

Chapter 1 : Witchcraft, oracles and magic among the Azande on eHRAF World Cultures

mangu or witchcraft substance. True The Azande confirm the identity of a witch through autopsy after the witch has died or through autopsy of a blood relative of the same sex.

The ethnographic and historical locus for this discussion is the Highlands of Papua New Guinea, within which we further concentrate on three ethnographic cases where we have conducted fieldwork: The time period examined is from the mids to , coinciding with colonial and postcolonial changes in this region. With colonial pacification and postcolonial transformations in the political economy, many alterations have occurred in indigenous perceptions with regard to violent conflict and to the political values attached to social space. We direct our attention to both sorcery and witchcraft because we see these as two overlapping conceptualizations of hidden violence that transgress boundaries of the human body and the body politic, as argued by Mary Douglas and others Douglas ; Lock and Scheper-Hughes ; Stewart and Strathern , see also Strathern Such forms of violence can clearly be seen as alternatives to warfare, or as forms of supernatural warfare themselves. But sorcery and witchcraft accusations and ideas can also be precipitates of patterns of disease and the sickness and death caused by disease. Images connected with sorcery and witchcraft therefore tend to co-vary with changing historical patterns of disease in epidemiological terms. In colonial circumstances these patterns further correlate with the spatial movements of people between communities as well as with the [End Page] spread of infectious diseases. Epidemiological patterns are therefore a part of the evidence brought forth in this article on why sorcery and witchcraft ideas change over time. The New Guinea Highlands is an opportune area in which to examine these themes because the history of colonial contact and postcolonial change is relatively recent. Ethnohistorical accounts by the people are an important part of the narrative as a whole. Furthermore, this is a region in which warfare and acts of violence flourished in precolonial times and have subsequently reemerged as a part of alternating patterns of hostility, revenge, and peacemaking between groups. Exchanges of wealth goods are made to make alliances and to pay for killings, but these also are counterbalanced against perceived continuing, if covert, acts of hostility by sorcery and witchcraft. Assault sorcery depends on magical notions of bodily invasion and destruction, which parallel those of witchcraft but without cannibalistic images. The common theme linking these two phenomena is that of bodily invasion, resulting either in destruction of or in consumption of body parts themselves. The integration of previously autonomous local polities into administrative areas in colonial time had complex results, causing forms of interdependency accompanied by latent intergroup hostilities. Changes in patterns of production, consumption, and exchange resulting from cash cropping in certain areas e. Gender relations have also been affected by both economic and political changes, leading in some instances to intensified or renewed fears of female witchcraft among the Duna. Our framework involves the idea of political space, or the fields of power that are created and altered in colonial and postcolonial conditions. The power of the state, seen most broadly, has altered political space in the societies we consider, not simply by pacificationâ€”the removal of warfare and the creation of peace between groupsâ€”but rather by setting up [End Page] new forms and categories of space within which political power was both denied and exercised. The removal of warfare did not mean the removal of animosities, or the preemption of future hostilities; rather, it provided a basis for their elaboration, with permutations of scale, setting up new conditions for fears of sorcery and witchcraft to operate within. We begin with a brief review of the theories of hostile sorcery and witchcraft in the contexts of Africa and Melanesia, partly because we believe that our Melanesia-based arguments probably also apply to the materials on change in patterns of witchcraft and sorcery ideas in colonial and postcolonial Africa. Sorcery, Witchcraft, and Conflict Images of bodily invasion clearly go with perceptions of conflict between persons, the penetration and permeability of boundaries of the body, personhood, and groups, as stressed in the work of Douglas , , , and others e. In the earlier literature on sorcery and witchcraft, arising to a fair extent from Africanist ethnography, stress tended to be laid on the basis of such practices in conflict, tension, and strain between persons in positions of competition, jealousy, or incompatibility e. It is clear that such a theme has empirical applicability to the contexts this article discusses, where the images of conflict are expressed by the

human body and by analogy, the bounded community as the chief site for their symbolic work. We are primarily interested in contexts of historical change rather than in synchronic typologies of systems. We are interested in comparing processes social and historical rather than in setting up definitional typologies. Therefore, in discussing assault sorcery and cannibalistic witchcraft, we do not stress the distinction between the terms sorcery and witchcraft as such; rather, we use these terms for convenience to refer to symbolic syndromes of mystical violence¹ that are partly distinct and partly overlap. In reviewing the question of definitional distinctions between sorcery and witchcraft, several authors have concluded that hard and fast distinctions can be made in hypothetical terms but then fail to fit the complexities of ethnographic fact. The dimensions in terms of which definitional distinctions have been attempted include the innate versus the learned, involuntary versus voluntary action, and illegitimate versus legitimate power see, e. The first two distinctions derive in part from the classic work of E. Zande witchcraft substance mbisimo mangu was thought of as inherited in the body and therefore as involuntarily obtained and innate in the person, yet its exercise was clearly seen as intentional, even if the witch was driven by his emotions of jealousy or dislike. His definitions are thus glosses of convenience, used to tie in with Zande expression, rather than being intended as universal classifications. The legitimate versus the illegitimate distinction, as proposed by Michele Stephen The upshot is that we, like Evans-Pritchard, are using terms of convenience, but our aim is to situate the discussion in terms of historical changes, as Malcolm D. McCleod does in his analysis of the history of witchcraft among the Azande. In Africanist studies of the historical contexts involved in changing patterns of witchcraft accusations, one point that is made very clear is that the societies concerned had been subjected on the whole to severe political and economic dislocations—through wage labor, missionization, and the growing dissolution of social bonds resulting from the movements of people and the challenges to moral codes and patterns of local authority. Although in an earlier work Douglas In situations of increased movements of people, it is thus likely that arenas of ambiguity and distrust in social relations—cited as those in which witchcraft accusations are made—will also increase referred to in *ibid.*: The developmental cycle of competition for local power in a village will also be exacerbated by wider processes of social instability and so give rise to witchcraft accusation, such as John Middleton The same holds for sorcery and witchcraft in other parts of the world on South-East Asia, see Ellen It is not simply a matter of arguing for an increased frequency of types of action; rather, it is a matter of studying the changing loci of accusations and ways of handling these over time and of relating these changes to wider processes. In this regard the conclusions from African studies certainly apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to some of the Melanesian cases this article considers e. In a section on social change in her survey on sorcery and witchcraft in Melanesia, Stephen The difficulty here lies in supposing that the structures in place before colonialism were necessarily stable rather than fluid and changing. But where changes are recent and documented, we can make some headway in delineating structural transformations: These patterns may change over time, but in one of our categories, the assault sorcerer, the predominant assertion is that the perpetrator is an outsider, a classic version of a terrifying enemy. Assault Sorcery and Images of Violence Assault sorcery is generally correlated with distance and hostility. Often, if not usually, the image is that assault sorcerers operate in squads that are trained by adepts. Assault sorcery is closely cognate with notions of warfare and is therefore likely to flourish when community spaces defined by warfare have lost their definition because of pacification and colonial restructuring, when there is a struggle to define new spaces and exercise power within them. Furthermore, in assault sorcery the sorcerer directly confronts and overcomes the victim by minatory force. They have received an injury which demands retaliatory action. Fears of such sorcery may rise after the forcible ending of open warfare. In this way sorcery can be regarded as a form of feuding between groups. Sorcerers had previously acted to inflict punishment and retribution on people at the behest of chiefs. Now they began to act [End Page] for themselves. Sorcery thus became more than a way of pursuing feud or punishing wrongdoers: Click for larger view Figure 1. Locations of major groups in Papua New Guinea discussed in the text. To pursue our own exposition of these themes, we provide composite ethnographic accounts pertaining primarily to three areas of the Papua New Guinea Highlands: It contains some twenty thousand speakers of Wiru, horticulturalists and pig-rearers, who were engaged in classic patterns of warfare and exchange between local groups until the time of pacification and

missionization. In the s in this area there were some twenty partly colonially created, named villages, containing various groups and group segments, whose members saw themselves in certain contexts as communities. People were thought to be at great risk from these sorcerers if they traveled to Tangupane and especially if they slept there. Visits to the outside latrine at night could not be made alone. But the uro supposedly did not venture far beyond Tangupane and its environs. By the s residents of the Pangia district believed that the number of these sorcerers had greatly multiplied and that they now ranged over the entire Wiru area, even besetting people near the government station. Why this change in perception? We suggest that colonial power had drained the villages of some of their indigenous powers of setting boundaries and set up a space in which invisible, uncontrollable powers that previously were held into local spaces by structures of warfare and restrictions of movement were now seen as moving more swiftly and widely. The space seen as that of pacification and development by administrators was seen by the people as the space of these invisible powers let loose from their previous local contexts. The colonially created villages were material concentrations of more [End Page] dispersed forms of sociality that had existed previously. The villages, which were themselves beset by internal factionalism, became bounded arenas of social relations outside of which space was seen as less positively social. The previous solutions of social spacing were for the time being no longer available. This example shows that in restructuring community spaces the colonial power in Papua New Guinea set up new sorts of local units and in doing so produced problems of how to define community contexts. Forces of sorcery in Pangia, seen as threatening the integrity of local places, were also seen as forms of bodily invasions. The assault sorcerer lurking on the village edge expresses this dual imagery. Upon arrival at home, the victim began to roast and eat his or her own kidney in an autocannibalistic act and was then recognized by kin as doomed to die. Here we see the victim in a state of disorientation, being no longer aware of what is inside or outside or how to relate himself or herself temporally or spatially to the surroundings. This is similar to the type of confusion experienced by persons who are placed in particularly terrifying situations; for example, a soldier who does not realize that an arm or a leg has been blown off during a battle until there is a lull in the fighting and the immediate terror has lessened so that he can take note of his own body. Among the Daribi, neighbors of the Wiru to the southeast, assault sorcery was known as kebidibidi. Apparently, there were methods of divination to determine who had caused a death by it, as well as statements that counterraiding parties would be organized in revenge Wagner Assault sorcery thus played a special part in the Daribi imaginary economy of death. It would be particularly interesting to know if this situation had recently emerged i. This was during 1965, ten years after the beginning of Australian colonial administration in the area. The inability to express collective group agency through warfare may thus have increased rumors of assault sorcery attacks in both areas. Witchcraft and Social Epidemiology among the Melpa Melpa speakers of Mount Hagen in Western Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea number some eighty thousand people, divided into tribes and clans, intensively linked by exchanges and by intergroup hostilities belonging both to the past and to contemporary contexts. The Melpa, who have an elaborate array of ideas about the causation of sickness and death, do not appear to have the idea of assault sorcery in quite the way the Daribi and the Wiru do. They have notions about kum, however, a kind of witchcraft that is believed to operate in a terrifying way reminiscent of assault sorcery, since the kum may eat the inner parts of a person, causing its host to become a cannibal seeking out corpses to consume. The technology of death that eventuates from either assault sorcery or witchcraft is thus quite similar. The core idea in notions of witchcraft among the Melpa is greed Strathern ; Stewart and Strathern ; cf. Kahn on Wamiran ideas. In 1965 such notions were attached to the supposition that one or two women in each clan were cannibals who could turn themselves into dogs in order to rob newly made graves of their corpses and consume the flesh. Historically, there was a greater emphasis on such notions in the northern Melpa area close to the Jimi Valley, and in many ethnohistorical representations of witchcraft the Jimi is cited as its origin place. The Melpa who live in the Jimi Valley are bordered on the north by the Karam, among whom witchcraft ideas are common and are called by the term koyb, the same as the Melpa koimb. This may help to explain why kum is sometimes spoken of as a category of spirits that live beside watercourses or in bush areas, separate from people and sometimes as the force of witchcraft inside people. The image here is one of assault witchcraft. Descriptions of witch attacks may stress the intense gaze of the

witch or the harboring of small familiars e. The Wahgis at these funeral feasts said that the people practicing kum should be sent back to the Jimi Valley, indicating that they share the same ethnohistorical traditions as the Melpa. There are traces here of a precolonial history, but they are hard to follow up. We turn therefore to more recent times.

Chapter 2 : Project MUSE - Feasting on My Enemy: Images of Violence and Change in the New Guinea Hi

Are you sure you want to remove Witchcraft, oracles and magic among the Azande from your list? Contributors. Foreword Witchcraft-substance is revealed by autopsy.

The history provided is clearly romanticized, to the point of being entirely fictitious. A book that claims to be "the historic tradition revealed" should probably have a better grasp of legitimate witchcraft history, which is not difficult to uncover if one actually puts the slightest bit of effort forth. There is talk of spiritual terrorism, war, things that never happened. There is some belief amongst scholars that the worship of the Satan figure arose around the Early-Modern period as people grew more resentful of the Church, but Satan is not the only figure known to have been acknowledged and honored by practitioners of witchcraft. There is also a section where the author goes off on a tangent about how witches were spiritual terrorists, and how they waged war against Christianity. This is, of course, said without any sources whatsoever. With such a lack of history, it cannot be said that this is a "Historic Tradition. In fact, this tradition uses something called the "Counter Mass" which is a Satanic rite. While I have no problem with Satanic rites in witchcraft, the rite itself cannot be proposed as historically accurate. We know that the "witches" as we think of them now were the peasantry, and the secluded individuals on the edge of society. Certainly some groups were higher in stature, but from the previously mentioned chapter wherein the authors make statements about spiritual terrorism, it seems that they believe the latter was the case. While the Devil figure certainly has a prominent place in some cultural witchcraft practices, the rites and rituals of historical witches would have been very primitive, based entirely upon the earth and the hearth. The Sabbath rite this tradition uses is a polished, clean, and highly church-like ritual. To add insult to injury, much of the magic presented in this book is Harry Potter-esque. There even comes a section where the author claims one can, in theory, light a candle or fire simply through the use of a word and a wand. In fact, the author states that a witch can perform a lifetime of magic using only a wand. Once more, historical accuracy comes into question here, as well as concern over the possible delusions of the author. Sure, a witch can have great power. But whether a witch can attain mastery over the elements and start lighting candles without a match, or getting fires lit without kindling? Furthermore, as another historical blow, the author states that witches were NEVER pagan, which is a complete failure on his part in regards to research. Now, our English word witch certainly does find basis in Christianity, but multiple examples of pagan witches exist, especially in the Etruscan culture. Herodias, Diana, Aradia, Lucifer, all Etruscan witchcraft deities. And then, what of Medea? They may not be called witches in the language, but the translation is very close. And what of African practitioners who are known as witches amongst their community? Witches in South America? If the author wanted to write about HIS tradition, he could have said so and been free of these problems. It seems though, that the witchcraft community needs to invalidate other traditions and make false claims of antiquity in order to feel more valid themselves. Even more, there are dozens of misspellings throughout the book, grammar errors, etc. I believe I counted three spellings of Isobel Gowdie, none of which were correct. So much so, in fact, that the author almost comes off sounding like a cult leader. Being that this book serves as the textbook for his own academy, it certainly fits the profile. This is interesting, as the magic system he gives is very similar to Wicca regarding belief and lack of action. The author claims this is an ecstatic tradition, but fails to give any information on how spiritual ecstasy is attained. This is probably the largest fault in the book, alongside the horrendous misinformation given. This book is definitely not worth your money.

Chapter 3 : I Pledge to Uphold the Principles of Honesty and Responsibility at Our University- DocsBay

This book is the outstanding source on Azande witchcraft, and also contains much general information on social organization. Magic, witchcraft and oracles are the predominating interests in the culture.

When evidence contrary to cultural belief surfaces, the people are forced to adopt the new evidence into worldview, recant their previously held belief, or irrationally continue to believe in the status quo ante verum. The worldview of the Azande people concerning witchcraft best demonstrates how cultures rationalize their traditions and beliefs, despite any new evidence. It is first important to establish the worldview of the Azande people. The Azande people live in north central Africa with a concentration in the Sudan of nearly half a million people. Similar to many other experiences of assimilation in history, the Azande tribe has seen difficulty in forming a collective set of ideals among its people. Naturally, death, disease and murder occurred over their history in central Africa. But the Azande explain death, disease and murder very differently. Witchcraft, as the aforementioned definition presents, consists of two avenues; namely, sorcery and magic. To any western grandchild of the enlightenment, witchcraft is a funny word commonly associated with Halloween and pagan ritual. But to the Azande, witchcraft is alive and flourishing. Sorcery, as the west understands it, to the Azande is the use of magic with intention to cause harm. With a basic tenant of witchcraft at the heart of Azande belief, a long and bloody line of retribution is threaded throughout the Azande culture. The pioneer researcher into Azande culture is E. Evans-Pritchard studied the Azande culture for twenty months and compiled the first major, comprehensive, academic work that serves as the basis for studying the Azande people. The classic example of Azande witchcraft that Evans-Pritchard uses in his work is of that of the termites, the granary and the reclining workers. The example follows that some workers decided to recline in the shade supplied by the local granary which happens to be termite-infested. While the workers are reclining, the structure of the granary collapses, injuring the workers. Although both the Azande and the enlightened observers understand that the structure would eventually fall, they explain the event differently. But the "Zande philosophy can supply the missing link. The Zande knows that the supports were undermined by termites and that people were sitting beneath the granary in order to escape the heat of the sun. But he knows besides why these two events occurred at a precisely similar moment in time and space. It was due to the action of witchcraft. If there had been no witchcraft people would have been sitting under the granary and it would not have fallen on them, or it would have collapsed but the people would not have been sheltering under it at the time. Witchcraft explains the coincidence of these two happenings"[9] Italics mine It is appropriate and safe to note here that the worldview of the Azande people seems to defy logic and reasoning. With such attention to lineage and accusation, it is easy to understand how potential contradictions in reason and logic may arise. For example, it is not uncommon for the autopsy of an accused witch to reveal no witch substance. Also, when a man and a woman from families of presumably believed witch families marry, it is assumed that they, and their all their children will possess the witch substance. But even autopsies of likely witch candidates as these reveal no evidence of witch substance. So there seems to be a contradiction: But the Azande are not mindful of the contradiction, as stated vicariously by Jennings: Indeed, time and space are not bound by natural law, to the Azande. Whether or not the Azande people were forced to integrate new ideas into their belief system is not the focus of this essay, even assuming that the documentation exists for such change to Azande belief. Ultimately, the Azande worldview is best summarized by Dr. The Azande march to a unique theoretical drum and have no need for logical explanation of misfortune because all of life is situational and circumstantial. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Journal of the International African Institute Vol. Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande. Pp [7] Evans-Pritchard pp Pp 26 [13] Jennings, Richard C.

Chapter 4 : Witchcraft, Guts, and Statistics – The Eighteenth Elephant

Witchcraft is an organic and hereditary phenomenon --Witchcraft-substance is revealed by autopsy --Other evil agents are associated with witchcraft --The notion of witchcraft explains unfortunate events --Action against witchcraft is socially controlled --Sufferers from misfortunes seek for witches among their enemies --Men bewitch others when.

Abstract Strong ties emerge from hundreds of years of cultural nurturing met with domineering authority producing the system of witchcraft practiced by the Azande peoples of Africa. Woven throughout social, political, and economic affairs, witchcraft is common in their culture. Inherited at birth, the powers of witchcraft may be possessed without the person knowing creating the possibility for an action to be unintentional. Witch-doctors, looked to in society as detectors and protectors, serve to fill proposed questions concerning ambiguous acts throughout the community ranging from spousal confrontation to agricultural failure. Relinquishing reliance on scriptural texts or sacred prophets, the Azande base their faith of witchcraft in their deeply rooted culture. Empirical evidence and testimony to witchcraft is a common and social occurrence lacking spectacle or fuss. Although, however common the practices may seem, proven witchcraft by oracles are seen as legally valid and are not questioned once proven. Final verification of a witch may be seen at death through autopsy with the discovery of a black oval swelling near the liver of the dead. The omnipresent witches of the community, believed to be continually planning acts of witchcraft, entwine between the culture and society of the Azande people. Scope and Purpose of the System Located along the Central and West African Nile-Congo divide, the Azande people observe and practice a religion involving witchcraft throughout all parts of their culture Evans-Pritchard Their witchcraft practices distinguish between witches and sorcerers. They are combated through oracles and witchdoctors, and are abundant in the life of every Zande Evans-Pritchard Witchcraft in the Azande culture descends through a unilateral familial inheritance, where mothers can only hand down their powers to daughters, and fathers to sons Parrinder The innate qualities their witchcraft contains is not felt as a threat to society if the power remains latent throughout life, only questioned if powers are employed Parrinder In Azande culture, the organic physical roots of witchcraft are held within the mind. Witchcraft grows out of grudges bred from a close knit society, kept dormant until a seed of jealousy is born. The witches are believed to devour the souls of their victims, are blamed for unexpected happenings for example a wife acting unresponsive to her husband or termites not swarming when expected , and use animals such as bats as vehicles Mair Witch-doctors parade a fight against the evils of witchcraft intending to distress any on-looking witches because they are always plentiful Mair As witch-doctors mostly clear the atmosphere of witchcraft by scaring witches before the act , oracles are consulted to establish the future and uncover present events Evans-Pritchard Sources and Criteria of Valid Knowledge Knowledge of the Azande witchcraft is not recorded in scriptural texts and does not come from God. The Azande culture is non-literate, but does preserve oral lore. All sources and insight are abundant throughout everyday community life. The Azande believe supposed insight from specialists is worthless because knowledge is free-flowing throughout social life Evans-Pritchard Even with respect to consulting oracles for verification of witchcraft, God and scripture are overlooked for pure custom. If a Zande did not consult the poison oracle for certain occasions, for example before marriage of a daughter or in cases of adultery, the Zande would be contradicting custom and risking a reduction in social prestige Evans-Pritchard The lack of scriptural focus stems from the innate characteristics of the witchcraft itself. Inherited and viewed as part of the human body, the actions of witchcraft are considered psychic. The soul of the witch is seen to leave its body to act on its victim during the night Evans-Pritchard He proposes that questioning any act of witchcraft is senseless, because any uncertainty can be fulfilled through watching and listening to the Azande in their everyday activities Evans-Pritchard Therefore in the Azande society witchcraft is real because everyone treats it that way. Methods of Inquiry Noticing that the Azande do not have sacred scriptures to consult, acquiring knowledge must be done in a more hands-on manner. The attainment of this information on practices and ritual stretches throughout witchcraft, witch-doctors, and oracles within the Zande culture. The practice of witchcraft may not be obtained through any spiritual, rational, or empirical means because it is an

inherit quality sometimes even left unknown to those who obtain its powers. Therefore prayer, meditation, or interpretation of any form of texts is not applicable to the Azande system of witchcraft. However, these utilize experiment through autopsy in their determination of supposed witches. Also, if maggots ooze from a dead persons body before they are buried, they are presumed to have been a witch Evans-Pritchard The lack of ritualistic exercise to become a witch due to its inborn characteristics can be seen in small doses in the practices of the witch-doctor. The drummers edge on a drawn circle that only the doctors are able to enter. The doctors tend to give names only if pressed because answers are taken strictly as correct. Other proof of witchcraft is received from the questioning of the poison oracle which is consulted by witch-doctors to judge guilt of an accused witch or act of witchcraft; and his judgments are considered legally valid. The ordeal involves pouring a red paste into the beak of some fowl and examining the resulting spasms to indicate the answers to posed questions. Questions can be presented in positive or negative manners. If X is innocent poison oracle spare the fowl. If its declaration is true let it spare the second fowl. Multiple tests are performed if requested. In this case the verdict is valid and X is declared guilty. These proofs of witchery and validity used among the Azande are seen in various forms throughout other African tribes. The idea of witchcraft as an inborn physical quality is also shared by peoples on the west bank of the Congo Mair Also, the Nyakyusa believe witches contain a python in their belly, having been born with the demon inside them Mair Anthropologists have taken the Zande system innate, acting without intention of possessor, etc and correlated a clear distinction of witchcraft and sorcery seen extensively throughout other African tribes Mair Institutions and Professional Structure Structure throughout the practices of Azande witchcraft extends among the witches and witch-doctors. Although the descent of witchcraft is less structured than the teachings of the witch-doctors it cannot be ignored. Witchcraft, because innate, can exist within anyone unknowingly, and therefore a witch may possibly operate his or her powers without intention. Teaching in any form is found specifically among the Azande witch-doctors. An Azande child can approach his mentor and directly ask permission to become his student Parrinder Apprenticeship to a witch-doctor may begin early and can possibly be very short, but is always expensive. Also pupils may simply pay older witch-doctors; studying and traveling amongst many doctors until completion of their trade. Nearly all witch-doctors are men. When women practice they are usually known as diviners and would be acting as an inferior, untold of the inner secrets of witch-doctors Parrinder It is believed that only diviners who are themselves witches can detect witches Blakely Within the presence of multiple witch-doctors, a trainee will be given medicines for soul-strengthening, will help to cook, and will finally be paid a small coin. The overall purpose of the novice-professional training relationship is to teach the pupil to discover and combat witches. The Azande believe the witchcraft substance found in the autopsied bodies of witches is a component of the witchcraft phlegm. The phlegm derived from medicine for witch-doctors acts as protection while the witches are born with the harmful substance. The student must swallow the phlegm of an elder witch-doctor out of a small gourd. The official rite of ceremony is a burial and revival of the novice to ensure a separation from his previous and future lives, followed by the adoption of a new professional name Parrinder The witch-doctor in the Zande culture commands respect. He is known to heal the ill and create awareness of impending dangers while constantly combating the pervasive peril of witches Evans-Pritchard Still, princes must also fear the ever-present witches of the Azande life, and therefore support the witch-doctors. All Azande concur in praise of the medicine of the witch-doctor and the fact that they are harmless. Overall, the witch-doctor must be seen as a professional witchcraft detector Evans-Pritchard History Worn due to time and abused authority, the Azande people are now a relaxed, welcoming tribe with some aversion from the casual environment in higher classes Evans-Pritchard Split by princes, the Zande empire became a multitude of kingdoms divided into branches of provinces. More recently they have become concentrated along roads and in larger groups. Paternal superiority, although reduced with time, is still the most prominent, forceful voice in familial relations, taking precedence over husbands. The new laws and cultures imposed on their prior beliefs, refusing to admit witchcraft as reality and denying evidence of oracles Evans-Pritchard Changes were attempted on their modes of behavior; however, the Zande beliefs of witchcraft witnessed by Professor Evans-Pritchard remain untouched by the Islamic world. Anthropologist, Professor Evans-Pritchard made three journeys to Zandeland between and amounting to about twenty months

Evans-Pritchard vii. Under the teachings of Professors Seligman and Malinowski, he found himself in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, working on behalf of the government. Major Larken, to whom he dedicates his book, *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande*, was a consistent companion and fellow researcher of the Azande. Evans-Pritchard gives thanks to his two Azande servants, his two informants and his clerk Evans-Pritchard viii. Evans-Pritchard wrote as a primary source with detailed observations of common everyday rituals devoting his highest respect to the Zande culture. Representative Examples of Argumentation The values of the Azande system of witchcraft are available to us only through the ethnographer Evans-Pritchard. He is quoted in all other sources and has pledged his full honor on the verity of his testimonies and accounts of the life of a Zande. One problem he came across when collecting his research for textual study is the translation of terms and vocabulary from Azande. He stressed importance not on specific meaning of words, but in conceptual understanding of aspects of Zande life. The second problem came with application of the magical aspects of society without ignoring other imperative parts. Evans-Pritchard has given the most effective coverage and understanding of the play of witchery in common life without over emphasizing any insignificant factors economy, politics, etc Evans-Pritchard 2. He however, fails to relate in this text to other systems outside of Zandeland. The belief in witchcraft itself carries over to many other African peoples; however, distinctions arise between sorcerers and witches, preferences for night and day, and indulgence on human or animal flesh. The basic belief in witchcraft carries generally across the African continent. Conflict arises in the innate qualities of witchcraft the Azande assign to their system and among the distinct methods with which witches are supposed to carry out their acts. For example, the Ibo of Nigeria believe their witches fly as fireballs across the sky and infect others by creating a craving for human flesh Parrinder Suggested Position in Comparative Scales A. Emphasis on Traditional Authority 1 on Testimony of Experience No traditional authority overpowers the reliance on experimental evidence with the consultation and legal validity of the poison oracles. Centralization of Authority 1 Decentralization individual Commitment to study of a professional witch-doctor is solely by choice of student or parent. Also, achievement of professional witch-doctor status may be attained through payments and traveling with no strict or set qualifications.

Chapter 5 : AZANDE (ZANDE) PEOPLE: ANCIENT SKILLFUL KNIFE AND SPEAR THROWING WARRIORS

Mangu A material substance in the bodies of certain persons. It is discovered by autopsy in the dead and is supposed to be diagnosed by oracles in the living.

What was surprising, however, was finding that it intersected two topics I think about a lot: The book describes the Azande, a group in central Africa, for whom witches and witchcraft are or were, in the early 20th century an important reality, central to everyday life. Guts Remarkably, witchcraft is an actual physical trait of witches. One can, therefore, confirm or refute allegations of witchcraft by autopsy, in which the intestines are drawn out from the belly and inspected by experienced old men for signs of the witchcraft substance. Therefore, if a man dies, it can provide the opportunity to clear the name of his father or son, if they had been accused of witchcraft; similarly, for women, mothers, and daughters. In any case, since my lab spends a lot of time looking at zebrafish intestines [e. And, of course, one could study in humans at connections between the composition of the gut microbiome and supernatural powers. Any unfortunate event has witchcraft as its cause: If blight seizes the groundnut crop it is witchcraft; if the bush is vainly scoured for game it is witchcraft; if women laboriously bail water out of a pool and are rewarded by but a few small fish it is witchcraft. Why did the pieces of roof fall on the side of the room with people in it, and not on the empty side? In another example p. Likewise a potter will attribute the cracking of his pots during firing to witchcraft. An experienced potter need have no fear that his pots will crack as a result of error. He selects the proper clay, kneads it thoroughly till he has extracted all grit and pebbles, and builds it up slowly and carefully. On the night before digging out his clay he abstains from sexual intercourse. So he should have nothing to fear. Yet pots sometimes break, even when they are the handiwork of expert potters, and this can only be accounted for by witchcraft. Witchcraft, therefore, is the explanation for apparent randomness. Most people find it hard to accept that the outcomes of events are, to some extent, governed by complex interactions that are effectively random. We look for causes and patterns, and most people, now and throughout history, try very hard to ascribe causes to random events. Statistics In the sciences, we try to train students to understand uncertainty. Moreover, we aim to quantify it: More broadly, though, I think a lack of acceptance of uncertainty underlies many of the present problems with bad statistics in science, and the abundance of bad science. Statistics, properly applied, quantifies uncertainty and guides the inferences we can make from data. Misapplied, there is a perception that statistical tools can magically extract certainty from data, that if we just find the right statistical test, the spell that reveals a small p-value, we can draw conclusions from data no matter how noisy. The link from Azande witchcraft to air pollution analysis is, admittedly, a bit of a stretch. Still, they remind me of each other. In terms of elegance and honesty, however, the Azande text wins.

witchcraft, was one of the first words I heard in Zandeland, and I heard it uttered day by day throughout the months. Azande believe that witchcraft is a substance in the bodies.

Although both men and women were tried and executed as witches during the Witchcraze, many more women were killed than men. There are many reasons for this. The Malleus Maleficarum itself says that women are more likely to be witches. This is because, according to the Malleus, women are weaker, stupider, more superstitious, and more sensual than men read. The fact that the Devil is almost universally perceived as male might have been a factor in labeling women as witches. Sixteenth century Europe was unusually misogynistic. Some historians have suggested that this was due to demographic changes. More men than women died from the plague and from warfare. As a result, there was a demographic imbalance, with more women living alone than usual. The social position of a woman living alone in a patriarchal society, in which women were defined in relation to men, would have been difficult. The weaker social position of women made them easier to accuse. Another demographic change that likely had an impact was the increasing movement from the countryside to life in the city, with the accompanying increase in insecurities. Among women, midwives appear to have been a particular target. Infant and maternal mortality rates were both high at the time and these deaths, along with any deformity or illness, were likely to be blamed on the midwife. Some researchers have also noted the connection between the persecution of midwives as witches and the rise of the profession of male doctors. One of the best known of the Neo-Pagan religions is the Wiccan religion. Roots of the Wiccan Movement The beginnings of the Wiccan religion can be traced to the publication of several important books. She believed that there was an unbroken line between pre-Christian goddess-based religions and women who were labeled as witches. The timing of the publication of the book importantly coincided with the suffragist movement in the United States, an early feminist movement that centered on gaining for women the right to vote. The idea of a pre-Christian religion that valued and worshipped women was appealing, and a return to such religious practices fit in well with ideas of female empowerment. The Wiccan movement took off in the s. Gardner was an amateur anthropologist who, in , studied the Dyaks of Borneo. Gardner then went on to say that he had found and joined a coven of witches whom he believed to be among the last remnants of this old religion. Here we will discuss Some of the most common features. Wicca is a polytheistic religion, although which of the pagan gods and goddesses are named varies. Gender equalitythe god and the goddessare stressed, as is nature as a manifestation of deity. The religion is in many ways nature-based and includes a ritual calendar. One set of rituals is performed at full moons and is associated with the goddess. There are also eight Sabbats, or solar festivals, related to the god. The Sabbats happen seasonally and are related to such events as times of planting and harvesting. The Sabbats include Samhain the New Year festival discussed last week , Yule the Winter Solstice, rebirth of the god through the goddess , Imbole February 1, associated with purification and fertility , Beltane April 30, when the young god becomes a man , Midsummer when powers of nature are seen as being at their peak , Lughnasadh beginning of the harvest , Mabon the second harvest, the waning of the god. After the circle is cast, invocations are recited to the four cardinal directions. As part of this, or after this, the gods and goddesses are invoked to observe the ritual. From this point, the ritual will vary according to its purpose. Common elements include singing and chanting, the manipulation of symbols, and a ritual meal. The athame, or ritual knife, and wand are commonly used to cast the circle. Cauldrons and cups are symbolic of the goddess. A broom may be used to sweep and thus purify an area. The pentacle is another Wiccan symbol. This includes both folk magic and ritual magic. Contrary to common misperceptions, all magic in Wicca is to be used for good and never for evil. This can be seen in the Wiccan Law of Return. A karmalike idea, this law says that whatever good you do will return to you, as will any evil. There are several variations on this, such as the Three-fold Law, which says good and evil will return threefold, and the Ten-fold Law, which says good and evil will return tenfold. The religion has also recently gained important official recognition. These include the lack of sexist beliefs and discrimination in general and a focus on the female aspects, or the goddess. A concern for nature and the environment also fits in well with modern ideas.

Whereas for some the morality of traditional religions seems excessively restrictive, Wicca has a single moral rule the Wiccan rede. The practice of Wicca is very flexible and allows for personal involvement. Individuals can practice the religion alone or within a group and are free to add their own symbols and rituals as they see fit. However, despite the growing numbers of Wiccan practitioners and the increasing media exposure, Wicca remains a religion that is largely misunderstood. Practitioners are often persecuted and the subjects of hate crimes. Some of this misunderstanding comes from the Wiccan use of the term witch and symbols such as the pentagram, which for most North Americans and Europeans have strong negative connotations they see these as signs of devil worship. Wiccans choose to use the term witch because for them it has a different but important meaning and connotations. For them witch was a term that was unfairly applied to pagans, healers, and people who practiced an age-old tradition of folk magic. To call themselves witches is seen as reclaiming the term and reaffirming their heritage. Whether your application is business, how-to, education, medicine, school, church, sales, marketing, online training or just for fun, PowerShow. And, best of all, most of its cool features are free and easy to use. You can use PowerShow. Or use it to find and download high-quality how-to PowerPoint ppt presentations with illustrated or animated slides that will teach you how to do something new, also for free. Or use it to upload your own PowerPoint slides so you can share them with your teachers, class, students, bosses, employees, customers, potential investors or the world. Most of the presentations and slideshows on PowerShow. You can choose whether to allow people to download your original PowerPoint presentations and photo slideshows for a fee or free or not at all. There is truly something for everyone!

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One can, therefore, confirm or refute allegations of witchcraft by autopsy, in which the intestines are drawn out from the belly and inspected by experienced old men for signs of the witchcraft substance.

Western European ideas about the person have long centered on the duality between body and soul in religious discourse or between body and mind in the domains of philosophy and psychology. Consequently, early anthropological interest in non-European ideas of the person tended to mirror such deep-seated European conceptualizations, focusing on the origins of the concept of the soul. The preoccupation of evolutionary Victorian anthropologists with religion focused on the question of its origins. By and large, these thinkers were apostles of secularism and science, committed to the notion that religion and its associated ideas the soul included were outdated, survivals from human prehistory. Religion was a repository of conceptions, which, while not entirely irrational in and of themselves, were fallacious or erroneous. In particular, Edward Tylor, in his book *Primitive Culture*, saw in the idea of the soul the most ancient and fundamental of all religious beliefs, the key to understanding the subsequent development—but also the ultimate irrelevance—of religious ideas: It seems as though thinking men, as yet at a low level of culture, were deeply impressed by two groups of biological problems. In the first place, what is it that makes the difference between a living body and a dead one; what causes waking, sleep, trance, disease, death: In the second place, what are those human shapes which appear in dreams and visions? Looking at these two groups of phenomena, the ancient savage philosophers probably made their first step by the obvious inference that every man has two things belonging to him, namely, a life and a phantom. These two are evidently in close connexion with the body, the life as enabling it to feel and think and act, the phantom as being its image or second self; both, also, are perceived to be things separable from the body, the live as able to go away and leave it insensible or dead, the phantom as appearing to people at a distance from it. The second step would seem also easy for savages to make, seeing how extremely difficult civilized men have found it to unmake. It is merely to combine the life and the phantom. As both belong to the body, why should they not also belong to one another, and be manifestations of one and the same soul? Rather, such notions presupposed the very ideas whose origins they were supposed to explain. For Durkheim, ideas such as the soul, ancestor spirits, totems, or gods could not be derived from the experience, much less the speculations, of individuals. Rather, they were intrinsically social phenomena. Nonetheless, Durkheim concurred with Tylor that the idea of the soul was fundamental to religion: According to native Australians, there exists a limited stock of souls. Each individual is a reincarnation of an ancestor, and all people are ultimately reincarnations of the original totemic alcheringa ancestors, powerful beings who existed in dreamtime and whose natures were merged with those of totemic species. For Durkheim, these representations addressed the critical problem of the relationship of society to the individual. The ancestral souls embodied the fundamental reality of society of which the individual was a particular manifestation. Within the context of his discussion of the soul, Durkheim quietly introduced the idea of the person. The person, Durkheim suggested, represents the conjunction of an impersonal and personal principle, the soul and the body. The first, impersonal, derives from "the spiritual principle that serves as the soul of the collectivity—the very substance of which individual souls are made" p. Hence, "individuation is not the essential characteristic of the person. A person is not only a singular subject that is distinguished from all the others. It is, in addition and most of all, a being to which a relative autonomy is imputed in relation to the milieu with which it interacts most directly" p. The idea of the person, for Durkheim, squarely embodied the relationship between the individual and society at the very core of his approach to sociological theory. Like Durkheim, he saw in the religious categories of so-called primitive societies a key to the understanding of modern European ideas. Names as such were not necessarily the hallmark of the individual, but rather of a persona, a fixed role or position within a society. Thus, a clan or other similar group might possess a finite stock of names. The name typically represented, not only membership in a group but also a specific position within it, and so individuals might change names within the course of their lives. Such names, Mauss suggested, were akin to masks—another phenomenon he related to ideas of personhood. In relatively

"primitive" societies, there were a relatively fixed number of "roles. In his essay, Mauss contrasted this relatively fixed conception of personhood in non-European societies with a dynamic vision of the changing idea of personhood in Western Europe , through Greek philosophy, Roman law , Christian theology, and ultimately the Enlightenment. The end result of this evolution was a conception of personhood in terms of individual consciousness rather than as the embodiment of set social relationships. These ideas have been rejected by the overwhelming majority of anthropologists who reject any teleological dichotomy between European societies as essentially dynamic and non-European ones as static. At the same time, American anthropologists were to approach the problem from a very different starting point. In all three cases, concepts of the person were explored in the context of extensive fieldwork in specific cultures. Rather than generalizing from the vantage point of European categories, taken as the end point of a process of evolution, anthropologists grappled with non-European conceptualizations firsthand. Griaule and the French school. For Griaule, the complex esoteric cosmology of the Dogon, as revealed to him by his key informant, Ogotemmeli, constituted an intricate and sophisticated philosophical system, an alternative way of thought in no way inferior to European equivalents. Dogon ideas of the person are consequently one element of this entire system. Crucial to these ideas is the principle of the ideal duality of all creatures. After the jackal, a couple, the Nommo, were born: Twins consequently represent the ideal birth, and human twins become the object of a cult as soon as they are born. Even ordinary humans have double soulsâ€”kinndoukinndou â€”one for each gender. In short, for Griaule, the Dogon myth of creation contained the key to their conceptions of personhood and of the world in general. The British school of social anthropology, also profoundly influenced by the work of Durkheim and Mauss, adopted a less abstract and more sociological approach to the study of ideas of the person. Witchcraft is a common explanation of misfortune among the Azande, and is caused by a grudge or ill will on the part of a witch. However, not all people are witches. Witches are born with innate witchcraft substance, inherited by boys from their fathers and girls from their mothers. It operates through mbisimu mangu, the soul of witchcraft, which travels from the body of the witch to the body of the victim, although the witch himself may not be conscious of the harm he is perpetrating. However, Evans-Pritchard was not simply concerned with the ideology of witchcraft in itself, but in the way in which these ideas underpinned the everyday actions of Azande, so that they understood and reacted to the ordinary misfortunes of everyday life through consulting oracles, attempting to cool the anger of witches, and ultimately pursuing vengeance when witchcraft proved fatal. Persons are kept aware of who they are and where they fit into society by criteria of age, sex, and descent, and by other indices of status, through acting in accordance with these norms. By these actions and forms of conduct they, at the same time, show to others who they are and where they fit into society. For Fortes as for Evans-Pritchard, this process of interaction was played out in the miniature crises of everyday life. American anthropology and the problem of personality. During the first half of the twentieth century, anthropologists in the United States were far less influenced by the theories of Durkheim and Mauss than by the work of Sigmund Freud â€” Rather than evincing interest in "the person" as a category of thought, they focused on the formation of the individual personality in different cultures. For Benedict, each culture has its ethos, its style, which characterizes its art, its ritual, its ideology, the emotional tenor of social relationships, and so on. Individual children are raised in conformity with this ethos, internalizing patterns of feeling as well as of behaving. Those with little natural aptitude for the predominant ethos are deviants, though deviance in one culture can well be normality in another. However, for Geertz, these component features of the Balinese conception of personhood were expressions of an overall Balinese ethos. Children are given a personal name, but this is generally a nonsense term and rarely used to address or refer to them. Children are more generally known by standard birth order names, and adults except for childless adults, who in some sense remain socially children themselves by tekonymsâ€”"father or mother of so-and-so their first child. These different approaches to the study of the idea of the person, whether French, British, or American, have convincingly demonstrated that there is no single "primitive" conception of personhood, much less of "the soul. Identity of Persons ; Identity: Houghton Mifflin Company , The Category of the Person: Cambridge University Press, The Free Press, Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande. Oxford University Press, Reprinted in his Religion, Morality and the Person: Essays on Tallensi Religion, edited with an introduction by Jack Goody,

â€” Person, Time, and Conduct in Bali: An Essay in Cultural Analysis. Reprinted in his *The Interpretation of Cultures*, â€” An Introduction to Dogon Religious Ideas. London and New York: The Notion of Person; the Notion of Self. In *The Category of the Person*: Tylor, Sir Edward Burnett. John Murray , Reprinted in 2 vols. Harper and Brothers, Robert Launay Pick a style below, and copy the text for your bibliography. Retrieved November 09, from Encyclopedia. Then, copy and paste the text into your bibliography or works cited list. Because each style has its own formatting nuances that evolve over time and not all information is available for every reference entry or article, Encyclopedia.

I have also heard that if witchcraft-substance were discovered the accusers might take the entrails and hang them on a tree bordering one of the main paths leading to a prince's court.

ResearchNet Witchcraft The term witchcraft is used in a great number of ways, to refer to supernatural beliefs and practices that the user considers evil or dangerous. Some of its many meanings are confusing, and its use is frequently pejorative, and unless it is carefully defined by its user it can be quite misleading. But it is the best term for a set of beliefs that ethnology has revealed to be nearly universal and that has great significance for anthropology and social psychology. So the student should take great care to understand exactly what the user means by the term, and to separate its many popular meanings from its anthropological ones. It can refer to Wicca or other neo-pagan religious systems. It can mean satanism, or anything deemed satanic or inspired by Satan. Among anthropologists, too, there is considerable variation in application of the term witchcraft. Some anthropologists in recent times have examined Wicca and other neo-pagan organizations, some of whose adherents refer to themselves as witches and their religion as witchcraft; but this is a recent phenomenon and belongs under the heading of alternative religions. It will not be discussed in this essay. By witchcraft most anthropologists mean a set of beliefs in an evil power that vests itself in adult people and empowers them to do a variety of fantastic and terrible things. Unlike magic and sorcery, the power is not learned but innate, lodged within the body of the witch. It reached its most elaborate manifestation in medieval Europe; but without its Christian trappings, the medieval European witch is nearly identical to witches of Africa, Asia, Oceania, and the Americas. There are variations on some of the features: The power may be activated by negative emotion, or it may be always active, energized by its own evil. It is generally available to both men and women, although women predominate in witchcraft suspicions worldwide. The witch is such a bizarre conception that it took anthropology some time to recognize its distribution and its significance; once it did, ethnographic and explanatory studies increased exponentially, and today the anthropological and historical literature on witchcraft is enormous. Witchcraft in Anthropology The distinction between two types of human supernatural evil was recognized in the early s, but elaborations on these two types, and recognition of their near-universality, developed later. Pioneering credit ought to go to Reo Fortune, whose study of male sorcery and female witchcraft beliefs on the Melanesian island of Dobu was the first detailed ethnographic account. But Malinowski apparently did not finish that work, and subsequent studies of these phenomena in the South Seas came much later. For the next two decades African witchcraft was a central focus of the structural-functional school of British anthropology. Selected Readings , and John Middleton and E. The war years obscured the important work of American anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn, who recorded similar beliefs among the Navaho; an early edition of his Navaho Witchcraft was published by Harvard in Several historians successfully applied anthropological perspectives to aspects of European witch beliefs. Attributes of the Witch Witches in each region have their own unique traits, but there are twelve attributes that characterize the witch wherever it appears. In this discussion it should be understood that witch refers to the power which may or may not be material, and which may work in the human world or in a separate, mystical dimension. Witches are angry and spiteful and dedicated to the overthrow of orderly human society. Witches may operate in daytime, but they are most active at night. The witchcraft power can transform itself into the form of any animal, or bird, or another human form, or into invisibility. The witch can fly, in the form of its bearer or an alter, and it can travel at great speed. The power can leave its human body behind as it goes off on its mission of mischief; or it can fly to another location in any form including the form of its bearer, so a person can be in two places at once. The witch may have a spirit or animal pet or companion that can share the power, and that can accompany the witch or be sent by the witch on its own evil errand. The Sabbath is usually held at night at a known time and place, a wild dangerous place or a place of death, a cemetery or cremation site, a place people fear to go. Witches are universally blamed for epidemics, especially fatal diseases of unknown etiology. Witches everywhere are fond of little children, and seek to steal them or their souls away. Witches engage in whatever sexual behavior is considered abnormal and wrong by the society e. The agenda of the

Sabbat often includes a sexual orgy, among the witches and with their human victims. At the Sabbat witches ritually kill their victims, usually with knives, and in very bloody fashion. Witches eat the flesh and drink the blood of their human victims, either during personal attacks upon them in their homes, or after sexually and otherwise tormenting them at the Sabbat. Witches are always somehow associated with death, in at least four ways: Some variations on these attributes are widespread in specific regions. Christian conceptions of witches in medieval Europe had all 12 attributes; foremost among several specific details was that they were agents of Satan. Also, medieval European witches most often flew on some sorts of mounts, either fantastic creatures, male goats, or broomsticks. In sub-Saharan Africa, the witchcraft power is often located in a specific substance in the body; a fatty or tumorlike growth that can be discerned through autopsy; or animal teeth or a ball of metal or hair, or even a live snake, any of which had been swallowed by the witch, or developed mystically within its body. Also in sub-Saharan Africa witches walk upside down, a reflection of the general belief that witches embody the opposite of human norms. As elsewhere, the genitals are the locus of dangerous power, and social nudity is bad; African witches appear naked at the Sabbath. And when they fly, African witches often emit jets of fire from their anuses and armpits. Similarity between certain attributes of witches and shamans in Asia and the Americas have been noted: The fact that shamans can work sorcery is not notable, as this is a learned skill open to anyone. But the combination of sorcery and witchcraft practiced by some shamans is unique. Variants on the Theme: Were-Animals, and The Evil Eye Belief in the ability of certain people to transform themselves into animals, also called shape-shifting and the animal counterpart a were-animal from Old English *wer*, man, is widespread in world ethnology and may be a cultural universal. It is a defining feature of witches and shamans, but it exists in other cultural contexts as well. Werewolves and vampires combine other features of the witch, specifically nocturnal behavior and desire for human flesh and blood, and they can be understood as regional variants on the witch-familiar theme. The phenomenon known as Evil Eye is a clear variant on the witchcraft theme. This is a belief in an antisocial power that develops in some people, even without their knowledge. It is stimulated by envy or anger, but as it is an evil power it may act with no emotional trigger. Babies, sick, elderly, and otherwise frail people are most vulnerable; but, like witchcraft, Evil Eye can infect livestock, and can cause general misfortune. Perhaps everywhere people believe that evil can be transmitted through the eyes, but Evil Eye is an institution with specific characteristics and remedies, and can coexist with full-fledged witchcraft in some areas. It seems to have originated in the Middle East and is indigenous to the Mediterranean fringe, from whence it spread throughout Europe and across the Atlantic through European cultural influence. Defense and Remedy Defenses against the activities of witches are similar to those against demonic spirits and the mystical forces projected by sorcery. Magical power can be harnessed and manipulated, and powerful amulets are generally effective against all such evil influences. Representations of horns are widely used as anti-witchcraft devices; Italians wear little gold horns, *cornuti*, on necklaces, against the Evil Eye. In times of relative calm, witchcraft is stimulated by antisocial human emotions, envy, and anger, and so if witchcraft is diagnosed as the cause of some problem, people in some competitive relationship with the afflicted may be the first suspected. The most effective remedy is for the witch to confess and withdraw the spell. Witches are a fact of social life, and it may be deemed necessary to conduct periodic anti-witchcraft rituals throughout a community. Identifying the witch is the most important step; driving it out with specially empowered spears or poisons is then easily accomplished. Or, powerful spirits may be invoked and embodied in fearsome witch-cleansing masquerades aimed at scaring witches away, such as the Nupe *ndako-gboya*, the Senoufo *Kunugbaha*, and a variety of horned or tusked anti-evil masks, some of which breathe smoke and fire; or witches may be periodically propitiated, as in the Yoruba *Gelede* or the Balinese *Rangda* masquerades. If a witch is detected, he or she may undergo a ritual of exorcism to remove the power from his or her body. In Africa this may require a spoken pronouncement and ritual spitting, or vomiting of the witchcraft substance, by the witch. Explanations Through the 20th century the most common explanations for witchcraft beliefs, suspicions, and accusations were framed in terms of social and psychological functions. Like sorcery, witchcraft has been shown to serve various social control functions: Uncivil people, people who accrue extra wealth and do not share, people who avoid participation in social events, might be suspected. Relationships characterized by tension or competition are most likely to generate

suspicion. Respect for the magical and social power of speech tends to deter suspicions from being verbalized in open accusation until there is credible evidence. It has been shown also that suspicions increase during times of stress; and as stress increases, accusations also increase, as less evidence is required for credibility, and the classic scapegoating function of witchcraft is demonstrated. The witch-hunt is a specific type of social persecutory movement. Its instigations and expectations, even its means, are like a revitalization movement turned inward. It might be temporarily cathartic for the perpetrators, proving a distraction; but its results can be socially devastating. In a paper, James Brain noted that witchcraft beliefs are absent or unimportant, and sorcery beliefs weak, in small-scale, mobile societies with egalitarian values and little material property, like hunter-gatherers and pastoralists. By contrast, among sedentary indigenous peoples witchcraft beliefs are likely to be strong. Social fission is an inherent quality of nomadic societies, explained as a response to limited resources; Brain suggests that through the same mechanisms people escape the kinds of social tensions that generate witchcraft suspicions. It should also be noted that among some reconstituted societies with syncretistic cultural systems, sorcery is present but witches are likely to be absent or only vestigial. Among African-based cultures in the Caribbean and South America, numerous African cultural elements are easily discernible, but the witch is notably absent. The social fears that find their focus in the witch are present, but are dispersed among other dangerous denizens of the night. There are shape-shifters; child-stealing, cannibalistic, and bloodsucking creatures; and a variety of mysterious sinister societies that meet in forbidding places at night; but there is no single creature that embodies all of the twelve attributes of the ethnological or historical witch. A possible explanation lies in another possibly unique aspect of African witchcraft: It may be a marker of social membership. Each culture has its own form of witchcraft, which runs in the veins or is passed on among its own members exclusively. Among Bachama, for example, the witchcraft power is mwito. A person with long continuous ancestral links in the patrilineage is said to be ji-bato ka mwito, of the patrilineage with the potential for witchcraft; a person who traces his ancestry to someone who was adopted into the patrilineage is ji-bato a mwito, of the patrilineage but without the unique Bachama marker, hence possibly ineligible for inheritance of some important title. It may be that the unique blood-borne social marker was lost in the horrendous social devastation of the slave trade, and no acceptable substitute was possible in the construction of new organized societies in the New World. Explanations for some witch fears have been found in neurobiology. The sufferer feels enervated and drained in the morning, which strengthens his conviction that some of his life force has been removed. Explanations in terms of social and psychological function are situational; they may not indicate origin. The relatively new field of evolutionary psychology proposes that some behaviors and beliefs might be shaped by evolutionary biology, and is thereby rephrasing some explanations that anthropology has suggested for a long time. Today the highly productive brain sciences may confirm some such suggestions about the attributes of the witch, enumerated above. Some of these reflect universal cultural traits, and some can be seen as having adaptive value. Attribute 1 , social subversion, is the universal suspicion that generates conspiracy theories and witch hunts. It derives from the we-other social attitude that characterizes all coherent societies, and attribute 6 , the secret gathering, is related.

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A lot of witchcraft books out there source everything from ceremonial magic or from neo-wiccan ideas. This book is different. Magnus goes straight to the history and analyzes what witches said about themselves and the spirits they worked with.

In proving the first thesis the universality of reason, the paper contrasts Western thought, epitomized in scientific reason, with non-Western thinking patterns, expressed by ethno-sciences, magic rituals, and other knowledge practices. The paper ends by arguing the case for the possibility of understanding the Other s by way of reason, a possibility grounded on the commonality of reason between cultures. The dogmatic faith of the Enlightenment philosophy in the capacity of reason to fully understand the natural and social world neutralized any dubitative impulses of questioning the belief in the accuracy of the Western understanding of the colonized Other s. The crisis of representation in the human sciences, announced by G. In full tune with the emerging postmodern critique challenging the basic axioms of classical human sciences, the hermeneutic pendulum swung towards the pole of incomprehensibility. Installed by Max Weber as canonical methodological rule, the rationality principle stated that social scientists can understand and explain Verstehen social actions, social actors, and their motives of action, by way of reason. The principle of rationality, coupled with the assumption of the rationality of social agents, opened the doors for rationally comprehending the Others. Highlighting the universality of reason as an anthropological constant, this paper suggests that precisely this rational foundation shared by all human cultures is the premise that makes inter-cultural understanding possible. One reason, two cognitive modes: After the attempt of the Vienna Circle logical positivist philosophers to fix once and for all the epistemological formula of science utterly failed, the dream of establishing an undisputable definition of what science is and how it is done has gone to the winds of relativism. A minimal criterion of rationality can be accepted as provided by what A. Given that the latter criterion of logical omniscience is too soliciting to be considered in the context of the lifeworld, the former criterion of passive acceptance will be used as the standard for rationality. This being said, I will argue that a thin conception of rationality is an anthropological constant characterizing all conceivable human cultural and actions systems. This will be shown by comparing Western thought codified in science with non-Western thinking patterns expressed in ethno-sciences and magical practices. The contrast between the two cognitive modes will reveal that they share a basic rationality, although the scientific 65 65 Journal of Comparative Research in Anthropology and Sociology, Volume 4, Number 1, Summer mode of thinking excel in epistemic terms in comparison to the native thought patterns due to a peculiar social institution and a self-correcting critical methodology. Science, as cultural phenomenon, social institution, and cognitive endeavor, is, arguably, historically unique to Western society. Western thought is neither inherently superior to other patterns of thinking specific to non-industrial societies, nor does it have a priori pre-eminence over non-Western cognitive styles. Both Western thinking and its non-Western counterpart use the same cognitive materials, mental resources, and inferential procedures. For the first time in human history, a community of inquirers has been socially organized around the sole collective purpose of producing knowledge and understanding nature through empirical research coupled with logico-mathematical reasoning. In its quest for attaining reliable knowledge, this community of inquirers developed a self-correcting methodology i. Western thought is just as exposed to cognitive biases as there are other thinking patterns. Scientific methodology, however, manages to limit the frequency of falling for these cognitive traps overgeneralization, binary thinking, confusing correlation for causation, etc. Using a conceptual distinction devised by E. Evans- Pritchard, the same idea can be put in the following terms: In short, the stakes of much of cognitive anthropology are to understand the epistemic practices of non-industrial societies, i. Ethno-sciences have much of the basic ingredients of modern science categorization, taxonomization, internal consistency, systematicity, etc. This is due to the fact that the majority of the mental faculties which are prerequisites for doing science are part and parcel of human nature itself. Categorization, for instance, as basic process underpinning taxonomization, is a cognitive given. The entire cognitive system is wired up in such a way as to make the process of categorization a mental necessity.

Hence, categorization is a basic rule governing the functioning of the mind. Of course, how reality is being carved up by categorization is relative to individuals and cultures Whorf, , but the cognitive process itself is universally shared, being in fact an anthropological constant. Beneath the bewildering plethora of cultural diversity, there nonetheless exist some cognitive universals categorization being one of these that make inter-cultural understanding possible. The anthropology of science raised the problem of the relationship between scientific rationality specific to Western modernity and thought patterns prevailing in various non-industrial communities. Against the traditional separatist school of thought seeing them as totally apart from each other, the conception that recognizes the quasi- identity of structure between the modern scientific thought and its non-Western counterpart gained increasingly currency in recent scholarship. This paper is written from within this intellectual tradition, embracing the belief that both modern scientific rationality and pre-modern patterns of thought derive from the same root of basic rationality shared by all human beings. However, the increasingly frequent and deeper anthropological incursions into the center of the symbolic systems developed by exotic cultures triggered a paradigm shift, as cultural analysts continued to discover significant formal similarities between the two cognitive thought patterns. Following the footsteps of A. Comte [] and his three-stage model of the evolution of history "from the theological stage, through the metaphysical one, towards the positive phase", J. Disemboweled from its evolutionist carcass, this thesis will be reclaimed and further elaborated by a series of famous anthropologists whose views on this subject will be discussed further. Rationality in the classical land of Magic: Malinowski manifests an ambivalent attitude towards L. Until him, anthropologists ignored the sober component of native thought, fascinated by its more exotic aspects, expressed in magic, religion, or mythology. The Sacred and The Profane. Magic and religion have jurisdiction over the sacred domain, while science or its crude indigenous equivalent claims tutelage over the profane areal of social life. The binary categorization of reality in the two separate experiential zones also entails the autonomy of each of them against the interference of the other. Hence, although the system of beliefs held by the Melanesians studied by Malinowski had a significant supernatural dimension, this was being doubled by a prosaic dimension made up of mundane knowledge used in practical purposes, whose efficiency in the everyday affairs depended upon the non-interference of mystical beliefs. For instance, in the construction of canoes, the Melanesians do not resort to magical incantations or invoke supernatural blessings i. Magic does not intrude within the realm of practical knowledge, as Melanesians are in possession of efficient means of constructing efficient boats in terms of speed as well as stability and safety. Moreover, the autonomy of profane technical knowledge of this type in regards to mystical notions is also proved by the fact that magical beliefs and rituals are developed as spiritual addendum to the non-mystical one only when the situation is uncertain enough as to cannot be controlled exclusively by mundane means technical or conceptual. Malinowski buttresses his thesis that magical conceptions derive from the moments of crisis and uncertainty by invoking a concrete illustrative practice: Correcting their gender bias would mean to engage in an act of retrospective justice that would deform their views on social world. The attempt to fix science in an uncontroversial definition is of notorious difficulty. Many professional epistemologists have surrendered to this definitional touchstone. Malinowski, although not a professional epistemologist, does not share their fate. Depending on how demanding is science defined, indigenous knowledge comes closer or moves farther away from the requirements of modern science. But Malinowski is not entirely satisfied with this conclusion by which he has already rehabilitated the cognitive status of indigenous knowledge. Progressively, Malinowski raises the stakes substantially, by adding additional epistemological requirements to this minimum definition of science. Thus, anticipating the possible objection against such a loose definition of science, Malinowski overbids by inserting an extra clause: Malinowski is at pains to prove that Melanesians master theoretical principles, i. Technical efficiency and pragmatic mastery of some realms of the natural world does not necessarily imply abstract theoretical understanding. But Malinowski does not stop here. This last criterion could seem to be finally too demanding for indigenous knowledge. Despite this deficit, Malinowski points out three types of individuals who come close to satisfying the exigency of disinterested knowledge, painting their intellectual portraits with a few broad strokes: Malinowski is at pains to compel us to accept his argument that in the profane businesses of everyday life, the indigenous people base their actions

upon a system of knowledge that approximates although with large shortcomings and deficiencies the knowledge system of modern science. In contrast, the Azande people studied by E. Evans-Pritchard [] seem to amalgamate the two spheres, closely intertwining them in their conception of the omnipresence of witchcraft in their everyday lives. The belief that witchcraft has a ubiquitous nature in their daily affairs holds a central position within the Azande belief-system. For instance, diseases affecting people are attributed to witchcrafts done by persons of the same sex with the diseased. Azande people firmly believe that witchcraft has a concrete reality, the power of witchcraft being thought to derive from a biological basis. The Azande belief-system is supported, beside this somatic principle, by a second central axis in the hereditary principle, according to which witchcraft is inherited along sexual lines mothers pass on the witchcraft-substance to their daughters, while fathers pass it on to their sons. Cross inheritance from father to daughter or from mother to son is inconceivable to the Azande mind. If the fowl dies after the name of the suspect has been pronounced, it is thought that the named person is indeed the author of the witchcraft. If the fowl survives the poison, the named suspect is exonerated. At first sight, the mere mentioning of the belief in witchcraft, the corporality of the witchcraft, and the hereditary rules of transmitting it seems to be enough to demolish the argument defended here. The situation takes a dramatic turn if we analyze the corpus of beliefs held by Azande people from an emic perspective i. What must be emphasized is that the natives do not give absolute authority to the predictions made by the poison oracle. Due to this fact, Azande people resort to two verification strategies: However, the most interesting verification procedure is post- mortem examination. An autopsy is performed in public at the edge of the grave. Those who attend are relatives of the dead, his relatives-in-law, his friends, his blood-brothers, and old men of standing in the neighbourhood who commonly attend funerals and sit watching the grave-diggers at their labour and other preparations for burial. Many of these old men have been present on similar occasions in the past, and it is they who will decide upon the presence or absence of witchcraft-substance. They can tell its presence by the way the intestines come out of the belly. The public nature of the process of witchcraft determination shares significant elements with the publicity of modern science Merton, Moreover, the persons establishing the final diagnosis are individuals who hold expertise acquired through experience. Having another correspondent in modern science, the decision makers are those who possess fact-finding competence. The quasi-experimental component embedded in the Azande method is also revealed by the manner in which natives prepare the ground for the oracle ritual to take place. If the fowl survives, they continue to administer the poison to a second, or a third fowl, until eventually one of them dies. This empirical result i. If no fowl dies, the Azande people draw the conclusion that the poison is corrupt, causing the oracle not to function correctly. Evans- Pritchard noted that the medical thinking of the Azande does more than to just operate by trial and error: In administering treatment, this is most often selected based on prior experience, although special cases can be managed by applying an experimental logic. If we accept K. In this regard, Evans-Pritchard It is a defect inherent to the oracular method that sometimes both of the fowls die, thus making the oracle to contradict itself. Adding secondary rationalizing beliefs that justify factual contradictions gives to Azande thought systemic coherence. If we accept the criterion of internal consistency as a minimal requirement of rationality, then Azande belief system can be credited as espousing a holistic rationality. Although modern science shares structural similitudes with ethno-sciences practiced by non-literate peoples, the former does not identify with the latter, nor is it dissolvable into or reducible to indigenous knowledge. After he takes note of the intellectual coherence of the Azande thought, Evans-Pritchard This is the clearest symptom of pseudo-science diagnosed by K.