plants  
(creepers)  
cooked  
fire  
made  
(carvings, pottery)

The distinctions of the second phase are between nature and culture. Differences within culture or society are not dealt with. These are developed in the third phase of the creation account, which provides the outlines of (and justification for) Kinyoro culture. Significantly, Nyakatura, in presenting the history of Bunyoro-Kitara, begins his mythical account with the account of the naming of Nkya's children, the theme of the third phase.

Nkya had four sons. The eldest was called Kantu (little thing), but the three younger sons had no names. Being unable to refer to each specifically causes confusion and disorder, for none of the children knows what is rightfully his. Fisher's account strongly suggests the
problem is one of disorder, caused by the failure of each son to have his position defined.

When the father called one, they all came, and when he gave one child a present, the others all quarreled for it, declaring it was intended for them. 34

As Beattie has noted, a key presumption in Kinyoro social and political life is that order requires hierarchy; the initial diagnosis of the problem of Nkya's children, as well as the way they are named and hierarchically ordered,

... provides a 'mythical charter' for the traditional stratification of Nyoro society into distinct social categories, membership of which is, for the most part, acquired by descent. The implication of the myth is that in the beginning there were no such distinctions; the fact that the three boys had no separate names or identities meant that all were equal. But this led to confusion, and the solution was not only to distinguish them by name, but more importantly still, to differentiate them permanently in terms of both role and status. 35

Ruhanga agrees to find a solution for the problem, and the following afternoon the three nameless boys go to his home on the opposite hill for testing.

Ruhanga arranges two sets of tests. In the first, he goes to the center of the crossroads which the boys must pass, and there places a collection of items: strips of ox hide, an ox head, cooked millet and potatoes and tools. At the crossroads, each son takes something from the collection. The oldest son immediately seizes the basket of food and begins eating. When he is reprimanded by his brothers for eating food which did not rightfully belong to him, he picks up the basket of millet and the tools (axe, knife) and takes them home with him. 36
The second son takes the ox strap, thinking that it would be useful in tying up cows for milking. The third son takes the ox head.

The second test takes place in the evening. Ruhanga presents each son with a full pot of milk, and commands them to guard it through the night, neither spilling nor drinking it. At midnight, the youngest son dozes, and spills a bit of the milk. He is afraid, and asks each of his brothers to give him a little of their milk to replenish his pot. Both do so. At the sound of the cock-crow, the eldest brother spills all of his milk. He too asks help from his brothers, but they refuse, saying that it would take too much milk to fill his pot again. At dawn, Ruhanga comes. He finds the oldest brother's pot empty, the second son's down a little and the youngest son's full. He receives explanations for the missing milk, and then announces to Nkya that he has found names for his sons.

The oldest son was cursed by Ruhanga, and named little servant (Kairo), for he had eaten food on a public road, with unwashed hands, and proved unfaithful in the night's watch. From this time on, he would be a servant—gathering firewood and building houses, being subservient to his master in all things. The second son was named little herdsman (Kahuma). He was to take care of cattle, and serve as a herdsman for his youngest brother, to whom he had given milk. The youngest son was named little ruler (kakama). He was to reign over men, for he took the ox head—the symbol of authority—and maintained a full pot of milk. The three sons' names and positions correspond to the sig-
nificant divisions in Kinyoro society. There are a class of peasants (Bairu), a class of cattle herders (Bahima) and the ruler (Omukama) and his associates.  

Or, as Fisher's account puts it, "Thus Ruhanga divided mankind into three classes—the chiefs, the herdsmen and the peasants."  

In this third phase, then, we find emerging salient dimensions of Kinyoro culture, and cultural symbolism. Among those identified are some suggested by Needham, and corroborated by Beattie:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fidelity</th>
<th>Infidelity</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pastoral</td>
<td>Agricultural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Disorder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esteemed</td>
<td>Hated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleanliness</td>
<td>Dirtiness</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The fourth, and final phase of the creation account presents the emergence of the distinction between "God" and "man". The cultural ordering which Ruhanga established is not without its elements of ambiguity, for it creates its own set of dissentions. These become apparent in the legend of Kantu.

When Kantu, Nkya's first son, heard that his brothers had received names, and hence social positions, he complained to his father:

'Why has Ruhanga treated me like this? To the others he has given titles of distinction—one is king, another herdsman and the third servant—but me he has overlooked altogether, and given no place in the world.'  

Kantu, now anomalous in his remaining outside the societal structure,
promises to translate his position into one of opposition to the established structure. He declares, "Therefore shall I go from hence to spoil and destroy all things that he has created, I will bring sin into the world, hatred, strife and murder." Kantu, then, comes to represent the anti-social, and indeed, the word kantu in Runyoro may be used to refer to the evil, anti-social element in human nature, with the same connotation, Beattie suggests, as the Western expression that "something" got into a person.

When Ruhanga hears Kantu's words, he suggests to Nkya that they leave earth, and depart permanently into Heaven. The reason is a mixture of disgust and anger over the disobedience of "man", tempered with the hope that by leaving, they may avoid bringing death into the world as a punishment for such behavior. So, Ruhanga and Nkya leave earth. In order to prevent any further intercourse with themselves and 'mankind', they loosened the three props between heaven and earth: a fig-tree, an Erythrina pole and a bar of iron. The bar shattered, providing men with tools and bracelets. And so the connection between Ruhanga and mankind was broken.

Kakama is left to rule the world, and is considered to be a "god". He is the first ruler of Bunyoro-Kitara, and begins the first dynasty of the three which ruled Bunyoro--the Tembuzi. The rulers are considered "gods", although they have human natures as well. Kakama becomes a wicked ruler, and when he sees how badly his rule is going, he hands power over to his son, Baba. For a time Baba rules well, but during a
famine, he "curses Ruhanga in his heart", an attitude which Kantu reports to Ruhanga. Upon hearing this report, Ruhanga takes two bags with only one opening and pours their contents, hunger and disease, upon the world. Those living on earth eat again, but as they eat, disease takes hold of them. One of Baba's children dies. Ruhanga and Nyka debate about restoring the child on the fourth day, but Nkya favors death, and so death becomes permanent. When Baba realizes that his son is gone forever, he curses Ruhanga:

Let Ruhanga empty out the bags of his wrath, famine, disease, death--I care not: now that my son is dead, let the grass and trees perish and let man and beast die.\footnote{45}

Thus the world becomes mortal. Baba gives up his kingdom, and goes away. He is a "god" and does not die. Neither do the other rulers of the Tembuzi dynasty. As gods, "they merely passed away from the world when they ceased to reign and departed into an unknown land."\footnote{46} Man, however, may now be distinguished from the gods, for man is mortal.

Out of this fourth phase, then, comes another collection of distinctions related to the spiritual domain. These include:\footnote{47}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>classified</th>
<th>anomalous</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>health</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>joy</td>
<td>sorrow</td>
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<td>life</td>
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<td>good</td>
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<td>wealth</td>
<td>poverty</td>
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<tr>
<td>obedience</td>
<td>punishment</td>
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</table>
The myth provides our first raw material for attempting to provisionally construct the categorical framework underlying the Abacwezi tradition. The task will be somewhat harder than it was in our first case study, primarily because the Qabbala attempted to provide a framework-structure for organizing religious and mythical motifs; it was necessary, then, only to present the framework and link its articulated categories to other existing frameworks. We currently do not have such an attempt to articulate a framework for the Abacwezi tradition. Even more unfortunately, we do not know whether this is because one has not developed in the tradition, or whether it has remained part of the initiates' tradition. This is crucial to our understanding of magical traditions as mixtures of conscious and unconscious principles. The Qabbala, for example, provided a structure which could be equivalently expressed in several root metaphors: language, number, forces, and recently, psychotherapy. The Abacwezi mythology, like the Jewish Biblical accounts, are presented under a social-political root metaphor (in each case, the expansion and growth of the socio-political unit). Correspondences between this root metaphor and other levels existed, and were systematic. But the more esoteric tradition provided other perspectives, and established correspondences among perspectives. It is this feature whose existence we cannot access in the Abacwezi tradition.

The creation myth suggests that the categorical framework under-
lying the Abacwezi practice will have several independent particulars, in contrast to a single independent particular, the Ain Soph, in the Western ceremonial magic tradition. There are three independent particulars, each marked off from the others by a mythical discontinuity:

(1) Ruhanga (or Ruhanga-Nkya), the creator or creating force.

(2) The "gods" of earth, including those "rulers" who do not die, but simply go away. They are separated from Ruhanga when the link between heaven and earth are broken.

(3) "Ghosts", or spirits produced upon the death of some living creature. They are separated from the gods when death is introduced into the world.

Each of these three categories requires some elaboration.

**Ruhanga**

The account of Ruhanga presents in a different form the same basic idea of "two in one" which is pointed to in the supernal triad of Qabbala or the symbol of the Tao in Chinese philosophy. Ruhanga (creative capability) and Myka (creative impulse) are "one" (creative force). The model for this unity is more likely expressed in the model of the Tao than in the idea of Kether. The two "brothers", like the yin and yang, conjoined in the symbol of the Tao, are two alternating primal states of being whose interplay gives rise to the world. In their creative capacity, the "two" are "one".

The concept of one high god is universal in African religious thought. Presenting this high god under different aspects is rarer. In some of the
cases where two aspects of God are realized, the recognition of these aspects serve either to account for God's transcendence and immanence (as with the manifest and hidden God of the Gnostics) or to explain the problem of good and evil. In the account we have presented, however, neither of these explanations seems appropriate. Both Ruhanga and Nyka "withdraw" when heaven and earth are separated. There is no "evil principle" mentioned, and the anti-social behavior of men reflects not a division in God, but an outgrowth of the naming of Nkya's three sons. What the division does seem to do is to provide the dynamics for the creation account. Creation does not proceed from a "master Plan" preconceived by the Creator. It comes about as the result of a dialogue between Nkya and Ruhanga. In this dialogue, Nkya not only urges creation, but points up fundamental ambivalences in each stage of creation. The sun, for example, provides light—apparently Ruhanga's first thought in creating it. But Nkya immediately notes that it also provides strong heat, reintroducing darkness as protection from the heat, and subsequently the moon as a cool form of light. In this continuing dialogue, we observe a principle Beattie noted in ritual activity, the fact that phases or aspects, not simply oppositions, are significant.

The fact is that Nyoro symbolic thought is far too subtle and complex to be adequately represented in terms of a set of complementary opposites. In a great number of cases auspiciousness and inauspiciousness are aspects to stages of things and events; they are not absolute qualities of them, on the basis of which things and events can be neatly classified as one thing or another.

This suggests a model of wholeness or unity based upon the proper balancing of complementary opposites. We will find this model used
ritually in the Abacwezi initiation ceremonies, as well as in techniques of
divination. It is portrayed in the legend of the coming of the Abacwezi,
which we shall discuss shortly, as well as in the pattern of ritual obli-
gations in both the social realm (e.g., marriage ceremonies, purifications)
and traditional political practice (e.g., "patronage" relationship with the
king). This principle of balance takes two forms, one based upon the
number three, the other based upon the number four. As Jung predicts
from the psychological level, there is competition among these principles
of wholeness. As social anthropologists would predict from the social-
structural level, these symbolic differences are linked to competing
loyalties, the difference Beattie isolates as central between the community
and the state. We shall discuss this point in detail when we examine the
logic and operational philosophy.

Ruhanga, like most African high gods, is himself uncreated. He is also the "most high" spiritual principle. As such, he is revered, but
generally not directly worshiped. Sacrifices to him are rare, the only
instance I have been able to encounter being in connection with the installation of a new king. God has not abandoned his creation, as Beattie sug-
gests, although this concept of a high god, completely separated from the
affairs of men, was initially prevalent among Western analyses of African
religious thought. Mbiti and others have shown that such views over-
estimate the extent to which the Creator has withdrawn, and under-play
the on-going role of creative power in sustaining the world. Ruhanga-
Nkya, unlike Voltaire's withdrawn God, has not left behind a "clock-work"
world which operates mechanically under divinely established laws, but instead a world whose existence is supported and maintained by him. His will is manifest in the operation of daily life, and unlike that of lower spiritual entities, cannot be bargained with, nor altered by sacrifice. 56

Ruhanga's creation *ex nihilo* provides a basis for provisionally establishing some structural features of the categorical framework. Creation distinguishes Ruhanga from the objects of creation. The objects of creation are made by him; they are not simply God manifesting under different aspects. Hence, the Creator and creation form at least two independent particulars, and in this case, more. It is possible that there does exist a less public magico-religious world in which there might be a single independent particular--the high god under a different conception. More indepth research in West Africa has produced a conception of the high god much like the esoteric, Qabbalistic view, in which it is asserted that God

... is immanent in lesser divinities; that he is involved in the continuous process of emanating all things which have a vital force, for forces ultimately come from God. 57

Evidence is also available to suggest that categorical frameworks with a single independent particular, a high God, characterize tribes such as the Nuer and the Dinka. In writing of Nuer thought, Evans-Pritchard suggests that the Nuer believe there is a single spirit (*Kwoth*) as well as a corresponding multiple series of spirit "refractions", such that any particular spirit is *Kwoth*, but *Kwoth* is not any particular spirit. Evans-Pritchard suggests that their thought follows an emanation model.
... if we think of the particular spirits as figures or representations or refractions of God, or Spirit, in relation to particular activities, events, persons and groups ... this is what 'they are' among the Nuer. 58

Among the Dinka, the high God is Nhialic, and again an emanation model seems applicable.

Divinity is manifold as human experience is manifold and of a manifold world. Divinity is one as the self's manifold experience is united and brought into relationship in the experiencing self. The Powers are distinct from each other, and from Divinity, as the experiences they imagine are distinct from each other and from the total experience of the world and the self. 59

The difference between particular spirits and Nhialic is not intrinsically in them, but in the human experiences they symbolize. They are special aspects of the total to which Divinity corresponds. 60

The emanation model, then, is one which appears to exist in African religious thought. Nevertheless, unless Abacwezi practice approximated an alternate reality in the pre-colonial period (which I have argued is structurally unlikely), the emanation model probably did not underlie its categorical framework. The myth suggests instead a model of relations among different independent particulars. These relations parallel those in the Kinyoro social and political structure. Throughout the myth run the themes of delegated authority (or rulership) and attendant responsibilities. When Ruhanga-Nkya withdraws, he "leaves" Kakama to rule the world. 61 Death enters the world when one of his descendents, a "delegated" ruler, becomes so concerned with what he rules that he forgets his place in the picture and curses Ruhanga. Ruhanga then claims: "Are not all things mine to create or to kill, shall I not do what I like with the
work of my hands!"62 A similar motif relates the Cwezi spirits to men. This is not an organic root metaphor, but a political one. A framework composed of multiple independent particulars, then, seems most consistent with the fragmentary evidence at hand.

In the Western case, we linked the categorical framework with a single independent particular with a view in which unity could be regarded as unproblematic and pre-existent. This should not be the case where multiple independent particulars exist. Unity, in such instances, needs to arise from relationships, not simply underlie them. The Abacwezi tradition provides some, though inconclusive, evidence that this is the case. Ascent and descent, while still important symbolic motifs, are not the dominant theme of the operational philosophy. There is no equivalent for "climbing the Tree" in the Western ceremonial magic tradition.

Mbandwa

The ritually most important elements in this category are the mbandwa spirits. There are two kinds of mbandwa. There are "white" spirits (mbandwa ezera), primarily the Abacwezi spirits, and "black" spirits (mbandwa eziragura), spirits descended from the original Cwezi spirits or incorporated into the tradition from other geographical regions. In the Abacwezi tradition of Bunyoro, there are many Cwezi spirits. Beattie names nineteen of them, although this number seems neither fixed nor ritually significant. These nineteen spirits are:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Major Spirits</strong></th>
<th><strong>Minor Spirits</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>Rubanga</td>
<td>Mugasa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ndahura</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mulindwa</td>
<td>Ibona</td>
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<td>Wamara</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kyomya</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mugizi (female)</td>
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<td>Kazini (female)</td>
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<td>Kaikara (female)</td>
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The origin of the Cwezi spirits is portrayed in a series of myths which also account for the transition between the first ruling dynasty of Bunyoro-Kitara, the Tembuzi, and the short second dynasty, where the Cwezi rule. In the myth describing the disappearance of the Cwezi rulers, the transition to the third ruling dynasty, the Bito, is explained. The final Tembuzi king, Isaza, provides a link with the incoming Cwezi dynasty. 64
While the Cwezi, as rulers, were thought to be actual rulers existing before the Bito ruling dynasty, the Cwezi mbandwa are considered forces, rather than personal residues. They are not ghosts, but

... a pantheon of contemporarily effective spirits, each terminologically identified with one of the long-dead, if not mythical Cwezi, and each possessing its own individuality and special competence. These spirits are not thought of as the ghosts of real men who died long ago, but rather as unchanging, 'timeless' powers; the term muzimu (ghost) is not applied to them.65

Neither, despite their historical connection with the Nyoro people, are the Cwezi seen as ancestors, or, even remotely, as objects of an ancestral cult.

Nyoro never speak of themselves as being the 'children' of the Cwezi, although they might, when concerned with royal origins, speak of the ruling Bito as being so. The quasi-mythical Cwezi were rulers, not ancestors, and the Cwezi spirits which possess people today are independent spiritual powers, not ghosts.66
The most accurate way of describing them is to say that they represent forces, embodied in the significant cultural heroes of the Nyoro people—the Cwezi rulers. A series of myths provide both a way of connecting the three dynasties of Nyoro rulers, and the primary traits and motifs associated with the Cwezi spirits.

The end of the Tembuzi rulers stems from Isaza's confrontation with the ruler of the underworld, Nyaminyonga, whose name derives from the world muyonga, meaning a black smut. Toward the end of his reign, Isaza receives a message from the underworld, the world of ghosts, that Nyaminyonga wishes to make a blood pact with him. His message is, of course, not simply stated but instead is presented as a series of riddles. Isaza is presented with six questions to answer:

1. What is that which announces the dawn?
2. What is the little door of poverty?
3. What is the rope that binds water?
4. What is that which makes Isaza turn?
5. What is that which does not finish the job?
6. What is that which is not known?

Despite Isaza's age, and the wisdom of his royal advisors, the riddles are beyond them. It is only with the aid of a young serving maid that the answers are obtained. The maid explains that it is the cock which announces the dawn. Blood-brotherhood is the little door of poverty, for if a man is poor, he can rely on his blood brother for aid. Millet is the rope which binds water, for it absorbs water as it cooks. A cow lowing in the
court yard behind Isaza makes him turn. A dog given a pipe to smoke
cannot finish the job. A young child who soils the king's mat and wets
him when he picks him up is unknowing.

Through the merit of the serving girl, Isaza is able to solve the
riddles presented by the messenger. After his success, the messenger
reveals that he has brought the necessary equipment for Isaza to make a
blood pact with Nyamiyonga. But Isaza and his advisors are reluctant to
have the pact made, yet fearful of the consequences of refusing so power-
ful a force. Thus, instead of making the pact himself, Isaza tries to
deceive Nyamiyonga by instead having one of his ministers who is not
of the royal line enter into the pact for him. The deception is revealed
to Nyamiyonga, who is extremely angry that the falseness of Isaza has
led to his being united with a commoner. He therefore determines to undo
Isaza, and with him, the Tembuzi dynasty. Isaza fails his first con-
frontation with the "shadow", for neither the solutions to the riddle nor
the pact are his own.

Nyamiyonga then sends his beautiful daughter, Nyamata, whose
name is derived from amata, meaning milk, to seduce Isaza while con-
cealing her identity. The attempt is successful, and Isaza marries
Nyamata. Some months later, Nyamata wishes to return to her father's
house for the birth of her child. She is unable to persuade Isaza to return
with her, but he provides an escort for her. At the border of the country,
Nyama eludes the escort and vanishes, arriving alone at her father's king-
dom.
It is then clear to Nyamiyonga that even his daughter is not enough to lure Isaza into his clutches. Nyamata, however, suggests one thing which Isaza loves even more than her—cattle. Nyamiyonga then selects two of his most beautiful cattle, Kahogo and Ruhogo, whose names indicate their reddish-brown color, and allows them to be found wandering around Isaza's capital. Isaza encounters the cattle, falls in love with them, and swears that only death will part him from them. Shortly thereafter the cattle disappear and the distraught Isaza searches for them until he sees their horns in a large hole in the ground. Calling to his doorkeeper, Bukuku, a commoner, he instructs him to watch the kingdom until he returns. Then, without hesitation, he descends into the pit and finds himself in the land of ghosts, Nyamiyonga's kingdom.

Nyamiyonga receives Isaza well, and accords him the hospitality due a son-in-law by presenting him with a skin to sleep on, oxen to eat, cows to milk and pots to cook with. All these implements are black, however, as is everything that Nyamiyonga has to offer. Isaza is reunited with his wife and sees his son, Isimbwa, for the first time. Nyamiyonga has not forgotten his original anger with Isaza, and after establishing that it was indeed Isaza's love of the cattle rather than his desire to see his wife and son which drew him to the world of ghosts, Nyamiyonga permits him to leave. Isaza, however, is not able to find his way out of the maze of the underworld, and so remains for the rest of his life in Nyamiyonga's kingdom.

Isaza, then, has failed in his confrontation with Nyamiyonga and,
as a result, has lost the mantle of kingship. Bukuku, the commoner left to rule in his stead, is unable to rule the kingdom because the people will not accept the legitimacy of a non-royal ruler, and rebellions begin to reduce the scope of the kingdom. With Isaza's lost contest, the normal pattern of rule in his kingdom is reversed—the doorman becomes king—and we have the first of a series of enantiodromian transformations (the passing of an entity into its opposite).

The second enantiodromian transformation involves color. It is clear from the text that Nyamiyonga is characterized by "blackness"—his name indicates his sooty color, as does the black implements available in the underworld, itself a black place. Yet Isimbwa, son of Nyama and Isaza is white. He is the first of the Cwezi, who as a race, are characterized by their white skins. Isaza, his father, is never considered to be white. While there is no mythological explanation given for the source of Isaza's whiteness, there are a number of symbolic hints which link his "whiteness" to his mother and the "numinous" character of his birth. His mother, Nyamata, takes her name from the word for milk, a predominant whiteness motif in Nyoro symbolism. Likewise, the man who performs the birth rites for Isimbwa in his father's absence is Rwogamata, one who bathes in milk. The milk-soot association represents a pair of oppositions which runs through both Nyoro symbolism and practical life in a pastoral culture where the presence of dirt in milk prevents it from becoming edible food. It is further reflected in the traditional prohibition on mixing milk consumption with food grown
in the soil. When earth-grown food was eaten, milk could not be consumed until all traces of the vegetable food were eliminated from the stomach. This opposition is reflected in the numinous nature of Isimbwa's birth (ghost world-human world) as well as the opposition between his mother and her father (milk-soot). Symbolically, then, Isimbwa's white color is a transformation of opposites, associated both in Jungian psychology and in Nyoro spiritual beliefs with the numinous events. While his father fails to meet the challenge set forth by the confrontation with Nyamiyongo, his son Isimbwa rises above them. Unlike his father, Isimbwa is not bound to remain in the underworld and is capable of living in both worlds. His heritage qualifies him to serve as the leader of a very different and miraculous dynasty of rulers.

Meanwhile, the events in Isaza's kingdom embody another common motif: the birth of a child who spells danger to his family, and who is saved from destruction to rise as the hero figure for a new era. Bukuku, left to rule in Isaza's stead, has no sons; his only child is a daughter, Nyinamwiru. At her birth, the diviners advised Bukuku to kill her, for they foresaw that she would, through her beauty, bring misfortune to him. Bukuku was unwilling to kill her and instead had one of her breasts cut off and one eye gouged out, so that she would no longer be attractive to men. He then installed her in a house, whose only entrance passed through his own home. Thus, he sought to forestave the prophesy.

The effort was in vain, however, for Isimbwa was travelling through the country, gained access to the girl, remained with her sev-
eral months, and then departed. Some time later, a child was born.

Bukuku was furious, and ordered the child to be cast into the river and drown. The charms around the child's neck caught upon the bushes around the river, and the child was kept from drowning. He was found by a potter, who realized the child must be that of Nyinamiru and arranged to have milk to feed it provided. The potter then raised the child, Ndahura, as his own. Like his father Isimbwa, Ndahura is white.

Ndahura's personality was not that of a potter's son. He was arrogant and disrespectful of authority. His particularly annoying habit of bringing the cattle he herded to the salt water when the king's cattle were being watered and displacing the royal livestock, finally brought him into confrontation with Bukuku. Ndahura speared Bukuku, then astounded those present by sitting on the royal stool and proclaiming himself king. His mother, on the news, confirmed his birth and hence his right to rule. Isimbwa himself, on hearing of his son's rise to rule, returned to the kingdom, where it was apparent to all that the story told by Nyinamiru was true. Ndahura thus became the first Cwezi king and undertook the restoration of the kingdom.

Ndahura had a victorious reign, but befell a fate similar to that which plagued Isaza. He too was swallowed by the underworld, and although he was later rescued, felt that he had become unfit to rule. Mulindwa, his brother, who had served as king during his absence, was replaced by Ndahura's son Wamara, who was the third and final Cwezi king.

During Wamara's reign, the Cwezi were plagued with a series of
misfortunes. These fall into two classes. First, there were the un-
fortunate happenings: the death of a blood brother through neglect, the
loss of cattle and the loss of respect in the eyes of their subjects.
Second, there was the unfavorable divination, which symbolically de-
fines the problem of the Cwezi and suggests its solution.

(1) **The Unfortunate Happenings**

(a) **The Death of Kantu**

During his reign, Wamara cultivated the friendship of an
old man, Kantu, who had lived in Bunyoro under the
Tembuzi rulers and instructed Wamara in the history of
the kingdom. The two became blood brothers. One day
Kantu came to visit Wamara, but found that the king was
ready to go hunting. Wamara instructed his wives to make
the old man comfortable until he returned from the hunt.
The wives, however, despised the old man. They refused
to let him remain in the main hut, and sent him to an out-
lying one, promising that food and water would be delivered
to him there. The food and water were never brought, and
after some time, Kantu stumbled out of the hut to see if
the hunters were returning. He came across a pair of
mating cows, and was killed by the bull. When Wamara
returned, he inquired after Kantu and in due time the body
was discovered. The next day the king's herdsmen dis-
covered that all the cattle were producing red milk
This was diagnosed as the result of the violation of the blood brothership agreement. The relationship was loosened in the traditional way, and after four days, normal milk was again produced.

(b) The Loss of Cattle

During this time, the Cwezi cattle were raided by an invader from the direction of Burundi, a man called Misinga. There were a series of attacks and counter-attacks, in which some of the cattle were destroyed. Kagoro (one of the Cwezi, Kyomya's son born in Kitara) speared Misinga in a duel, and managed to recover most of the cattle which had been stolen from the Cwezi.

(c) The Disrespect of their Subjects

Although the Cwezi were reported to have had supernatural powers, and have a wide variety of cultural improvements credited to their reign, the people began to lose their respect for them. The Cwezi themselves were reported to be losing their magic: they were surrounded by strange noises when they ate, noises whose source they could not identify and whose presence they could not control. Nyakatura suggests that such loses of control might have contributed to the disrespect of their subjects. Furthermore, when they watered their cattle, they were plagued by two evil black creatures, who drove off the cattle. One day
Kagoro managed to kill the male creature, but the female, as she fled, warned him: "I am pregnant and there are many more of us." Again the effect of the incident was to spread fear among the subjects, who had less confidence in the Cwezi, and to create anxiety among the Cwezi themselves.

(2) The Unfavorable Divination

After the series of misfortunes the Cwezi suffered, they consulted diviners from the north about the meaning of their troubles. The diviners killed a cow to divine the mystery from its entrails, but upon opening the stomach, they found it was empty. The diviners then ordered the head to be cut open, and there they found the entrails. When the feet were cut open, the other contents of the stomach were found there. The diviners were hesitant to give an explanation, and wisely requested that they enter into a blood pact with the Cwezi before delivering their interpretation. A second animal was then killed. Upon its death, its blood spurted out in all directions. Like the first animal, the second had the entrails in the head and the stomach contents in the feet. As the entrails were being examined, a black soot oozed out of the calf and settled on them. The soot could neither be washed nor scraped away. The interpretation was then given. The intestines found in a tangle in the head of the calf meant that the time had come for
the Cwezi to pack their baggage and put in on their heads. The contents in the feet meant that it was time for them to start on their journey. The blood spurting in all directions was meant to show them the way. And the black stain which could not be washed away meant that the throne of Kitara would be taken over by black men who would not resemble the Cwezi.

As the over-coming of the soot of the underworld had signaled the beginning of the Cwezi dynasty, so its return signaled its end.

The legend of the Cwezi concludes with the account of the coming of the rulers foretold by their final divination. When they have decided to depart, the Cwezi realize they must face the question of who will rule after them. Kyomya raises the question and suggests an answer:

Who will rule this country if we go away? Let us send a message to Bukidi for my sons, asking them to come and rule in our place. If they fail to hold the country, the fault will be theirs.84

The coming of the Bito as rulers involves another enantiodromian transformation, this time stabilized and legitimized. Mpuga Rukidi, who becomes the first Bito ruler, is the very antithesis of the Cwezi. He is a naked hunter, completely without the knowledge and skills of the Cwezi civilization.85 His hair is long, not trimmed, as was customary in the kingdom of Bunyoro.86 When he enters the kingdom, he wears a sheepskin, clothing associated with women or young boys, not future kings.87 At the time he assumes the kingship, Rukidi Mpuga cannot speak Lunyoro, but must communicate through an interpreter.88 And perhaps most
telling of all, he is ignorant of cattle culture. He must be tricked into
following the kingly custom of drinking milk, for he has never encountered
it before.

The two women (instructing Rukidi in court practice) could not per-
suade the king to drink milk, for he did not know what it was. This
was a disgrace in the eyes of the Banyoro, so Bunono (one of the
women) determined to resort to strategy. One day when he was very
ill, she carefully washed out a milk pot, flavored it with smoke from
the fire, filled it with milk, and when night fell she came and handed
it to the king, telling him to drink this medicine through a spill. . . .
When he was well again, she showed him that milk was the medicine
she had administered, so he straightway called all his people of
Bukidi and advised them henceforth to cease eating food and to drink
milk only. 89

Fortunately the Cwezi had anticipated such a situation, and had left be-
hind them not only key instruments of their rule, but also knowledgeable
women to instruct the newcomers in court ritual. 90

But not only is Rukidi a cultural misfit, he is also something of a
physical anomaly. He is a twin, a special status in Bunyoro, and one
surrounded by mahano. 91 In addition, his name Mpuga indicates one half
of him is white and the other black, indicating his mixed parentage—half
Cwezi and half Mukidi. 92 Rukidi, then, is a numinous figure. Even the
diviner's hunting, upon returning from Bunyoro to groom him for the
kingship, testifies to his strangeness, for the diviner shoots an animal which
is as strange a conglomerate as Rukidi. The animal is part colobus
monkey, part lion. Furthermore, when it has been skinned, it remains
alive and runs about. 93

The support for the earlier claim that the Cwezi spirits are not
ancestors now becomes apparent. They are not the ancestors of the people
of Bunyoro, for they came into the country to rule it. Their rule was short, and their descendents remained only a short time. As a class, their offspring were *mbandwa* not Banyoro. It is clear also, however, that the Bito can be called the children of the Cwezi, for not only can they claim a geneological link with Cwezi spirits, but also a validated right-to-rule which sprung from them. This validation came in Rukidi's assumption of kingship. As was traditional, he beat the drums symbolizing kingship which had been left by the Cwezi rulers. As he beat the drums, he said:

> May the royal drums refuse to speak if this man is not a true son of the royal family and consequently not a worthy heir to the Bacwezi, his forefathers! And may he be hated by his subjects if he is a pretender!  

The drums beat well, indicating that his claim to the throne has been recognized, and the rule of the Cwezi has officially given way to that of the human Bito.

In addition to their association with historical rulership, the Cwezi spirits are considered to embody general "forces" which can manifest in nature as well as in the socio-political realm. A few of these associations are known. Wamara is associated with increase, or abundance. Sometimes this is expressed by his association with rain.  

Kaikara is the goddess of harvest, a more limited increase principle. Rubanga, one of the fiercest of the white mbandwa, is associated with twins and other forms of unusual or abnormal birth, the principle of excessive or marvelous increase. Nyabuzana is associated with travels and childbirth, journeys into and within the world. Kagoro is asso-
ciated with lightening, and also with cattle—especially their spirited and vengeful defense. One might suggest that his association with defense comes about as a result of his more general association with fearlessness and quick vengeance. He is placed in charge of the Cwezi cattle, grouped together under his care, because he is feared by potential thieves. And when he recovers stolen cattle, he proclaims: "Do you see me, Kagoro, the vindicator of the gods? The sinews of my body are iron. . . ." Kalisa is also associated with cattle, but with their nurture more than their forceful defense.

In general, the Cwezi spirits are considered to be concerned with human well-being, and hence are generally associated with fertility, prosperity, beauty, protection and security. It is only Cwezi spirits which are attached to households and clans, and serve as general protectors of these units. While neglect or failure to uphold ritual obligations may turn these generally positive forces "against" an individual, their "punishment" is generally a guiding one, and not a malicious or vindictive action, as may be the case with certain kinds of ghosts or black mbando. They cannot be employed in any kind of sorcery (secret attempts to harm others) and they cannot be used in divination (attempts to attribute responsibility to spirits or people). In general, they personify the positive forces which sustain life.

In addition to the "white" Cwezi mbando, there are also a larger number of "black" embandwa, or spiritual forces which are associated with foreign origin. These forces are more diffuse, and are generally representative of forces which impinge unfavorably upon the Banyoro.
The use of the color "black" to describe them, in direct contrast to the "white" Cwezi spirits, is indicative of this relationship, as are the names of the spirits themselves. Beattie indicates that in many cultural contexts, white is associated with purification and auspiciousness, while black is associated with inauspicious and polluting forces. 104

There are a number of "traditional" black mbandwa, that is, spirits which have been known since pre-colonial times. Among the most important of these is Irungu, who represents the spirit of the bush. 105 Irungu is thus associated with hunting, and is reknown for having been a great hunter. 106 As the mbandwa of wildness and hunting, he is especially important in kinds of divination and sorcery which employ the use of "medicine horns" (ihembe), powerful magical "tools" made from animal horns. 107 Kapumpuli or Kampuli is the mbandwa of smallpox, which spread over Bunyoro in a wave of disastrous epidemics. 108 Other traditional black mbandwa include Nyinabarongo, mother of twins, Murangira and Kiwanuka, spirits embodying the Baganda (oft-times enemies of the Banyoro), Kibuku, the mbandwa of dumbness, and Nkidi, an mbandwa of Bukidi (Acholi, the region the Bito rulers came from). 109 All these mbandwa are forces which operated in numinous, and often frustrating and harmful ways, upon Bunyoro.

There are also a large, and increasing, number of "new" black mbandwa. These spirits personify the force of new forces which have entered Bunyoro. These include:

Njungu  
mbandwa of 'Europeanness'

Nswahili  
mbandwa of Swahiliness, an East African Coastal culture containing African and Arabic elements
Kidandi
mbandwa of the plague

Dakitali
mbandwa of European medicine (doctor)

Nyarimarima
mbandwa of cultivation (cash crop marketing introduced by colonial officials)

Nyambongoya
mbandwa of 'gentlemanliness'

Kyeramagura kybalaya
another mbandwa of Europeanness, literally "white legs of Europeans"

Ndege
mbandwa of the airplane

Serkali Keya
mbandwa of the King's African Rifles

Ruhanga ndamusubaga buli kiro
mbandwa of Christian worship, literally "I shall pray to God every day."

Biharamunda
mbandwa of dysentery

W'llallah
mbandwa of Islam

Nyakalaya
mbandwa of European women, feminine aspect of Europeanness.

Kifaru
mbandwa of military tanks (Swahili for rhinoceros)

Kyaberamuti
mbandwa of two-wheeled carts or rickshaws

Nubi
mbandwa of the Bamubi, Sudanese who settled in Uganda at the time of Baker, and still live near Kampala

None of the mbandwa are "people". Njungu is not a particular European, but the "essence" or "force" of Europeans. Thus, as the Cwezi are not ancestors, worshipped as an ancestor cult, so the black mbandwa are not representations of particular existing people or objects, but instead an attempt to distill and represent symbolically those features which give the
class of people or objects their distinctive identities.

(3) Ghosts

The third category of spiritual beings contains ghosts (mizumu).

Ghosts, while they are disembodied spirits of living people, are themselves no longer "human." Beattie suggests:

A ghost (muzimu, plural mizimu) is the disembodied spirit of someone who has died. When a man is alive this vital principle is called myoyo, which may be rather loosely translated as 'soul', and it is believed to dwell in the breast or diaphragm. But a ghost is not just a person who has died; it is quite a different order from the living. Though it possesses human attributes it is not human. A Nyoro who wishes to threaten another with posthumous vengeance for some injury does not say, 'I shall haunt you when I die'; he says, 'I shall leave you a ghost'. . .

Ghosts, like other spirits, are thought of as diffused through space, not confined to a single place. It is compared to the wind, or to spreading water. Upon a man's death, his spirit, or ghost,

. . . is spread around like water. Afterwards it goes and lives underground, in the country of Nyamiyonga, the king of the dead. There it meets all other people who have died, and lives forever.

There is not, then, a merging of a man's spirit with God, nor apparently a radically different afterlife based upon daily life. Ghosts go to the underworld, associated with "blackness." The area is not governed by Ruhanga, but by Nyaminyonga. From the perspective of the living, it is mahano and inauspicious, as is death itself.

Death is not the only time the spirit may leave the body, however.

Sometimes the soul may leave the body while an individual is asleep. These travels are temporary and partial separations of the soul, as they are in Western thinking about astral projection. Death is a permanent separation.
A man's soul can go away from his body and visit other places while he is asleep. It is no good killing a man or an animal while he is fast asleep; he will not die, or at least not so soon, if his soul is not there. You must wake him up a little first; as soon as he begins to stir, then you can kill him. 114

The Nyoro view parallels the Western, "objectivist" view of astral projection. 115 In both traditions, separation of the soul involves an actual departure of the soul, which nonetheless will return. In both cases, disturbances to the remaining body will cause the soul to return to it. Also in both cases, "death" (the severing of the connection between the soul and the body) will be without the physical trauma of forced connection if the soul is simply prevented from returning to the body. In Nyoro thinking, the major way in which this would happen is by destruction of the physical body ("killing"), while Western fears are much more that an individual will be mistaken for dead, and prevented from returning to his body by its dissection or embalming.

Ghosts are capable of possessing men, but their possession is not sought. Unlike the mbandwa, both white and black, where possession may bring benefits beyond simply relieving existing symptoms, possession by a ghost brings no inherent benefits. While there is ambivalence in the relationship with ghosts:

... for the most part, ghosts are feared, not loved, and much of the ritual concerned with them is aimed at keeping them at a distance, rather than achieving closer relations with them. 116

While ghosts are not people, they are individualized forces, not general ones. Possession by them, then, does not bring general extensions of capabilities, but instead a kind of competition with individual development. One does
not find "mediums" for ghosts, but instead an individual becomes a medium for one (or several) mbandwa spirits, in the process learning a technique for coping with ghosts.

Not all ghosts have similar importance or ritual power. It is quite clear from Beattie's accounts that the symbolism of reversal which characterizes the kingdom of ghosts applies also to their social effectiveness. The most dangerous ghosts are those of people who in their lifetime may have been relatively unimportant. High ritual power belongs to those who in the social world may have had little effective influence over others. The strength of a ghost is determined by the extent to which it cannot be unilaterally dealt with on the magico-religious plane. Less dangerous ghosts either can be eliminated or placated, depending essentially on whether or not they are directly related (by physical birth) to the affected individual. Individuals associated with the patient (domestic slaves, blood partners and parents-in-law) may be permanently sent away by capturing and burning the ghost. Other important people, with whom close physical ties exist, will not be eliminated, but may be placated by entering into an enduring relationship with them and meeting the demands they specify (generally for their "rightful" respect). These include ghosts of a spouse, brother or sister, or parent.

But there are other ghosts whose ability to inflict illness or trouble often cannot be curbed, even with these ritual techniques. These include infants, whose ghosts are more powerful than those of adults.

The ghost of an infant (nkerembe) is stronger than that of an adult. . . An infant's ghost cannot be burnt; they simply do what it (sic) wants.
In seeking the reason for this, we encounter another important feature of "dangerous" ghosts. That is that they are often capable of being subjected to harm, either physical or psychological, which they cannot defend against in their lifetime.

An nkerembe (infant) may leave a ghost for three reasons--perhaps because they have thrown it away (kunagwa), perhaps because they have left it in a burning house and run away, perhaps because it has been killed by its mother.\(^{118}\)

Similarly, the person who has been harassed by another to the point of suicide is an extremely dangerous ghost.\(^ {119}\) Running through these examples is not only the theme of status reversal, but also the idea of guilt. The individual is injured by the ghost of a person toward whom they feel (or ought to feel) guilt.

In addition, there is a final element--that of ambivalence. The most dangerous of all ghosts is the ghost of a sister's child.

The ghost of a sister's child (mwihwa) does not have a hut built for it, nor can it be 'caught'. If a mwihwa's ghost attacks a family it finishes off the whole household; this is something about baihwa which are very feared.\(^ {120}\)

The sister's child is both "inside" and "outside" the family, and men are often torn between their responsibilities to their sister's children and their own. Yet the sister's child is "ruled" by the uncle, but without the security in the relationship that comes from being "ruled" by a father.\(^ {121}\) This relationship, then, has features of both ambivalence and guilt, and leaves the most powerful ghost.

These facts may be interpreted at four different levels, all of which form a consistent part of our epistemic community. At the symbolic level,
the reversal is another enantiodromian transformation ("subject" becomes "ruler" in another domain). Here it is an illustration of the general symbolic principle that opposites are not permanent, context-free oppositions, but rather opposing and complementary principles which are not only mediated, but transformed into each other. It is also a part of the general symbolic analogy, in which the afterlife is in many features a transformation of social life, as death is a transformation of life. Death rituals, with symbolic reversals, manifest the same principle in social behavior. 122

Secondly, the facts may be examined from a psychological perspective. In the domain of ghosts, more than in any other category of Nyoro magico-religious thinking, we find the elements of the Freudian unconscious, or Jung's "personal" unconscious. Ambivalence and guilt, so prominent in Freud's explanations of unconscious actions, predominate here. The activity of ghosts feeds upon the guilts, ambivalences and repressions which characterize everyday life. "Forgotten" slights and emotions manifest themselves in depression and illness. When ritually exposed, and acted upon, relief sometimes follows. 123

Thirdly, the facts may be interpreted with the additional perspective of the hermeneutic interest. When we look at the most powerful ghosts, we are struck with the fact that they exclude those members of the family which Freudian psychology would designate as important—the father and mother, and secondarily, siblings. Certainly these relationships are characterized by ambivalence in Nyoro society, as in Western settings. 124 But relationships are also well defined, and the members of the family are
not "powerless" in their mutual dealings, even though hierarchy is present. Ghosts of close kin are important in Nyoro magico-religious belief. Of the fifteen cases of diagnosed ghostly activity Beattie reported, seven were reportedly the activity of close kin (parents, siblings, grandparents). But these are not the most dangerous kinds of ghosts because they can be communicated with. Closeness in life translates into communicability after death. As in the Western case, "control" is a by-product of being able to communicate with spirits or ghosts. Hence, such spirits can be dealt with, and the trouble they are associated with mitigated. More distant spirits cannot be easily communicated with, and hence, are more difficult to handle. As in Western ceremonial magic, spirits or ghosts who refuse to divulge their name (and hence, their "place" in the magico-religious framework) are extremely difficult to communicate with.

Finally, we may examine this feature of Nyoro classification from the level of social structure. Here it is clear that the magico-religious power of "dangerous" ghosts is a means of complementing their relative lack of power in the social structure. This does not only apply to ghosts, but appears to be a feature of magico-religious practice, as well as its symbolic pantheon. As Beattie observed, the Abacwezi tradition has provided a means for allowing people of relatively low social status, especially women, to achieve positions of high ritual status as initiates and mediums. The magico-religious world, then, is a means of providing different, higher status for relatively low status groups.

We have seen, then, that the categorical framework of the Abacwezi
tradition consists of three independent particulars: Ruhanga-Nkya, the mbandwa spirits and ghosts. In terms of ritual practice, the second category is the most important, and most of the subsequent analysis will focus upon it. The relationships among the categories are difficult to describe exhaustively. We know that Ruhanga is seen as sustaining the lower categories, and in the case of the "gods of the earth", providing a mandate for their rule. Similarly, we shall demonstrate that in some ritual contexts, white mbandwa "rule" black mbandwa, and in others both white and black mbandwa rule ghosts (animal and human), as well as spirits of magico-religious implements such as horns. But we do not know, for example, the connection between the soul and Ruhanga, which might provide important insight into the question of over-all unity in the framework.

These categories share an underlying logic, similar to the symbolic logic we developed in Chapter Three. We have already seen elements of its operation, primarily the operation of enantiodromian transformations in both mythological and ritual material. It remains for us to develop some other features of this logic, and relate it to the analysis of psychological archetypes which were presented earlier. One of the most fruitful places to begin this analysis is by examining the Cwezi myths in slightly greater detail. In terms of psychological experience, the Cwezi myths are easy to identify. They are primarily enactments of the hero motif, associated primarily with the ego--its emergence from the unconscious and its confrontations with it which, if successful, will result in the self. Ndahura is the Cwezi spirit which most closely embodies the hero
motif. The hero is a quasi-human being who symbolizes the ideas, forms and forces which grip and mold the psyche. In particular, the hero is "a figure who passes from joy to sorrow, from sorrow to joy, and, like the sun, now stands high at the zenith and now is plunged into darkest night, only to rise again in new splendor." But it is clear from the myth that that Ndahura is a flawed hero, for while he has all the attributes of the hero, he does not in the end "rise again in new splendor" but instead gives up his kingdom and withdraws in self-acknowledged defeat. The other components of the Cwezi myths are attempts to mitigate this, providing other hero figures, most notably Wamara and Kagoro, who will complete the mythical motif successfully. But none are successful, and that Cwezi myths become a repository of the perils of psychic development, not a "model" of its successful achievement.

The hero motif often begins with the appearance of a numinous child, or using Lunyoro terms, one that is mahano. There are certain standard features of this symbolic representation, all of which are found in Ndahura's story.

(1) The child is a symbol which unites opposites. In psychological experience, Jung found that

... the 'child' paves the way for a future change of personality. In the individuation process, it anticipates the figure that comes from the synthesis of conscious and unconscious elements in the personality. It is therefore a symbol which united opposites... Ndahura's birth typifies a variety of unifications. He is a resolution of a series of opposites; that is, he combines them in himself and reconciles them. He is a child of both the underworld and earth. His father, Isimbwa,
born and raised in the underworld, while his mother was a human being, raised on earth. He is both a commoner and royalty, at several levels. His father is a descendent of Isaza, who was a legitimate king. His mother is the daughter of a commoner. He is the second attempt in the myth series to mediate royalty and commoners. The first attempt is his grandfather, Bukuku, a commoner who attempts (unsuccessfully) to become royalty by assuming the throne when his master, Isaza, disappears. Furthermore, Ndahura spends his childhood as a commoner, and his adult life as royalty. And finally, as any child, he is the reconciliation of male (father) and female (mother).

(2) The child has a numinous birth, and is abandoned. Jung identifies abandonment, exposure and danger as elaborations of the child's mysterious and miraculous birth. These conditions describe:

... a certain psychic experience of a creative nature, whose object is the emergence of a new and as yet unknown content. In the psychology of the individual there is always, at such moments, an agonizing situation of conflict from which there seems to be no way out—at least for the conscious mind. ... But out of this collision of opposites the unconscious psyche always creates a third thing of an irrational nature, which the conscious mind neither expects nor understands. ... From this comes the numinous character of the "child". ... Out of this situation the "child" emerges as a symbolic content, manifestly separated or even isolated from its background (the mother). ...130

Ndahura has a numinous birth. His mother has been mutilated by her father, who puts out one of her eyes and cuts off one of her breasts, to prevent her attracting a man, and giving birth to a child. Nevertheless, Isimbwa is attracted to her, and enters the "impregnable" fortress in which Bukuku has placed his daughter, and she in turn, gives birth to a child. Isimbwa's own numinosity is passed on to his son, who like his father, is white.
Finally, his birth is associated with a prophesy. Bukuku is told by diviners that if his daughter bears a child, the result will be disaster for him. Thus, the extraordinary precautions to prevent her conception. Ndahura is abandoned both by his mother and his father, by all of the oppositions he unites. Six months before his birth, his father leaves Bukuku's kingdom and does not return until Ndahura's own success draws him back. When his birth is discovered, Ndahura is separated from his mother and cast into the river. Instead of dying, however, he becomes entangled with some weeds growing along the side of the river, and is pulled out alive. The potter, Rubumbi, who finds him identifies him as Nyinamwiru's son, and informs his mother of his rescue. But she is not able to take him back, and so he remains separated from her, although she arranges for his material support, and he is raised as the son of the potter.

(3) The child is invincible. Jung again points out the link between the myth and psychological processes.

It is a striking paradox in all child myths that the 'child' is on the one hand delivered helpless into the power of terrible enemies and in continual danger of extinction, while on the other he possesses powers far exceeding those of ordinary humanity. . . . It represents the strongest, the most ineluctable urge in every being, namely the urge to realize itself. It is, as it were, an incarnation of the inability to do otherwise, equipped with all the powers of nature and instinct, while the conscious mind is always getting caught up in its supposed ability to do otherwise. . . . Its power is revealed in the miraculous deeds of the child hero, and later in the athla ('works') of the bondsman or thrall (of the Heracles types), where, although the hero has outgrown the impotence of the child, he is still in a menial position. The figure of the thrall generally leads up to the real ephiphany of the semi-divine hero.132

This passage has been quoted at length, for it establishes the sequence for a crucial transition part of the Ndahura myth: Ndahura's triumph. Not only
is he saved from the dangers attending his abandonment, but Ndahura develops with skills and attitudes far beyond those expected of a potter's son. He is willful and impertinent, unwilling to yield to authority above him; he drives the cattle he is to care for before those of his father and the king. His assumption of personal authority is threatening, as are his daring and strength, for when the other herdsmen attempt to correct him, he fought them so successfully that they were afraid of him, and appealed to the king to punish him. One day when the king is in the area, he witnesses Ndahura's displacing the royal herdsmen from their rightful position at the water trough. A conflict ensues, in which Ndahura defeats not only the representations of royalty, but kills the king himself. Ordinarily such an act would bring immediate death, but instead Ndahura broke away from his captors and, seating himself on Bukuku's stool, proclaimed himself the king of mankind. On hearing the alarm and shouting, all the people gathered themselves together, and as they looked at Karabumbi (Ndahura) they detected the strong likeness he bore to their king Isaza, so they feared to molest him or to interfere, and returned to their homes to discuss the matter and watch developments.

With his assumption of the royal stool, his period as "thrall" ends, for his mother confirms his inheritance and he assumes his rightful position as king.

(4) The hero accomplishes great deeds. The hero has now come into his own, and begins to fulfill the promise which has been contained in him as a child. The self-realization, previously an "urge" embodied in the invincible child, now becomes a reality. This is quickly apparent in the Ndahura myth, for upon his assuming the throne, Ndahura begins a successful program to restore the kingdom which has been eroded by rebellion and
secession under Bukuku's reign. So great is his success that his father returns to live under the rule of his son, who thus is accepted and revered, not abandoned by his parents. In addition, his name is changed as a tribute to his conquests. His father presides over the ceremony.

As the people beheld these new and wonderful things and the great wealth of their king, they stood speechless, and Isimbwa, the king's father, stood up and in a loud voice broke out into praise and exaltation of his son, saying: 'You have been called Karabumbi, but I say you shall from henceforth be known as Ndahura (I will store up). You are invincible; your roar is terrible; you are the mightiest ox in the herd of mankind.'

With his name change, his status as a hero or demi-god is signified. His importance extended beyond military conquest, for in addition, Ndahura is associated with a wide range of significant cultural innovation. He is credited with bringing tobacco and a kind of cotton into the country, as well as bark-cloth manufacture, iron working, reed palaces and administrative reorganization. He has indeed lived up to the image of the hero, and has reached his zenith.

(5) The hero has a dramatic confrontation. Often the confrontation takes the form of challenge from evil forces, or involves being plunged into darkness. While the new psychic force has gained recognition, and has earned the fruits of "directed consciousness," there still remains the necessity to incorporate the "darker" elements, in this case, unconsciousness. Here the account of Ndahura's myth is particularly in line with the form Jung presents for the archetypal "hero" organization. Ndahura continues to add to his empire until he has a confrontation with the underworld, the land of ghosts. There are two accounts of how this occurs. Both essen-
tially spell the same message: the conquests have gone too far. In Fisher's account, Ndahura institutes a system of tribute, and sends one of his sons with the army periodically to collect cattle and slaves, and give an assurance of loyalty. On one occasion, Wamara is late in returning from a tribute mission to an area of questionable loyalty. As Ndahura impatiently paces up and down outside his fence, waiting for his return, the earth opens and the king is swallowed, along with his servant, falling into the underworld. 140 In Nyakatura's version, Ndahura becomes restless for more action and undertakes another set of conquests. Instead of falling into the underworld, he suffers defeat. 141 In both cases, Ndahura is extricated from his misfortune by another, in the first case, by his servant, in the second by his son Kyomya.

(6) The hero rises to greater heights. Here the legend of Ndahura deviates. Ndahura is not the successful hero. He does not emerge to rule again. Instead, he gives up his kingdom to his son, Wamara, and withdraws. Like Isaza, he has failed in his confrontation. The reason is the same. His apparent "victory" in the testing--escaping from the underworld--is not his own. Like Isaza attempting to solve the riddle and deal with Nyamiyongo, Ndahura does not meet his own challenge. He is extricated by someone of lower status. In Jungian terms, the transformation of the ego fails, and regression is used to eliminate the challenge to the ego. Ndahura is the flawed hero, not the conquering hero.

While there are a variety of other hero motifs in the Cwezi myths, there is not another spirit which embodies the archetype of the victorious
hero. Most are related to Ndahura, and provide partial attempts to balance the flaws in Ndahura. Wamara, for example, makes a blood brotherhood pact with Kantu, an "old man" who teaches him much about the kingdom, but who is identified with the earlier Kantu, who represented the fourth brother, and the disruptive force which upset the "unity" of society--based upon a triadic principle. But Wamara's achievements are upset with the death of Kantu, an action which stems from his neglect, and carries with it the mahano of a violated blood brotherhood pact. Unbalance within his "household" upsets Wamara's rulership, and again leads to a withdrawing, not a victorious, hero.

The Cwezi myths, then, like the myth of Christian Rosencruntz, focus around the hero motif. But the Rosencruntz myth, as embodied in the Chemical Wedding, completes the pattern, and provides a symbolic representation of the battles of the ego. The Cwezi myths, on the other hand, present accounts of the struggles, but not the resolution of them.

The motif of "rebirth" or "resurrection", final triumph over darkness, the underworld or death, is missing. The myths, then, do not provide a model for successful defense and expansion of the ego to make way for the wholeness of the self. Each is characterized by a kind of imbalance, which cumulatively make the Cwezi in the end relinquish their kingdom.

This does not mean, however, that the epistemic community is one which provides no "positive" model of psychic development. The symbolism of initiation does this, and serves to complement the mythical statement. Magico-religious ritual in this case does not enact its mythological base.
It expands upon it and deepens its meaning. We shall, then, find additional elements of the symbolic logic, especially the successful use of the principle of balance, embodied in ritual practice. Together the ritual practice and the mythological accounts provide an expansive, and potentially emancipatory, model for psychological development.

If the principles of balance, the destructive effects of unbalanced forces, the mediation of opposites and the transformation of complementary opposites are demonstrated, so is Jung's principle of competing unity principles, based upon "three" and "four". In the Western tradition, this competition was associated with differences between mainstream Christian practice, based upon the "three in one" concept of unity, and the modification of these principles based on the alchemical concept of the "four elements" and the Qabbalistic principle of the tetragrammaton as embodying the unity principle. In the Nyoro case, this competition reflects a different social distinction: that between the state and the community as bases of social unity. What Jung observes as a psycho-symbolic feature in the Nyoro instance reflects a socio-political one as well.

Beattie maintains that a division of Nyoro society and culture into distinct spheres of 'state' and 'community' is not the arbitrary distinction of an analytic observer. The concepts of 'state' and 'community'

... are as familiar to Banyoro as they are to Western sociologists. Banyoro quite explicitly distinguished 'kingship' (bukama) and 'government' (bulemi) on the one hand, from 'neighborhood' (butahi), 'clanship' (bunyaruganda) and 'kinship' (buzaranwa) on the other. They thought of these two dimensions of social life as quite separate, indeed as standing in opposition to each other, for the claims they made often conflicted, and the differences between them were often referred to in everyday conversation.143
Berger's analysis of the kubandwa tradition in Bunyoro suggested that at the time it emerged, it served as an aid to state-building, helping to merge a slightly weakened kingship network into the emerging state. In doing so, the tradition incorporated both elements in its practice. Its organization was modelled upon the kinship organization, while its autonomy made it an important force in state operations. While we shall contend that this analysis is basically correct, the matter goes deeper. We shall attempt to show that this is also linked to unity symbolism in Nyoro society, and that the Abacwezi tradition not only structurally, but also in its symbols, attempts to reconcile and transcend these differences.

Beattie has argued that the number nine is associated with the king and kingship. This is an association suggested both by myth and by ceremonies associated with kingship. The ceremony to install a new king involves many actions which are done nine times. The new king knocks on an ax nine times, he beats a metal drum nine times, and drums out nine "different rolls" on his principle drum. When ceremonially installed, his most important crown is placed on his head nine times. He cuts himself nine pieces of meat, and takes nine sips of milk. After the king has been installed, a royal drum is beaten for nine days in succession.

Not only the coronation contains the number nine. Possessions associated with kingship come in nines: there are nine royal cattle dedicated to the king's use, nine royal drums and nine white cowskins on the royal stool. When Ndahura returned from his conquests, he presented royal gifts in nines: nine handmaidens, nine slaves, nine wives, nine sheep,
nine cows and nine spears. 151

Not everything the king always does comes in nines. By looking at the contrasting motif, we are able to see more clearly that in the context of royal ritual, the number nine represents the king as unifying leader of the state. The king, as kinsman to members of his family or the royal clan, is associated with symbolism based upon fours. Thus at the beginning of the coronation, one princess is chosen to perform a ceremony to purify the land. She takes herbs, dips them in water, and sprinkles them to the four corners of the earth. Having done this, she is removed from the royal court and never allowed to set eyes on the king again. 152 Later the head of the royal clan (Munyawa) places the king's father's crown on his head, leaves it for a second, then raises it. He does this four times, then pauses and repeats the procedure. After this has been done, the king's own regalia are presented to him. 153 Finally, the mock king who is chosen to "fool death" is a younger brother of the king. He rules for eight days, after which he is ritually killed. 154 The king himself, on the other hand, is expected ideally to hold full powers for at least nine years. 155 In each of these instances, community is being contrasted with political authority. In the last two instances, the community involved is kinship. The ruler of the royal clan demonstrates the descent of the new king by touching him with his father's crown eight times—after which the king is associated with the right to rule by having his own crown placed on his head nine times. The mock king is related to the king, and installed so that it appears that he is king. By blood lines, he could be. But his rule is a sham, reflecting ties of royal
lineage and not effective political authority.

The first case contrasts the community of the Nyoro people with the Nyoro state, and the princess who makes this contrast is not permitted again to be associated either with the king as head of state, nor with the community of the royal court. Ceremonies to assert "national community" over "national statehood" were rare. I have been able to identify only one other, and it also is based upon the four quadrants. Each year the king was required to perform a ceremony for the defense of the country. It is in case of an attack that the element of community is most apparent, and the ritual reflects this. The king shoots four arrows, which are recovered, to the four directions, saying as he does: "I shoot the nations to overcome them" (Ndasere amahange kugasinga).

Unity based upon community is generated in several ritual contexts, the two most salient of which are marriage, which creates new kinship ties, and blood brotherhood, which cements friendship into an association somewhat "like" brotherhood. In both cases, the rituals are dominated by the number four. The cycle of the marriage ceremony is a collection of four separations of four days each. There is first the ceremony of bringing the bride to the groom's home, establishing her there, and setting out the duties and rights of marriage. After four days, during which the bride had remained in the bridal hut, there was the ceremony of taking the bride out of the bridal room, which could begin when the bride's family had sent small gifts for the bride. Four days after this, came the returning of the barkcloth, where the bride returned to her father's house, carrying nothing,
but accompanied by the same number of people who had gone with her in her initial journey to the groom's home. A feast, as large as the one given at the groom's home, was then held at the bride's father's home. The bride returned to her new home without spending the night with her parents. Four days later, she returned again to her father's home, and spent four days there, after which her head was shaved in a special pattern. Her return to her husband's home after this marked the completion of the marriage ceremony.

When she left her home this time the rituals and observances (amahano) of marriage were finished. She had become a wife and was no longer regarded as a bride. Her husband would give her a share of the domestic work, including cultivation. 158

Throughout the ceremonies, observances based upon four were also prevalent. In their playful first fight, the bride and groom divide four berries, each taking two, and throw them at each other. 159 When the couple feed each other, a sign of closeness, they each offer the other food four times. 160 In the ritual to help the bride collect grass, each woman assisting uses four cords to tie up their bundles. 161 The first fire lit in the house must not go out for four days. 162 The newly married couple are aspersed four times. 163 All of these activities are symbolic of the new community which marriage is expected to bring. Similarly, the new community which blood brothers are expected to share is symbolized by their anointing each other in four places, face, chest, arms and abdomen. 164

The same competition among wholeness principles is found expressed in another context. This is male-female relationships. In this context, the number three is associated with women and girls, while the number four is
associated with boys and men. After childbirth, a woman remains in bed three days if the child is a girl, four if it is a boy.\textsuperscript{165} When a child is first brought out of the house, a piece of grass is passed around its body three times if it is a girl, four if it is a boy. After burial, three lumps of iron are placed on a woman's grave, four on a man's. When washed before the marriage ceremony, the woman is washed three times, the man four.

These are two \textit{different contexts} in which the competition between unity principles manifests itself, associating with one element of a pair of complementary opposites. It is tempting, but wrong, to attempt to equate the symbols across contexts.\textsuperscript{166} Authority is \textit{not} female, and community is \textit{not} masculine. Symbolic connections across contexts are made by analogy, and it is the range of possible analogies and the flexibility with which they operate which makes equivalent inference dangerous. Men are considered to be superior to women in a variety of social contexts. In such contexts, the number four is often considered a superior number, while three is subordinate. In these contexts, three is sometimes associated with being the object of authority, the possession of which is typified by association with nine.\textsuperscript{167} But in general, the two contexts are separate, with four as a symbol of maleness not being confused with four as a model of community unification and balance.

It is finally worth stressing again that oppositions in the Abacwezi tradition, as in the Qabbalistic one, are not permanently fixed. They can be both mediated and transformed. As Beattie maintains, they are \textit{aspects} of life, and if they become suitably unbalanced, one principle may give rise
to the other.\textsuperscript{168} This attitude toward complementary opposites is as important to the Abacwezi tradition as it was to the Western ceremonial magic tradition, and is centrally linked to the operational philosophy of the ritual practice.

**Interest Structure**

The Abacwezi interest structure is dominated by the two interests which were central in Western ceremonial magic: the emancipatory and the hermeneutic. While in Western ceremonial magic these interests were defined in terms of the individual, in the Abacwezi tradition, until recently, they both had strong social components. As such, they have been more directly related to social and political life than groups like the OTA can, or would like to be.

Beattie has demonstrated that the Abacwezi tradition has a strong hermeneutic interest, or in his terminology, an expressive interest. As we noted, a hermeneutic interest is not incompatible with instrumental application, but rather shapes the attitude toward "control". Beattie argues the same case regarding Nyoro magical rituals.

I am not saying that ritual and magical activities are not commonly thought to be causally effective; they certainly are. But they are expressive as well as being instrumental, and it is this that distinguishes them from strictly empirical, instrumental activity. Indeed, they are believed to be instrumental just because they are expressive; . . . Since these beliefs are essentially expressive it would be inappropriate, even meaningless, to put them to the kinds of tests which might disprove them.\textsuperscript{169}

Like their Western counterparts, Abacwezi magicians believe that spirits do not communicate through the same means human beings use in their conscious
dealings with each other. Normally, "ordinary", uninitiated people can get the "message" of a spirit only through the effects it has on their daily lives. Unlike the Western tradition, which sees visualizations as a primary means of spirit communication, the Abacwezi tradition emphasizes action as the vehicle for communication. As Beattie notes, with relation to ghosts,

Unlike its European counterpart, a Nyoro ghost is never seen, although it may appear in dreams in the form of the dead person whose ghost it is. Rather it makes itself known to the living by causing them illness or other misfortune and its agency can only be diagnosed by a diviner. . . .170

Ceremonial practice, more specifically spirit possession, provides a more direct way of communication. By establishing a direct link with the spirit, its desires, aims and intentions may be expressed in a special language. By learning to deal with spirits in terms of social ritual symbolism and terminology, the magician can interpret directly the meaning of "spirit acts", and, indeed, can communicate his own "instructions" to spirits, hence directing their "action pattern" vis a vis his fellow men (as in types of sorcery). Both spirit possession and divination stress activity as key components of their practice. When Western ceremonial magic stresses a visual manifestation, and defines "getting something" in terms of the presence of a clear visual image, in the Abacwezi tradition the presence of a spirit during possession is indicated by its "pushing down" the medium, literally its "climbing onto the head" of the receiver.171 Spirits are identified not by their image, but by their patterns of action.172 Similarly, many "mechanical" techniques of divination in the Abacwezi tradition involve interpreting not only patterns, but the actions which produce them.173
The importance of the hermeneutic interest has been recognized by a variety of anthropologists studying other magico-religious ritual. But as was the case for the Western tradition, there is also a primary emancipatory interest. Beattie has noted that the mbandwa tradition, especially possession associated with the white mbandwa, is beneficial for both the individual initiate and the household unit. The Nyoro recognize a complementary, reciprocal relationship between spirits and men, as Jung did for unconscious and conscious contents. Spirits have a need for recognition and expression, usually expressed in terms of their feeling neglected or 'wanting to eat' or 'requiring' a medium to manifest through. Men are dependent upon the good will of spirits, and spirits are dependent upon men. Spirits may guarantee health, fertility and happiness, while men assure them expression, service and respect. Within this context, the spirit mediumship tradition offers a way of entering into satisfactory relationships with powerful spiritual forces, and acquiring blessing and good will. An individual's relationship may bring benefits for the wider social group. In recognizing this, the Nyoro say that household mediumship contributes to the house. The white mbandwa come to purify (literally to whiten) the house and give it blessing.

Positive, emancipatory relationships are not forthcoming for uncontrolled or unintended possession by a spirit, which indicates the need for therapy (via initiation) rather than a benefit. It is being able to undergo possession "at will", that is, under appropriate conditions, which has beneficial effects. What are these effects? One, clearly, is the hope that an
Immediate disease or problem may be overcome by understanding its origin
(in the action of spirits) and effectively dealing with it in those terms.
Another benefit, however, is that a person's range of capabilities may be
greatly expanded by becoming initiated to several spirits. Especially in
recent years, initiation is seen as a way of expanding individual competence,
not imply in coping with emerging problems. mediums seek to expand their
"versatility" by being possessed by a number of spirits, certainly more than
they could have "afflicted" by. Beattie noted that the eight women mediums
he was able to interview were mediums for an average of fourteen spirits,
with one woman claiming to have been a medium for forty-one. 177

Individual emancipatory interests are reflected both in terms of
social relationships and the status of the medium in society. Even under
the current socio-political restrictions on the tradition's operation,
mbandwa initiates are thought of as being different from ordinary people,
and in some contexts, superior to them. 178 This is not because they are
drawn from a particularly influential sector of society, but because they have
achieved a capability, the ability to deal directly with spirits, which in prin-
ciple is available to everyone. The high ranking magician is an individual
whose distinctiveness depends upon achievement. Personal emancipation,
or even more minimally, ritual competence, could provide the basis for
participation in more differentiated social roles, while holding forth the
opportunity for enhanced influence in society.

There is another aspect to this. As we have seen, there are in-
stances in which individuals of relatively low social or political status are
accorded high ritual status. With regard to ghosts, this status comes after
death, providing little effective benefit for the people involved. The mbandwa
tradition also allows for higher ritual status—especially for the many women
who become members. This is a status which can be participated in, and
"enjoyed" in the lifetime of the person. Very frank initiation songs detail
some of the "down to earth" benefits:

'You get plenty to eat (in the society of the babandwa) and as well you
put your hands in other people's purses', and 'Where ever I am called
and where ever my wanderings take me, whether by day or by night, I
find beautiful young girls prepared for me.' What all these songs sug-
gest is that entry into the cult of the particular spirit being invoked
will be rewarding for the novice; ... All these songs are repetitive,
and are commonly interspersed by choruses, of which a common one is:
'Eee! how happy you are when you bandwa.179

In addition, there is a kind of social emancipation that may come with
mbandwa practice. Normally definitive authority may not apply with the same
force to the household initiate.

... even the household head, whose authority over the group is un-
questioned in all other matters, must treat the medium with respect at
all times, even when he or she is still a child. I have been told of
household heads who have suffered illness or other misfortune because
they have offended the household medium.180

This principle is especially important for female group mediums, for they
are not permitted to permanently leave the homestead in which they were
initiated, and hence cannot marry for bride-wealth, nor move to their
husband's home. They, like princesses, then, have a special marital
status. Beattie suggests that:

It is significant that a special name is given to a female household or
family medium (a male one is simply called kibandwa or mucwezi w'eka),
she is called Nyakatagara. This is said to be derived from a verb
okutagara, meaning 'to be free to do what one likes, to be privileged'.
The etymology may be dubious, but the implications are plain.181
This is not a matter of choosing between a kind of social emancipation, coming from privilege, and an increased insight into the workings of the community, and psychological emancipation, including catharsis and at least some apparent healing. In Nyoro society, especially as it existed traditionally, these two were intimately connected, for the magical practice itself was linked to the socio-political domain. In the Western magical world, there is considerable tension between achieving social benefits, and striving for social emancipation and individual benefits, and striving for psychospiritual emancipation. This tension is consistent with both Christian thought on the subject and the "alternate reality" status of ceremonial magic. The tension is not present in Nyoro tradition. In the Western magical tradition, there are still claims that the best way to tell a real magician is to note whether or not he charges. If he performs services for money, he is suspect. Needless to say, such "free" services would provoke almost as much suspicion in Nyoro society as they are supposed to quell in modern America.

Operational Philosophy

It is at this point that our data constraints become crucial, for as we indicated in the first case study, the operational philosophy is the key to practicing magic, and a central element in establishing its social reality. Unfortunately, none of the existing material on the Abacwezi tradition in Bunyoro contains direct information on this topic, and I myself was unable to complete a program of interviews. Crucial hypotheses about the operational philosophy will have to be cautiously advanced on the basis of existing accounts of techniques, and our general knowledge. For this reason,
we shall defer our discussion of the operational philosophy until available material on techniques has been presented.

Techniques

Like the OTA, the Abacwezi have ritual practice as their primary technique. Again like the OTA, they have several kinds of rituals, falling roughly into the categories of initiation and operations. Operations may include diverse applications of the spirit mediumship technique, for example in possession to establish ties with a spirit, possessions to capture a ghost, divination by spirit mediumship, and recently, even sorcery. We shall examine these ritual techniques in turn.

Initiation (Kutendeka)

Initiation in Bunyoro proceeds through a series of well defined stages. Initiation is generally sought on the advice of a diviner, so that the family of the prospective initiate must first find a senior initiate (musegu, plural basegu) to perform the initiation. The musegu who officiates must be a medium of the mbandwa which the diviner has identified as responsible for his client's problems. The family must also prepare large quantities of food and beer, for not only a number of babandwa, but uninitiated neighbors and relatives will attend public parts of the ceremony. Once contacted, the babandwa will then select a senior male to be the initiate's "father" and a senior female to be his "mother". Sometimes, however, all who participate in the initiation are called "mothers", with the senior musegu being called the great mother or grandmother (nyinenkuru). The musegu then
selects three or four junior members to assist him in the initiation. The date is arranged, and a small downpayment is made.

On the appointed day, the party of initiators arrives at the neophyte's home at dusk, accompanied by other babandwa. They bring with them their regalia, which will be put on upon arrival to avoid detection by the authorities. Each spirit has its own set of regalia. These include beaded headdresses, somewhat like the "crowns" of high political officials, decorated with cowry shells, and sometimes with black and white colobus monkey fur. In addition, there are necklaces, composed of beads, cowries, seeds and wooden charms; wooden staffs (wands) of various kinds and pear-shaped gourd rattles. The type of equipment and design patterns differ for each spirit, although Beattie does not give examples of the differences, nor the dimensions involved.

Beattie does not mention any external preparations for the initiation, and in view of the strict laws against magical practice, it is likely that such preparations, like public wearing of regalia, may have been abandoned. Cory, writing of initiations twenty years earlier among the Sumbwa, noted some significant preparations. The senior initiate and his assistant hoe a circle around the house in which the initiation is to occur. They sprinkle protective medicine between the furrow and the house. Stakes are then pounded into the ground, either along the circle, twenty to thirty paces apart, or at the four significant quadrents around the house. At each peg, the man pounding them throws himself upon the ground and says, "If comes a bad man may he die, may he burst completely." The circle, like OTA's
smaller version, serves to contain the ritual operation within its unity, and provide a protective barrier against outside forces which might injure the participants.

The first step in the initiation is the washing and purifying of the initiate. The neophyte is washed, and then anointed from head to foot nine times with an herbal preparation. In addition to symbolizing the purity of high status, the anointment could be a massage technique which might increase the neophyte's sensitivity, as the OTA's use of "tactile hypnosis". Without a description of the means used to apply the preparation, however, this remains speculation. It is also possible that the herbs were a preparation which might be absorbed through the skin, which might induce a light trance. This seems unlikely, for the nature of the trance induction, the time involved and the instruction suggests that drugs are not the basis of the ceremonial trance state.

After the initiate has been purified, he comes into contact with the impure. In Nyoro symbolism, the color white is associated with the more auspicious, more ethical and more pure. White is used as a contrast to black, which is relatively less auspicious, less ethical and less pure. Throughout the initiation ceremony, whiteness and blackness appear as alternate aspects or phases in the initiation process. In this first instance, the potsherd which held the herbal preparation is placed on the ground and a black colocynth berry is put inside it. This action symbolizes the changing of one element of an opposition (purity-whiteness) into its complementary opposite (impurity-blackness). The potsherd which was held up is set down,
up being associated with the abode of Ruhanga, down with Nyaminyonga and the black world of ghosts. What was pure inside has now "blackness" in it. Does this transformation negate the symbolic purification of the initiate? No, for the initiate tramples it with the left foot, saying, "May all the badness which was in me depart from me; I have trodden this under with my left foot and so shall I tread on evil in the future." The left is in Nyoro symbolism the less auspicious side of the body. In using the left foot, the initiate does not deny the transformation (as might be implied by using the right foot) nor does it overcome him. Instead, recognizing the principle within him, he maintains that by accepting its role, he triumphs over its challenge to him. Unlike the Ndahura confrontation, which fails, his succeeds. "I have trodden this under with my left foot and so shall I tread on evil in the future."

After the purification, the initiate is brought back into the house and dressed in barkcloth. The people then sit in a semi-circle around the fire, which is made using ngando, a wood which burns with a bright, white flame. The house has been cleaned, and the floor spread with fresh grasses. There is a general emphasis upon purity and cleanliness, as well as upon respect. Spectators are allowed to enter and leave the room, but must do so quietly and respectfully, and must not smoke or drink while the ceremony is going on. Herbal incenses are placed upon the fire, while additional herbs are placed in a potsherd and set upon the coals to serve as a kind of censor. The neophyte is seated before the fire, and the barkcloth is pulled over his head. More medicines may also be applied to his body at this time.
He is then given a plant, muramura, to hold with both hands. Beattie does not indicate whether or not the initiate is instructed to focus his eyes on the plant, but its positioning tends to suggest this. If this were the practice, it would be an aid to dissociation similar to those used in a variety of other ceremonial systems, including Eastern tratakam techniques and early Western ceremonial magic, some hypnotic techniques and the OTA mirror method. The initiate, then, facing the fire with the barkcloth acting as a hood to prevent side vision, would be in a technically feasible position to enter a light trance state.

Once the initiate is positioned, the babandwa begin rhythmically shaking the gourd rattles around his head. This part of the ceremony is public, and the audience joins in singing certain well known cult songs. The theme of these songs is the rewarding experience the neophyte will have when he has been initiated into the mbandwa society. There are other songs, specific to individual mbandwa, which are more properly evocations. These are sung only by initiated people, for others feel that participation in singing these songs might lead to their being overwhelmed. In both cases, the aim of the singing is to induce possession in the initiate.

Beattie's accounts mention only the public activities. Nyakatura suggests, however, that babandwa have their own private ceremonies while possession is being induced, which involve sexual intercourse. This is consistent with Cory's account of Sunbwa initiations, as well as the Nyoro use of sexual intercourse at the end of the initiation to end the state of ritual danger or mahano. In both instances, while sexual activity is recognized
as fun, this is not its primary purpose. The Sumbwa caution those involved
in the rite:

You yourselves must understand that the performance of this rite does not mean that you are lovers. It is performed to remove the taboo by a mystic rite. . . .195

While the "Baswezi like fun, no initiate should suppose that the purpose of the Buswezi is simply copulation."196

The initial attempt to induce possession sometimes does not succeed, probably due to the fact that the initiate apparently receives no instructions on entering the trance state, that no drugs are given which aid in trance induction, and that the technical system is relatively weak. Beattie's accounts indicate that "some hours" may pass without the initiate becoming possessed. This is consistent with the nature of the technique. The early Golden Dawn operations did not use a mirror, but the person entering the trance state was expected to form the image of the spirit out of the smoke from the incense. Even with the systematic instruction in visualization and imaginative training, the operations often took hours. With the mirror, the same principle proceeds much faster, with most OTA operations being completed within forty-five minutes. Relying upon this technique dictates some understanding by the initiate of the principles, and, especially, of the continuum between imagination and trance states.

If the neophyte fails to become possessed after a substantial length of time, the babandwa begin to sing critical songs, showing their impatience. If possession does not then occur, they will remove the neophyte from the room, on pretext of going to cut some stiff standing firewood (murangara)--
implying that the initiate is stiff and unyielding like that wood, and that their aim is to "break" this. Taking the neophyte with them, they say "Let us go and hunt the mucwezi." While outside they attempt to encourage a more favorable attitude in the initiate, encouraging spontaneity. The first "teaching" is also implied, for they suggest that the technique involves learning, and that this may not all come at once. If all else fails, the neophyte is expected to "simulate" the trance state.

The Sumbwa initiation proceeds much faster, although it is not a "sure fire" system. A mixture of plants, which apparently can induce a trance state, is prepared and a few drops placed inside the nostrils of the neophyte. The mixture takes a short time to become effective, and there is apparently considerable variation in the time required for people to be affected. Some respond very quickly, while others may remain placid and indifferent to their surroundings. Ritual leaders attempt to correct the latter by treating for either an overdose or an underdose of the medicine. If possession does not then occur, the person is prohibited from becoming a member of the society.

After the Nyoro neophyte has received instruction, the party returns to the house, and the singing begins again. When possession occurs, the branch being held before the neophyte begins to shake, after which the neophyte begins to sway back and forth and shake. The babandwa close in, and if the neophyte does not fall down, he is pushed to the ground. This is a sign that the spirit has come. The initiate is then covered with barkcloth and bound up, as though for a funeral. The body is tied with four swatches
of grass if the neophyte is a man, and three if a woman. A small fee is then collected to raise up the initiate. When the bonds have been undone, the initiate is raised up. In this process, all concerned are careful to see that the neophyte's hands do not touch the floor, as the woman about to become a bride must be careful not to touch her hands to the floor when she rises from greeting her suitor and his gift of beer and a goat. Throughout the initiation ceremony, the neophyte, regardless of sex, will be called mugole or bride. Both the resurrection and the marriage symbolism suggest that the neophyte enters a new identity, and this is the case, for when he is placed upon the stool, he is no longer addressed by his own name, but instead is called by the spirit's name, for the spirit is now thought to have taken him over.

At this point the initiate may be questioned by relatives and neighbors, who generally inquire about the spirit's behavior, ask what it wants, and plead with it to cease its destructive behavior. It is possible that the neophyte could respond at this time, but since the response must be made in a special vocabulary and voice which the initiate has not yet been taught, it is unlikely that anything will be said at this point. The spirit, may offer blessings, however, by spitting upon selected members of the group. If more than one spirit has been diagnosed by the diviner, another possession may then take place, and the process may continue far into the night.

At dawn the neophyte is taken outside. The male initiators point their spears toward the east, while the female initiators point their wooden spears in the same direction. The neophyte is instructed to point the
muramura branch the same way. Each of the four cardinal points is covered in turn. Beattie records no invocation, but Cory describes the same ceremony, accompanied by an invocation. In structure, this ceremony closely parallels the Lesser Pentagram ritual described earlier. In Cory's case, the neophyte throws some seed in each direction, instead of pointing a leaf. Turning to each of the directions, he recited a small invocation.

(1) **East.** The neophyte says: "You, sun, I got in touch with the spirits. May you grant me recovery from illness, sitting upon the vishingo (spirit huts) of father and mother. May you cure me surrounded by illness."

(2) **West.** The neophyte turns west and says: "I turn to the west. Baswezi all come from the west of the Watussi. Help me. I got in touch with the spirits of father and mother. I shall not reject father and mother."

(3) **North.** Turning north, he says: "I speak to you people of the north. Grant me well-being. May I be finished with illness."

(4) **South.** Turning south, he invokes the spirits of the country whence came the ornamental copper rings.

After the four quarters have been covered, he holds his implements above his head and says: "I hold the vishingo of father and mother. I enter the Buswezi. May I be received by chiefs, by Europeans. May I arrive, may I heal the same way as they heal. . . ."

After the ceremony of the four quarters, the babandwa eat a meal. During the meal the babandwa feed the neophyte with little balls of food, as a mother feeds her child, or a new husband and wife ritually feed each other four morsels of food during their marriage ceremony. The feeding is symbolic of a close bond, and is to signify the acceptance of the neophyte into the company of the more experienced members.

The rest of the day is spent in making the equipment which the neophyte will need. These include the headdress and regalia of the spirit, or
spirits, for whom the neophyte will serve as a medium. Ritual medicine containers (kalinda or bijwenge) will also be made. These contain powerful medicines, as well as items closely associated with the neophyte, such as blood, hair, eyelashes, nail-parings, skin and perhaps pieces of the bark-cloth worn during the possession. The charm is a powerful one, reported to contain medicines used in sorcery, capable of inducing dreams in which the spirit may communicate with the initiate and of making the owner sick, or even killing him, if he fails to show proper respect and deference to other cult members. The container again follows correspondences, for Beattie notes that the pattern and number of decorations sewed on, the color and the contents vary with the spirit associated with the charm and its function. The charm is a simulacrum, familiar to both sympathetic and contagious magical practices, which symbolizes the link between the person of the initiate and the forces he wishes to master. In this case, it also carries with it the force of the babandwa society, with its psychological and physical techniques of enforcement.

More possessions may take place during the evening. On the second day the ceremony of birth is enacted. Only members of the society are present. One member, designated as midwife, seizes the initiate and pulls him through the legs of the "mother", who groans as though in childbirth. The neophyte is then expected to cry and act like a newborn baby. If he does not do this spontaneously, he may be struck and instructed to cry. The "child" is then washed and lifted onto the "mother's" lap, where he simulates nursing. The rebirth motif complements the earlier death motif.
As the neophyte was regarded and symbolically raised to a spirit identity with which he could not cope, so now he is born into a tradition in which he will be taught to deal with the ritual situation as a child learns to know the world he is born into.

Immediately after being lifted to the lap, the "child" is cursed. The curse is then immediately removed. The purpose is to make the "child" more resistant to other people's curses. The same practice is followed with newborn infants. The insight here is again that of balances or phases. The curse and its removal together make the child stronger than it would have been had it lacked either one. This principle will be enacted again, on a larger scale, in the two excursions to the bush— one to the "black" bush, the other to the "white" bush.

(1) The black bush. Only members are permitted to make the trip to the bush. When they reach the appointed place, the neophyte is forced to sit down with his legs stretched out in front of him, while his "mother" supports him from behind. His regalia, and everyone else's, are placed in a heap before him. Then a series of insults, curses and tests take place.

One of the senior members will submit the initiate to a stronger and more formal curse. Dressed only in a loincloth, he exposes his buttocks in an indecent manner. Holding his gourd rattle in both hands, he passes it through his legs and touches the neophyte's mouth with it, warning him that if any of the secrets told him are revealed, he will suffer great punishments. The ground will open up and swallow him; he will be struck by
lightning when there is no rain; he will be bitten by a cobra or python; he will be pierced by thorns; if he enters the bush he will never come out alive; and finally, sexual intercourse will be spoiled by his breaking wind. 206 After the curse, the musegu stands up and hurls his rattle over the neophyte's head into the grass behind him.

The musegu then gives the neophyte a small pebble wrapped in a banana leaf, as food is wrapped, and instructs him to swallow it as "medicine". When the neophyte tries and fails, the stone is thrown away. The pebble is called the "pebble of the oath", and apparently indicates the impossibility of his escaping the oath. 207

The head initiator then picks up a spear which has been standing in the ground before the initiate and instructs the neophyte's "mother" to hold him firmly so that the musegu can spear him. The "mother" does so, exposing the neophyte's breast bone to guide the spear to a deadly spot. The musegu, after a couple of false starts, runs up to the initiate and positions the spear on his chest, as though he intends to spear him, but with insufficient pressure to pierce him. The neophyte is frightened, and sometimes may begin to cry spontaneously. When one of Beattie's informants did this, she was praised:

Now she has taken hold (literally) caught the secrets of the babandwa; others have undergone the same experience, now she will become a mubandwa like other babandwa. 208

The purpose of the testing, then, is not to make the neophyte hold back his fear, but to express it openly and dramatically, as when possessed, he will convey dramatically the spirit's intentions. This is intended to have a
healing effect, just as his expression in the testing brought him benefit.

The neophyte is then made to select his newly made regalia from the pile before him. He is told to choose those which he likes best. The intention is that he choose those made for him, and if he fails, he is slapped and beaten. The message here is clear. The regalia and simulacrum contain his correspondences and effuvia, and are appropriate to his mbandwa. They symbolize the neophyte himself, both physically and psychologically. He is to value himself, to prefer his position, not simply accept it. The message warns against the failure embodied in the Isaza-Ndahura myths: that of attempting to use "borrowed" solutions to meet personal confrontations.

After the testing is completed, the initiate may receive initial instruction in the special language of the mbandwa. The secret vocabularies of each geographical center of the cult appear to be different, developed in the context of the local language. It is these secret vocabularies which are used during possession. The terms referring to Cwezi cult practice, however, are held in common by widely diffused practitioners, as Berger demonstrated. The secret spirit languages, then, are particular, while the terms describing the cult practices are more general. This supports the observation that while the outlines of practice remained the same across wide areas, interpretations were made in terms of local conditions.

(2) The white bush. The journey to the white bush, which follows the next day, removes the curses which were placed on the initiate earlier
and provides instruction in the norms of the cult.

The same musegu, who the day before placed the rattle curse on the neophyte, now removes it. The rattle is used again, but this time the mesegu does not bend down, but merely touches the novice on the head with the rattle. When the curse has been withdrawn, it is replaced with advice and instruction stressing the same theme, that the secrets of the society must remain secret.

A type of normative instruction then follows, with the initiate being told first of all never to neglect the spirit to whom he has been initiated. He is then told that he must be respectful to the babandwa who were present during the initiation. This includes making visits to them, bringing small presents, being hospitable when they arrive as guests, and providing comradeship and service, including in some accounts, sexual intimacy.

The new initiate then receives the regalia which have been made for him. The regalia and medicines are the insignia of his new status as a mubandwa, and the tools which permit his participation in other operations. As the day before, he had to choose them, and so himself, today he receives the potential to use them.

The instruction in the special vocabulary is then completed. The initiate is now ready to undergo a full possession, giving answers to the questions put to him by those present.

A final ceremony takes place in the evening or the next day. A large ant hill is found, and one of the soldier ants is placed on the neophyte's tongue. If it bites and draws blood, this is a good omen. A small piece of
regalia from the initiation is also placed in the mound. If the insects begin to eat it in the next couple days, this is also a good sign, indicating that the initiation has been successful, and that the novice will in the normal course of events, go on to initiate others. After these divinations, there is an act of ritual sexual intercourse between the neophyte and a senior member of the opposite sex. This ritual, like the Sumbwa rite, is used to end exceptional ritual status, the mahano of the initiation. Again, the performance has a different meaning than usual sexual relations.

... finally, there takes place an act of ritual sexual intercourse with the novice, the purpose of which is to bring an end to the condition of grave ritual danger (mahano) in which the secret and sometimes fearful activities of the preceding few days have placed her. 210

Similarly, pleasure is not the criterion by which partners are selected.

If the initiate is a man, he will go with his 'grandmother' to lie with her so that the mbandwa may not cause harm. They will make that man lie with that woman even if she is ninety years old. And if the initiate is a girl, she must go with the musegu and have intercourse with him even if he is a hundred years old. And even if she is the wife of another man she must do this if she wishes to be initiated into the mbandwa cult (kutendekwa embandwa). 211

The final ritual action repeats again the motif of complementarity and union we have seen repeatedly in the initiation ceremony. The mahano status is not "thrown away" but is accepted and acted upon in such a way that is is nullified. The initiate, the recipient of mahano and the musegu, its regulator, are joined and with their union, the mahano situation is nullified, leaving the neophyte stronger than before the initial encounter. The initiation ritual is a series of oppositions created, balanced and incorporated into a new whole. As such, it presents an operational motif for mbandwa practice.
In addition to the initiation ritual technique, the mbandwa society has a series of operations. The most important of these is a possession whose purpose is to cope with the spontaneous and unwilled manifestation of a spirit, either an mbandwa or a ghost. While the possession technique will remain basically as we have described it, other components of the ritual will vary, depending upon the nature of the spirit involved.

One of the technically most complex of the mbandwa operations is the operation whose object is to capture or destroy a ghost. As we have seen, this operation cannot be used with ghosts of very close relatives, and will be ineffective against very powerful ghosts. It is used, then, in those cases which are easiest to permanently resolve. These ceremonies are conducted by diviners (mufumu, plural bafumu) who are also mbandwa initiates. They are generally mediums for powerful black mbandwa, especially Irungu, the mbandwa of the bush, and Kapumpuli, the mbandwa of small-pox, since these mbandwa are useful for divination, where the white mbandwa are not. The preparations for an operation also entail providing beer and food, but on a smaller scale than for an initiation. Sacrifices, generally chickens and a goat, must also be provided.

Nyangatura has mentioned that the principle of complementary opposites might apply to the preparations for initiations and operations. In making his preparations,

The homestead head would proceed to collect food and drink for the feast, and appeal to his 'white' or 'pure' Cwezi to send his servant the 'black' Cwezi. He might present an offering to Kaikara (a female Cwezi spirit), then to Mujobe (the 'black' Cwezi) and then the feast was officially open.
The procedure for inducing possession was the same as for the initiation, but unlike possession by mbandwa, possession by ghosts could be violent, and leave the medium with physical after effects. One of Beattie's informants presents an account of a particularly violent ghost possession.

When it had entered her (kumugwere literally 'fell upon her') it began to hurl her about and choke her. She knew nothing of this; others explained it to her later. But the next day her throat was so sore that she could not even swallow her own saliva.

This practical feature reinforces the more theoretical statement we made earlier, that individuals do not become "mediums" for particular ghosts, although they must become mediums of some mbandwa to receive a ghost. Far more than is the case with mbandwa, the purpose of a ghost possession is to free the sufferer from arbitrary actions by it, and encourage it to remain within its proper domain. The prospect of an unpleasant possession, and reports of them, reinforce this conclusion.

Once possession has been induced, the mufumu asks the ghost its name. Often it will not answer, making its disposal more difficult. The first attempt will be to capture the ghost. This involves additional equipment, which will be used once the ghost is present. The mufumu will require two newly made pots, fired the same day, a black goat and two red fowls. In addition, he will have a series of herbs and plants, all of which suggest by analogy, the binding of the ghost. The names and descriptions make this clear. They include:

- Kibona "That which ties up", used to bind the ghost and keep it from returning
- Kinamiro "That which stoops", used to incapacitate the ghost
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kyombera</th>
<th>A bush which &quot;makes a lot of noise for nothing&quot;, suggesting the ghost should shamefully go away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matatembwa</td>
<td>Smooth bark which the ghost cannot climb up to escape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buhumaho</td>
<td>Tree stump, again incapacitating the ghost by making it stumble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ihozo</td>
<td>&quot;That which makes cool&quot;, to &quot;cool&quot; the ghost, whose anger and fury is said to be &quot;hotness&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruhunahune</td>
<td>&quot;That which is silent&quot;, intended to quiet the ghost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ntahinduka</td>
<td>&quot;I shall not turn back&quot;, used to prevent the ghost from returning, 215</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All these plants are used as charms because they imply, through analogy, the binding of the ghost, and its permanent neutralization. Each of these is placed within the pots, which will be set near the diviner during the operation.

As the possession continues, and the questioning is completed, the ghost will be shown the chickens and goat, which are then sacrificed. The goat's head is brought before the ghost, and if it approves of the sacrifice, it indicates so by spitting on the head. The head of the animal sacrifice is always offered to the ghost, implying that since it has its own "head", it ought to be willing to leave the head of the person possessed. The goat head is then placed inside the pot. The diviner attempts to persuade the ghost to leave the person possessed and enter the pot. If successful, the diviner will immediately seal the pot, trapping the ghost inside. The pot may then be buried some distance from the house, with the diviner planting ndahinduka (I shall not turn around) over the spot.

The attempt to tie up or bind a spirit is also found in the Western
tradition of ceremonial magic. When a spirit has been manifested and does not heed the license to depart, i.e., attempting to make the possession permanent, the operator threatens it with the "curse of chains", which promises to permanently bind the spirit. The Goetia gives the curse as follows:

O thou wicked and disobedient spirit N., because thou hast rebelled and hast not obeyed nor regarded my words which I have rehearsed; they being all glorious and incomprehensible names of the true God, the maker and creator of thee and of me, and of all the world; I do by the power of these names they which no creature is able to resist, curse thee into the depth of the Bottomless Abyss, there to remain unto the Day of Doom in chains. . . .

As the curse is delivered, the spirit's seal, which has been written ahead of time on parchment, is placed into a strong black box, which is bound up with an iron chain. This is the first means attempted to control the troublesome spirit. If this fails, both the Western and the mbandwa tradition move to stronger methods.

An alternative to simply binding the spirit is to destroy it. This involves burning the trapped spirit. This requires that:

they collect firewood and burn it in the bush some distance from the house, perhaps two hundred yards away. If the fire is not strong enough, so that it just burns the plantain-fiber ropes with which the pot is bound, the ghost may suddenly escape. If it does, it may there and then kill the people who have caught it and go on to kill others. But if the fire is a really strong one, it doesn't matter when the rope is burnt; the ghost will not be able to escape from the flames and will be consumed.

The Western tradition also provides for the burning of recalcitrant spirits. If the curse of chains is ineffectual, the box bound with the iron chain is placed upon the tip of the sword, placed into the fire, and held there while the curse of fire is given:

I conjure thee, of fire, by him who made thee and all other creatures for good in the world, that thou torment, burn and consume this Spirit
N. for everlasting. . . . For the which thine averseness and contempt thou art guilty of great disobedience and rebellion, and therefore I shall excommunicate thee, and destroy thy name and seal, the which I have enclosed in this box; and shall burn thee in immortal fire and bury thee in immortal oblivion. . . .

It is important to notice again that such techniques can be used on only weak ghosts or non-Christian spirits. Those unconscious forces which are directly connected to the individual or his egregorie cannot be destroyed—they must be given their rightful place and acknowledged. Both traditions recognize this principle, and both stress adjustment as a general principle. This suggests another operational principle, that of making direct contact with spiritual forces, and dealing with them in their own terms. This attempt, crucial to the Western operational philosophy, pervades the mbandwa practice as well. We shall encounter more examples of it as we discuss further operations and techniques.

Sometimes it is not possible to persuade the spirit to leave the person and enter the pot. In such cases, the operation comes to resemble an exorcism, and, again, shares features with the Western ceremonial tradition. In such cases, the arrangement appears slightly different. A rope is hung through the roof of the house and attached to the wrist of the person being possessed. The other end is hung over the edge of the thatch. The nknombo, a container made from the flower sheath of a banana plant, is hung at the end of the rope outside the house. Six strong men are stationed outside the house, with instructions to seize the rope when it begins to shake, and so prevent the ghost from escaping. A dried wood called kitimazi, literally dungwood, is then burned and the person is fumigated with it. It has a foul
smell, and forces the ghost to leave. When it does, it travels up the rope and is then caught in the nkombo. The diviner comes out of the house, and seals the hole at the top of the container. The ghost and its prison are then burned.

In the Western ceremonial magic tradition, when the curse of chains and the curse of fire have failed, the receiver is fumigated with a foul-smelling incense, typically sulphur or assofoetida. This has the effect of bringing the receiver out of the trance, and most of the operators out of the room as well.

In both traditions, the destruction is symbolic. In neither case is the actual spirit itself annihilated. Western magicians see no problem in summoning a week later a difficult entity which they bound and burned. A spirit is not struck from the Lemegaton because a practitioner somewhere binds and burns it. Neither does the ghost cease to exist in the world of ghosts. Its capture and "destruction" are symbolic—it is trapped in the world of men, symbolically constrained from further operation there, and so expected to return to its "normal", i.e., unproblematic state. In both cases, what is destroyed is the basis for a spirit to impose itself upon the people in question. Also, the symbolic basis for this is to destroy those things which are thought to be important for the spirit's continued earthly activity. How is this done? First, a symbolic statement of the "logical" importance of the item is made. Second, this symbolic expression of the spirit's force is destroyed—burned, buried, or bound.

There are two ways of looking at the process by which the symbolic statement of importance is established. One is to consider it from Frazer's
point of view. If we do this, then the symbolic importance is established by a version of contagious magic, based upon the principle that things which are in contact remain thereafter closely linked. In the Abacwezi case, the ceremony attempts to bring the central important object into contact with the ghost. The ghost is asked to "spit" on the head brought as a sacrifice. When the ghost cannot be persuaded to do so, and must be dealt with more forcefully, his path of travel is arranged so that he must pass into contact with the implements in the bag at the end of the rope. Since these things are physical, they may be physically manipulated, and the manipulation will affect the spirit, for they are connected. The basis for asserting their connection, then, would be a general law of contagion: that things which have come into contact with each other establish a bond which remains even after they are separated.

This interpretation is unsatisfactory. The reason, in part, stems from Malinowski. The Nyoro do not always behave as though the "logical law" of contagion held. They do so only in well defined instances, especially in ritual settings. Beattie suggests the importance of this. While correct in observing homeopathic and contagious principles, Frazer and his followers were wrong in their interpretation of them.

... Frazer errored in supposing that magic was simply a mistaken theory of causation. Nobody in their senses could possibly believe that all things that share some common quality, and all things that have once been in contact, are continually affecting one another; a world so conceived would be chaos. Magicians and their clients know quite well that for the most of the time like is not affecting like.

Instead of interpreting such principles as cognitive modes of thinking about causation, let us interpret them as elements of the logic of symbols. Under
this view, when the Nyoro magician brings a physical item into contact with
the ghost, he is asserting—in the symbolic medium—that there is a close
logical connection between the two. He is attempting to represent the con-
nection, as it would be represented in a dream, by the positioning of the two
elements. The expression is not a cognitive principle, but a representation
at the psychological, unconscious level. The symbolic statement asserts
that the physical object in question is necessary to the spirit. If it is denied
it, its effectiveness in the present situation ceases.

The means of destroying effectiveness—binding, burying, burning—
work at the level of the "necessary" object. This is clear in Nyoro magical
practice. The pot is buried and if the ghost returns, it will not get past the
spot. The "ghost" is not "buried", for it is not a solid, buriable thing, but
in Nyoro terms, more like the wind. 220 Similarly, the "ghost" is not burned.
The ghost "escapes", becomes effective in the human world again, only if
the ties of the container are burnt, for then the contents of the pot, the
"necessary" items, are not denied it. But if the fire is hot enough, and burns
the contents, then it does not matter if the ties are burnt, for the "neces-
sary" items are destroyed. 221 The symbolic statement is clear, and consistent
with Nyoro statements about the nature of spirits and ghosts.

The same analysis holds for OTA practice, but the situations in which
the ritual actions occur are more carefully constrained. OTA recognizes
the difference between representations which are aimed at the psychological-
unconscious level and thought principles as a cognitive principle. It uses the
former in carefully delimited situations, with individuals who understand the
delimitation. The people have voluntarily placed themselves into close contact with the unconscious, and have undertaken possession for the purpose of bringing about such contact. Ritual bindings, burnings and exorcisms, then, are "fall backs". Only when the contact becomes too persistent are they used, and then primarily with the conviction that if the trance state is broken and the symbolic representation of "termination" made, the affair is ended. For the babandwa, dealing with cases where the connection with the spirit world was not sought, make much more use of the "binding" motifs than does the OTA. The OTA, in recruiting its members, seeks to avoid initiating those with "problems", and has no magical responsibility for the affairs of non-members. The babandwa have a different social base, and significant responsibility for psycho-social, as well as physical, problems. They must try to cope with problems which OTA magicians gladly leave to "shrinks".

There are a couple of variations on the techniques we have presented, none of them representing a logical difference. It is possible in some instances for the diviner to take the goat head from the sacrifice, with some of the saliva from the ghost on it, and bury it in his own front yard. The saliva is said to satisfy the ghost that it has eaten the goat, and it will not return to afflict people. The diviner may bury an additional fowl with the goat head, and plant a protective plant (ejubwa) on the spot. He essentially relies upon his ritual power to keep the spirit from afflicting his household.

In another case, the ghost may be lured into an animal horn. The diviner prepares a horn and fills it with medicines, as described earlier.

Then he smears it with the slimy juice of a plant called rucuhya (Sida rhombifolia, a plant with tiny white flowers). When the goat provided for
the ghost is being slaughtered, blood from its neck is allowed to flow over the horn. The horn is then given to the woman to keep. The mufumu names that horn ruboha because the ghost has been 'tied up' (kubona) by the medicine in it, and it will protect that woman from further attack by that ghost. 

In this case the ghost is "bound over" to the person. This implies that the horn itself must be cared for, and probably like most other horns, requires periodic sacrifices and attention from its possessor. But the "upkeep" is considerably less than the obligations encountered with ghosts which require a permanent relationship and cannot be bound.

There are also minor variations on possession technique. In some cases, a special horn may be placed in the hands of the person being possessed, instead of a leaf or rope. Such horns are said to promote possession, and the horn is called upon to bring up the ghost. In other instances, the diviner himself goes into a trance, becoming possessed by a black mbandwa which can "divine", for example, Irungu or Kapumpuli. The patient is possessed by the ghost. The diviner then lures the ghost into his own head, where the dialogue between the mbandwa and ghost take place, the mbandwa being the more powerful of the two. 

Another ritual technique involves dealing with entities which cannot be bound or burned, but must be accepted and lived with. The possession ceremony is as we described it in the initiation ceremony. When the person has become possessed, the spirit is questioned about its motives, wishes and intentions. Generally, the spirit will identify some source of dissatisfaction and suggest a remedy. This may involve sacrificing an animal, or several animals. Usually, however, more is involved. The spirit may de-
mand a spirit shrine, a small hut whose design and construction materials vary with the nature of the spirit. At a minimum, the hut must be well kept, and small amounts of food and beer brought to it periodically. In other instances, the spirit may ask that a living animal be dedicated. The animal will then be well cared for. If the spirit should again require a sacrifice, this animal would be sacrificed, and then replaced with another. In still other cases, the spirit may request a specific action, e.g., that brothers living apart return and live together or that property taken illegitimately be returned. All these requests would be stated in the possession, and would then have to be acted upon, as the basis for a satisfactory, enduring relationship with the spirit.

These techniques recognize the basic fact that most important problems cannot be resolved entirely at the symbolic level. They have social components, and these must also be worked out. Hence, in conjunction with the symbolic resolution, the ritual provides a means for identifying social actions which must complement it. This, again, is a principle which the OTA qua magical lodge need not confront because of its relatively isolated social position. Psychotherapy, on the other hand, has branches which do emphasize the social components of treatment, attempting, for example, to alter social relationships, especially family ones, on the basis of therapeutic insights. Again the key role of social base in the ceremonial-technique component of a magical epistemic community becomes clear. Different demands, and different attitudes toward social demands, rather than a different psycho-logic, suggest different ritual techniques. Western cere-
monial magic relies upon other communities of specialists, not just in relation to their own daily lives, but also in terms of ritual focus, to cope with whole areas where magical principles might plausibly be extended. The niche carved out, for them, is manageable given their social base. Magic has attempted larger scopes, and still does in the mbandwa tradition. Sustaining these, however, requires much more elaborate interconnections between the role of magician and society.

There is a final operation associated with divination. In this case, the diviner must be a medium for one of the black mbandwa associated with divination. The diviner himself then enters a trance state and, in this condition, answers questions put to him. This technique represents what is called a "solo operation", since the same person must both induce the trance state and enter it. The diviner begins singing, and shakes his own rattle. After the first song, he generally does not sing (most people being possessed do not sing), but continues to shake the rattle while others sing. After some time, he will begin to shake and fall to the ground. Generally another medium is present to raise him up, after which the spirit will answer questions. The questions may cover not only affairs relating to ghosts or sorcery, but also personal and domestic questions. Although the spirit will answer many of these, it may also refuse to answer, or simply say that it does not know. Such operations are becoming more frequent, not only in Bunyoro, but in urban areas like Kampala as well. Apparently the most lucrative profession for an initiate in the modern setting is acting as a medium-diviner, not supervising traditional household initiations. Ini-
tations which are performed generally are recommended by diviners, a point we shall explore in our discussion of the social base of the cult.

Operational Philosophy Revisited

We are now ready to compare what we have discovered about the OTA's operational philosophy with what we can infer about the Abacwezi's. The first principle we discovered in the Western case was the ascent motif: psychic development was the process of reversing creation and ascending the Tree of Life, using techniques as aids. Confrontations with the unconscious were sought, in the interest of expanding consciousness and coming to various aspects of the psyche. This method, as we noted, is a risky one—for it is not assured that the provoked conflicts will be easily or automatically coped with. It requires a good deal of ego strength, as well as psychological openness, to keep either from being overwhelmed by the unconscious contents or building up resistances to those contents which themselves become unmanageable.

The motif of psychic development as ascent is not found in the Abacwezi tradition. It is not a significant theme in either the myths, which underlie the tradition, or the initiation ceremony. Neither is there an attempt to "seek" confrontations with the spirit world, or the unconscious domain. The mbandwa tradition has quite a different approach to the use of techniques, and their relation to the emancipatory interest. We shall first attempt to reconstruct this, and then explain the differences between the two traditions.

The Abacwezi tradition begins with the presumption that things which happen to people are personally meaningful. "Chance" is not an explanation
for events in daily life. The mbandwa cult begins with some of these events, and provides techniques and a framework for discovering their meaning, making it plain to the person, by explanation and symbolic representation, what that meaning is, and adjusting the meaning so it can be not only coped with, but may also contribute to strengthening the person—as the Abacwezi balance motif demonstrates. There is apparently no "typology" of meanings, nor an ordering which suggests that some events ought to be brought about in order to fill in missing "meaning experiences". Techniques are applied to interpret events, and help achieve emancipatory meaning rearrangements. They are not applied, in general, to generate independent meanings, although initiates who go on to become mediums for a variety of spirits may operate under a slightly more "interventionist" philosophy. Without detailed accounts from practitioners, we simply cannot tell.

As many other authors have noted, simply the belief in magic may serve at the cognitive level to suggest the meaning of unfortunate events. The Western concept of "change" serves a similar function. Similarly, meanings may be interpreted in a variety of ways, including consulting priests or shamans who have access to "extraordinary" sources of insight. The Abacwezi tradition, however, is committed to interpreting and rearranging meaning through experiences which the involved individuals have. This puts important constraints upon its techniques, and the operational principles used in applying them.

The difference in operational philosophies is manifested clearly in the way techniques are used, and the kinds of techniques which are sought
and developed. Both the OTA and the Abacwezi belong to traditions which use trance induction under hermeneutic-emancipatory interests. OTA's "secret" is the use of the mirror as a means of making a trance induction technique which is fairly powerful. The Abacwezi "secret" is the use of role playing as a means of facilitating trance states. Consider again what happens in the initiation ceremony, and particularly, why a new initiate is purposely placed in a situation which must lead to a "technical" failure. Initiates, Beattie suggests, come into the mbando society with "everyday life" attitudes toward it; these are generally either an "objectivist" view, which maintains that a spirit really does take over the medium and really does speak a language which the medium neither knows or understands or a skepticism that attributes trance communications to "fraud". It is impossible to act on either of these presuppositions during the first possession. The person, believing that all he must do is wait for the spirit to take over, fails. The person believing there is a trick does not know what it is. In either instance, after some time, the nature of the situation is explained. The medium must contribute to the process, either by genuinely losing inhibitions and entering a trance, or by "simulating" one.

How is this "simulated" trance related to the "possession"? Several answers are possible. One view says that it is the possession, that the ceremonies are dramatic exercises which bring cathartic relief, but no substantial change in consciousness. We shall suggest that the "simulation", more properly a kind of role-playing, is a way of learning to enter trances which, when entered, are noticeably different from everyday consciousness. Earlier
we observed that the line between "imagination" and "hypnosis" was not a sharp one, but that the two could blend together. We must now see what has been discovered about the way in which this occurs.

Recent studies indicate that:

The hypnotic and nonhypnotic states and the behavior that results from them are, without doubt, different, but this depends upon two elements: (1) the depth of the hypnosis which, of course, involves the hypnotic relationship and (2) the amount of time the subject has had to experience this state and to come to live within it. 230

The second point is the most crucial for our discussion. We have already observed that changes in personality and body functioning, which are measurable, occur in certain deep trance states. Now we discover that these are measurably different at different times in the trance state. We quote at length to make clear this important point:

. . . it was found that when a somnambulistic subject was placed in hypnosis and directed to return to an early period of his life, there appeared a reasonably good but obviously simulated attempt to act like a six-year-old. Evaluations including intelligence scales, figure drawings and actual observed play all suggested a simulated form of response. However, as he was permitted to remain in this state for three and a half hours, the simulated behavior started to change and assume a much more spontaneous and emotionally involved projection of early childhood behavior. Reevaluation after four hours of elapsed time from the first regression showed strikingly different results, particularly on the Rorschach and figure drawing tests. 231

Even when his first hypnosis was deep, the patient initially appeared to be simulating a regression, which only later was actualized.

Attempts to induce hypnotic states have not been successful in all cases. Some people are difficult to hypnotize, and have strong resistance to going into a trance, which cannot be overcome easily by suggestion. It can, however, be overcome in some cases by concentrating on role playing.
Kline discovered that he was able to induce deep trances in previously resistant patients by giving up attempts to deepen their light trances, and instead urging them in the waking state to act out different roles. He found that:

With varying degrees of time, ranging from fifteen to sixty hours, over eighty per cent of such refractory subjects either became capable of much greater depth of hypnosis upon subsequent induction or actually achieved a somnambulism.\(^{232}\)

Taken together, these two facts suggest that initial contact with hypnotic trances involves significant elements of role playing, which become the stepping stone for a qualitatively different kind of behavior.

The Abacwezi initiation ceremony provides very weak technical aids to trance induction. The rattles, darkness, singing and staring may produce very light trance states, but any real resistance to going into a trance state is liable to prevent a deep trance. When this occurs, role playing is used as an initial step toward final trance-state competence, in the meanwhile providing at least some cathartic effects. The initiation which follows attempts to encourage greater spontaneity, and indeed, claims that the idea of the babandwa has been grasped when spontaneous emotion is shown.

Over the course of participating in many operations, the role playing may provide the basis for a deeper trance state.

Why the trance state at all? What does it add over role playing? The dominant hypothesis about hypnosis is that it is based upon a form of regression. Neo-Freudians, like LaBarre, suggest that this is regression to a narcissistic level of behavioral response, and that magical practice arises from identification with this narcissistic state.\(^{233}\) If true, then the
trance "adds" nothing to role playing, but removes the ego's control so that it can "play roles" which would otherwise be prohibited. But experiments with trance states increasingly note its fundamental organic elements and suggest it constitutes a return to a basic rather than a narcissistic level of behavioral response. Instead of a reversion to an earlier, inappropriate, stage,

... this represents the individual's participation in magical powers which he lacks the courage to attribute to himself in the nonhypnotic state, the magical powers being quite naturally an attribute of the ability to alter and to change perception. It is as perceptual alteration and the manipulation of the self in relation to his perceptions that the potency of magic has evolved in the minds of men. 234

The role playing can serve as a means of helping to make the meaning of his situation clear to the initiate, but meaning reinterpretation draws upon trance induction, and its attendant capabilities for fundamental perceptual change.

The second key principle in the OTA operational philosophy was the concept of balance. This is also a key principle in the Abacwezi tradition. In the Western case, this involved the ability to locate an imbalance and to isolate specific forces. Both of these extend to the Abacwezi practice. The ability to locate imbalance for the Western tradition lay in an individual analysis of his conscious personality and attempts to explore unconscious contents. In the Abacwezi operational philosophy, this is not a personal evaluation, but one made most generally by a diviner, at least vis a vis therapeutic operations. So far as I have been able to determine, there is no other technique associated with initiates themselves.

The isolation of particular spiritual forces seems to proceed under
the same logic as the Western ceremonies. An attempt is made to use all available avenues to suggest the particular force. Hence, the music sung, the regalia used, the equipment employed, and medicines burnt all suggest the spirit whose presence is desired. It is not a matter of isolating effective "causes" of trance behavior, but of symbolically over-determining the situation in a way which suggests a single focus. Whether or not a specific set of behavioral traits are also associated with individual spirits, as Rigby and Lule suggest for diviners in Kampala, remains to be seen.

The structure of the mbandwa society and its role in society are perhaps related to the differences in operational philosophy. Most crucially, the mbandwa cannot screen applicants as OTA does. This is bound to affect the application of techniques, for if the more powerful methods are also more risky, there are constraints to applying them widely. Where only priests or shamans undergo trances, the constraints may be fewer, either because participants can be selected to maximize the likelihood of their successfully handling the techniques (mystery school model), or because appropriate social positions can be found for the small number of people involved, relatively irrespective of their ability to cope with their experiences in a way which allows them to keep a sense of "everyday" reality.

It has not been possible for me to define a unity principle which underlies Nyoro symbolism. The evidence at hand suggests one based on the merging of opposites, but whether or not there is a "symbolic key", as the tetragrammaton provides for the OTA, cannot be determined from the accounts which exist, and probably cannot be inferred from English translations. In
particular, traditional proverbs play an important role in cult symbolism, and without an understanding of the proverbial "way of speaking", it is unlikely that substantial progress could be made in trying to arrive at a symbolic key, as opposed to general dynamics. Hence, we remain unable to specify what one would need to know to "improvise" a "successful" operation in the Abacwezi tradition.

**Inter-Linked Roles and Social Base**

Like any secret society, the mbandwa organization must recruit new members. Traditionally the mbandwa society has had several sources of recruits, none of them requiring the mbandwa to openly and actively solicit members.

People might be initiated as household mediums. Traditionally, each household was expected to have one medium for the white Cwezi spirit associated with its clan. Generally, this medium was initiated while still a child. Good behavior, a gentle and respectful nature and good character were primary requirements for the household medium. In the past, this route would supply a relatively constant number of new initiates, but by the 1950's one of Beattie's informants estimated that less than 4% of Nyoro households had an official household medium.

People might be initiated because they had a dream or unusual experience which directed them to do so, or could be classed as mahano. Apparently, this is not a significant source of new recruits.

The most common reason for being initiated seemed to be that a person had an illness which was diagnosed by a diviner as involving some
spiritual force which could be removed only by his undergoing initiation and possession. Many diviners were mbandwa initiates, and since initiation was quite profitable to the babandwa, there seems to have been a structural "vested interest" in diviners' suggesting initiation. Yet the desire to be free of illness, more than pressure from a diviner, seems to have been the main motive for seeking initiation.

With the growing importance of individual, rather than group, interests, and especially increasing use of spirit mediumship for divination, some people may become initiated in order to gain skills they feel are desirable, ranging from healing to divination and sorcery. Such individuals are initiated for their own benefit, not a collective one.

The exact composition of the mbandwa society cannot be determined as precisely as for the OTA. Beattie contends that there are more women than men involved in spirit possession, but that the most senior officials (musegu) are almost invariably men, as are high prestige diviners. The large percentage of women means that a significant number of initiates are people with relatively low social status. But this does not mean that they are poor. The fees for initiation were quite high, ranging from 30-40 shillings to £ 30 or more in the 1950's. Indeed, there is a Nyoro saying which asserts, "A poor man may not be initiated into the cult." One would expect, then, that many women were able to enter the group because their husbands were willing to pay for initiation, while relatively fewer low status (often poor) men were initiated.

The society itself is hierarchically arranged, with seniority coming
as a function of age, experience and skill. The society, as we have seen, once formed the basis for a professional organization, and could offer full-time occupation to some of its members. Today this is no longer true, and few "professionals", if any, work full-time as babandwa. Yet the society still acts in some contexts as a society, and maintains social ties. Members

... still act corporately in possession ceremonies and initiations, and they still maintain special bonds with one another. And even today some of them at least may be said to form a separate class of professionals or semi-professionals, travelling at least occasionally about the country to direct or conduct ceremonies, and having their own conventions, techniques, equipment and terminology.

Like members of OTA, the mbandwa consider themselves as special, and in some contexts, superior to ordinary people. Unlike the OTA, however, the mbandwa society has been, and to some extent still is, recognized by non-members as being special, and in some ways, superior. In part, this reflects the fact that they deal with a wide range of human problems, and like doctors in the West, achieve some prestige simply because the problems they handle are pressing. In part, the attitudes also reflect the past importance of the society in Nyoro social and political life.

The society qua society does not appear to have an organized training program, like the one which comprises much of the activity of the OTA. As Cory noted, teaching of divination or the use of medicines does not appear to be part of the organized group activity. Instead of a formal instruction program, the society offers admission to a network of people with varying magico-religious skills. The new initiate, as a member, is free to approach other members and be taught by them. The focus and
extent of such instruction, however, seems to be primarily a matter of individual initiative and interest.

The society itself is the center of a wider network of inter-linked roles. Because initiation is central to many magico-religious practices, membership in the mbandwa society will overlap with other role occupancies. The clearest case of this is divination. Not all diviners need to be mbandwa. There are a variety of techniques, based upon throwing shells, leather, or wood, which rely on interpreting patterns for their results. And there are other techniques, involving the interpretation of the activity of plants or animals which similarly does not require initiation. But divination by spirits does require being a member of the mbandwa society. And divination by means of horns is considered a dangerous enough technique for initiation to be advisable. So the most influential diviners tend to be initiates, although they are not taught their trade in the society.

Similarly, in the more remote lake regions where some vestiges of an ancestral worship remain, the household head who conducts ceremonies at the spirit shrine of his father must be an initiate if he undergoes possession, a common part of the ceremonies. Sorcerers are a more ambiguous category, for some of their more powerful medicines come from regions outside Uganda, such as the Congo, where the magic is reportedly "stronger". They are also not encouraged by the traditional cult organization. Yet the reports of increasing sorcery through the use of black mbandwa indicates that here, also, membership in the mbandwa society is important for successful operation.
Like any secret society, the mbandwa society has the problem of how to keep its secrets. Traditionally, it has had an easier time than Western ceremonial magic lodges, for there was not a written tradition, nor a tradition of prestige through publishing books, both of which seriously eroded the Western store of secrets. Furthermore, the socio-political position of the cult made it less likely that members could disclose secrets and remain undetected. And detection, at least in legend, could mean physical death, something far more remotely possible in the West. Several things have changed this picture, however. The first is the rise of Christianity, and especially the Balokole, who claim that belief in Christ has emancipated them from fear of "satan", the terms in which the mbandwa tradition is viewed. Balokole who have been mediums are less hesitant to discuss their past, as is demonstrated by the fact that Beattie, Welbourn and Bamunoba drew upon them for their accounts of the tradition. A second factor is the rise in prestige and importance of writing books about aspects of local culture and history. As more and more Ugandans begin to write about their culture, information diffuses. Nyakatura has provided some initial information, with younger Ugandans expressing an interest in similar activities. The third factor, interacting with the other two, has been the presence of curious Western scholars who were immune from persecution for exposing information, and were at least partially successful in getting information about practices. Cory and Beattie are two excellent examples in the tradition we are examining. Like the Western groups, African magicians are beginning to realize that a public account can bring higher
status, immediate payoffs, and a more sympathetic presentation of their case. It is sometimes, apparently, tempting.

There are significant differences in the OTA and the mbandwa as secret societies, and these also stem from different social bases, functions and perceptions. The OTA is organized primarily as an instructional-developmental society. Its primary responsibility is to its own membership. Very few services are performed for outsiders, and those which are require active soliciting on the part of the members. The mbandwa society, on the other hand, derives its lifeblood from the demands placed on it by society. Until rather recently, meeting these demands afforded political and social benefits to magical practitioners, something which has never been characteristic of the Western tradition. The Abacwezi tradition has secrets, but its existence was not secret, nor its role in society. It was, then, a "recognized" secret society. Secrecy was not an escape from a hostile world, as it became for some time in the Western tradition after the dating of Hermes Trismegistus. On the contrary, secrecy was a feature of the society which strengthened its hands in dealing with other epistemic communities and socio-political groupings.

Environmental Relations

The Abacwezi society in Bunyoro, before colonialism, had many more positive relations with other socio-political groups than Western ceremonial magicians. The best way to highlight these relationships, and suggest their importance, is to set them in the context of the environmental relations of other branches of the Abacwezi tradition. It is helpful to do so
primarily because the Abacwezi tradition, in one form or another, spread to areas with very marked differences in social and political organization. Berger has identified five different types of societies in which the tradition took root. First, there was Bunyoro, its originator, a large, centralized state without politically significant caste distinctions. Second, there were large, centralized states where power relationships were caste-based, including Rwanda, Burundi and Nkore. Third, there were small states organized on caste lines, Buha and Bushi. Fourth, there were small culturally-related chiefdoms with more widely diffused power systems, including Buhaya, Buzinza, Busoga and Unyamwezi. And finally, there was one decentralized kin-based society, Rukiga. By examining the variety of environmental relations which developed across these areas, we can begin to see the adaptiveness of the Abacwezi tradition, and some of the circumstances in which it became ideologically useful.

The Abacwezi tradition impacted with traditional religious practice in different ways across the range of societies into which it was introduced. It was most important in Bunyoro, where the old religious tradition, based upon family ghosts, was absorbed by the Abacwezi tradition with a dramatic change in the structure of magico-religious practice. The earlier religion was associated with a priesthood, mediums, temples and permanent shrines. As the Abacwezi tradition spread, the priests and temples largely disappeared.

The increased number of mediums changed possession from an individual phenomenon into a group theatrical ceremony and shifted the esoteric language from a means of communicating the spirit's wishes to an uninitiated supplicant into a bond among the initiates. It probably also led
to the demise of the institution of constructing temples and shrines to particular spirits and to the decline in the institution of priesthood. Although the temples dedicated to the three Cwezi kings remained important religious centers, new temples did not continue to proliferate as they did in Buganda, and permanent shrines with associated priests and mediums failed to become a part of kubandwa as it spread to the south.²⁵¹

Hence, the new tradition also led to a new set of roles—initiates, with new obligations to each other and outsiders were excluded from much of the kubandwa knowledge.

In Bunyoro, the Abacwezi tradition of theurgy blended into the dominant religious practice. What was considered unorthodox and opposed to religious practice in the Western tradition, became mainstream religious practice in Bunyoro. Each household had a medium, dedicated to the Cwezi associated with the household clan. Religion, then, shifted from temples and priests to household theurgists, with the role of family ghosts being subordinated to the Abacwezi practices.²⁵² Therugy, then, became a group practice in Bunyoro, and remained so until the colonial period when it was proscribed and began to take on the features of an individual tradition. Not surprising in this situation, there is no distinction between "magic" and "religion" in Kinyoro thought, and John Beattie, who studied Bunyoro extensively, is a strong advocate of using the term "magico-religious" in referring to Kinyoro practice, a usage that accurately reflects the situation he studied. "Sorcery" and "witchcraft" are defined in terms of intent and harmful effects, not in terms of either a "natural-supernatural" distinction or a difference in technique.²⁵³

This mainstream religious position for the Abacwezi tradition in Bunyoro is repeated in the political domain. In Bunyoro, the account of the
Cwezi is both a description of spiritual principles and an account of a ruling dynasty which bequeathed its rule to the last traditional rulers of Bunyoro, the Bito dynasty. Hence, quite early on, the Abacwezi legend became a kind of "mythical charter" which formed an important legitimating principle for Kinyoro politics.  

The relation between political history and spiritual forces varied across the area through which the Abacwezi tradition diffused, and in some regions the political-historical dimension dropped out altogether, leaving an entirely spiritual pantheon of spirits. The importance of the political connection between the Cwezi as rulers and the position of the Abacwezi tradition as an epistemic community in Bunyoro will be discussed in detail when we examine the social base and the environment of this social reality.

Thus far the diffusion of the Abacwezi tradition has been taken for granted. It is necessary, however, to examine the process of diffusion itself, for it provides a background for reconstructing the key elements in its social reality construction.

Berger's survey of the Cwezi history suggests that the early Cwezi religious complex was a series of separate centers, focusing on one of the three Cwezi kings, with practice diffusing from these separate centers. As the popularity of the practice grew, the separate myths of each practice evolved into a composite national version, perhaps under the impetus of the Bito attempt to adopt the Cwezi myth as a source of legitimacy. Magico-religious practice, then, seems to have preceded the association with a political ideology, although as the latter developed, it strengthened the posi-
tion of the Abacwezi tradition in society. Berger affirms this sequence, maintaining:

None of the available evidence supports the alternative argument—that the Bito originated the pattern of legitimation by reference to the Cwezi and then fostered the cults in an effort to gain support. Such an hypothesis presumes an implausibly rapid ideological development of the new state, contradicts the few traditions on the subject and does not satisfactorily explain the privileged position of the leaders of the cults of Wamara, Ndahura and Mulindwa.258

In the case of Bunyoro, then, we see an emerging magico-religious reality providing a useful support for the state-building efforts of the new Bito dynasty.

A similar pattern seems to hold for the diffusion of the Abacwezi tradition. The traditions of Ndahura, Mulindwa and Wamara appear to have been initially diffused into neighboring areas (Nkore, Bulega, other areas of Bunyoro and Mubende) by the clans important in the three ritual centers; later conquests by Nkore and Bunyoro further aided the diffusion.259 The Nkore tradition most closely resembles practice in Bunyoro. Its political status also parallels that in Bunyoro. Like the incoming Bito rulers in Bunyoro, the Hinda dynasty in Nkore legitimized its authority through a myth of descent from the Cwezi, in this case claiming direct descent from Wamara.260 But the diffusion process seems to have been less smooth. Apparently there was some diffusion of the myth of Wamara through Bwera, a kind of "buffer zone" between Hinda rule in Nkore and Bito rule in Bunyoro.261 Accounts of the diffusion of the Abacwezi tradition into Nkore collected from surrounding regions indicate that the mythology spread into Nkore before the Hinda adopted Wamara as their immediate ancestor.262
Conflicts recorded in these accounts lead Berger to conclude:

Thus it seems that in Nkore, and perhaps in Karagwe as well, the Cwezi cult first spread as an ideology of rebellion against the imposition of Hinda rule and later was co-opted by the ruling dynasty and incorporated into its own ideology. 263

Both Bunyoro and Nkore served as centers for diffusion of their traditions. From Bunyoro the tradition diffused eastward into northern Busoga, westward toward Zaire and even northwest toward Lango, the vehicles being primarily traders and immigrants from Bunyoro. 264 From Nkore, the tradition moved southward into Kigezi, apparently through the pastoralists who moved freely between the two areas until the nineteenth century. 265

Diffusion showed a slightly different pattern in Buhaya, where the tradition apparently was not diffused by independent means, but was rather introduced by Bito and Hinda rulers to buttress their position. 266 Here the form of religious practice also supports this view, for the religious practice of the area did not focus around the broad-based, popular kubandwa possession, but instead simply introduced new spirits to the existing practice of restricted mediumship. 267 An extremely important appeal of the Abacwezi tradition, then, seems to have been its ability to offer "ordinary" individuals a possession experience. Where the tradition diffused independently, this popularity became a feature which political rulers tried to incorporate into their political ideology as a basis of support. Where the tradition was introduced as ideology, on the other hand, wide-spread participation was not encouraged. This suggests, as was the case in the Western ceremonial magic tradition, that the key elements in creating an independent
social reality of ceremonial magic lay in the interest structure, operational philosophy and techniques. We shall attempt to document this in detail for Bunyoro shortly.

In terms of political relationships to magico-religious practice, we then find several patterns, many of which are employed in the same area at different times. First, there is the case where a local ruler attempts to establish his connection with a popular magico-religious tradition, and in turn, fosters the tradition in order to bolster and legitimate his own political position. This appears to have been the pattern in the early development of the tradition in different regions of Bunyoro, and later the pattern in Nkore. Second, the popular tradition can become a vehicle for challenging an existing political structure, and mobilizing support against a ruling dynasty. This appears to have been the case at first in Nkore, where the movement was successfully transformed into a support for the initially challenged political authority. A stronger resistance pattern existed in Rwanda, where the Ryangombe cult, using the same initiation techniques and kubandwa practices, may have been used as a focus for opposing Hinda extension. When these groups were defeated, they fled, or were driven out, and founded their own kingdoms where the tradition was incorporated into the political structure. Finally, there were apparently instances which fit a "quasi-learning" model, where the tradition, known to be politically significant in other areas, was introduced by political leaders to gain support.

It is important to realize that in this historical period the model of an
"alternate reality", as it developed in the Western case, was not present. There was a social reality based upon initiation, highlighting the difference between initiates and non-initiates. But there was not a social reality structure based upon an institutionalized set of competing magico-religious traditions. "Secret" realities were public in an important sense—the society at large knew they existed, and their existence was related to the public religious tradition, although not everyone knew the content of the "secret" practices. It was only with the coming of colonial rule that different social realities could become alternate social realities within an established society. Where new state formation and migration were no longer viable options, and destruction of alternate views impossible, alternate social realities began to develop. In this kind of milieu, the Abacwezi tradition came to increasingly resemble the "alternate" social realities, like ceremonial magic, in the West.

The way in which the Abacwezi tradition made its social and political impact also varied across the different societies it penetrated. In Bunyoro, the tradition came closest to having an autonomous group structure. Its influence in society came not only from a diffusion and acceptance of its symbols throughout society, but also from the social activities of the society of Abacwezi practitioners, qua group. Several factors contributed to this situation. First, the household mediums, who were initiated as children, were not household heads. Thus, the individual with high ritual status in the household was generally not the person who in all other areas was the paramount authority. The household mediums derived their author-
ity not from their association with the household kinship system, but from their position as mbandwa. Part of the triumph of the Abacwezi tradition over the family ghost religion was due to its contribution to the breakdown of residential organization centering on patrilineal descent, for:

.. in splitting religious authority in the family between the Cwezi medium and the family head, it weakened the influence of the latter, and in the stress on solidarity between cult members, it undermined the importance of the kin group. The initiation ceremony strongly emphasizes the bond between members through the use of kinship terms and through such actions as feeding each other morsels of food and sitting on each other's laps. Thus the introduction of the new cults, the rising importance of their family mediums and the development of a group sentiment among the initiates corresponded with a decline in the importance of territorially-compact lineages and their associated ghosts, the bazimu, and of the family heads who controlled their cults.  

Thus in Bunyoro, the Abacwezi tradition became represented through a new social group, the society of initiated mediums, who increasingly differentiated themselves from the earlier kinship structure. This social differentiation, in turn, gave them a basis for a direct political influence.

This pattern was not repeated in Nkore, where the strength of the mbandwa society qua society was less. Here the kinship lineage remained more important. Despite the cult's association with the state, it was not capable of operating to promote greater social differentiation within the community. Berger summarizes:

.. in Nkore, although the cults attached the family to the state ideologically, they reinforced rather than weakened the ties which bound family members to each other. The fact that no uninitiated man could become a family head suggests that the role of family head and lineage medium coincided, thus making the Cwezi cult an important focus of family life and strengthening the lineage rather than weakening it.  

Thus, while the Abacwezi tradition was influential, it was so because of its ability to permeate other influential institutions, such as the family struc-
ture, rather than because it could create new, independently effective institutions. A similar pattern existed in Rukiga, as well as in Buhaya where family members underwent initiation together. The autonomous importance of the Abacwezi society in Bunyoro was characteristic of the less politically relevant associations of mbandwa in Usumbwa and Unyamwezi, where the "secret societies" they formed became quite detached from kinship groupings.

Historically, in Bunyoro, the society then became a primary focus for an individual's identity, as well as his life style. Grant's early history of Bunyoro identified them as a class of "mendicants or gentle beggars", who moved as a group from place to place, sometimes begging for their subsistence, sometimes having cattle and wealth of their own. Similarly, Emin Pasha identified the Abacwezi as "gypsies", an analogy he expands in describing a female medium he encountered.

She belongs to a class of homeless wanderers--gypsies, I may call them--who are constantly met with throughout Unyoro (Bunyoro) and Uganda and who appear to be a remainder of a distinct tribe. They resemble gypsies in the vagabond life they lead, in their practice of sooth-saying, and in the manufacture of all kinds of amulets and charms, as also in their love for music.

Ties among initiates were at this time apparently strong enough in dress, life-style and social recognition for an outside explorer to mistake them for a "tribe" rather than an association.

In addition to forming an identifiable social group, the Abacwezi mediums were also an important political influence. Their position rested on the fact that the king (omukama) was not himself a magico-religious figure.
Unlike some "sacred" kings, he was not considered a mediator between the gods and men, nor was he considered to have special powers to intercede with the gods on behalf of the community. These roles fell to the Abacwezi and, as such, they held important political positions. Fisher maintained that high religious authorities were "next in power to the kings", and capable of reversing important decisions by providing contrary divinations.  

Similarly, Emin Pasha noted their presence, in large numbers, at the royal court. Nyakatura points to the same paramount position, when he notes that in his struggle to become king, Kabalega sought the aid of a powerful Cwezi medium, at the same time he asked assistance from the Kabaka of Buganda. The king, then, did not simply incorporate the symbols of the Abacwezi tradition into his rule, although this certainly occurred. He also depended in a very real way upon the Abacwezi initiates to perform important functions which related to his rule, but were not in his capacity to control.

Again, this particularly strong pattern was not found everywhere the Abacwezi tradition diffused. In Nkore, the pattern seems to have been more one in which periodic offerings were made to the Cwezi spirits on behalf of the kings, with a less crucial political role for the mbandwa society itself. Among the decentralized Kiga, the majority of spirits were very localized, and there was no generally accepted "national" embandwa, paralleling the lack of a "national" political focus. In other instances, there was a tendency for religious and political authority to fuse, especially among the smaller chiefdoms. In Buga, for example, this process was aided by
an important innovation: the initiation of chiefs. This fused secular and sacred power, although as Berger notes, available evidence does not indicate whether people became chiefs and were then initiated to increase their ritual power, or whether important mediums became chiefs. Yet another political model existed among the Sumbwa and Nyamwezi, where the close-knit initiate's society had political authority which did not depend upon it performing direct political functions, but rather by extending social horizons and contacts, at the same time limiting the authority of chiefs by maintaining their organization across salient political divisions. This seems to have been important, since the key role of trade and mobility in these societies meant that people spending large amounts of time away from home needed groups which could provide cohesiveness not based upon kin or geography.

In terms of political influence, then, we find several models, ranging from the case in Bunyoro where influence is group based and overt, to situations where it is more symbolic and indirect. In all cases, high ritual status was accorded members of Abacwezi societies, but in Bunyoro legal-political advantages were accorded as well. Thus, for example, Fisher notes that:

The priests could not be brought to justice except they were first proved impostures. [sic] Then their houses were plundered and fired by the outraged and a new priest elected.

For non-professional mediums, the symbolic and political advantages were temporary, but for professionals and those attached to the royal court, they were relatively permanent. Thus, as an epistemic community, the Abacwezi
society was "regulated" in terms of requiring members to live up to the standards set for magico-religious practice, and not in terms of general norms regulating behavior.

This influential magico-religious community was radically affected by the coming of colonial rule. In part, this was due to the imposition of Western and Christian standards for evaluating its spiritual foundations, as well as the changes in political practice colonial officials imposed. It is first of all important to note that early missionaries equated the Cwezi spirits, without exception, with "devils". This is particularly clear in the writings of early missionaries. As such, the activities of the church came to clash directly with Abacwezi traditions. This clash encompassed not only the religious sphere, but also politics and education as well. Missionaries were instrumental in shaping administrators' perceptions of African practices, and urging political-legal curbs on their "excesses". Western education was provided almost exclusively by missionaries, and tended to be closely tied to religious conversion, "reader" initially being a term for a convert to Christian or Muslim beliefs.

In addition, most practice associated with the Abacwezi tradition, whether the household medium's possession by the clan spirit or a professional medium's attempt to injure another through a spiritual attack, was considered by incoming Western missionaries as "sorcery". This definition was, of course, quite different from that under which Abacwezi practice took place. When laws were passed by the colonial government, they covered all aspects of traditional magico-religious practice, considering
them "witchcraft" or "sorcery". The provision of the law decrees that a person who:

... holds himself out as a witchdoctor or witchfinder or pretends to exercise or use any kind of supernatural power, witchcraft, sorcery or enchantment shall be guilty of an offense and shall be liable to imprisonment for a period not exceeding five years or to fine or to both.287

This radically changed the social and political status of the Abacwezi tradition. Roving groups of initiates, dressed in their regalia, would be subject to arrest, since they were "pretending" to exercise what the law considered to be supernatural power. At a minimum, a public, professional life style had to go. In fact, ceremonies were altered, and began to take on additional aspects of secrecy. In addition to having elements for initiates only, the holding of ceremonies themselves had to be kept secret from colonial officials, missionaries and people within the society who had strong ties to either group.

The colonial regulations and attitudes changed not only the possible niche which the mbandwa society could establish for itself, but also the way in which it could maintain that niche. This becomes clear when we look at the traditional way the mbandwa society dealt with the three social groups or traditions most directly related to it: other magico-religious traditions, key kinship units and the state. The Abacwezi tradition, as we have seen, completely overcame effective opposition from the earlier religion, based on the ancestral cult. It established the mbandwa as the major spiritual forces, and by far the most positively oriented toward man. Ghosts were given a secondary position, and the means of coping with them was through
spirit mediumship, and hence, through the Abacwezi tradition. Even in areas where some independent ancestral worship remained, possession at the ancestral shrine required previous initiation to the mbandwa society. In addition, the class of mbandwa spirits, as forces, was expandible, and so capable of assimilating potential "rivals" into the Abacwezi tradition and tying communication with them to membership in the mbandwa society. This model failed with Christianity and Islam, for although the Abacwezi tradition incorporated mbandwa representing the Gods of both religions, they did not successfully make their worship a part of the Abacwezi tradition. Instead, Christianity in particular made significant conversions, despite vacillations in political support, and succeeded in labelling the Abacwezi tradition the devil's work, so that overlapping membership between the two magico-religious traditions became difficult.

The inroads Christianity made against the Abacwezi tradition also helped undercut its relationship with significant kinship units. In its dealings with kinship units, the mbandwa society had stabilized its relationship, and so its social niche, by gaining control over the process by which group mediums were recruited. Each household was required to have at least one official group medium, who was to be a medium for the Cwezi spirit associated with its clan. These mediums were generally initiated as children. Hence, in this domain, the mbandwa society was able to provide primary socialization for members who would remain in the society, and relatively active, for life. These mediums were in many ways the most lucrative recruits, and indeed, Beattie suggests that group activities were tradi-
tionally very important. An individual, initiated as an adult to overcome some misfortune, might effectively disappear, and might not become ill again. The child medium, on the other hand, was under social pressure from the household to remain attentive to the mbandwa, and the sheer number of people in the household almost guaranteed that if the medium failed to do this, some illness would occur which could be laid to this failure. When Christianity consolidated its position by providing almost the only source of education, whose importance to success in the new social-political milieu was becoming clear, it undercut a major base of mbandwa support. Children who had attended missionary schools were extremely reluctant to be initiated as mediums, and at times, required physical coercion to do so. The mbandwa society thus could not maintain control over its "best" recruitment channel. Furthermore, under colonial rule, the households themselves declined. Young men, and even women, became less dependent upon the household head. It became increasingly possible, and common, for young men to live with their wives and children separately, and not in their father's homestead or in extended homesteads with their brothers. Weakening of the solidarity of the homestead also contributed to a decline in the importance of the group's household medium. By the 1950's the group aspects of the Abacwezi tradition had all but disappeared.

In dealing with its third relevant group, the state, the mbandwa society had achieved an institutional anchorage which helped guarantee its social niche. This aspect of its social base effectively disappeared as political authority came to rest, in practice, with colonial authorities.
The situation was made worse by the fact that Bunyoro clashed repeatedly with the British, and when it was finally subdued, its traditional political leaders had far less authority than did the neighboring politicians in Buganda.

The mbandwa society was not successful in establishing any positive environmental relationships to replace those lost during the colonial period. Like the OTA, it has individuals who value it, and it has managed to retain a considerably larger role in meeting social demands than OTA has sought to develop. The mbandwa tradition continues to provide means of defining and reinterpreting misfortunes. At the symbolic level, it has performed a significant hermeneutic function. By incorporating new and often strange and even terrifying features of social change into its system as "black" mbandwa, the society has provided a provisional view of the new social "whole" which can be grasped by people outside it. From the perspective of someone within the "modern" tradition, the provisional view is, of course, seriously flawed. But in terms of the process of coming to understand new forces, this provisional view is important, for without some conception of the whole, some scheme for organizing small pieces of experience, interpretative learning cannot proceed. While this is an important function, and one which will be examined more fully in considering policies toward magical epistemic communities, it is not the basis for positive relations with other social groups. It remains useful to individuals, and even to categories of individuals, but has not been seen as relevant to organized groups.
Increasingly, then, the environmental relationships of the mbandwa cult have come to resemble those of the OTA. Yet the OTA exists in a social milieu where alternate social reality perspectives have been tolerated, with varying degrees of permissiveness, for centuries, while the mbandwa society is located in a society in which such alternate realities were not traditionally present, and in a nation-state where unification, as a key policy aim, often clashes with the principle of alternate cultural traditions. Whether or not it can maintain any niche at all in such settings remains to be seen.

What we have observed, however, both in the case of traditional and colonial Bunyoro and in our comparison of the Abacwezi tradition in different cultural environments, is that the social, political and economic setting can change radically without necessarily destroying a magical epistemic community within it. Changes in environmental conditions can radically, and relatively easily, change the potential for social action which such communities have. This, in turn, impacts on both the frameworks and practice of the communities. But it does not spell their automatic destruction, nor does it negate their social reality constructs. Keith Thomas has found essentially the same thing in his exhaustive survey of religion and magic in seventeenth century England. This point is crucial, for many attempts to explain the decline of magic, or suggest policies to bring it about, make fundamental errors. They often presume that by changing the nature of the demands which the systems meet, the social supports they have, or the conditions under which the practitioners function, fundamental changes
in belief will result. This is by no means clear. Increasing evidence sug-
gests that such changes are quite effective in changing the social and poli-
tical standing of magical epistemic communities, but not in preventing re-
interpretations and innovations in their categorical frameworks, operation-
al philosophies and techniques—reinterpretations which preserve them as
social reality constructs. Magical epistemic communities are symbolic
and intellectual traditions, capable of learning adaptation and modifica-
tion. This is often ignored in framing policies toward them, and frustrates
attempts to explain their rise or decline. In the next chapter, we shall
attempt to explore some policy implications stemming from the recogni-
tion that magic is an epistemic community, not merely a "logic" or a
"psychological reaction" or an institution for providing social functions.
The precise data is a subject of controversy. All accounts agree that the magico-religious practice came after the period of Cwezi rule. J. Sykes, "The Eclipse at Biharwe," *Uganda Journal*, Vol. 23 (1959): 44-50 presents a range of estimates for the period of Cwezi rule, ranging from 1300-1400 to 1600-1650. Archeological work by the Curator of the Uganda Museum in the 1960's suggests (based upon datings of the earthworks at Bigo, a Cwezi site) that the height of the Bigo culture was probably around 1500. Cf. M. Posnansky, *Uganda Museum Annual Report 1960* (Kampala, 1961), pp. 10-11.

2 This generally accepted judgment is based upon the fact that the Kinyoro myths of the Cwezi are the most complete, providing the most comprehensive treatment of the Cwezi themselves. Also Bunyoro seems to be the center of much of the vocabulary associated with spirit possession and initiation. See Iris Berger, "The Kubandwa Religious Complex of Interlacustrine East Africa: An Historical Study, c. 1500-1900" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1972).


5 Berger, "Kubandwa," p. 152. This remained the pattern in Buganda.


7 Beattie, "Initiation," pp. 154-5 indicates that possession is a com-
bination of the physical stimulus and learning, with some initiates not enter-ting into a trance during their first experience with the technique. This is consistent with both our analysis of hypnotic trance induction, and OTA's practice with somewhat stronger theurgic aids, both suggesting that there are differences in the ease with which individuals can enter trance states, and a continuum between "imagination" and "induction".

8 For a description of these techniques, see M. Eliade, Shamanism (Princeton, 1964).


10 Berger, "Kubandwa."

11 Luc De Heusch, Le Rwanda et La Civilisation Interlacustre (Brussels, 1966).


14 Ruth Fisher, Twilight Tales of the Black Baganda (London, 1911); Julien Gorju, Entre le Victoria 1'Albert et 1'Edouard (Rennes, 1920); John Roscoe, The Northern Bantu (London, 1915); John Roscoe, The Bakitara


16 Evaluation is based upon Dunbar, *History*, p. 6.


18 Beattie, *Nyoro*.


22 Fisher, *Twilight*, p. 64.


25 For a discussion of some of these oppositions, see Rodney Need-

26 Fisher, *Twilight*, p. 70.


28 Fisher, *Twilight*, p. 70.


Nyakatura presents a slightly different version. He had omitted the account of Ruhanga's creation. The story for him with the first ruler of Bunyoro-Kitara, Kintu (thing). The story of the testing of the three sons is identical, except that in Nyakatura's account it is done by Kintu to determine a successor, while in Fisher's accounts (and those following her) the testing is done by Ruhanga to establish principles of order. Cf. Nyakatura, *Anatomy*, pp. 3-6 and Fisher, *Twilight*, pp. 72-75. The accounts in Dunbar, *History*, pp. 10-12 and Beattie, *Nyoro*, pp. 34-8. P. Bikunya, *Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro* (On the Kings of Bunyoro) (London, 1927) also follows Fisher's account.


36 John Roscoe, *The Bakitara* (London, 1923) gives the tools as an axe and a head ring (used to support baskets carried upon the head). He
also maintains that Nkya is an elder son of Ruhanga. Cf. pp. 336-7.

Nyakatura omits the account of the first test altogether. Cf. Nyakatura, Anatomy, p. 3.


38 Fisher, Twilight, p. 74.


40 Fisher, Twilight, p. 74.

41 Fisher, Twilight, p. 74.


43 Fisher, Twilight, pp. 74-5.

44 The three dynasties are the Tembuzi, regarded as the rule of the gods, the Cwezi, the rule of the "demigods" and the Bito, rule by the people who were in power in Bunyoro when contact with Western nations was made.

45 Fisher, Twilight, p. 76.

46 Fisher, Twilight, p. 76.


48 The complex exegesis Turner obtained from one Ndembu ritual specialist (Muchona) should make us wary of assuming that self-conscious reflections on magico-religious symbols and ritual process, with an attendant organization of these processes themselves, does not exist where it is not immediately apparent in a society. Cf. Turner, Forest, pp. 131-50.

49 See the introduction to Richard Wilhelm, The I Ching (Princeton,
1950), Barnes translation, especially p. lvi.


51 Mbiti, African, p. 36.


53 Mbiti, African, 30-6.


56 Fisher, Twilight, pp. 53-4 provide support for this view, although she maintains (incorrectly) that such acceptance of the Creator's will is "fatalism" not "trust in God".


60 Lienhardt, *Divinity*, p. 159.


67 The derivation is from Beattie, *Nyoro*, p. 43.

68 The blood pact (mukago) is the most binding form of friendship available among the Nyoro. Two men who become blood brothers are bound, under pain of their own wasting through illness or encountering death, to protect each other. For details, see John Beattie, "The Blood Pact in Bunyoro," *African Studies*, Vol. 17, no. 4 (1958): 198-203.


70 Nyakatura, *Anatomy*, pp. 13-5. Several other variations exist, all agreeing on the single point that Isaza never returns to his kingdom. Fisher and Beattie have him remaining a captive in the underworld, while K. W.
contends he disappeared into the north and Gorju maintains that he simply
died outside the kingdom without an heir old enough to succeed him.

71 Beattie, _Nyoro_, p. 45; Nyakatura, _Anatomy_, p. 16.

72 Nyatakura, _Anatomy_, p. 19.

73 Nyakatura, _Anatomy_, pp. 19-20; John Beattie, "Aspects of Nyoro
of the symbolism are found in R. Needham, "Right and Left in Nyoro Sym-

74 The Nyoro concept which parallels Jung's concept of numinosity
is mahano, which carries an almost identical connotation. For a descrip-
tion of the concept as the Nyoro use it, see John Beattie, "On the Nyoro

75 Nyakatura, _Anatomy_, p. 15.

76 Untidiness, leading to dirt in milk, is grounds for divorce among
many pastoral peoples in Uganda. Interview with S. Tulya-Muhika, Kam-
pala, December 1970.

77 Roscoe, _Bakitara_, p. 179.

78 For the Nyoro link between mahano and abnormal changes, including
changes of one opposite to another, see Beattie, "Mahano," pp. 149-50.

79 Naykatura, _Anatomy_, p. 18; Beattie, _Nyoro_, p. 45.

80 Naykatura, _Anatomy_, pp. 15-16. Other versions give slightly dif-
ferent accounts of her defects. Fisher contends she was born with one
eye and one breast. Berger reports a version in which she is born with
only one breast.
Nyakatura, *Anatomy*, p. 34.

Nyakatura, *Anatomy*, p. 35.

The area the diviners came from was called Bukidi. This area should not be confused with the current Bukidi district in Uganda. It was the Nyoro word for what is now the Lango district in Uganda. Cf. Uzoigwe's footnote to the Nyakatura text in *Nyakatura, Anatomy*, p. 248, footnote 1.

Nyakatura, *Anatomy*, p. 41. Fisher suggests that the Cwezi themselves encountered the brothers who came to rule Bunyoro in their travels through Bukidi, and designate them as the next rulers. In Fisher's account they are the sons of Isimbwa, in Nyakatura's the grandsons. Both cases agree in asserting that the Cwezi designated the Bito as rulers in their stead, and that they were descendants of the Cwezi and a woman from Bukidi. Cf. Fisher, *Twilight*, pp. 109-11. For other views, see Needham, "Right," p. 441.

The name Rukidi means the naked one, or a citizen of Bukidi, the land of nakedness, as pointed out by Dunbar, *History*, p. 32. A summary of other references is given in Needham, "Right," p. 442.


Reference to his dual coloring is frequently mentioned, including Roscoe, Bakitara, p. 98; Nyakatura, Anatomy, p. 50; Dunbar, History, p. 32; John Hanning Speake, Journal of the Discovery of the Nile (London, 1863), p. 536 and Beattie, Bunyoro, p. 15. The term "mpuga" can refer either to a splotchy cow, with black and white patches, or a spear which is polished only on one side. Cf. Needham, "Right," pp. 444-5. All the interpretations converge in indicating that the coloring is representative of his social, in addition to any possible physical, anomalies.

Needham implies that the hunter who kills this animal is Rukidi. This clearly is not the case, for Fisher states: "Nyakoko asked what fortune they (Rukidi and his party) had met with in the hunt, and showed them a curious animal which he himself had shot on the lake shore." Fisher, Twilight, p. 111; cf. Needham, "Right," p. 443.

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94 Nyakatura, Anatomy, p. 57.
95 Roscoe, Bakitara, pp. 22-3.

Fisher, Twilight, p. 105.

Beattie, "Group," p. 14. Kalisa is reportedly Kagoro's herdsman; his name is associated with the Lunyoro verb kulisa, to graze cattle.

John Nyakatura, Aspects of Bunyoro Customs and Tradition (Nairobi, 1970), pp. 55-6 suggests that the black Cwezi are 'those spirits of the Cwezi's descendants and their wives, sisters and daughters' descendants, who were born after their arrival in this country.' Beattie, on the other hand, suggests that they are spirits of foreign origin. See Beattie, "Group," p. 21.


Beattie, "Group," p. 28.

Nyakatura, Aspects, p. 63.

Nyakatura, Aspects, p. 87; Beattie, "Group," p. 28.

Beattie, "Group," p. 29 considers Kapumpuli to be a 'new' post-European mbandwa. Accounts link it with the Cwezi, and especially Ndahura, whose conquests were associated with many new diseases.

Cf. Nyakatura, Anatomy, p. 22. The earlier association is also consistent with the accounts of the pre-European office of Nyakahuma. Cf. Nyakatura, Aspects, p. 98. Local traditions still connect small pox protection with Ndahura (vis the Nyakahuma) because it entered the kingdom with him. Interview, Mubende, April 1970.
For a discussion from an objectivist viewpoint—maintaining that astral projection is more than a transfer of consciousness or a changing of "body image", see Robert Crookall, *The Mechanisms of Astral Projection* (Moradabad, India, 1968).

At the grave site, for example, women push dirt into the grave with their right elbows, while men do so with their left, a reversal of practice in daily life. See John Beattie, "Nyoro Mortuary Rights," *Uganda Journal*, Vol. 25 (1961): 174. Such symbolic reversal, often described as symbolic role reversal, is a standard feature of descriptions of ritual. For examples, see Peter Rigby, "Some Gogo Rituals of 'Purification': An Essay on Social and Moral Categories," in *Dialectic in Practical Religion*, ed. E. R. Leach (Cambridge, U. K., 1968), pp. 153-

123 Beattie, "Ghost," p. 130 indicates that in the twelve cases for which the outcomes of treatment for ghost activity are available, six showed that condition which was diagnosed as ghost-induced was alleviated.

124 See Beattie, Bunyoro, pp. 48-60 and "Nyoro Kinship," Africa, Vol. 27, no. 4 (1957): 317-40 for discussions of kinship relations--both institutionalized obligations and social tensions which may not be handled by them.

125 Beattie maintains that Nyoro magico-religious practices are not "instrumental" (roughly our technical-control interest), but are dominated by an "expressive" element (roughly our hermeneutic interest). Such a ritual is "... thought to be instrumental precisely because it is expressive." Beattie, "Ghost," p. 147.

Jung, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 178; Jung associated these psychic transformations with libido, and in terms of this framework the hero is the "finest symbol of the libido." Cf. p. 171.


Our account of the importance of kinship symbolism in the Abacwezi tradition will be elaborated when the techniques and role structure of the epistemic community are discussed later in this chapter.
Berger's hypothesis will be discussed on pp. 488-495.

145 Beattie, Nyoro, p. 106.
147 Beattie, Nyoro, p. 111.
149 Roscoe, Bakitara, p. 133.
150 Beattie, Nyoro, p. 106; Bakitara, pp. 77-8, 98.
151 Fisher, Twilight, p. 95.
152 Roscoe, Bakitara, p. 128.
153 Roscoe, Bakitara, p. 130.
154 Beattie, Nyoro, pp. 111-2.
155 Bikunya, Abakama, pp. 52-4.
157 The discussion follows Nyakatura, Aspects, pp. 18-30.
158 Nyakatura, Aspects, p. 29.
160 Nyakatura, Aspects, p. 25.
161 Nyakatura, Aspects, p. 27.
162 Roscoe, Bakitara, p. 213.
163 Roscoe, Bakitara, p. 272.
165 This principle is summarized and documented conveniently in
Needham, "Right," p. 435, whose presentation we follow.

166 This is the error inference which Needham makes in going from his association of three with women and four with men to an association of odd with women and even with men, which leads him to infer that the diviner is associated with a feminine principle (because of his association with left and odd). This is incorrect, and might just as easily lead to the conclusion that the Mukama embodied a feminine principle because of his association with the number nine.


170 Beattie, "Ghost," p. 128.

171 A similar system is used in voodoo possession, with similar terminology describing the process.

172 This principle holds for possession in Buganda also. See Peter Rigby and Fred Lule, "Divination and Healing in Peri-Urban Kampala, Uganda, n.d. (Mimeographed.)


175 Beattie, "Group," p. 17.


177 Beattie, "Group," p. 28.
Beattie's otherwise helpful material falls down here. Most of his information comes primarily from exmediums who have since become Balokole (a kind of fundamentalist movement in the Anglican church). They had renounced their earlier beliefs, and considered them delusions and the work of the devil. While such informants appear to have provided accurate accounts of what was done in rituals, they have provided little justification for the practices, not surprising since they now consider them unjustified.

The following account relies upon Beattie, "Initiation," pp. 152-9.

Such a procedure was apparently the rationale behind the famous "witch ungents" which contained powerful drugs, like henbane, which when applied to the body aided in the productions of visions. See Justine Glass, Witchcraft, The Sixth Sense (London, 1965), pp. 59-73.
not all Needham's inferences, is confirmed by Beattie in "Aspects," p. 414.


192 Beattie identifies the plant as a species of dracanena, a quick-growing shrub with long, narrow green leaves. "Initiation," p. 153.


194 Nyakatura, Aspects, p. 60.


196 Cory, "Buswezi," p. 932. This is a common feature of magico-religious traditions which use sex as one of their techniques, including the Eastern Tantric tradition, the Wicca tradition in the United States and Britain and sex magic of the OTO variety. Cf. Omar Garrison, Tantra: The Yoga of Sex (New York, 1964); Francis King, Sexuality, Magic and Perversion (London, 1971); and John Symonds and Kenneth Grant, eds., The Magical Record of the Beast 666, Aleister Crowley (Quebec, 1972).


198 Cory, Buswezi," p. 929 identifies the mixture as the dried, pulverized root of the muteyu (Securidaca longipedunculata) or mukalya (Dialopsis africana), dissolved in a mixture of water and other herbs. Nyakatura indicates that some of the medicines used as ritual equipment of babandwa are also employed in a similar manner to that Cory describes to increase sensitivity to smell in hunting dogs. But the plants do not appear to be the same, and there is no indication that they
are employed this way by humans. Cf. Nyakatura, Aspects, p. 65.


200 The same sequence is frequently observed in OTA operations, where the candlesticks being held by the receiver tremble and the receiver sways back and forth in front of the mirror. These are not regarded as significant in OTA practice, however.

201 A common way of conveying goodwill and pure intentions among the Nyoro is to spit upon the person toward whom these sentiments are felt.

202 The sequence and quotations are from Cory, "Buswezi," pp. 933-4.


204 For a description of the means of preparing such similacra, see Bardon, Initiation, pp. 156-74.

205 The Nyoro term for this is kukunama. Beattie, "Initiation," p. 157 provides the term, but does not elaborate a description of the action.


207 Nyakatura, Aspects, p. 61.


209 Berger, Kubandwa, p. 103.

210 Beattie, "Initiation," p. 158.

211 Beattie, "Initiation," p. 159.

212 Nyakatura, Aspects, p. 60.
213 Beattie, "Ghost," p. 140.

214 The account follows Beattie, "Ghost," pp. 131-6.


216 Goetia, pp. 61-2.


218 Goetia, pp. 62-3.

219 Beattie, Other, p. 206.


221 The account being discussed is the informant's statement in Beattie, "Ghost," p. 135.

222 Beattie, "Ghost," p. 132.


225 The account follows Beattie, "Divination," pp. 54-6.

226 Rigby and Lule, "Divination," pp. 4-16.

227 This is a common feature of many societies, and magic has often been a technique by which meaning is given to such events. For a classic discussion, see Evans-Pritchard, Witchcraft, pp. 63-83.

228 Meaning re-arrangement has been an element of the operational philosophy of some psychoanalytic approaches, for example, that are described by Fingerette, Self, pp. 15-70, 294-338.


230 Kline, Freud, p. 85.

231 Kline, Freud, p. 86.
Both my assistants, Debra Rwakaikara and Joseph Kasaija, stressed the importance of proverbs in the symbolism and language of the Abacwezi. Neither of them had knowledge of these proverbs, or the special inferences that went with them, primarily because both had been removed from village life during their education in mission schools.
As the cult diffused southward, the historical significance of the Cwezi diminished. Except for the Kiziba area, the tradition in Buhaya already presented the Cwezi as detached from their historical roles and transformed into purely supernatural beings. These transformations mark the geographical limits of the kubandwa practices focusing on the Cwezi kings, and provides the transition toward practice centering around another hero, Ryangombe, in Rwanda–Burundi. Berger, Kubandwa, pp. 114-5.

These centers were Mubende Hill, devoted to Ndahura, the first Cwezi king; Buyaga, associated with Mulindwa, the second Cwezi king; and Masaka Hill, dedicated to Wamara, the third Cwezi king. Berger, Kubandwa, pp. 87, 91, 94.


262 The analysis is based upon accounts gathered from Tusi informants which portray many of the same themes as the record from Nkore, but in addition, present Wamara and Ruhinda (the first Hinda ruler) as either unrelated or as jealous half-brothers, where the Nkore tradition suggests that Ruhinda is a direct descendent of Wamara.


263 Berger, Kubandwa, p. 107.


267 Berger, Kubandwa, p. 113.

268 Berger, Kubandwa, pp. 116-7.

269 For a good account of the upheaval attending the introduction of competing and co-existing religious systems in Uganda, see F. B.


277 Schweinfurth, et. al., *Emin Pasha*, pp. 110ff.


280 Kalervo Oberg, "The Kingdom of Ankole in Uganda," in M.


282 Andrew Roberts, "Enlargement of Scale Among the Nyamweai in the 19th Century," Makerere Institute of Social Research, January 1968, p. 3. (Conference paper.)


285 See Ruth Fisher's discussion of religion in Bunyoro in *Twilight Tales of the Black Baganda* (London, 1911), pp. 53-68. This was a general approach to native religion, as becomes apparent in reading the initial descriptions of religious practice contained in the *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society* for this period.

286 Sorcery (*kuroga*) in the Kinyoro context means to injure someone by the secret use of harmful substances or techniques. See Beattie, "Sorcery," p. 29.


CHAPTER V

POLICY REGULATION AND MAGICAL EPISTEMIC COMMUNITIES

The study of the OTA and the Abacwezi suggests a strong common core: pre-scientific insights into the structure and operation of the unconscious, a practical knowledge of techniques which alter human awareness and an unformalized ability to use insights and techniques to provoke personal insights, which may contribute to psychological development as well as to coping with specific situations in which individuals face emotionally significant challenges without technical means for meeting them. The Abacwezi practice is pre-modern in the sense that most of its practitioners are not aware of the "pre-scientific," "practical," "unformalized" nature of their techniques. OTA magical practice, on the other hand, goes on among people who are aware of these features and assert magical worth in a context where commitment to scientific, theoretical and formalized knowledge is widely held. The arguments against pre-modern magical practice, over and above its occasionally criminal applications, revolve around contentions that it inhibits the growth of scientific understanding, creates an intellectual climate which mitigates against technological innovation, leaves practitioners, and those who trust them, at the mercy of demonstrably false scientific beliefs and unnecessary anxiety, and embeds these
beliefs and anxieties in a non-falsifiable world view which makes them unresponsive to change in the face of "reasonable" evidence. To some extent, similar charges are levelled against magic in modern society, but here there is an important difference. Since magical practices are voluntarily undertaken by people well aware what modern applications of science, technology and psychotherapy have to offer, we have both the ability to see why people choose magical beliefs, and if their choice makes it more difficult for them to understand scientific approaches, more hesitant to make use of available technical knowledge to solve their problems, or less capable of coping with the demands of modern life.

Beyond personal coping ability, however, lie questions of the social and political consequences of magical organizations. Sometimes the structure of magical epistemic communities itself has political implications. The fact that Abacwezi magical practice is organized around an operational philosophy which provides political and social rationales for magical action may bring it into conflict with the political goals of nation-building, even if it does not have detrimental personal consequences. OTA's social reality construction procedures are compatible with the demands of modern American society: it proceeds within modern norms of role differentiation, the conventional assessments of the appropriate limits to religious roles, and prevalent standards of a legitimate distinction between religious and political activities. What of magical epistemic communities whose social reality does not proceed according to these conventions when their establishment is itself a political issue? Indeed, what of magico-religious
groups which contest organizational norms within modern societies?

Policy problems, thus, may arise at several levels. Within the context of modern American society, where most so-called "occult" groups operate within accepted norms of social and political participation, the primary policy problems are regulatory—and often raise the same issues as policies designed to regulate socially legitimated bodies of specialized knowledge. Major problems, in this context, involve over-come the "unintelligibility" of specialized categorical frameworks, logics and world views sufficiently to judge whether an epistemic community's activities can be said to conform to legal standards which apply to different knowledge-seeking activities. More perplexing problems, still within the same context, involve determining what standards are appropriate and how they ought to be elucidated and enforced.

Where norms governing the form of social organization and participation are themselves the issue, quite different policy considerations arise.

The questions focus not so much on regulating existing activities, but upon introducing policies to change them in relatively predictable ways. Quasi-regulatory policies are introduced with the expectation that they can be used to transform epistemic communities—to change their ability to recruit members, limit the social uses which can be made of their knowledge, erode trust in their knowledge qua knowledge, or even eliminate them altogether. In such circumstances, policy makers must do more than penetrate the "unintelligibility" of unfamiliar epistemic communities. They
must accurately assess the components of the communities which actually require modification, given their political goals, what policy instruments might be effective in modifying them, the likely adaptive responses to policies on the part of epistemic communities, and the political consequences of the success or failure of their policies.

Attempting to either regulate or effectively steer magical practice is difficult for those who believe it to be a vacuous and ineffective body of knowledge. This was true in East Africa during the colonial period, and remains true in contemporary American society. Where an entire perspective is believed to be false, policies to control the behavior of those who regard it to be true are difficult to frame. There may be common interests between those sharing the beliefs and those rejecting them, e.g., the common interest both the Banyoro and the British had in preventing magical practices from being used to perform criminal activities. Radical differences in perspective make these common interests difficult to realize, however. From the perspective of magical communities, relatively undifferentiated external perceptions of them fail to make distinctions between the content of magical beliefs and the legitimate, or illegitimate, purposes for which such beliefs can be employed. From the perspective of regulators, making such distinctions often appears to be engaging in sterile distinctions, which tacitly legitimate beliefs they regard as false.

Our study of magic as an epistemic community cannot provide insight into all potential policy issues stemming from magical practice. It
can, however, provide insight into common interests and appropriate policies on four potentially major policy issues: the regulation of illegal activities or criminal practices stemming from magical beliefs; assessing and countering portions of magical practice which inhibit the development of modern cognitive skills; mediating clashes among magico-religious communities; and determining when magical beliefs are employed as "fronts" for other types of social or political action, or when magical activities, by virtue of their structure, have political importance regardless of the intentions of their practitioners.

Illegal Activities and Magical Epistemic Communities

Rarely are illegal activities the direct outgrowth of the content of a magical epistemic community. Most often, they are the consequence of specific uses of magical knowledge, or exploitations of the shared social beliefs about magical knowledge and its effectiveness. Policies whose major concern is limiting the illegal activities which may be associated with magical practice often decrease their chances of success when they attack the content of magical epistemic communities, rather than attempting the admittedly harder task of setting standards for the use of magical knowledge. Policies of the first type, including that employed by the British in colonial East Africa, destroy common interests between regulators and practitioners who attempt to operate legally. They tend to destroy the self-regulating capability of magical epistemic communities, and unless they are entirely successful in expunging magical practices, may create situations in which illegal activities remain, but are less susceptible to
detection and counter. They also operate to upset the positive functions of magical practice, ranging from providing meaningful ways of coping with misfortune to personally expansive experiences. We shall argue that within the existing American legal code, there are provisions for coping with most illegal uses of magical knowledge without legislation to restrict magical beliefs per se. Employing some of these provisions, or modifications of them, in the colonial East African case might have avoided some of the legally and socially puzzling consequences of attempts to "outlaw" magical practice.

Coping with illegal activities, arising from magical practice in Uganda, really involved balancing two possibilities: first, the recognized possibility that magical allegations could be used as a basis of punishing individuals for events over which they could have no control (bad weather, crop destructions, epidemics), often in the context of scapegoating or vindictive blaming; second, the unrecognized possibility that individuals could use magical techniques, and the social conventions applying to them, to cause mental distress, and perhaps even physical disturbances, to their intended victims.

The traditional political system in Bunyoro operated, within its belief in the existence of magic, as a specialized, efficacious, kind of knowledge to control the ability to magicians to exploit public belief in their power, as well as to control the criminal application of magical techniques. When the system regulating magico-religious activity was in tact, it worked to prevent knowingly fraudulent claims about magical power by making
Abacwezi serving official priestly roles subject to removal from office, after destruction of their property, if they were found to make fraudulent claims. Similarly, magicians who had been initiated to black mbandwa, or who had acquired techniques of sorcery, such as the use of horns, were subject to social controls on the uses of their magical powers, or fears in them. These controls recognized both the "physical" aspects of magical attack—such as poisoning—and the "psychological" elements of warfare, calculated to make people anxious, less attentive, more careless or more receptive to their own unconscious feelings of guilt, fear or ambivalence.

The introduction of British law, aimed at eliminating physical crimes associated with magic by eliminating all forms of magical practice, made practicing magic, or pretending to do so, illegal. The new laws did not change public beliefs about magical powers, but dramatically changed the way such beliefs could be exploited. While it was more difficult for positive benefits of magical practice—tension relief, insight into personal and social tensions or provision of meaning—to operate, it was easier to link these practices to criminal activity, both under British law and under Nyoro conceptions of criminality. British law, premised on the illusion of magical efficacy, had little understanding of the ways in which magical attack worked on the level of what we might today call "psychological warfare". Individuals could no longer be held socially accountable for threats, or symbolic attacks, which given prevalent beliefs and the idea that coincidences were meaningful, could produce genuine psychological anxiety. Magical threats were not covered by British law forbidding practicing, or pretending to practice, magic,
witchcraft or sorcery. British standards of proof further made it difficult to demonstrate practice, or pretense to practice, on the basis of an earlier threat or curse and the subsequent finding of magical "weapons". Direct evidence that the threatener made and implanted the weapons was required. Yet all that was required to produce psychological effects was the "meaningful coincidence", whose implication was obvious.

Much has been written about accusations of magico-religious attack, and almost nothing about the way in which such attacks might proceed. The primary reason is that it seems obvious to most scholars that magical rites simply cannot cause the misfortunes they are blamed for, although they are somewhat reluctantly credited with unscientific efficacy in relieving some psychological, or psychosomatic, consequences of misfortune. In reality, it is not all that obvious. Magical attacks, at the psychological level, are the principles applied to provide meaning turned around to provide personal anxiety—backed up by the capability for more blatant forms of physical attack. Knowing something of the nexus of the fears and problems of potential victims, magical attacks create and interpret incidents to cumulate into a meaningful pattern of emerging disaster.

I can make no claim to demonstrate how magical attacks in Bunyoro "work". I can, however, based upon my observations of the planning and execution of such attacks, and a reading of some psychological literature suggest several plausible sequences. Magical attacks are indirect causal connections between threats and symbolic threats, and actual consequences, where the psychological responses of the intended victim are the intervening
variables. There is nothing "automatic" about the efficacy, or inefficacy, of such techniques. The outcome is conditional upon the ability of the intended victim to master his own anxieties better than the attacker can manipulate them.

A "successful" magical attack has several components: a threat, capable of causing anxiety, or at least being remembered; coincidences, symbolic attacks or contrived incidents to force the victim to dwell on the threat; the presence of anxiety-enhancing situations, either personal or social; and the effects of personal anxiety and fear, provoking, in a self-fulfilling way, misfortunes. When the magical attack "works", the magician simply sets in motion the internal dynamics of fear, anxiety and doubt, and tries to manipulate symbols, or social expectations, to exacerbate them.

The amount of sophistication required depends both upon the individual involved, and the social expectations about such situations. In a few cases, there are apparently social "threats" which are considered completely credible, and are recognized socially as tantamount to the effect they threaten. Cannon and Watson both record cases in which potent death curses are issued by magicians, followed by a complete resignation to the death of the person by even those close to him. The resignation may extend to the point where the cursed person is treated as though he were already dead, cutting off social support for any personal attempt to resist which might occur. These threats operate as the equivalent of Schelling's "cross your heart" promise in a society where it is accepted as completely binding. There is simply nothing more to be said or done.
Such situations are apparently quite rare, and certainly do not obtain either in Bunyoro or in contemporary American society. More typical is the instance in which other factors must operate to make "threats" credible. The means by which this credibility is produced accord remarkably well with Schelling's more orthodox reflections on threat. Threats become credible based on the past history of the threatener. Malinowski attributes much of magical efficacy to the "mythology" of magic, systematically exaggerated accounts of the success of magical practitioners. Beattie provides illustrations of how individuals build up reputations by making relatively innocuous threats, which "come true" and become a basis for exerting influence. These reputations are probably aided in their construction by selective retention, where successes are remembered and failures forgotten. While this may be effective in deluding others, it may also have the effect of deluding the magician himself—one reason why Crowley kept a magical diary which recorded both successes and failures.

Even more effective is the tactic of making threats ambiguous, and then watching events and interpreting them to the victim as confirmatory omens. Classic examples are threats such as "You'll regret that," ambiguities upon which a virtual edifice of relevant incidents, all suggesting despair or emptiness, can be built. The manipulation of ambiguity here is not much different than Schelling's discussion of the art of issuing threats with hidden ambiguities, leaving the threatener with an acceptable out in case the bluff is called. Similarly, ambiguity can be used to provoke an
anxious person into filling in his own content, in keeping with conscious or unconscious fears. Diviners attempting to build up business for themselves apparently use such techniques in Bunyoro, if Beattie's account is correct. 7

The most sophisticated strategy, one appropriate to modern society, is to center the threat around an outcome which taps known fears, unadmitable weaknesses, or guesses about psychological weak spots—what Scientologists identify as "buttons". Here threats become self-enforcing. They tap directly into inner anxieties, and the fact that they do is usually not capable of being sufficiently hidden so that an astute observer can be prevented from knowing it. This is one of the more viscious mind games, for each time the person is confronted with the evidence of his anxiety, sometimes even by well-meaning and ignorant outsiders, and he denies it, he compounds his own problem. In attempting to cover his psychological reactions, he must dwell more and more on the situation, and so becomes his own exploiter.

It is in this environment that little coincidences, unexplainable events, or the strange appearance of implements of magical "weapons" becomes important. They may not be in and of themselves dangerous, or threatening. Their function is to keep the victim dwelling on the threat, and the possibilities of its fulfillment. If this stage succeeds, the rest becomes relatively easy. Over and over, in magical accusations, the account states that a man had forgotten the curse at a beer party, until he found a hostile charm hanging in his doorway, or the curse of the old women was remembered
when the butter failed to churn. Such incidents are often explained by
scholars as examples of the way in which innocent people are blamed for
others' misfortunes, and it is the risk of cursers and threateners that this
may be the case. But in other cases, this may be intentional, and here the
risk is the victim's. He may genuinely come to feel himself caught, and
relatively helpless, in the changed situation. It is at this point that the
ability to turn to magico-religious specialists for counter-magic is so
psychologically crucial. It changes an attack into a more even battle, and
may break the self-destructive effects of dwelling on the situation.

In the absence of such outs, the person may face serious psycho-
logical problems. Some threats, which involve vigilance at night to pre-
vent disaster, feed into a syndrome related to the onset of mental illness.
Acute distress, plus the fear of nocturnal attack, contribute to a loss of
sleep, and eventually a state of sleep deprivation, with accompanying hallu-
cinations and greater susceptibility to unconscious contents. The anxiety
and lack of sleep interact to produce more acute disturbances. His more
acute disturbances lead him to question his own state, making him more
ready to accept social diagnosis—magical attack, or in modern society,
mental illness. As he accepts the social diagnosis, his personal dis-
turbances fall into line with social expectations for the disturbed role.

In such situations, the social interpretation, magical attack, may
be either anxiety enhancing or anxiety diminishing. Grove has argued that
where conventional explanations are available for such disturbances (e.g.,
drugs or the fact that there were unusual circumstances, such as isolation
or experimental conditions), the anxiety accompanying the disturbances lessens, and people become able to adjust to them. Effective social action to counter magical attack, along with the knowledge that there are routine ways of handling such situations, may reduce the personal impact of magical attacks. Where this support is not forthcoming, or is ineffective, a wide range of pathological situations may develop, including greater susceptibility to illness as a result of prolonged stress, psychosomatic illness, decreased concentration, leading to greater susceptibility to accidents, or "unprovoked" criminal assaults on the suspected attacker.

Such magical aggression could continue, or even increase, under British law, where social means of countering such attacks, and open commitments to prevent them, could not. Counter-magic, sometimes useful in stemming anxiety, lost its public nature, since it was prohibited under the new laws. The perceived increase in magico-religious crime, alleged from the Nyoro perspective, could easily have been founded on the continuation of covert psychological threats, a possibility which supplements an equally valid assertion that the perceived increase reflected an increase in social tensions, and correspondingly accusations, due to pressures of modernization.

Given the fact that British law could not reasonably be expected to provide an impetus to change world views, its enhanced opportunities for "criminal" exploitation of individual beliefs contributed to generating some of the instances of individual crimes against alleged witches, sorcers and magicians. In a non-trivial sense, it helped to create the crimes it sought
to deter. By focusing exclusively on the mistaken bases for magico-religious accusations, their role in scapegoating and social conflict, it ignored the possibility that individuals might use magical symbols, beliefs and artifacts, to psychologically harass others, even to the point of causing them serious physical or mental damage, albeit indirectly. Had the law been more discriminating between "good" and "bad" magical actions, and at least tried to establish a basis for separating ill founded projections and accusations from more legitimate cases of harassment, they might have been able to apply a legal category, like our modern "mental distress" to such instances. It might have been possible to determine how widespread such magical attacks were, and what could be done to prevent such actions. Undoubtedly, this would have been asking too much for early colonial policies, given the state of psychoanalysis and psychotherapy during that period. Yet had the Nyoro concepts of criminality and magic been better understood, it might have been possible to come to a better, more mutually effective, regulatory policy.

The issue of magical societies, occult organizations or peripheral religious groups causing mental distress in contemporary American society is a live one. Scientology has come under governmental regulation in Britain and Australia, in part because of its policies of permitting, and even encouraging, psychological harassment of dissident members. In the United States, accusations that religious groups, like the Children of God, harass their members to the point of creating severe mental distress, and hold them by manipulating their fears, has lead both to extra-legal
"deprogramming", which employs questionable tactics of psychological harassment to reverse such alleged effects, and to investigations of the group by governmental authorities. Such allegations pose extremely difficult policy problems in the context of American society, both because legal judgments on "mental distress" are difficult to make, and because the groups involved are religious, complicating the issue with considerations of religious freedom and separation of church and state.

Legal judgments on the infliction of mental distress are difficult to make, and courts have often hesitated to award damages only on grounds of mental distress. The law makes a blanket provision for liability on the part of "one, who, without privilege to do so, intentionally causes severe emotional distress to another". But because of the highly subjective nature of emotional distress, and the fact that they are relatively easy to fabricate and hard to defend against, the courts have been hesitant to provide damages for emotional distress unless it was suffered in connection with some other offense. In recent years, courts have shown an increasing awareness of the need to deal directly with the issue of emotional distress. There are provisions under which a person may bring charges against another who intentionally engages in conduct toward him (a) with the purpose of inflicting emotional distress or (b) where any reasonable person would have known that such would result.

Allegations of magical damage in pre-modern societies most frequently are made in the context of magical attacks, which within the cultural milieu are widely regarded as harmful. In such cases, the most relevant
charge of mental distress would be that covered by provision (b)—acting in a way which any reasonable person within that cultural milieu would have known to produce mental distress. The more appropriate consideration for the modern American milieu would be provision (a)—that the person in question was acting with the purpose of inflicting emotional distress, with actions extreme enough to be regarded as outrageous and intolerable, offending against generally accepted standards of decency and morality.

In our studies of magicial epistemic communities, we have tried to argue that things like "magical attack" are uses of magical and personal knowledge, not features inherent in magical epistemology. Regulation of such activities ought to be, in light of this, regulation of actions rather than of classes of intellectual activity. The legal provisions available under the mental distress, false imprisonment and alienation of affection provisions of existing civil and criminal law are appropriate to this type of regulation, and are capable of covering most of the alleged illegal consequences of magico-religious activity. Individuals who have been persistently harassed by members of magico-religious organizations (followed, persistently confronted with indecent proposals, persistently exposed to lurid stimuli against their will) can bring civil suits against the people in question. Whether done in the context of magical beliefs, or in more ordinary contexts, such actions violate civil law, and can be brought to court. Actions of this type are separable from judgments about the content of the beliefs, preserving the legal prerogative of the state to regulate the civil relationships of religious organizations, while refraining from making judgments
Similarly, some of the more blatant allegations against Scientology could be handled adequately through existing legal provisions, if such accusations were brought. Attempts to confine members against their will, either through the use of physical force or through intimidation, are actionable under statutes forbidding false imprisonment. People within the organization who have been declared "subversive persons" and are required to remain "on station" within Scientology headquarters, have a legal right to leave, and can file charges if they are prevented from doing so. Similarly, attempts to keep members who wish to leave religious communes from going, again by either physical restraint or intimidation, violate civil provisions.

Policies on the part of magico-religious organizations which are designed to disrupt family or marital relationships may be actionable under provisions relating to alienation of affections. Scientology's provisions requiring that members in good standing avoid "subversive persons", and that sexual relations among married couples cease when a partner is declared a "subversive person", could provide the basis for a suit of alienation of affections. Similarly, provisions which interfere with a member's ability to see his children, as is also charged in the case of Scientology, is actionable. Magico-religious organizations who accepted minors as members, and urged them to leave, or hate, their parents are potentially subject to similar charges.

Such legal provisions provide some recourse for people who find them-
selves faced with disruptions of their mental or emotional life, or their network of associations, as a result of a coercive use of magico-religious belief or knowledge. They also provide some important constraints which magico-religious groups must be aware of. Magical justifications for actions, however sound from the perspective of magical epistemology, cannot provide defenses against violations, even unintentional ones, of civil provisions. Suppose an OTA member undertakes the K and C of HGA, but instead of personal insight, finds agonizing hallucinations. Magicians might claim that it is important to continue the completion of the operation, not because they want to inflict mental distress, but because they, and other magicians, attest that stopping the operation uncompleted will produce more disastrous mental and emotional problems. If they choose to force the person to continue, they could be charged with false imprisonment, and perhaps mental distress as well. Magicians do not constitute "expert witnesses" as to the probable psychological consequences of their actions, and expert psychotherapeutic testimony would not necessarily support their judgment in this case. Magicians concerned with the legitimate practice of magic, then, must be wary not only of what they consider "black magic" (using magic to influence a person against his will) but also using group pressure or physical constraints to get members to undertake or complete magical training programmes or rituals, no matter how important they believe this to be magically. Magical doctrines which emphasize multiple routes to magical goals, or which maintain that individuals will undertake magical tasks when they are themselves ready for them, provide magical
norms more likely to correspond to secular laws than those pushing a necessary routine which will "overcome" resistances once it is underway.

A much stickier policy question arises from charges that individuals have been "brainwashed" or "programmed" by a magico-religious group they have joined. So far the predominate foci of such charges have been fundamentalist groups, like the Children of God, who have been the target both of parental allegations that their children have undergone radical, and from their point of view, undesirable personality changes and self-help measures to reverse this process. There are two important features of such allegations. First, they are not brought by the person involved in the religious group, and, indeed, most frequently are made against this person's wishes. Secondly, the basic civil rights of the member are undoubtedly violated by the measures undertaken to "restore" them to their previous state. "De-programming" consists of private efforts to remove the individual in question from the magico-religious group he or she is involved in, and to reverse the process by which the person was believed to have acquired his or her new beliefs. Hence, members have sometimes been removed from religious communes against their will, confined for hours at a time against their will and subject to prolonged interrogation, which includes not only attempts to use religious arguments to convince them of their errors, but may also deprive them of food, sleep and communication with others, at the same time physically striking them. These efforts are more blatantly coercive than anything I have seen, or even heard rumors of, within the occult community. It seems to present a clearer challenge to civil rights
than earlier discussed provisions, and may well infringe freedom of reli-
gion provisions as well.

Why are such activities undertaken? The justification for the ex-
treme measures are that they are necessary to break the pattern of indoc-
tration and "programming" which occurs in relatively closed religious com-
munities. The target here are the beliefs which an individual has acquired,
and attempts to force changes in them are alleged to be justified by assert-
ing that the methods of the group have instilled them against the free will
of the person involved. Despite the fact that the methods are wisely known,
and "deprogramming" has received wide national publicity, no court case has
been brought to challenge such activities. Those individuals for whom "de-
programming" is successful apparently feel that the experience was posi-
tive, if painful, while those who later return to their religious communities
are urged to devote themselves to spiritual activities, and praise God for
their deliverance. Hence, they have not pressed charges for violation of
their rights.

Such actions, and the allegations which give rise to them, raise funda-
mental questions both about individual rights, and the basis for religious
freedom. The charges, that extreme changes in individuals have been brought
about by "brainwashing", are extremely difficult to handle. How does one
distinguish between intense religious experience, including dramatic conver-
sions, which are the result of "pressure" and those which occur "freely"?
Furthermore, the objections are fundamentally moral-religious objections.
Parents of moderate religious views, or basically secular orientations, ob-
ject to the fact that their children have "extreme" or "irrational" religious beliefs, and that these beliefs affect their lives. If the individuals involved are not minors, are of sound mind, and continue to hold their beliefs in a way which does not produce direct violations of law, they are guaranteed the right to do so by existing provisions on freedom of religion. That this may be objectionable to some of their associates cannot be the basis for legal action. Furthermore, when members who are removed from the situation continue to adhere to their beliefs, and seek to return, the foundations for legal action are slim. In these circumstances, "deprogramming" efforts may seem the "only recourse," and may be undertaken, or winked at, for this reason.

Where individuals feel strongly enough about the nature, or consequences, of belief changes to react to them with legally questionable tactics, the way is open for both serious policy problems in regulating such activities, as well as major policy questions regarding the legitimate domain of religious freedom. The law in the past has upheld the right of individuals to hold religious beliefs to which other members of the community strongly objected, so long as those beliefs did not violate civil law. Charges that such "undesirable" beliefs are produced through "coercive" means, which may or may not violate existing civil laws, are deeper challenges. Clearly part of the issue in these challenges is the total nature of the religious beliefs, but this need not necessarily be the case. Especially where there are deep religious feelings that magico-religious practices are demonically inspired, even if limited, such self-help behavior may extend to more limited spheres.
Here the situation becomes one in which convictions about the nature of magico-
religious practices, or moral reactions to its consequences, may trigger
illegal activity. To what extent such responses can, or should, be regulated
without speaking to the source of their motivations will become a more serious
policy issue if the current resurgence of active, experiential, religious
organizations continues.

Finally, there is a collection of legal questions stemming from alle-
gations of fraud stemming from magico-religious organizations. Most
people are not aware of the fact that throughout most of the United States,
attempts to tell fortunes, for renumeration, are illegal. This includes the
use of cards (e.g., Tarot card divination), palmistry, astrology and a variety
of other less widely practiced techniques. As a glance at most newspapers
will indicate, such laws are not uniformly enforced; indeed, they seem to be
enforced when specific complaints are made against individual practitioners.
The reasoning behind accusations of fraud, however, is that the person in-
volved makes claims, knowing them to be false, which are then used to ex-
tract money, goods or services from others. There is some question
about the applicability of such standards to much magico-religious divina-
tion.

First, as we have seen, many professional astrologers, tarot card
readers or magicians do not see the main purpose of their techniques being
to "tell fortunes" or foresee specific events. They see themselves as pro-
viding something closer to psychological maps, and statements of likely
tendencies, which if known can be countered.
More importantly, many professionals are not engaging in activities which they believe to be pretense. Astrologers have attempted to spell out codes of ethics which define the proper kinds of statements and inferences which are allowable from existing astrological techniques. One such provision reads:

I recognize that a precise astrological opinion cannot honestly be rendered with reference to the life of an individual unless it is based upon a horoscope cast for the year, month, day and time of day, plus correct geographical location of the place of birth of that individual, and I agree not to render such an opinion without this detailed information, unless the horoscope of the individual has been rectified by accepted astrological methods, or unless I positively state to the interested party that such conclusions are reached by alternative methods.\textsuperscript{16}

Similarly, OTA magicians who perform tarot card readings, based upon a Tree of Life method, are not pretending to do something they know to be impossible, but are instead attempting to something they have reason to believe is possible, but which is often both misinterpreted, and disbelieved, by authorities. Whether such provisions can be used to prevent organized professions from developing around astrology and various divination practices, or whether, instead, there are circumstances in which such activities might not be fraudulent, is a legal question some professional astrologers may seek to test.

The fact that many strange events, or emancipatory experiences, are assigned religious significance by the individuals involved interacts with provisions to prevent fraud and the guarantees of freedom of religion to create a predisposition toward organizing such activities as religious ones, even where there is not an historical, metaphysical basis for doing so. Some groups, such as OTA, have basically religious metaphysical roots, and
choose to formally incorporate for the advantages which accrue from this status: tax exemptions, freedom from challenges to the content of beliefs and protection for individuals who might otherwise find it difficult to defend themselves against challenges from those objecting to their beliefs or practices. Other groups lack such bases, yet come to regard themselves as "churches". While sociologists and psychologists may be correct in seeing some significance in the fact that the religious mode is chosen, perhaps reflecting a desire for religious experience lacking in more orthodox religious communities, the precarious position of relatively unorthodox bodies of knowledge and the relatively more secure positions of "religions" in America may indeed contribute. Ambiguous, emancipatory experiences are more securely explored as religious experiences than as psychotherapeutic ones, and there is less opposition to strange religions centering around "psychic" phenomena than there is to individuals who try to investigate them scientifically. Add to this the fact that many new devices, developed to explore psychic phenomena, have been severely attacked as fraudulent, and the incentive for "religious" organization becomes quite substantial.

Similar legal restrictions on "therapies" provide an impetus for new groups developing non-standard therapeutic approaches to incorporate as churches. Scientology began as Dianetics; a therapeutic insight into human psychology. The editor of Astounding Science Fiction, where Hubbard's method was first announced, described it as follows:

This is no wild theory. It is not mysticism. It is a coldly precise engineering description of how the human mind operates and how to go about restoring correct operation tested and used on some two hundred fifty cases. And it makes only one overall claim: the methods logically de-
veloped from that description work. The memory stimulation technique is so powerful that, within thirty minutes of entering therapy, most people will recall in full detail their own birth. I have observed it in action, and used the techniques myself.\textsuperscript{17}

The first book on the subject was Hubbard's \textit{Dianetics: The Modern Science of Mental Health}, a book whose title leaves little doubt about the kinds of claims being made for its techniques. Hubbard later organized Scientology as a religion, incorporating The Founding Church of Scientology in Washington, D. C., 21 July 1955. This brought with it the advantages of being able to ordain ministers, who could not be denied access to hospitals. Fiscal advantages may also have been a consideration, as might the strong opposition to the techniques by organized psychotherapists. From 1963, the first brush with the U. S. Food and Drug Administration, the status of a church was an important asset in meeting opposition to Scientology. In justifying the decision to bring the British operations into the church, Hubbard, in an executive order of 12 March 1966, explained: "Of course, anything is a religion that threatens the human spirit. And also, parliaments don't attack religions."\textsuperscript{18}

Most sincere magical or occult groups, striving to be reputable, have a common interest with political and legal authorities in minimizing psychological coercion and criminal behavior. Groups like OTA stress the need for self-policing, in part because they fear regulatory policies which attack non-standard magico-religious practice at the level of attempting to eliminate "mistaken" beliefs. They recognize the possibility for intentional fraud or psychological coercion, but also realize that magical groups are as vulnerable to accusations based on scapegoating, or projection of psychological
problems, as unwary individuals are to group exploitation.

Our basic contention regarding magical practice and illegal activity is that illegal practices be regarded as social uses of knowledge, and be regulated as such. Where the aim of policies is to minimize criminal or civil infractions, little is gained by attempting to outlaw epistemic communities per se. Illegal activities are not inherent in magical beliefs or practices. Treating them as such may have serious, unanticipated, consequences which make regulation more difficult. There are relatively few means of exploitation unique to magic, and these can be handled by provisions to allow individuals to recover from "mental distress" when such methods are tried. Such policies have the same problem American courts face with "mental distress" provisions now: there is the possibility that false accusations, hard to separate from true ones, may be made. In the East African case, the unwillingness to entertain such accusations on their own terms tipped the balance in favor of those working in extra-legal ways. In the current American case, if past legal precedents are applied, this would not seem to be the case, and individuals appear to have a fair chance of having their case heard. A good deal more might be done to prevent such instances from arising if the magico-religious groups sharing common features (e.g., magical groups, neopagan religions, etc.) and occult arts (e.g., astrology) developed stricter standards of self-regulation, taking it upon themselves to enforce appropriate ethical and legal standards. In part, they are prevented from doing so by their own fears that "washing dirty linen in public" may lead to repressive action against all of them. In part, they are organizationally
unable to do so, sometimes as a result of the way they organize themselves in response to their perceptions of threat, and the legal routes which appear to provide the greatest security. Policies which attempted to outlaw their organization and practice as epistemic communities would, at this level, be counter-productive to moderating the illegal use of magico-religious knowledge.

Intellectual Development and Magical Practice

If we consider the allegations that magical beliefs, or practices, inhibit rational, analytical thought as a general proposition, the experience of the OTA constitutes a falsifying case. Yet the study of magic as an epistemic community suggests the inappropriateness of this way of framing the investigation. Determining whether there are legitimate policy concerns stemming from the relationship between magical practice and cognitive orientations is the most difficult task in this chapter. It requires the most discrimination among components of an epistemic community, as well as the most careful attention to differences between the content of an epistemic community's knowledge and the social use of that knowledge. As we have demonstrated in our analysis of categorical frameworks and ritual practice, magical practice is not a rejection of conscious, directed thinking. It is instead a practice which attempts to balance and adjust cognitive and psychological approaches, rather than an elevation of unconscious, psychological modes of knowing to a paramount position. Yet from this information, it does not follow that magical practice has no impact on the ability to develop or maintain certain kinds of conscious thought: critical thinking, which can
set aside the "taken for granted" obviousness of everyday life experience and probe for deeper alternate reasons; theory-linked empirical investigation, which goes beyond the pre-scientific "I can do it again" confidence in empirical techniques and probes for testable theoretical explanations; or rationality, minimally forming goals, acting so as to most effectively achieve them, and recognizing failures to do so. Policy makers need to know when magical practice may affect individuals' capabilities to perform such cognitive tasks, and most importantly, why it might do so.

OTA's magical practice does not, at least directly, inhibit critical thinking, empirical analysis or instrumental rationality. Members continue to perform successfully in social settings which require critical thought and intellectual focus. Many have continued or completed studies (anthropology, psychology, philosophy, electronics, psychotherapy) and some, like Runyon, have gone back to school. Others work in jobs (sales, filmmaking, teaching, psychotherapy) which require intellectual and personal skills. Even within lodge activity, reading, advancing critical arguments, reevaluating previous beliefs, and unsystematic experimentation continue. Major decisions I have observed regarding the choice of a job for two members, decisions about moving lodge facilities, determining desirable courses of action vis a vis outside observers and possible publicity and decisions to publish the Seventh Ray, were all made in the context of cost-benefit calculations, judgments about likelihood of success, technical feasibility and cost. In no case were operations, divinations, or other magical techniques used to decide the best course of action. Operations conducted with regard
to these decisions (moving, job interviews) were aimed at providing insight, personal confidence and skills in implementing the arrived at decision.

Furthermore, OTA operates to limit the spillover of magical experiences into intellectual contexts. Like many philosophers of science, they make a distinction between "discovery" (or creative insight) and "verification" (or compelling evidence). What magicians experience in rituals may provide new intellectual "hunches", but never proof that they are correct. OTA maintains that magical practice may help make people more creative, but regard those creative ideas which arise as needing the same kind of critical testing as those arising in any other manner. Much care, as we have seen, is taken to prevent individuals from enacting the context of ritual operations in non-ritual contexts, either by "living out" personal fantasies or purporting to have uncovered "ultimate truth".

The approach OTA takes to innovation within the lodge similarly indicates there is no preference for "occult" or "mystical" explanations for even magical techniques. Image training proceeds by using the fact that staring at objects, then looking away, will produce an after image in the complementary color. The technique is explained in physiological terms, and described as an aid to developing the visualization necessary for magical rituals, not a "proof" of magic's truth. Similarly, station training is recognized as an application of stimulus generalization, and not guised in any other terms. Producing multiple images as a result of staring is recognized as a product of eye strain. Hallucinations incurred during the period
of blindfolded isolation are explained as products of sensory deprivation, not special magical effects. Innovative techniques, such as the means developed as attempts to apply clearly "physical" reactions (tactile hypnosis, or routine, unbroken sensory inputs) to magical purposes (better images, deeper dissociations) without attempting to provide "non-physical" or "mystical" explanations. The OTA preferences for exploring even unproven phenomena like astral projection does not commit them to "occult" explanations for the phenomena. Concepts of astral projection as distortions of body image are as acceptable an hypothesis for working from as concepts like "soul travel", and in lodge practice, have proved more useful.

The conception that there is nothing essentially "supra-normal" about the effects used in magical practice is important, for OTA members can, and do, read experimental accounts of such effects without regarding them as "debasements" of spiritual phenomena, or outside attempts to "explain away" phenomena. Magicians do not, because of their previous magical experiences, read academic or parapsychological studies of similar phenomena defensively. They can approach them as sources of possible improvement in techniques they use, or more rigorous exploration of what they admittedly perform as an art.

OTA's metainterpretations of magical tradition (as prescientific insights into the psyche) clearly contributes to the fact that its practice does not clash with individual cognitive skills. The discovery of psychotherapy provided a new perspective on magic, as the discovery of complete versions of classical texts in the Renaissance had provided a new view of
medieval grimoires. In both cases, sophisticated magical practitioners adopted the new perspective, and were capable of meshing magical practice and intellectual investigations in a way that did not downplay cognitive capabilities. In both cases, the new perspectives made possible magical practice seem reasonable and even desirable. The anticipatory condemnations of the classical revival on grounds it would revive pagan and devilish pagan practices issued by conservative church officials is paralleled in Freud's pleading with Jung, urging Jung never to reject the sexual theory, for it stood as the only bulwark "against the black tide of mud--of occultism." In both cases it was clear that the new investigations provided significant opportunities for making earlier "discredited" beliefs potentially credible. Under such circumstances, exploring magical practices anew can constitute intellectual expansions, not intellectual denials.

In the context of modern American society, the magic of the OTA is neither socially nor intellectually retrograde. It is certainly a non-standard one, but also one which operates in favor of greater openness to intellectual and personal openness. It exposes individuals to an important, but frequently neglected, tradition of Western thought which parallels the introspective insights of Eastern religion in a way which does not cut those exploring intense, admittedly subjective, psychological experiences from the symbols and orientations of Western culture. It provides individuals with a low cost, non-therapeutic means of exploring the psyche, and personal emancipatory interests, without denegrating ego strength. It provokes reflection on alternate conceptual metaphors for interpreting the world, whose
emphasis upon balance, internal adaptation, and a recognition of fundamental limits governing natural harmonies may be important metaphysical perspectives on current problems of "finiteness". It presents alternate logics, which can be mastered in limited contexts, making individuals more aware of the possibilities for diverse perspectives, cognitive and experiential, in a world increasingly characterized by multiple, mutually counter-intuitive, interpretations. And finally, it presents individuals with a new set of "puzzles" some of which may be solvable and important.

Most of these features are not inherent either in the categorical framework or the techniques of magical epistemic communities. They are instead features of the interest structure and the operational philosophy. One simply cannot determine, from symbolic structures per se or techniques, what cognitive clashes will occur. Different knowledge interests and operational philosophies, attached to the same symbols and techniques, may produce quite different cognitive and action implications. This is a general point, not one specific to ceremonial magic. A new operational philosophy, provided by Ghandi, helped transform essentially apolitical Hindu concepts and traditional Indian resistance techniques into a program of political non-violent resistance, whose strength and acceptability lay to a large extent in its ability to maintain continuity with an older, venerated tradition.\textsuperscript{21} A similar situation was the case in the mobilization of a variety of African religions to protest vehicles in the colonial period.\textsuperscript{22} Students of modernization are similarly finding that traditional cultural and religious symbol systems are capable of major transformations, again by the intro-
duction of new operational philosophies. The most policy relevant component of epistemic communities is often not the categorical framework, and its symbol system, but the operational philosophy—often one of the least accessible components.

The operational philosophy is not the only component of OTA's epistemic community which makes it possible for modern magical systems to avoid raising fundamental cognitive challenges. The capability of OTA, as a magical organization, to sustain that such a cognitive orientation rests in large part on the modern milieu in which it is found. Two features are particularly important: first, OTA is able to recruit highly trained, relatively sophisticated people as members, essentially because of training offered in other social institutions; second, OTA exists in a society which allows for a high degree of social and personal differentiation, and responds tolerantly to differentiated private perspectives. Were either of these conditions different, the OTA would have a considerably lesser role in determining whether or not magical practice would inhibit individuals from maintaining and developing cognitive skills.

OTA's ability to recruit individuals with highly developed intellectual skills is important. Where magic operates as a "peripheral cult"—with its membership drawn from groups in society which are marginal, either in status or skills—it is less able to incorporate sophisticated intellectual positions. This is the case for "folk magic" in many societies, including America. Here OTA's stance is parasitic on the interest of well educated young people developed in the "occult". Groups like OTA arose out of this interest,
or in the case of more established groups, incorporated it, but they did not
generate it. Were this interest to fade, and recruitment of highly educated
people to become more difficult, or impossible, groups like OTA would
find it difficult to support their operational philosophy. It is doubtful that
magical groups could produce in their members the intellectual qualifi-
cations it finds in the currently incoming ones. Unable to sustain the in-
terest of intelligent, critical individuals, magical groups that continued to
recruit might well find themselves with increasing conflicts between magical
practices and individual cognitive capabilities. There is some indication
that the fading interest of highly educated, curious, people in Scientology
coincided with a more anti-intellectual orientation within the organiza-
tion. 25

The ability to conduct magical practice that is not intellectually
retrograde also depends upon the relatively tolerant, pluralistic organi-
zation of modern American society, especially the academic community.
Were social responses to magical practice harsher--treating such beliefs
as inherent signs of intellectual weakness, and treating members accord-
ingly--members would find it more difficult to maintain and develop intel-
lectual skills and simultaneously practice magic. This appears to be what
happened after the Renaissance dating of Hermes Tristmegistus' writings,
with the result that many people once interested in Hermetic philosophy
and varieties of magical practice lost interest, while those who remained be-
came what Yates termed "reactionary Hermeticists"--individuals clinging to
their beliefs despite their inability to reconcile them with intellectual stan-
ards, and eventually moving toward organizations which valued secrecy 
per se as a means of avoiding external criticism. From what documents 
are available, it appears that relatively little innovation occurred within the 
Hermetic tradition during this period, and that the tradition became more 
dogmatically adhered to, with less room for criticism. In the Renaissance 
case, the external reaction was in part motivated by new information: a 
correct dating of Hermetic writings which undercut the intellectual founda-
tion of the operational philosophy which allowed it to merge with intellectual 
advances in other fields. As such, membership dropped and the remaining 
adherents became more secretive and less open to criticism. Where the 
reaction is less intellectually motivated, and more a policy response, as 
has been the case with Scientology, the result may be a more secretive, 
less critical organization which continues to grow. Most of the oppressive 
ethical rules in Scientology, designed in part to require more complete 
adherence to Scientology's beliefs, arose after the organization had ma-
terials confiscated and investigated by the U.S. Food and Drug Administra-
tion in 1965.

Our contention, then, is that under some circumstances, given sup-
portive operational philosophies, interest structures, recruitment and 
social responses, as is the case in the OTA, magical beliefs may not di-
rectly inhibit intellectual commitments to critical thought, empirical orien-
tations or rationality. But this result may well be a delicate condition, 
based upon a coincidence of factors—only some of which are under the 
control of a magical epistemic community. Just as it would be inaccurate to
accept a blanket assertion that magical beliefs are incompatible with modern intellectual commitments, so it would be naive to assume that magic would always mesh with them. Some perspectives which will preserve both the psychological effectiveness of magical practice, and its individual functions, will suggest different intellectual ramifications. Both functional analyses of magic, and analyses of its psychological effectiveness will miss these differences, and hence, provide inadequate guides for effective policy assessment.

Consider, for example, the difference between an operational philosophy which accepts symbolic statements as literally correct, and one which regards them as symbolic. As we argued earlier, the issue is irrelevant to practicing magicians—the same effects are produced, psychologically, by accepting gods and spirits as objective entities which literally act as symbolic motifs suggest, and interpretations which regard them as symbols of psychic components. But quite different intellectual consequences follow. Where symbolic forms are taken literally, explanations of magical results and processes are framed in terms of them—and individuals within the epistemic community accept, literally, these explanations. Hence, images appear in the mirror during conjuration because the words, symbols and incantations bring gods and spirits. Other explanations, e.g., physiological explanations of the effects of eye strain, sensory deprivation, etc., cannot be entertained. A great many theological objections to sociological studies of religion, or possession, are based on such premises. Accepting the appearance of images as the product of sensory deprivation is incom-
patible with believing them to be the voluntary, or compelled, appearance of an objective spiritual entity. Similarly, belief in the physical efficacy of magical techniques applied to nature is threatened by analyses, such as Beattie's, which argue that the "real" nature of such activities is symbolic, not physical.

There is a tendency for academics, having found symbolic validity in techniques, and associations between these symbolic elements and social or psychological effectiveness, to presume that their orientation is the correct one from which to frame policies, or more extremely, to assume that their's is "really" shared by adherents. This is incorrect. One must determine to what extent symbolic structures are interpreted as symbolic, and to what extent they are taken literally. Evidence from a wide variety of magico-religious traditions indicates that some practitioners recognize symbolic realities, while others recognize literal ones. The fact that social scientists call those recognizing symbolic meanings "sophisticated" is not entirely cultural arrogance--it also reflects the fact that such individuals are often more open to alternate explanations and insights into their practice. It makes a lot of difference for the intellectual implications of OTA's magical practice that the symbolic explanation of magical practice is at root theirs, not simply mine.

Where symbolic categorical frameworks are taken literally, there is indeed what some scholars have termed a preference for "occult" or "mystical" explanations. This "preference" has consequences for the relationship of the epistemic community and other modes of inquiry. While some
individuals may not have life-encompassing commitments to such perspectives, they do have localized "closed spots"--areas where other forms of intellectual analysis will not be admitted. It is in these circumstances Rokeach's concept of a "closed mind" may be most applicable. Furthermore, it is here one expects to find claims for the external incorrigibility of the categorical framework, claims for its unique adequacy as a categorical structure, and means for relating to other logics by considering them to be the result of imperfect knowledge, or lack of understanding. Certainly most analysts would contend that such magico-religious epistemic communities at least partially inhibit intellectual analysis, even if they also provide important personal functions at other levels.

Furthermore, one cannot always tell from written material where symbolic interpretations are present. Some of OTA's writings make this clear, especially their articles in the *Seventh Ray*, but as we observed, the depth of the symbolic interpretation is not revealed until after initiation. Hence, the scholar, or policy makers, trying to judge this aspect of organizations such as OTA will often be unable to accurately do so unless he delves rather deeply into the "irrelevant details" of magical thinking.

Given what we have observed about the extent to which recruitment opportunities and social response condition the ability to maintain open operational philosophies, policies which attempt to minimize "irrational" practices by manipulating recruitment opportunities or engaging in publicity campaigns to intellectually discredit such epistemic communities in the eyes of the social public without detailed knowledge of the interpretations
employed within them, run a substantial risk of enhancing the problem they seek to control. On the other hand, crediting all magical epistemic communities with the symbolic perspectives their more academically oriented investigators see may substantially mislead others who may use such writings as guides to exploring and joining such groups. Rational policies simply cannot be made on the basis of content-free judgments about the "effects" or "functions" of magical practice.

Could the relatively delicate balance of conditions we identified as operating to prevent dramatic conflict between OTA's magical practice and modern intellectual skills apply as well to the Abacwezi practice in Uganda? Is there some point in political or social development where magical practice must be opposed so that individual, cognitive skills may emerge? In modern society OTA magicians choose magical perspectives, aware of others which they have already learned. Might it be more difficult to choose modern intellectual perspectives, aware of magical beliefs and practices which had already been learned?

The fact that Abacwezi practice is embedded in a society where a systematic, scientific development of the technical interest did not exist, suggests areas in which it might be difficult to absorb new intellectual skills without letting go of some previously held magical perspectives. In the absence of wide-ranging empirical theories of nature and disease, magic acquired two features it does not have in contemporary American society. First, it provided attempts at control, often projections of psychological processes onto the natural world, over a domain of "natural" events which were
uncontrollable, or inexplicable, within prescientific technical knowledge. Second, for a range of misfortunes—some diseases, infertility, miscarriages, crop blights—emancipatory insights became the only approach to the problem. Magico-religious practice could cope with one part of such misfortunes—their significance and meaning from an individual, subjective perspective—but not effective technical action which might have reduced its impact upon the individual. Magic did not become "primitive science"—rather, given the limitation of prescientific technical knowledge, it had to cope symbolically with an inappropriate range of misfortunes.

Western approaches to problems have often underestimated the importance of providing credible personal explanations for misfortunes—answers to the perpetual query, "why me?". Only recently, for example, has Western medicine begun to realize the necessity of preparing patients to accept their death, and discover some "meaning" for their situation as part of the medical task. The success magico-religious systems have in providing such insights may work against the adopting of critical, skeptical, testing mentalities which may destroy the assurance such insights provide by questioning the intellectual foundations upon which their status as "insights" rest. This is especially true where thinking in terms of two separate concepts—impersonal causation and personal significance—is foreign to the world view in which magic operates socially. Individuals who expect answers to such questions, and rely upon magico-religious practitioners to provide them, may be reluctant to abandon such questions, or the answers they can obtain within the prescientific milieu.
There are two possible responses to such a situation, typified by two models of magical practitioner's response to their initiation into magical practice, and the realization that externally accepted views of the basis of magical "insights" or "powers" could not be literally accepted. One postulates an openness to new explanations, and failing these, a gradual acceptance of previously questioned premises, while the other suggests a continuing re-interpretation of discrepancies so that confidence in magical practice is not lost.

There is fragmentary evidence from Beattie's informants that upon initiation, magicians learned to accept the fact that "Abacwezi do not really see"—that is, that the most literal, physical explanation for trance behavior, and hence the most powerful justification for its insights, was not, in fact, the case. But what were the consequences of this realization? If the situation were similar to that which Levi-Strauss reports in his account of the socialization of a skeptical shaman, there may be a good deal of openness. His account indicated that the shaman, who had initially learned magical curing techniques to expose the fraud of shamans, discovered that their explanations were indeed not correct, but at the same time, found himself curing people with them. Impelled by social pressure to practice his art, he had great success with his "tricks" and gained a reputation for being a great shaman. Confronted with other shamans from different traditions, whose methods were less satisfactory than his own, he challenged them—and built his reputation even further. Unable to find an explanation for his own success, he gradually came to accept the initial explanations, and to propo-
gate them. Had other explanations been available, which could have provided a more satisfactory understanding of the practical success the shaman had, these explanations might have been accepted, as OTA accepts psychological and physiological ones. The potential for an open operational philosophy would exist in such cases, making magical coexistence with modern intellectual orientations plausible, at least for practitioners.

If, on the other hand, the model were more like Evans-Pritchard's account of his servant's initiation into magical practice, the situation would be quite different. His servant also found that his literal expectations were not fulfilled. But after a period of disappointment, he adopted a more elaborate set of views, that results were sometimes staged, but sometimes real, and remained uncritical of the claimed foundations of magical practice, and unwilling to entertain Evans-Pritchard's alternative explanations. Under such a model, we might expect magical explanations of events outside the range of prescientific technology to clash with more critical, test oriented, intellectual perspectives.

Beattie's data does not permit us to choose between these two models, nor does it suggest alternate ones. But it does suggest features of the external milieu which might be relevant to making a judgment. First, social structuring tended to make access to Western interpretations and continued magical practice relatively difficult to mix. Early education came primarily through the auspices of missionaries, where basic skills like literacy were tied to accepting Christian beliefs. Indeed, early Christians were called "readers" because it was in the context of their Christian training that they
became literate. Practicing magicians were poor candidates for exposure to new intellectual skills. Furthermore, as we have seen, magicians were not free to leave magical practice, nor to reveal what they had learned as initiates. The fact that learning new intellectual perspectives was cast in terms of magico-religious conflict provided little incentive to modify this feature of magical epistemic communities. In this social situation, it seems plausible to assert that magical knowledge was perceived as incompatible with modern intellectual skills, and under these initial circumstances, probably was.

Similarly, the second order effects of this policy worked to sustain this situation. Children educated in missionary schools were difficult to recruit to Abacwezi practice, and hard to hold as educated members. The change in recruitment policies, combined with other changes in the political situation, contributed to changing the Abacwezi from a central possession religion to a peripheral cult. Recruitment came increasingly from those in less privileged social positions, which in turn increased the isolation of magical practice from contact with new cognitive perspectives. The impact was to isolate magical practice from an accurate knowledge of new cognitive skills. While the educated might continue to employ magicians in certain circumstances, they did not become initiates.

Beattie, observing social trends in recruitment and ceremonial form, argued that with increasing modernization, traditional group practices of the Abacwezi were giving way to more individualized orientations, both in terms of practitioners, who developed individualized expertise in a variety
of magical skills, and in terms of the cases they handled, which increasingly centered around individual problems. Under the Obote administration, such a tendency apparently continued, but was hidden from public view, and was never able to publicly advertise itself. Under the Amin administration, magico-religious activities have come to be more publicly acknowledged, and may even be used to encourage participation in "modern" activities. Hence, since January 1973 the Voice of Uganda has carried periodic advertisements for "fortunetellers" capable of casting out evil spirits, detecting witchcraft, providing good luck, reading palms and practicing native cures. Such advertisements appear to be the public surfacing of the individualized practitioners both Beattie and Rigby described, supplemented by astrologers, most bearing Islamic titles. The arrival of a visiting astrologer was hosted by one Ugandan business firm, which arranged for meetings with him while he was in Kampala. A visiting Zambian fortuneteller was housed in the prestigious Kampala International Hotel, where he held his public consultations. The Muganga Native Medicine Service, established with a Kampala post office box address, regularly advertised the arrival of visiting healers and astrologers, which again were available for public consultations. The fact that such visiting magical or occult specialists bore titles like "doctor", "sheik" and "mwalim" is indicative of their attempts to establish themselves as people of some intellectual prestige.

The response to such activities has been mixed. While consulting them has never been attacked in the press, there have been attempts to make clear that such individuals cannot substitute for hard work and compe-
Hence Amin, addressing newly appointed military officials, told them that witchcraft could not make promotions—-their success depended upon their own hard work. But significantly, he did not attack the consultation. Similarly, the Chief Khadi of Uganda, Sheikh Mutovu, attempted to use Muslim belief in magico-religious miracles to both instill an idea of the value of education, and to make clear its dependence on actual achievement. He maintained that:

Teaching and learning were some of the few miracles that Prophet Mohamad left with the people when he was still on earth. All other miracles like healing, resurrection and blessing disappeared with the prophet when he died.

The parallel between education as a remaining miracle of the Prophet, and spirit mediumship as a vehicle for gaining access to the lost miracles of the mythical Cwezi rulers, is apparent. Yet here the motif is clearly adapted to modern society, for the Khadi goes on to stress that childrens' futures depend upon sound academic qualifications, while strong faith shapes their morale. Magico-religious beliefs are here suggested as an impetus to gain education, including especially the technical education Uganda has recently stressed. In a situation where magico-religious activities, both individualized traditional practices and the Islamic tradition of divination and oracles are permitted to support, but not substitute for, individual achievement, they may serve to encourage the acquisition of modern technical skills, and to provide confidence for those engaged in learning them.

Recent studies in modernization suggest the need for a new look at the role magical and occult beliefs might play in shaping new nations' development. In the early 1960's development theorists recognized the fact
that traditions varied greatly with regard to the degree to which they impeded or facilitated the transition to modernity. Tradition, as a general reservoir of behavior and symbols in a society was separated from traditionalism, the more extremist, negative reaction to the impingement of forces of modernity. Somewhat later, scholars began to argue that the concept of a short "transition" from traditional society to modern society was unlikely, and that societies were emerging which might be viable "post-traditional" societies, no longer traditional, but by Western standards not modern. They argued theoretically that the existence of such societies emphasized inadequacy of several key assumptions underlying theories of modernization by indicating:

1. That many of these societies and states did not develop in the direction of certain modern nation-states;
2. That these regimes did not necessarily constitute a temporary "transitional" phase along an inevitable path to this type of modernity;
3. That there was yet some internal "logic" in their development; and
4. That part at least of this logic or pattern could be understood from some aspects of the traditions of these societies and derived from them.

But the significance of these suggestions did not become clear until recently, when developments in the international economic and political structure had made clear the fact that significant economic improvement in many "third world" countries is simply not in sight. Under these circumstances, it makes sense to look again at magico-occult activities, not as impediments to impending modernization, but as contributors to viable post-traditional societies.

Much of the objection to continuing magical beliefs, even where they were psychologically functional in relieving anxieties arising from social
change, was the presumption that such beliefs kept elements of technical rationality essential to modern economic activity from being introduced. We have attempted to show that under some circumstances, such beliefs could be used to more favorably orient people to modern activities. The question remains: can such "partial" acquisition of modern orientations support modern work relationships, and leave the door open for future expansion of such activities? In an extensive study of workers in Jinga, Uganda, researchers attempted to examine the relationships between the development of technical rationality within a work context, and its extension into other aspects of personal life.

This finding, combined with Rigby and Lule's observations that students and urban workers often resorted to diviners to provide them with confidence to face difficult personal challenges, suggests that tolerance toward such uses of magic may have both positive and negative consequences for modernization. If the source of stress or anxiety is not specifically definable, but arises from the general environment, then magical attempts to gain insight into them, and cope with them, may positively benefit both individuals and society. Abacwezi ceremonies to help relieve individuals living within modern spheres from influence of "muzungu"--the spirit of white men--seems to have operated at this level. On the other hand, where magical solutions do not stress the importance of personal action, but hold up prospects for abnegating individual effort, their results might be detrimental. Here the importance of relatively more educated practitioners, more aware of what is required to succeed in work or education,
might prove an important asset.

The importance of using such magical techniques within the epistemic community in which they are developed is demonstrated by the attempts of some East African officials to selectively reintroduce elements of traditional magico-religious practice to cope with situations where administrative capabilities are unable to meet demands. In the Kamba region of Kenya, for example, a large number of land cases with little or no definite evidence on either side to guide a court decision, led to a steady flood of appeals which exceeded the capacity of the existing court system.\textsuperscript{50} In 1968 a formal procedure for controlling the courts' involvement in administering a traditional oath (kithitu) was established as an "extra-judicial" remedy for cases where the basis for a clear legal decision was lacking. But the judges used the oath in a way which both ignored certain features of its working, and contradicted its traditional means of application. Since the oath, if taken falsely, was believed to work to cause illness or death to the person taking it or his family, the courts soon found themselves facing new cases. People having taken the oath, who subsequently fell ill or had deaths in the family, returned to court to return property they had been awarded, in hopes of ending the effects of the oath. Similarly those denied property were sometimes found to engage in criminal activities (such as poisoning the cattle of the person favored by the courts) to frighten the more fortunate party into thinking the oath was working against him. In addition, by administering, as a matter of routine practice, an oath which was traditionally a final recourse, the respect for the procedure itself declined. The net effect was to multiply,
not reduce, the legal problems faced by the courts. The apparent "advantages" of magico-religious techniques cannot be easily lifted from the epistemic communities in which they are embedded and unproblematically be applied by new authorities in new situations.

This argues for more openness toward magico-religious practices which may contribute to maintaining order and effectiveness in post-traditional societies. This may not mean so much directly "taking over" aspects of traditional magico-religious practice, as encouraging changes within its operating practice which move toward more open, observable practice which, unlike the secret recourse to magicians, could be at least partially steered by regulatory policies. Hence some nations, including Liberia and Malawi, have licensed magico-religious practitioners, and hold them responsible for adhering to accepted standards of practice. Not all magical epistemic communities will be suited to such policies. In particular, those with explicitly political operational philosophies may provoke serious problems for nation-building, while those unable to be assimilated to openly recognized religious traditions run the risk of generating open religious clashes which could create new crises of policy. It remains to identify some of these features of magical epistemic communities, and examine their policy implications.

Religious Reactions and Magical Practice

Groups like the OTA can operate as open, legal, creativity encouraging religions, in part, because they frame their activities this way, and, in part, because they exist in a society where major controversies
over the role of religion in political life, and the extent to which governments will respond to religious pressure, have more or less been resolved. Yet even here magical practice along with the revival of wicca and other neopagan traditions, creates a novel situation which may color policies toward such groups.

OTA, like many of the other new magico-religious groups which have emerged since the 1960's, is developing outside the rubric of universalistic religions. These new groups are small, initiatory religions, using traditional "rites of passage" as a basis for membership rather than more conventional declarations of faith. Many emphasize personal meaning and growth rather than eternal truth, and are less interested in developing elaborate, rationalized theologies than in creating meaningful ritual experience. This emphasis on experience over concerns with either moral truth or intellectual doctrines sharply separates them not only from more mainstream churches, which base their claim to significance on fundamental truths of doctrine, but from earlier occult organizations as well. For OTA, magic is bringing about changes in consciousness in accordance with will, not attempting to extract from those changes a moral code or universal doctrine.

One important feature of the current occult revival is a parallel revival in experiencial, fundamentalist varieties of Christian belief (often called the "charismatic" movement). It emphasizes similar kinds of experiences, including possession by the Holy Spirit (being "filled with" or "receiving the baptism of" the spirit) and various trance manifestations, most
controversially, speaking in tongues. Unlike magicians, however, the charismatics do not see such changes in consciousness being produced by human techniques, at human will. Like earlier Christian traditions, they accept two sources for such experiences: divine or demonic. They reject even casual contact with magic, witchcraft, astrology, crystal balls, tarot cards or psychic phenomena as opening the way for demonic influence. These groups, in both Catholic and Protestant circles, often accept a literal belief in the existence of Satan, and within this belief, explain changes in consciousness, to "paranormal" psychic phenomena as the work of Satan. They counter such activity with prayer circles, laying on of hands and exorcism.

Both groups share a common focus on dramatic, consciousness changing religious experiences as the essence of religious life. The charismatics, for all their opposition to magic, witchcraft, neopaganism and the occult, are dependent upon its existence for much of the relevance of their religious skills, as were the scholars and exposers of witchcraft in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Even popular films like the Exorcist, which provided religious groups practicing exorcism as much inappropriate publicity as Rosemary's Baby provided non-Satanic witches, accurately conveyed the connection. Although the stereotypes they employ are inappropriate characterizations of the activities of most modern magicians, witches and neopagans, they are stereotypes which are known and responded to by the public—sometimes, as we have seen, to the advantage of illegal magico-religious practitioners. In this milieu, even such a staid group as the study
commission of the Church of England recommended reviving the selective
use of exorcism, and published the ritual, in part to cope with personal
disruption resulting from occult experiences. 56

Martello Truzzi has suggested a number of features which may help
to explain this pattern of magico-religious activity. Among them are:
(1) some disillusionment with the dominant religions; (2) our lack of fear
of the occult or involvement with it; (3) the present lack of social sanc-
tions against occult involvement and (4) the increased salience of the occult
resulting from the revival itself. 57 While these factors provide some in-
dication of the immediate roots of the phenomena, our aim is to look deep
into the socio-religious structure of modern American society in an attempt
to determine the significance of both the form, and the occurrence, of recent
magico-religious practice.

Magico-religious practice is important in the context of modern
society's differentiation of experience and action, and the character of what
Bellah has termed "civil religion"--religions which support social struc-
tures, but do not purport to make definitive judgments about moral stan-
dards beyond their own domain. 58 One of the most significant features of
modern American society is that it provides for differentiation of action and
experience. The construction of personal systems of meaning for life, and
means of integrating personal identity, are differentiated from patterns of
social action, especially work norms. Within American society, there are
multiple available sources for granting meaning and experience integration,
which individuals are free to choose from without jeopardizing their social
identity. Such activities are regarded as "personal" matters. It is expected that individuals will have different experiences, derive different meanings from them, and organize those meanings into personally meaningful interpretations of their lives in different ways. Exactly what these meanings are is irrelevant to social exchange relationships in bureaucracies, factories, universities and routinized political participation. Indeed, personal feelings and individual perspectives are, in many instances, positively uninteresting to others in such roles—leading to increasing complaints about "depersonalized" modern societies. One need only listen to CTA members justifying participation in magical practice as a means of realizing personal potential and achieving a human identity, or read justifications for continuing to practice astrology with a model of the world that is centered around the earth on the grounds that each human being is the center of his own universe, to realize that such orientations are only a few of the multitude of avenues for personal integration of personal life experiences which exist in modern society.

Many of the above observations would have held true for previous occult revivals. What is different about the current one is the focus on experience, the predominance of esthetic considerations over moral ones, in magico-religious practice. To say that this stems from a dissatisfaction with existing religious traditions is to beg the question. What is it about the role of religion in modern society which accounts for such an orientation? The answer lies in the character of "civic religion" in America, and the role it ascribed to moral values. While religions in America are expected to pro-
vide moral guidance for their adherents, it is also expected that the moral perspective of a particular religion will not be imposed upon those not adhering to it, and that its application as a standard for judging the moral qualities of others is unjustified. Moral identity is differentiated from social identity. Individuals are not obligated to participate in religious activities, and those who do are not expected to arrive at similar moral stances from their experiences. There is an extreme unwillingness, even among religious leaders, to make moral judgments which purport to be binding on those who do not choose to accept those moral standards.

This situation, combined with features of modern technological orientations, creates a situation where there are not legitimate "moral experts". As Weber argued over a century ago, the rationalization of history stops at the domain of tradition and morals. Scientific and technological knowledge cannot judge the ends men seek, but only provide estimates of the costs and benefits arising from them. Yet, as Weber argued, morals and tradition constitute the relatively constant elements assuring continuity in development. In a situation where this is lacking, aesthetic criterion may supersede moral values as guides for personal orientation, with a resulting deflation of the moral content of political as well as religious beliefs. Indeed, Howard Jay has argued that the neo-Hegelian substitution of art for moral experience helped to erode the moral templates which might have provided the grounds for a moral opposition to the rise of Nazism. Such arguments provide a new perspective on Jung's observations of the significance of the appearance of powerful psychological motifs in Nazi
political appeals, and the powerful psychological and aesthetic appeal these motifs held for Germans of the period. It similarly suggests the importance of reexamining the role of occult organizations in pre-Nazi for their use of potent aesthetic experiences in conjunction with expressly political operational philosophies, an example we shall touch on later.

Within this context, it is easier to both the form and the emphasis of current magico-religious organizations, not as aberrations of modern societies, but as manifestations of some of its most basic features in unfamiliar forms. The fact that many organizations are small, personalistic, experiential and short-lived is not a reason for disregarding them. On the contrary, it is these very features, combined with the range of available options for personal experience and integration of these experiences which makes them significant. Within the openness and differentiation of modern society, individuals may exercise selective diversity, not only having open a range of personal experience, but also an ability to select what experiences (actual or vicarious) they will take as their own. OTA members see magic as an art, and seek to adopt both their actual experience of changes in consciousness and their knowledge of others' experiences in this domain as a means for expressing and channeling individual creativity and human potential. Their choice of a categorical framework is dictated by a positive identification with an historical tradition, which they respect as tradition. In rejecting the identification with either science or psychotherapy, they are rejecting partial analyses of experiences for a meaningful, and appealing, integration of these experiences. As Runyon once put it, OTA has combined
art, drama, physical exercise and a mythological-religious tradition into a form in which it can be experienced and appreciated by ordinary citizens. In requiring neither faith, nor total commitment, it may be typical, rather than atypical, of an important form of religious experience in contemporary American society, and one which constitutes one, among many, viable options for framing personal meaning.

Magic does not, and probably cannot, operate this way in Uganda. Current religious policies indicate that while moral and social identities are not fused, neither are they differentiated. Amin's recent policies on religion in Uganda are moving in the direction which reduces the role of personal aesthetic experience in favor of moral bases for religious practice, and within the limits of political feasibility, attempts to link these moral values to the social identity of Ugandans as citizens. In this context, the proliferation of magico-religious communities based upon meaningful integration of personal experience is being halted. At the same time, it is possible to detect a more liberal attitude toward magical practices which may integrate them into the accepted religious framework.

If Amin's policies were moving toward the creation of a genuinely Islamic society, the result would be to fuse individual moral identity with social identity. In such a situation, not only are people expected to have similar experiences (in this case, religious participation) but they are expected to experience the same thing. Hence, going to prayers would mean finding, at those prayers, Islamic insights, and experiences of divinity which would, of necessity, be interpreted within Islamic categories. In such
a situation, one's social identity as a citizen would include not only attending religious services, but integrating one's personal life around Islamic motifs. Such situations can exist outside a strictly religious context. For example, the Cultural Revolution in China was a move toward fusing individual moral identity and social identity. Not only were individuals expected to have similar political experiences--attending required political functions--but they were expected to interpret them the same way, with "thought criticism" sessions attempting to verify that common interpretations were indeed present.

In present day Uganda, however, this is not the religious policy. Instead the policy has increasingly come to make religious belief (Catholic, Protestant or Muslim) an essential part of the role of the citizen--stopping short of dictating that one particular kind of religious belief must be accepted. Hence, it has recently been made mandatory that government officials attend church weekly, although they may attend the church of their chosen faith. Similarly, each recognized religion has been instructed to draw up a curriculum for religious education to be introduced into public education. While no child will be compelled to take religious instruction in a religion not his own, instruction in his chosen religion is compulsory. More recently, Amin has made it compulsory that public officials attend the church of their choice each week. In each of these cases, the attempt has been to establish the importance, for the role of citizen, of deep religious commitment without going so far as to politically fuse religious and national identity.

Within these policy aims, it is easier to comprehend Amin's extreme
antagonism to the small, diversified sects of Christianity which characterize American life. The first reaction to such religions came when Amin banned eighteen religions in Uganda, and held that the government recognized three: Protestant, Catholic and Islam. Later the accusations became more specific, as Amin explicitly blamed the United States for "creating" 370 Christian religions whose presence "confused" Ugandans. Within the context of a non-differentiated religious identity, a proliferation of moral codes is politically unacceptable. Again, the basis of this opposition can make Amin's policies more comprehensible. He does not see the divergent sects as legitimate differences of moral truth, but instead as the reflection of personal, experiential, even non-religious differences. The most dramatic instance of this reasoning, which clearly over-stepped the political bounds on religious policy, was Amin's attempt to blur the distinction between Catholic and Protestant varieties of Christianity. On February 13, 1974, and again on February 28, Amin asserted that there was "only one Christian religion, The Roman Catholic, and only one Muslim religion", attributing the dispute between Catholic and Protestant faiths to a clearly tangential issue: the marriage of the clergy. This brought a protest from the Church of Uganda officials, who held a meeting with Amin and published a statement indicating that the roots of the dispute were moral and theological, with the dispute over marriage occupying an essentially peripheral role.

The terms in which objections to multiple religions are cast is as important as the objections themselves. Different weightings on personal experience are clearly perceived to be illegitimate reasons for forming dif-
ferent religious organizations. Had Amin been able to make his assessment of the basis of Catholic-Protestant disputes stick politically, the way would have been open to eliminate such differences as non-religious, following Amin's earlier dictates that traditional marriages, those contracted outside either Islamic or Christian religions, be registered with the state and carry with them the same obligations for support as marriages sanctioned by religious organizations. In enunciating this policy, Amin certainly did not establish the religious legitimacy of traditional customs or their older pagan traditions. He asserted, rather, that such matters were not inherently religious, and that the state had an interest in seeing that all relationships which established families contained legal recognitions of responsibility.

Under this conception of the role of religion in the operation of Uganda, epistemic communities organized either as the OTA is, or as the Abacwezi tradition was, are, as religions, outside the legitimate scope of activity. Ugandan policy has not yet recognized the differentiation of moral, or religious identity, and citizenship roles. Both "creating" religions on the basis of private experience, and being without organized, universal religions, casts suspicion upon one's status as a citizen. Because traditional magico-religious communities, such as the Abacwezi, cannot claim moral codes which apply beyond the confines of what Amin accepts as simply "tradition", they cannot be legitimate religions in contemporary Uganda. Hence, it is interesting to note that while editorials in the Voice of Uganda argue, ostensibly based upon Amin's speeches, that pagans, as well as Protestants, Catholics and Muslims, will be accepted in Uganda, Amin
himself has not made such a statement in the press. 73 Indeed, the most he has committed himself to is stating that political traitors, such as Obote, are "worse than pagans" for "some pagans have got their country at heart." 74

Within this context, Amin's claims that he is not creating an Islamic nation, and his appeals for religious tolerance among the three politically recognized religions of Uganda, must be considered seriously. Whether out of the recognition of the historical and political importance of Christianity in Uganda, or out of a more genuine vision of a society which is "religious" without being politically committed to one religion, the policy attempts to standardize moral and religious perspectives so that they can support national policies. Hence, it is significant that Amin, while upgrading Muslim religious education by building new religious schools, has also urged the maintenance of Christian educational facilities, and has contributed both personal and governmental funds to establishing and enhancing Christian shrines. 75 It is too easy, from a Western perspective, to see current Ugandan policy as an attempt to destroy Christian practices, or deny any separation between church and state. Such a perspective is too simple. A separation between political and theological issues does exist, and probably will continue to. The government has explicitly denied that its Ugandanization of the church will imply any modification or "modernization" of its doctrine. 76 It is the moral fabric provided by universalistic religions, rather than the moral tenants of any one such religion, which Amin hopes to harness as a source of norms for nation-building.
Within this policy thrust, a new attitude toward magic and the "occult" may be emerging. Press attacks against magical practices, such as radio campaigns occurring in Tanzania, or earlier written condemnations under the Obote regime, have not been found in the press since Amin's rise to power. Instead there seems to be an emerging recognition that magical beliefs may be useful, so long as they do not controve religious policy, impede governmental attempts to move (slowly) toward creating modern skills and facilities, or create political ramifications. Magical epistemic communities, which can associate themselves with recognized religious traditions, may well become more viable than they have been in the past. Here Islamic tradition seems to have a distinct advantage over Christianity, for its historical position toward magical practices has been far less hostile than Christian policies. A variety of divination techniques, and ceremonial operations to counter "jinns" have been tolerated within Islamic practice, and have provided easy ways to assimilate older traditions to Islamic practice. Even in Beattie's studies of the Abacwezi tradition, there were instances of Islamic techniques (e.g., divination by Koran and creation of talismans based on the Koran) being employed by Abacwezi practitioners. The only incorporation of Christian doctrines seems to have come by recognizing the spirit Mungu (high god) which was characterized by its jealousy, and its demands that mediums be devoted to that spirit alone. This was neither a flexible orientation, nor one which was acceptable to church officials, or committed Christians. This suggest the possibility that Islamic practices and modern techniques,
such as astrology, which have roots in that tradition, might become more acceptable bases for magical epistemic communities than traditionally justified practices or semi-Christian ceremonies.

Amin's behavior on several occasions has been consistent with such an emerging policy. When an unidentified flying object was reportedly seen descending into Lake Victoria on March 3, 1973, Amin announced that the object had "great significance and was to be taken as a very important and good sign."81 The occasion was declared "very happy and important and a sign of good luck to Uganda."82 Apparently in keeping with conventions on numinous happenings, Amin then suggested that anyone who might have seen the object go for prayers at their respective places of worship. Belief in the object as strange and meaningful was not discouraged, neither was a "natural" explanation offered, but its appearance was instead to be assimilated to conventional religious practice.

On the other hand, the same policy can become the basis for attacking religious groups for political reasons. Shortly after the tension with Protestants over the "one Christian religion" speeches, significant public attention was focused on a rumor that the Christian cross could be used magically to cure an impending spirit epidemic. The occurrence of this rumor was treated as both a political and a religious issue. It was asserted that:

Those spreading the story have alleged that the evil spirit bringing the disease will be coming from Zaire. There is no doubt that Uganda enjoys very good relationship (sic) with all her neighbors, including Zaire... The mention of the disease coming from Zaire is therefore another attempt to bring about misunderstandings between the two countries.83
The rumor was alleged to be a complete lie, and was alleged to arise from "missionary imperialist propaganda aimed at confusing the people of Uganda." The issue was taken seriously as a political and religious issue, with District Commissioners and chiefs being ordered to take immediate measures to stop the rumor, supplemented by a full investigation and a report of their findings to the government.

The last incident points up some of the perils of a policy of selective tolerance. Where magical epistemic communities operate to provide individuals with a means of coping with tensions stemming from the general political environment, it may be personally functional. In such circumstances, it might be reasonable to permit relatively open access to magical beliefs, bounding their modernizing implications. On the other hand, when political and religious tensions themselves become translated into magical terms, especially in a context where religious beliefs are expected to support national loyalty, the situation becomes more dangerous. Instead of questioning the credibility of magical beliefs, and coping with them as "mistakes", it is possible to treat them as politically relevant deviance, and cope with them repressively. The way is open not only to punish individuals, but to hold religious organizations responsible for such occurrences. Where there already exists significant religious conflict, it may be exacerbated; where repressive actions are common, magical charges may become another reason for extending them—-one which becomes less overtly "contrived" in an environment which plays upon individual beliefs in magic.

The policy questions which emerge from the current Ugandan situa-
tion are quite different from those which would be present in a developing society committed to eradicating magical beliefs, or from those arising in the context of a modern society where substantial differentiation of religious and political identity had been achieved. In the current Ugandan context, some magical beliefs, and perhaps some magical epistemic communities, may have utility for the government, both in establishing its policy toward religion and the state, and in providing a basis for extending its control into this area. Where a common magico-religious tradition is lacking, it is difficult to premise political control on magical practices per se, as was for a time possible in Haiti. Yet they may provide a basis for rationalizing and even legitimating some political actions. In advancing a policy of selective tolerance toward magical phenomena, and attempting to incorporate them into explicitly religious perspectives, rather than in traditional symbolic networks permeated with political motifs, it may be possible to preserve some of the psychological benefits of magical practice without having them constitute implicit or explicit challenges to national political perspectives.

Politics and Magic

We have attempted to demonstrate that the extent to which magical practice is politically relevant depends on two features: meta-interpretations of categorical frameworks, which may be explicitly political, and may provide a basis for political action; and the societal context, which may allow a greater or lesser scope for "non-political" activities. Within American society, the extent to which magic is "political" is in large measure a matter of choice on the part of magical epistemic communities.
In Uganda, this was not the case in the colonial period, nor has it been the case since independence. The practitioners' choice of interpretations, while relevant, have far less to do with determining their political significance. The very fact that the myths employed by Abacwezi practitioners were mythical histories has continued to make them a matter for political concern, even though practitioners no longer employ them in the effective political domain. Within modern America, the best guide to determining, and regulating, political overtones is the operational philosophies of groups; in developing countries like Uganda policies based on such considerations would be incomplete.

OTA provides us with an example of a magical organization without organized political interests. Myths, symbols and categorical frameworks similar to those employed by the OTA have been used for overtly political purposes. Such political significance is gained, and lost, by providing new meta-interpretations, much as OTA did on a non-political level in its use of psychotherapeutic analogies. Modern magical organizations have become political in three ways. One means, exemplified in the controversy over the Psychedelic Church of Venus during the Themis War, is for a group to simply reinterpret existing political controversies in terms of their religious stances. The second means, only hinted at in the Themis War, is to reinterpret their magical symbolism and mythology as a relevant history, or program for the future, which implies the need for an alternate political system. While apparently not an important feature of contemporary American practice, this orientation may have been an important feature of a num-
ber of occult groups which supported the rise of Nazi ideology. The third
means involves the rise of a dramatically new vision of the world, often intro-
ducing a new collection of symbols, which rejects or reformulates existing
political relationships. Crowley's Thelemic vision arose from the cere-
monial magic of the Golden Dawn in this way.

The Psychedelic Church of Venus' program of "upfront paganism"
was an abortive attempt to politicize pagan magico-religious practice through
the first means. Seeing pagans as another oppressed minority, the PVC
proposed that pagans recognize this political fact and form a broad coalici-
tion to link their activities to the political struggle of other oppressed people
as well. Their program was a thinly veiled reinterpretation of the popu-
larized radical perspective of the late 1960's. The "oppressed minorities"
ranged from drug users, homosexuals and those opposing the nuclear family,
to workers and victims of American expansion abroad. In the presence
of perceived political issues, such a reinterpretation may sometimes be
effective. As the Themis War demonstrated, however, other magico-
religious groups did not see themselves as oppressed minorities. Indeed,
this was precisely the situation they sought to avoid. While groups within
the Wicca tradition certainly believe that their magico-religious practice
was historically an oppressed minority, there is little sense of this as a
current feature of their religious practice. On the contrary, their hope of
reviving the positive aspects of older pagan beliefs rests upon the fact that
modern society is open to, and tolerant of, a variety of religious perspec-
tives. Under the current relatively tolerant attitudes toward magico-
religious practice, oppression is not a genuinely felt experience. Furthermore, the concern that allowing such political issues to penetrate magico-religious practice may create, rather than counter, such an identity has been an extremely strong incentive to avoid politically oriented meta-interpretations. Unless policies become dramatically more repressive, such stances are unlikely to be supported by a significant number of magicians, witches or pagans, although, as the Themis dispute demonstrates, they are quite ambivalent about what responses to groups with such orientations are appropriate.

A second means for merging political perspectives and magico-religious practice is to reinterpret myths, symbols and categorical frameworks as relevant histories, creating in the process a fusion of myth and history which can be used to support new political perspectives. This use of magico-religious practice existed in the traditional Abacwezi case, where as Beattie noted, the mythical history upon which magical practice rested served as a mythical charter for the Nyoro state. While it is true that such uses of magical perspectives are most common in premodern societies, even relatively ahistorical frameworks can be translated into politically relevant mythical histories. The inter-war period in Germany saw the emergence of a strain of German magico-religious practice, which incorporated much of the existing magical and occult symbolism into a racial history of the Aryan people into a magical Weltanschauung, which supported the right of a pure Aryan race to rule the world.

Out of the milieu of occult and magical practice which included the
Golden Dawn, and other Rosicrucian traditions, Theosophy and Steiner's Anthroposophy, there emerged a German magico-religious practice which reinterpreted the legend of the Grail, Theosophy's speculations on Atlantis, and German neo-pagan tradition into a political vision of the German people. The German secret societies, most importantly the Thule society, with which Hitler may have had some contact, identified the civilization of Atlantis with an Ayran civilization. A reinterpretation of Plato's account of the fall of Atlantis, they saw its decline not as a lack of moral virtue, but as a result of racial mixing. Plato maintains:

But when the god's part in them began to wax faint by constant crossing with much mortality, and the human temper began to predominate, then they could no longer carry their fortunes, but began to behave unseemly. To the seeing eye they now began to seem foul, for they were losing the fairest bloom from their most precious treasure. . . .

Symbolically equating the gods with the Aryans, and mortals with the inferior races, they laid the decline of Atlantis at the door of racial impurity.

Maintaining the identification of the Atlantians with Aryans, they incorporated Theosophy's account of the way in which a few members of that society migrated to Tibet to become the "secret chiefs"--superior men or supermen with great occult knowledge--into a historical account of the migration of a few pure Aryans from declining Atlantis. In combination with prophesies about the future rise of a new Atlantis, they framed a socio-political ideology grounded heavily in the symbols and myths of the occult milieu.

Jung, like some occultists of the period, observed the psychological potency of the symbols associated with the Nazi movement. Both Jung and
German occultists failed to correctly assess the situation, however. The kinds of "forces" represented by the Nazi use of symbols were apparent to occult observers from an occult perspective, but certainly not in a form where their psychological implications could be articulated. Understanding the significance of the new interpretations, before they became incorporated into political programs, rested upon knowing their apolitical, mystical ones, and the kinds of psychological experiences to which they could be linked.

Jung's observations that many of the Nazi political symbols had archaic magico-religious significance was correct. But his interpretation was framed without knowledge of the fact that overtly political reinterpretations of these symbols existed in magico-religious societies, to which some top Nazi leaders were exposed. Thus the appearance of mythical symbols did not need be credited to some sudden outpouring of unconscious motifs. They were available as part of the occult milieu of post war Germany, a milieu which assured their continuity with earlier symbolism by a conscious reinterpretation of those symbols, not by a rediscovery of them.

Magical motifs and symbols can, under some circumstances, be important political forces. Studies of messianic movements, natavistic movements, cargo cults, magico-religious protest movements and "crisis cults" suggest some of these circumstances. Where overt political and military resistance had failed to halt the spread of colonial rule, magico-religious protest movements sometimes arose as alternate means of achieving political goals, promising magical solutions, or effective magical techniques where others had failed. In addition, magico-religious appeals
served to mobilize interest in, and commitment to, political action, in-
cluding a wide collection of beliefs in the return of cultural heroes, or the
opening of a new millenial era. LaBarre, in attempting to explain the rise
of "crisis cults" to cope with political or social problems holds they begin in
the presence of psychological stress, arising in the context of a failure
of cultural defenses (technical, political, organizational) to cope with the
situation; their roots lie not only in the psychological stress of an individual,
or in the charismatic appearl of a "prophet", but in the extent to which the
psychological insights of a particular individual tap the anxiety which is
culturally shared. Hence, in successful crisis cults, the magico-religious
leader evolves defenses for himself that are found to be reassuring to his
fellows. In expressing, and playing upon, unconscious and semi-con-
scious psychological anxieties and desires, often as they have been first
expressed by the magico-religious leader himself, he is capable of building
a political force around his symbolic reinterpretations.

One very real problem with political re interpretations of magico-
religious symbolism is that it is often not obvious, until after the fact, which
interpretations are idiosyncratic, and which are capable of sustaining a
political following. Many of the political re interpretations of the ceremonial
magic tradition, ranging from Giordano Bruno's humanistic conception of a
magical polity based upon religious tolerance, to Aliester Crowley's glori-

fication of a pitiless political order based upon unrestrained individual
strength, were too idiosyncratic to survive as more than individual visions.
On the other hand, the racial re interpretations of magico-religious themes
in Germany, and the creation of a set of new cultural heroes, was. What Gerald Yorke observed as an internal magical problem—the lack of firm ethical guides against which to judge magical experience—becomes a social problem where the boundaries of magical practice may extend into the political milieu.

Several other features of modern occult communities become problematic where political reinterpretations of magical practice dominate operational philosophies. So long as the magical epistemic communities are genuinely apolitical, their organization as secret, initiatory societies, remains relatively unobjectionable. But this very form of organization makes it difficult, without detailed knowledge of specific groups, to determine their operational philosophy, and the extent to which their magico-religious stance supports, or serves as a front for, clandestine political organization. In the present political context, where concern over small, secretive groups of political activists is coupled with a public demand for less secrecy in many areas of political life, maintaining a secret society organization may be a major error for magico-religious groups. It is difficult to make general policies regarding magico-religious practice when, in addition to differences in perspective, terminology and practice, secret groups will release only partial accounts of their norms and practices.

How much concern should policy makers give the possibility of politicized magico-religious practice? This question is difficult to answer. Within the traditions I have examined tangentially in researching the OTA, there seems little possibility of political activity. One major impetus to
organize as religious groups has been the desire to avoid political controversy. As the Council of Themis dispute makes clear, this commitment often extends not only to avoiding political stances vis a vis the external world, but also minimizing the need for authority structures and policy stances among occult groups. While it would be inaccurate to say that magical practice represents a personal flight from politics, it would not be inaccurate to characterize its social reality as one which attempts to withdraw, at least temporarily, from the political milieu. Unless a change in policy toward such groups forces a confrontation on political issues, it is difficult to imagine an alternate political program, or even organized political action, arising from these groups. The groups examined, albeit fleetingly, by Ellwood suggest a similar orientation, although this has not been established with indepth study. 95

Some caveats are worth mentioning, however. Different occult practices encourage different types of personal development. Magical practice, when it proceeds well, encourages enhanced ego strength, and, within the OTA tradition, a strong sense of individual identity. When the practice miscarries, it may produce what Jung termed inflation of the ego—a "power trip" in which personal experiences are seen in cosmic proportions, and the individual sees himself more literally than metaphysically as the center of the universe. Crowley's Book of the Law was apparently a manifestation of such a phenomena. Jung reckons such a result a psychic catastrophe:

It must be recognized a psychic catastrophe when the ego is assimilated by the self. The image of wholeness then remains in the uncon-
scious, so that on the one hand it shares the archaic nature of the unconscious and on the other finds itself in the physically relative space-time continuum that is characteristic of the unconscious as such. Both these qualities are numinous and hence have an unlimited determining effect on ego-consciousness which is differentiated, i.e., separated, from the unconscious and moreover exists in an absolute space and an absolute time.96

Such occurrences within magical practice may create a situation in which the magician attempts to extend his will and his unconscious fantasies, onto the world. Gerald Yorke, who sees a number of aspiring magicians, many working alone, suggests such a pathology is the most common problem with magical practice.97 Such a state does, indeed, parallel what Freud considered to be the characterizing feature of magic: its roots in an infantile narcissism and an exaggerated sense of power. It is significant that Crowley, in articulating his theory of a new cosmic era, called it the era of Horus--the crowned and conquering child.

This miscarriage of magical practice may contribute to irrational political ideologies. Within relatively open magical communities, such an orientation could be detected by examining the operational philosophy. But these are also the situations in which such a pathology is least likely, for the presence of a number of individuals, continuing to engage in their everyday social activities, can impel an attention to "reality testing" which does not reinforce such psychological tendencies. Tightly closed groups, bounded by externally incorrigible categorical frameworks provide fewer checks, and individuals experimenting on their own are even more vulnerable. Such an experience can be an important personal incentive for politicizing magico-religious interpretations.
There is probably little that can be done, at a political policy level, to prevent such psychological miscarriages. Indeed, given the wide availability of texts and techniques, attempts to curtail magical organizations may have the undesirable effect of producing an environment where such occurrences are more likely. But knowledge of this possibility can provide insight into judging existing epistemic communities. One should expect to find not only open categorical frameworks, but effective ritual debriefing techniques as well. Furthermore, rituals such as Crowley advocated, where the magician in his final advances toward the Abyss, undertakes a magical oath to treat all happenings as occurrences between the magician and his Holy Guardian Angel (self, or in less optimal cases, ego), should be recognized as relatively dangerous rituals which offer little opportunity for limiting the extension of unconscious projections.

In this respect, OTA may well serve as a standard. As we have attempted to demonstrate, it is structurally compatible with its aim of permitting a limited outlet for artistic expression of fantasy, and personal exploration. It contains a recruiting policy which fits its ritual safeguards by attempting to exclude both individuals with psychological problems and people with strong ideological commitments which cannot be separated from magical experience. In conjunction with its unwillingness to engage the lodge in political activities, it does provide an intellectual and organizational setting which at least does not encourage a spill-over of magical practice into political "crisis cults".

Within the framework of modern American society, magical or
occult beliefs do not hold potential for legitimizing governmental policies. In other countries, like Uganda, where popular beliefs in magical efficacy are still widespread, this potential may exist. Amin has on several occasions used references to magico-religious beliefs to legitimate his policies and his role as leader of Uganda. Most recently, much press coverage was given to a Tanzanian astrologer, Ibrahim Hussein, whose prophesies have supported Amin's position. The astrologer asserted that Amin had been chosen by divine providence not only to lead Uganda, but to become a popular African leader as well. He predicted Amin's influence as a leader would extend beyond Uganda into East Africa, and perhaps even become an example for more distant African nations. He further prophesied that other nations would soon begin to follow Amin's guidelines and expel Asians from their countries.

The pronouncement comes in the context of other attempts to clothe the controversial decision to expel Asians in magico-religious terms. Amin himself once claimed that he had received the inspiration for the policy in a dream, where the suggestion appeared as a message from God. Subsequently, Amin has contended on two occasions that his life has been threatened by forces opposed to his Asian expulsion, and subsequent economic war. He claims to be unaffected by such threats or attempts, however, because the circumstances of his death have been revealed to him supernaturally, and presumably until the conditions of the dream are fulfilled, his life will not end.

While such claims are surely not the major means Amin uses to
legitimate his policies or his rule, they are appeals which contribute to the image of Amin as a charismatic leader, whose claims to power rest upon unique personal abilities and a special calling. Lacking educational qualifications, the mandate of an electorate, or a basis in either traditional political culture or a modern political ideology, Amin may find such appeals useful adjuncts to his attempts to maintain political control. Popular leaders, such as Sukarno and Nkrumah, occasionally bolstered their political appeals with magico-religious claims to special elect status, or extra-ordinary powers.

Such appeals can have several political effects. The fact that Amin has survived a number of attempts on his life and regime, coupled with claims of supernatural ruling legitimization, might create a sense of fatalism about political or military attempts to remove him. As attempts fail, the strength of such explanations may grow, reflecting and perhaps even expressing, the frustrations and anxieties people may feel in a political milieu where they have relatively little political influence.

Such appeals may also make the absolutism of the Amin regime more palatable. Where compatible with popular magico-religious expectations, such appeals may create a political category for Amin midway between some traditional systems, characterized by single absolute leaders, and more modern concepts of a national ruler. In traditional systems, such as those in Bunyoro or Buganda, the concept of leadership carried with it connotations of the numinous and the suprahuman. Consider, for example, the case of the omukama, surrounded by ritual prohibitions which applied
similarly to Abacwezi initiates in a state of ritual purity, or the complex
set of conventions established to differentiate rulership from normal human
activities. Within such political systems, at times repressive political
actions were accepted as the prerogative of political leaders, who were,
however, expected to be restrained from excessive repression by their
duties and responsibilities to their people. Given the inability to recover
traditional political motifs, or to institute ones which are democratically
responsive to citizen demands, it may be easier to legitimate the sometime
repressive actions of a nationalist government when they are associated
with an "extra-ordinary" leader than when they are perceived to reflect only
the political ambition of a repressive leader.

The fact that such motifs appear at all in Ugandan political dis-
course is significant. Whether they arise as a quasi-intentional attempt
to produce quiescence in the citizenry, or as a reflection of the terms in
which Amin himself may occasionally see political action, they indicate that
the possibility of mingling magico-religious activity and politics in Uganda
is not dead. Yet the form of legitimacy attempted, if indeed it is attempted,
is a weak one. Given the diversity in religious traditions within Uganda,
the tribal differences which condition the acceptability of an image of a
numinous single leader, and the lack of a common set of magico-religious
symbols, suggests that such efforts will remain tangential to governmental
legitimation. They may be more effective, however, in suggesting motifs
in which to consider political frustration, and the failure of political pro-
grams. This can have consequences at two levels. From the governmental
level, it may encourage the use of magico-religious accusations, in place of accusations of "kondoism" or "guerrilla activity" as a rationale for engaging in systematic political repression. From the perspective of governmental opponents, it may suggest the possibility of using magico-religious symbols, or promises of magico-religious assistance, as a means of coping with political problems.

While I can offer no definitive analysis of the incident, it is interesting to examine the rumor of the healing power of the cross in this context. Motifs which have been prevalent in accusations which justified political action against those suspect by the government in connection with the effort to stamp out guerrillas, the aim of expelling missionaries serving as foreign agents, or warning against improper activity on the part of foreigners serving in Uganda, are found in the account of the rumor. Most importantly, these include "creating confusion", poisoning political relations between Uganda and her neighbors, and acting secretively without the best interests of the country at heart. Accusations of fomenting magico-religious rumors, like accusations of "kondoism", "being a guerrilla" or engaging in imperialist propaganda, may provide the basis for "investigations" and reprisals against individuals or groups out of political favor. As in the case of kondos, guerrillas, or foreign statements about Uganda, this is probably some basis in fact for the existence of such rumors; however, as in the earlier cases, it is relatively easy to go from the presence of the problem to a more general policy of political scapegoating. Having removed the Asians, and most foreign businessmen, and having resolved, at least
partially, the outstanding political disputes with Tanzania, magico-religious accusations, perhaps rooted in tensions over both political uncertainty and changes in religious policy, might provide another means of deflecting direct focus on the regime's shortcomings.

Similarly, groups faced with the task of attempting to oppose, or modify, the military regime may find magico-religious analyses more attractive. Given the greater than expected staying power of the Amin regime, and the brutality with which it has opposed those attempting to overthrow it, the use of magico-religious appeals, or promises of magico-religious assistance, may be more important in mobilizing organized opposition than it was in the early part of the regime. To the extent that claims to supernormal knowledge of the future, or extra-ordinary ruling sanction become current, they may provoke counter-beliefs among opposing groups, necessary to provide a means for removing the fear of acting in the face of either overwhelming physical odds, or apparently important extra-political powers. Traditional practice, such as the Abacwezi tradition, holds the potential of reviving psychologically potent motifs—such as the return of cultural heroes or the re-establishment of past achievements—which have been powerful motifs in other political crisis cults. To the extent that tribal traditions remain an important focus of loyalties, and a basis for mobilizing opposition, such magico-religious opposition remains possible. However, such traditions are unsuited for more general forms of political protest, and indeed, may be difficult to accommodate to the kind of national action which such an act of political opposition might require.
The same feature of traditional groups makes them a potential impediment to the building of national perspectives as well. Much of the literature on political modernization has dealt with the need for national governments to create unified, national symbol sets which are capable of providing a genuinely national focus for political action. The Obote policy toward tribal traditions, in the wake of the Ugandan civil war, was motivated not only by an attempt to alter the political structure to stem the expression of particularistic political loyalties, but also to undercut the traditions, symbols, regalia and to some extent, even the histories, which supported those loyalties. Especially with reference to the Baganda, but extending to the other traditional kingdoms as well, attempts were made to seize regalia and instruments essential to traditional political rituals, to stem the publication in Uganda of traditional histories which employed indigenous titles for political leaders, and to curtail programs with the same feature on Radio Uganda. Traditional practices, like the Abacwezi rituals, were also affected by these policies. While under the British, the traditional and historical aspects of such practices were not attacked, under attempts to frame viable nationalistic orientations, concern with these features became paramount. Hence, even in instances where magico-religious practice was not being employed as a political challenge to a regime, it could be charged that its symbols, and the socio-political nature of its operational philosophy, indirectly support orientations and commitments which must be tempered for truly national perspectives to arise. The fact that tribal animosity continues to be a major feature of political
life in Uganda under Amin suggests that traditional activities, such as the Abacwezi practice, may continue to be political issues, even if they do not become direct foci of political opposition.

The apparent attempt to assimilate magical beliefs and experiences to major religious perspectives may not be a misguided political strategy. If the end result were to be a kind of semi-Christian magical practice, such as exists currently in Brazil, or tolerance toward such therapeutic and expressive aspects of magical practice which exists in some branches of Islam, the situation might pose fewer threats to a unified political symbol system than a proliferation of smaller traditions resting on particular quasi-mythical histories and traditions. Within Uganda, such a policy runs the clear risk of provoking religious conflicts, especially given the strict policies of sections of the Church of Uganda toward such activities, and the tensions among religious groups. Were this to arise, or were the attempt to create a situation where religious identity can support political identity without being fused with it to fail, even greater political problems, and more political repression, might well be the consequence.

In addition to this complex of political problems stemming from the complex religious and ethnic heritage of states like Uganda, there remains a political problem common both to these states, and more homogeneous states attempting to modernize. This is the question of the strain placed upon political, legal and enforcement capabilities by magico-religious cases, or cases which are complicated by such considerations. We have already considered the Kenyan attempts to reduce overloaded court sched-
ules by introducing traditional oaths, and the failure of these efforts to keep down the number of cases. In Uganda, as political leaders have delegated more authority to local officials and chiefs, many of these positions are being filled by military personnel. One consequence of this policy has apparently been a tension between the apparent efficiency of dealing with local affairs locally, and the difficulty in assuring the justice of the solutions to local problems. One recent case, involving accusations of witchcraft, dramatically highlighted the problem. A local chief, an army official, decided to impose law and order with regard to magico-religious offenses as well as criminal ones. In an attempt to make an example of two citizens accused of witchcraft, he had them flogged, then cut off a portion of one of their ears, and forced them to eat the ear.101 The official was brought to trial for the unusual cruelty of his punishment, and sentenced to twelve years imprisonment. There was no assertion that the charge might not be a legitimate one, or that it ought not to be punished, but simply that the punishment was brutal and uncivilized. The need to handle such cases, often at the local level, where legal and political standards remain ill-defined, poses problems for local officials. As we have seen, pressure to handle accusations of witchcraft, and to punish it appropriately, remains strong among people who continue to believe in magical powers. District officials, and even chiefs, under the current regime face the same problem which confronted colonial officials, although extending to a more local level. Since officials are often not posted in their own tribal areas, they are not aware either of the local beliefs about magico-religious practice,
the nuances of local conflicts in which spurious accusations, or attempted magical attacks, might arise. To acquire the local knowledge necessary to deal with magico-religious accusations at this level would require both a long posting period, and a considerable amount of attention to local affairs. Many officials, moved frequently, cannot do this; furthermore, pressed with other political issues, there is often a tendency to deal repressively with unfamiliar magico-religious accusations, perhaps reflecting the demands upon them to control the area in which they are posted.

Hence, in Uganda the problems of regulation, discussed in connection with the American situation, are supplemented by additional political and nationalistic challenges. The possibility of political movements stemming from the symbolic inflation of a magical practitioner, or the choice of magical symbols as a focus for clandestine political activity remain real ones. But additional concern must be given to the second order effects of localized magico-religious symbolism, or the continued framing of accusations in such terms, which are no longer part of the Western milieu. The current Western occult revival is taking place, by in large, firmly within modern social conventions, and there is little reason to expect the traditions from which it draws to become permeated with political meaning; neither, despite the attraction of the "uncaniness" of occult phenomena, is it likely that such beliefs will become widespread, and be taken seriously enough, to provide the problems associated with magico-religious scapegoating. Hence, within the modern context, the appropriate policy focus is a regulatory one: its aims include minimizing the extent to which magico-
religious practice can become a vehicle for illegal activities, detecting and
countering dangerous techniques, and importantly, mediating relationships
between competing magico-religious groups. The possibility that small,
experiencial Christian movements may confront small, magical or pagan
movements, with repressive tactics, or that differences among such groups
will become a basis for eroding some of the freedom currently accorded
religious groups must be considered. Much could be done to avoid such
a situation if the incentives for emancipatory groups which develop out-
side a religious context, like Scientology, to bill themselves as religions
were minimized. Standards for secular, emancipatory, activities ought
to be considered. Given the proliferation of such activities, and the avenues
for providing individualized, personal meaning to life experiences, it is
necessary to recognize that not only organized psychotherapy, but a wide
range of quasi-therapeutic activities are competing with religious approaches
to the same task. To continue to create conditions under which relatively
secular organizations seek to establish themselves as new "religions" dis-
torts the significance of these movements. Not everyone who seeks either
personal meaning reorientation or emancipatory insights does so within
either therapeutic or religious contexts. Recognizing this, and providing
a means for defining such activities, could do much to minimize conflicts
among religious factions, as well as more realistically mirroring the mo-
tives of the individuals who join such groups.

We have attempted to argue that the rise of magical groups in
America, while preserving some elements of the archaic, is a genuinely
modern phenomena, which embeds both its appeals and its activities in a modern, differentiated society. Unlike the situation in some modernizing societies, where the recent history of magical practice is one of fused social, political and magico-religious identities, practice in American society carries few of these associations. Similarly, among sophisticated groups, the changes in conscious which magical practice may produce, are interpreted with reference to the individual, not the social milieu in which he exists. Understanding other alternatives open to individual knowledge-seeking--science, psychotherapies, formal religious perspectives--magicians can define themselves within this range of options, and attempt to make their appeals to individuals who may value magical experience. The fact that there are no expectations that magic will perform "useful" social functions frees magical practice in America from the need to cope with social uncertainties, or to "fill in" the gaps of cultural or technological progress at the societal level. It is thus free to concentrate exclusively on what, in premodern societies, is a component of magical activity--personal emancipatory insights. Where these boundaries are maintained, magical practice can coexist with, and even support, modern personal orientations. Knowing why people choose different available options for their individual searches, and the extent to which these activities signal fundamental changes in the attitudes, or needs, of modern people which could signal politicization of such activities, remains an important policy question, not only for magical practice, but for the wide range of epistemic communities in which individuals participate, especially those which serve to interpret and syn-
thesize individual experience.
My observations, as well as an elucidation of the principles of magical attacks, are derived primarily from my experience with one wicca coven in Britain, and discussions with the head of a collection of Satanic covens in Britain, combined with a re-reading of magical literature from this perspective. OTA does not practice such techniques, which they class as black magic. Runyon does believe, however, that black magic techniques are pre-scientific versions of modern "brain-washing" techniques.

OTA does not practice such techniques, which they class as black magic. Runyon does believe, however, that black magic techniques are pre-scientific versions of modern "brain-washing" techniques.


4 Crowley, Magical Record; OTA members keep similar records. Such procedures are advocated, not shunned, by many serious occultists. An example of this is the wide acceptance of Alan Vaughan's Patterns of Prophecy (New York, 1973) which presents the author's analyses of his prophetic successes and failures. While the results are mixed, and do not constitute "proof" of his prophetic ability, magicians and occultists herald the book as a model of how to avoid becoming the victim of one's selective retention--and thereby to improve by learning what accounts for failures.


10 Grove, "Sleep."


12 While parents have been willing to attempt actions to remove their children from the influence of such groups, members (even those unsuccessfully deprogrammed) have made few attempts to formally protest deprogramming, perhaps because they fear further attention being focused on their groups.


15 Such tactics are of questionable legality, but as yet, have not been challenged in a court case.

Magical Hermetic philosophies are now by Renaissance scholars with providing important new concepts, most centrally that of "man as the creator" which paves the way for the emergence of scientific thought, and the possibility of systematic intervention in the human and natural world. Among such studies are: Francis Yates, Giordano, and "The Hermetic Tradition in Renaissance Science," in C.S. Singleton, ed., Art, Science and History in the Renaissance (Baltimore, 1967); D.P. Walker, Spiritual; Rossi, Bacon; C.G. Nauert, Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought (Urbana, 1965); and Peter French, John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus (London, 1972).

For an excellent discussion of the Hindu basis of Chandi's intellectual approach, from which it is easy to perceive his changes as a new operational philosophy, see Joan Boundurant, The Conquest of Violence (Berkeley, 1971), pp. 104-45.


Martello Truzzi, "The Occult Revival as Popular Culture:
Some Random Observations on the Old and Neaveau Witch, "The Socio-

25 Evans, Cults, pp. 57-71.

26 Yates, Giodorno, pp. 407-16.

27 Evans, Cult; Vosper, Mind; George Malko, Scientology: The
New Religion (New York, 1972); Paulette Cooper, The Scandal of Scien-

28 Some Eastern religious practitioners consider the highest in-
sight into techniques to be their symbolic nature, and literal interpre-
tations to be "crude". For examples, see John Blofeld, The Secret and
Sublime: Taoist Mysteries and Magic (New York, 1973) and Alan Watts,
Psychotherapy East and West (New York, 1969). Jung recognized a
similar difference in alchemical authors' views, as noted in Collected
Works, Vol. 12, pp. 227-87; Regardie was astounded to find a literal
interpretation for alchemy being the basis for physical laboratory prac-
tice, described in Frater Albertus' Alchemist's Handbook, and says so
in his introduction to the revised issue of his own book on alchemy (a
symbolic perspective), The Philosopher's Stone (St. Paul, 1970), pp. i-
iv.

29 Cf. Turner's experience of his insightful informant in Forest,
pp. 131-51.


31 Warren Shibles, Death: An Interdisciplinary Analysis (White
Water, Wisc., 1974); Stacey Day, ed., Death and Attitudes Toward
Death (Minneapolis, 1972); Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, Death and Dying: Attitudes of Patient and Doctor, Vol. 5 (New York, 1965).


35. Terminology from Lewis, Ecstatic Religion.

36. Rigby and Lule, "Divination"; Beattie, "Group".


42. Voice of Uganda, 26 May 1974.


49 Beattie, "Group."


51 Ellwood, Spiritual, pp. 27-36.

52 Phone conversation with Runyon, December 1973.

53 For a widely read book along these lines, see Hal Lindsey, Satan is Alive and Well on Planet Earth (New York, 1974).

54 Lindsey, Satan; for a Catholic view, see Leon Cristiani, Evidences of Satan in the Modern World (New York, 1962).


56 Dom Robert Petitpierre, Exorcism, The Report of the Com-
mission by Bishop of Exeter (Essex, 1972).


61 Martin Jay, Dialectical Imagination (Boston, 1973).


68 Voice of Uganda, 28 February 1974.


76. Voice of Uganda, 1 April 1974.


80. The Balokole, a fundamentalist Protestant group which at one time threatened to provoke a split in the Church of Uganda, were strongly opposed to magical practices. Beattie's informants were all Balokole, and he credits their strong religious opposition to traditional magical practices with their willingness to discuss them, and their lack of fear in breaking traditional "oaths". Catholics, though somewhat more lenient, were still encouraging people to bring, and destroy, all artifacts associated with "magic". Interview, White Fathers mission, Bugangazi, May 1971. Apparently no practice, like popular spirit possession cults in Brazil, has developed with incorporates both Christian artifacts and religious structure and non-Christian spirits.

Several quasi-scholarly works have explored this theme, including Louis Fauwels and Jacques Bergier, The Morning of the Magicians (Paris, 1960) and Trevor Ravenscroft, The Spear of Destiny (New York, 1973). A much better researched scholarly work is Jean-Michel Angebert's The Occult and the Third Reich (Paris, 1971) upon which this section draws.

This was the case for a variety of African colonial revolts, including the Maji-Maji revolt in Tanzania, the Shona-Ndabele revolts in Rhodesia, and in part, the Nyibingi cult in Uganda. See Terrence Ranger, Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-97 (Evanston, Ill., 1967), and

93 There is an enormous literature on such movements. For an extensive bibliography, see LaBarre, *Ghost*.

94 LaBarre, *Ghost*, pp. 207, 270-2. Devereau suggests a similar criteria for separating the "shaman" from an individual case of pathology.

95 Ellwood, *Religious*, pp. 82-298.


99 Beattie, *Bunyoro*; Roscoe, *Bakitara*; the concept of power or rulership itself was considered mahano in Nyoro society. Cf. Beattie, "Mahano."

100 LaBarre, *Ghost*.

APPENDIX I

THE LESSER RITUAL OF THE PENTAGRAM

Take a steel dagger in the right hand. Face East.

- Invoking
  Touch thy forehead
  and say ATEH (thou art)

  Touch they breast
  and say MALKUTH (the Kingdom)

  Touch thy right shoulder
  and say VE-GEBURAH (and the Power)

  Touch thy left shoulder
  and say VE-GEDULAH (and the Glory)

  Clasp they hands before thee
  and say LE-OLAM (for ever)

  Dagger between fingers, point up
  and say AMEN.

Make in the Air toward the East the invoking PENTAGRAM as shown and, bringing the point of the dagger to the centre of the Pentagram, vibrate the DEITY NAME - YOD HE VAU HE - imagining that your voice carries forward to the East of the Universe.

Holding the dagger out before you, go to the South, make the Pentagram and vibrate similarly the deity name - ADONAI.

Go to the West, make the Pentagram and vibrate EHEIEH.

Go to the North, make the Pentagram and vibrate AGLA.

Return to the East and complete your circle by bringing the dagger point to the centre of the first Pentagram.

Stand with arms outstretched in the form of a cross and say:

BEFORE ME  RAPHAEL

BEHIND ME  GABRIEL

AT MY RIGHT HAND  MICHAEL
AT MY LEFT HAND AURIEL

BEFORE ME FLAMES THE PENTAGRAM -

BEHIND ME SHINES THE SIX-RAYED STAR

Again make the Qabalistic Cross as directed above, saying ATEH, etc.

For Banishing use the same Ritual, but reversing the direction of the lines of the Pentagram.
APPENDIX II

O.T.A.

Liber I

The Book of Astarte

Being
the
True
Secrets
of
King Solomon's
Art

By
Fra. Aleyin
M. C.

1. Hail to the Father of Light,
   And the Mother of Darkness!

2. Hail to Adonai!
   Thunder in the stillness; Lightning in the velvet night.
   He was the First and the Last -
   Not that which is not - or that which
   Shall come tomorrow.
   Seek for him in the dim past
   Or in the distant future -
   For He didst create the Gods...
   And anon, He shall dissolve Them!

3. The number is ten - for the fingers
   Of Adam Kadmon...
   Only because the First Man
   Counted thus - and made it so!
   It reduces to nothing - and expands
   To infinity...
   Without they calculations.

4. The planets rule, thou sayest?
   And I say Thou rulest the planets!
   For Stars are the very Suns about
   Which they revolve -
   And is it not written that:
'Every Man and every Woman -
Is a Star'?

5. I say unto you that the Secret of this
Art, called Theurgy is threefold:
Firstly, there is the Secret of God,
Secondly, there is the Secret of Man
And thirdly, there is the Secret of
The Method of the Art -
Wherein the first and the second
Must be understood before the third
Is revealed.

6. And I shall deliver this Secret
Unto thee and it shall be thine,
Oh Child of the Light . . .
But let it not fall into the hands of
The Un-Initiated - for therein lies a
Great peril.

7. 'As Above, so Below' might also be written:
As Within, so Without.
For the darkness of Nepesch is the path
To the Light of Nechemah.
Seek within they self and brave the
Terrors of thine own depths!

8. 'Know thyself - for thou art God' is the
First Key to the Secret . . .
Then recall that Man was created in
The image of God -
This is the second Key.

9. Now you should know that the Image
Of God doth mean 'the Face of God' -
Which is Like unto thine own!
Herein Lies the third key - and is
The ancient method of Magick . . .
And yet there are few who dare to Look
Upon the Face of God . . .
So, for all their conjuring, the Secret
Yet eludes the credulous.
Only the Wise discover it - and they
Reveal it only to the worthy.

10. There are fools who wail forgotten words
And burn rare perfumes while they circle
About in silken robes in darkened
Chambers with the flicker of tapers and
They call themselves 'Masters of the Art'
But they are fools. Their show is only
A mimicry of that which they do not
Wish to understand.

11. They seek the Gods and Fiends in
Whisps of smoke, in cryptic glyphs
And the flicker of flames -
Yea, even in the delirium of strong
Potions, leading to madness -
And all to no avail!

12. For they will blast their minds
And sell their souls before they
Will face God - and stare into
His eyes.

13. For in His Face - which is like unto thine
Own - are all the Gods and Fiends
Contained . . .
And every visage of Heaven and Hell -
Most truly reflected.

14. Then are the Gates opened and the
Inner Voices heard -
Even as was promised in the very
Clavicals of Solomon!

15. And I say to those who know of such
Things, that the 'Lesser Key' is in
Truth 'The Greater' -
For it was the first and purest . . .
And I shall prove this beyond any
Argument:

16. The 'Circle' thou knowest - for it is
The Ain-Soph - and where thou
Standest, in its very center,
There is the Ain-Soph Aur collected!
Even the fools do this by rote -
Yea, even the witches.

17. From this 'Center' emenates the Light
Of Creation . . .
The root of Qabballah and the prime
Of Pythagorus -
For they are the same equation!
18. The first 'point' thou shalt 'create', without
Thy Circle of Art, is alone and has no
Relation to anything.
It merely 'exists'.

19. The second 'point' thou shalt establish
doth form a line unto the first -
And yet this also is without relation
Or substance.

20. The third 'point' describes the Triangle
And doth define a 'plane' - Yet without
Thickness. It is one dimensional.

21. 'Point Four' is the primal 'solid',
The Mystic Tetrahedron, symbol of
First Creation - The 'Daughter' of
The Tetragrammaton!

22. This then is the Cosmic Arcanum of
The 'Triangle of Art' - and proves
The 'Lesser Key', called 'Lemegeton',
To be the Great and Ancient
'Clavical' of Solomon.

23. Now there be many who know the
Mystery of the Triangle - But it
Is not the whole of the 'Method'.
And of times Knowledge doth not beget
Wisdom.

24. It is written down in the Book 'Lemegeton'
That in the very center of the Triangle of
Art shall be described a 'circle' -
More aptly 'a disc' . . .
And to what purpose?

25. It is likewise prescribed that thou
Shalt place the Triangle a cubit distant
From the rim of the 'Circle of Art' -
In the quadrant of thy working . . .
But flat upon the earth?
Ah! Who sayeth so?

26. Know that the Jinn which Mighty
Solomon did conjur into the Triangle
Of Art - were formed in the reflection
Of his Face!
For they were aspects of His Soul!
Each agreeing unto a quadrant,
A planet and a metal thereof...
Which, when burnished, did reflect -
Even as a mirror!

27. And when thou holdest the lighted
Tapers in thine hands -
And thou dost gaze deep into thine
Own eyes . . .
Know that thou dost perform 'the Art'
In the very manner in which it was
Truely done!

28. But it must be recalled that there are
Ten Sephiroth which are flectors of
The Ain-Soph Aur. . .
Down through 'Four Worlds' - which are
Called: 'Atziluth', at the Highest
Center, 'Briah', wherefrom the 'Rays'
Are directed, 'Yetzirah', in which
The patterns are described, and
'Ashtia' wherein they take shape and
Substance.

29. These Sephiroth do agree unto the
Planets - and to the colors thereof
And unto certain metals which are
Attributed each in proper order.
In like fashion there are perfumes;
Some sweet, some bitter and others
Of a subtle fragrance - agreeing
To the humors of the planets -
And pleasing unto the Spirits
Thereof.

30. Now it should be understood - and most
Clearly - that each and every Angel,
Spirit, demon or elemental sprite -
Doth agree unto a World, a Sephira
And a quadrant of the compass.

31. Further, thou must know that they
'Circle of Art' should be divided into
The colors of the Elements - with
Their proper symbols thereupon -
And with the signs of the Zodiac agreeing;
Also the Names of the Four ArchAngels
Should be there inscribed - both in
The characters of the Hebrews and
Chaldees - and in the Language of they
Birth if it be another.

32. In the first Book of the Lemegeton, called
The Goetia, thou wilt find the sigils of the
Spirits trulely drawn and all instructions
As to their use are rightly given theirin -
Save that thou must needs inscribe the
Sigil twice! Once upon thine Lamen,
As written, and again upon the polished
Skrying disc of the same metal - on
Upon a crystal speculum, prepared with
Electrum Magikum - in which the Lamen
Shall be reflected.

33. Concerning these Jinn of Wise Kinge
Solomon, thou shouldest know a great
Truth - and so approach they work with
Prudence - yea, even reverence!
For they be not all mean and evil as
The un-imiated scribes have recorded.
Some are the very Gods of Khem, of
Phonecia and Chaldea. The Queen
Of Heaven and the Bull of the Sun
Are among their number - for all may
Be called through the dark window
Into thy soul.

34. Therefore I say unto you, be astute in
Thy studies and forbare to evoke a
Spirit thou knowest not the nature and
History of - and when thou shalt
Summon a very God or Goddess - yea
Even the Queen of Heaven, fair
Astarte, Let they conjurations be firm
And potent in the summoning - yet when
The vision doth appear, thou shouldest
Honor the presence of the Diety with
Sincere reverance and beg forgiveness for
The force thou hast employed with the
Petition I shall give thee -
Which is nowhere else written down.

35. When the vision of One to be so honored
Appeareth, the Magus shall make the Sian
Of Adoration and all attending shall
Do likewise - save only the seer or Seeress... Then shall the Magus address The Diety thus:

"Devine and Glorius ___ Name___, ___ Title___, forgive us, they humble servants, for evoking thee with such presumption and demanding thy presence with such powerful incantations - But we hasten to declare that we have commanded only that aspect of thy spirit that dwells within us. We hold thy higher presence in true reverence and seek thy favor in all humility.

36. In summoning entities of a Lower rank or Nature, thou shalt observe the 'Welcome To the Spirit' as it is written down in the Goetia - and in all thy workings thou Shalt not fear to employ the strongest Exorcism if it be needed - but only After the 'Lisence to depart' hath Failed.

37. Brothers and Sisters of Our Holy Order, with this knowledge thou shalt Be masters of the two-and-seventy Slaves of the Brass Vessel - the Very Jinn which Solomon did command, And so by this very Art...

38. And the Vessel of Brass in which Solomon did contain the Jinn shall Contain the very sigils of the same, Charged with the unconsummed Amrita Obtained from the consummation of The Alchemica\'l 'Marriage', called: The 'Mass of the Holy Ghost' - and This Vessel shall be upon thine Altar, within they Circle of Art during Thy working.

39. But I enjoin thee to caution and pledge Thee to utmost secrecy. Thou art privy To a secret guarded through the ages And conveyed only to those found worthy Of its keeping - For herein lies the Power to call down the Very Gods and To command the Legions of Hell. Use it
For thy wisdom and enlightenment only

Or thou wilt be thrice damned in
This Life - and the next and the next.

Know thyself -

Thou art God

So it is written . . .
So mote it be.

Aleyin
Grand Master
Ordo Templi Ashtart
1970
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