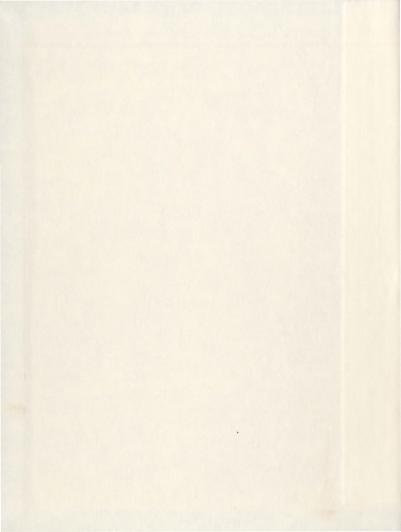
ALTERNATIVE MEDICINE AS MODERN MAGIC: A STUDY OF SPIRITUAL MANUAL TECHNIQUES

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ALTERNATIVE MEDICINE AS MODERN MAGIC: A STUDY OF SPIRITUAL MANUAL TECHNIQUES

by
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Abstract

Spiritual manual techniques are a type of Alternative Medicine. This thesis demonstrates that these techniques are comparable to magic (even though eight practitioners who administer these techniques do not consider them to be magic) for four main reasons. One, in both, the sacred is spoken of in the same regard. Further, it is approached in the same manner. Three, both magic and spiritual manual techniques necessitate a similar frame of mind. Four, a magical rite and a spiritual manual technique treatment are carried out in a similar fashion, and for the same purposes. This demonstration—that spiritual manual techniques are a contemporary form of magic—counters academic claims that magic is a thing of the past. In contrast to this claim, this thesis demonstrates that magic is well-suited for modernity, for the reason that magic mitigates the divide between science and religion, a divide which is constantly being reified in the present age.

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PREFACE

Originally, the focus of this research was on healing and the spiritual aspects of Alternative Medicine. Specifically, I was interested in a type of Alternative Medicine called manual techniques. Even more precisely, I sought to explore those manual techniques that allowed for metaphysical explanations of health and wellness. However, this focus led me into a whirlwind of enquiry.

Admittedly, I found myself in an academic quandary. I had conducted interviews with the eight manual practitioners, who are the heart of this thesis, keeping the focus on healing. But once the interviews were done, I was unable to pull the material together into a coherent argument.

I intuitively knew there was something unique about the research. There were similarities amongst the practitioners' words. A clear pattern existed. Yet, I was unable to name it.

At the peak of my frustration, when piles of inadequate drafts lay around me, I decided to take a break from the thesis and start a book review that awaited writing. The book contained a few chapters on magic.

Eureka! A chance discovery occurred.

The book contained a summary of academic definitions of magic. These definitions of magic were a match to the interviews in many regards. For instance, scholarly descriptions of the sacred as manifested in magic correspond with the practitioners' descriptions of energy. Further, academic portrayals of the magician's mindset are equivalent with some of the practitioners' worldviews. Lastly, characteristics of the magical rite compare to a manual technique treatment.

In learning about magic I discovered what it was I was looking for. And via this discovery I am satisfied at being able to articulate what it is that makes spiritual manual techniques unique. At once akin in some ways to science and to religion, and, as well unique, spiritual manual techniques are a contemporary form of magic.

Thus, the purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate these parallels. It is to suggest that spiritual manual techniques are a contemporary form of magic, even though, remarkably, the practitioners do not stipulate that they engage in magic. In demonstrating that spiritual manual techniques are a contemporary form of magic, I further suggest that this is indicative of the magic's unique social function: it bridges the gap between science and religion.

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

In seeking to define magic anthropologists have often compared magic to religion and science. On the one hand, magic is like religion because it involves the sacred, the spiritual. Magic differs from religion, however, in that it attempts to manipulate the sacred, whereas religion conciliates. On the other hand, magic is like science because they both involve a similar worldview; the universe runs according to set laws of nature, which are determined. Further, magic is parallel to science in that both rely and utilize techniques that are based on the understanding that the laws of nature are determined. The difference between the two, however, is that the laws in magic are not the same laws that are found in science.

Scholars have also characterized magic by placing it at the beginning of social evolution. Anthropologists and others have characterized it as existing at the most simplistic level of human belief, with the suggestion that humanity has ascended in a linear manner, from such primitivism, through religion, to the belief in science, which liberates us all today.

While the assumption that "[m]agic has no genuine kinship with anything apart from religion on the one hand and science and technology on the other" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 141) may be accurate, it nonetheless has been extrapolated in such a way that magic is often interpreted as inadequate in relation to both religion and science. To be exact, these characterizations have led to pejorative claims. A case in point is the

assertion that religion is more evolved than magic. Another example is the claim that magic is the "bastard sister of science" (Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 46).

In analyzing a subspecies of Alternative Medicine—to which an ever increasing number of people are turning to seek physical, emotional, and even spiritual healing—I have determined that this subspecies (namely, spiritual manual techniques) is nothing short of a form of contemporary magic. And, as a form of magic, while it shares certain elements of both the religious and the scientific mindset, it is neither religion nor science. It remains, uniquely, a form of magic—and it is being increasingly sought by inhabitants of the scientific age whom evolutionists would have declared to have left magic forever behind them. And this suggests that the belief in and practice of such magic does not reside in a backward, pre-civilized age from which we have forever evolved, but is rather a part of the cyclical pursuit of well-being and happiness in which humanity will forever be engaged.

Alternative Medicine and Manual Techniques

Alternative Medicine

Alternative Medicine, generally speaking, is "a broad domain of healing resources ... other than those intrinsic to the politically dominant health system of a particular society or culture in a given historical period" (Kelner, 2000, p. 4). For the purposes of this thesis, then, Alternative Medicine refers to various healing resources that are not part of the biomedical model.

Alternative Medicine operates from a totally different paradigm than that of the biomedical model. Scholars typically highlight this difference as follows. On the one hand, the biomedical model is mechanistic, materialistic, and linear. Further, it handles disease in an aggressive, war-like fashion. On the other hand, Alternative Medicine is holistic, non-linear, and based on energetic principles. What is more, it deals with illness in a subtle, process-oriented way.

Many scholars observe that the primary characteristic of the biomedical model is that it is mechanistic in theory and practice (Kinsley, 1996, p. 171; Kleinman, 1980, p. 91; O'Connor, 2000, p. 46; Vincent & Furnham, 1997, p. 25). Theoretically, this means that the body is regarded as a machine (Kinsley, 1996, p. 171; O'Connor, 2000, p. 46; Vincent & Furnham, 1997, p. 25). It is viewed as a compilation of discrete parts that can be reduced into smaller and smaller fragments (Kinsley, 1996, p. 171). Further, adhering to Cartesian principles of mind-body dualism, the body, in biomedicine, is taken to be amendable without reference to the mind (Kinsley, 1996, p. 171; McGuire, 1994, p. 203).

Theoretically, in terms of disease, biomedicine considers most disease in terms of organ-specific lesions (Kleinman, 1980, p. 91; Vincent & Furnham, 1997, p. 25). As observed by Csordas (2002), "disease in biomedicine is a quite specific entity that can be treated as a thing in itself" (p. 194). In practice, "the predilection for viewing the human body as a machine ... tends to emphasize ... therapy as primarily a physical matter" (Kinsley, 1996, p. 171). Namely, the focus in biomedical treatment is on eliminating disease (Csordas, 2002, p. 194; O'Connor, 2000, p. 46; Vincent & Furnham, 1997, p. 25) by allopathic means (Kinsley, 1996, p.169; McGuire, 1994, p. 7). As Bonnie O'Connor (2000) points out, "[c]onventional medicine typically treats disease ... by direct

biochemical or surgical intervention" (p. 5). This type of treatment is often expressed in the literature on Alternative Medicine as treating symptoms of disease rather than the causes (Goldstein, 1999, p.111; McGuire, 1994, p. 191; O'Connor, 2000, p. 60; Sharma, 1992, p. 38). Moreover, this type of treatment is often compared metaphorically with war (Kinsley, 1996, p. 170). And a final distinguishing characteristic of biomedicine is that the position of the patient is typically passive and dependent (Vincent & Furnham, 1997, p. 25).

According to the academic literature, the primary characteristic of Alternative Medicine is that it is theoretically holistic (Alster, 1989, p. 47; Ernst, 1996, p. 25; Goldstein, 1999, p. 44; Kelner et. al., 2000; Kyle, 1995, p.165; McGuire, 1994; Sharma, 1992, p. 7; Vincent & Furnham, 1997). Holism is the belief that the whole is always more than the sum of its parts. Surrounding this central tenet of Alternative Medicine are other notions such as the inter-relatedness and inter-connectedness of all parts within a whole system and the suggestion that the boundary between mind, body, and spirit is artificial since all aspects are part of the whole person (Alster, 1989, p. 48; Goldstein, 1999, pp. 48-54; O'Connor, 2000, p. 50). From an Alternative Medicine perspective, illness is not limited to the physical self. There can be, as the literature suggests, an underlying *cause* of illness, or a *meaning* to illness, beyond the physical one (Alster, 1989, p. 62; Goldstein, 2000, p. 65; McGuire, 1988, p. 230; O'Connor, 2000, p. 51).

Another key characteristic of the Alternative Medicine paradigm is its inclusion of energetic principles in concepts of self, diagnosis, and treatment. Almost all Alternative Medicine therapies entail an understanding of the self, health, and illness in terms of energy (Fulder, 1996, p. 4; Goldstein, 2000; O'Connor, 2000, p. 51; Vincent &

Furnham, 1997, p. 25). Treatment in Alternative Medicine, as described by Vincent and Furnham (1997), is "of central importance" and is "orient[ed] upon [the] restoration of health" (p. 25) (rather than the absence of symptoms). Since illness is, for the most part, considered an imbalance, which can be regulated via the body's innate healing capacities (Fulder, 1996, p. 4; Vincent & Furnham, 1997, p. 25), therapies in Alternative Medicine tend to be non-invasive (Fulder, 1996, p. 4). Further, the patient is active in his or her own rehabilitation. A person is held more responsible for his/her health (Fulder, 1996, p. 4; Vincent & Furnham, 1997, p. 25).

Although Alternative Medicine functions within a different paradigm than the one biomedicine utilizes, this does mean that those who engage in Alternative Medicine reject biomedicine. As Vincent and Furnham (1997) point out, "it is rare for complementary patients to abandon orthodox medicine altogether" (p. 32). Rather, it seems that those who engage in Alternative Medicine do so in addition to utilizing biomedicine (Vincent & Furnham, 1997, p. 32). That is, they participate in "medical pluralism" (Sharma, 1992, p. 28). They use biomedicine for conditions that it is well suited for, which are typically acute. Meanwhile they use Alternative Medicine for conditions that it is well suited for, which are typically chronic (Sharma, 1992, p. 24).

Another important distinction is that of healing versus curing. According to academic literature, biomedicine is typically focused on curing, whereas Alternative Medicine is focused on healing (Kleinman, 1980; McGuire, 1994). Meredith McGuire (1994) succinctly summarizes this division when she states.

Most contemporary Western physicians limit their help to the cure of *disease* – a biological disorder. They are generally unprepared to heal *illness* – the way the ill person experiences his or her disorder, in a given social and cultural context. (p. 6).

Anthropologist Arthur Kleinman (1980) further clarifies this distinction by saying that healing is primarily concerned with illness. Thus, systems of healing are often considered more holistic and complex than biomedical curing since they include, in addition to biological and psychological processes, subjective realms of attention, perception, responses, cognition and valuations (Kleinman, 1980, p. 72). What is more, illness (and therefore healing) engages communities of people, be they family or social networks, whereas disease affects only individuals (Kleinman, 1980, p. 73).

A final point, worthy of mention, is provided by Religious Studies professor

Robert Fuller (1987). He observes that there are two types of healing within Alternative

Medicine; forms of healing that offer religious, spiritual or metaphysical explanations for

disease and healing, and types of healing that exclude these kinds of explanations (p. 7).

Manual Techniques

The term Alternative Medicine denotes many different beliefs and practices.

Hence, various typologies have been formulated for Alternative Medicine. Sharma
(1992), Kyle (1995), McGuire (1994), Vincent and Furnham (1997), and Lewith, Kenyon
and Lewis (1996) have all created such typologies. It is from these descriptions that the
term manual technique arises. Even though the following scholars' descriptions may

slightly vary, they nonetheless bear enough resemblance to group together what will be called manual techniques as one type of Alternative Medicine.

Sharma's (1992) typology focuses on those complementary medical practices that most resemble biomedicine. Of these practices she characterizes "manual techniques" as procedures where "some kind of technical intervention [occurs] on the part of an expert practitioner" (p. 4). Robert Kyle (1995) suggests that there are six identifiable classifications of Alternative Medicine and mentions manual techniques as "psychophysical therapies" or "body therapies" (p. 172). "Body therapies, the most common being massage," relates Kyle (1995), "are practices that use the body as the starting point for a process to transform the whole person" (p. 173), McGuire (1994) describes manual techniques as methods of healing that apply a technique, are both diagnostic and therapeutic, and are based on a "client-adherent relationship, rather than a group setting" (p. 31). Vincent and Furnham (1997) describe manual techniques as specific therapeutic methods and say that massage, reflexology and aromatherapy are prime examples (p. 9). Lewith, Kenyon, and Lewis (1996) stipulate that manual techniques are really "manipulative techniques" since they entail a "treatment by hand" and "involv[e] some form of movement of the patient's tissues" (p. 78).

Taken together, these distinctions formulate the defining characteristics of manual techniques. For the purposes of this thesis, spiritual manual techniques will be understood to be healing modalities that use the body as a starting point to transform the whole person. They can be diagnostic and/or therapeutic. They are modalities that apply a technique that in some way manipulates tissue. They are practices that operate in a

practitioner-patient relationship. And lastly, spiritual manual techniques allow for, or offer, metaphysical explanations for illness and healing.

Indian and Chinese Traditions: Their influence on Manual Techniques

Almost all of the manual techniques explored in this thesis are based upon, or are heavily influenced by, the religious/healing techniques of Indian or Chinese traditions.

This is apparent in several of the practitioners' discussion on their techniques because they use terminology that comes from Indian or Chinese traditions. Examples of such terminology include cakras, meridians, energy work and blocked energy. Further, almost all of the manual techniques described rely on the alternate physiology of Indian and Chinese religious/healing traditions even though the practitioners might not recognize this or have any knowledge of it and even though, in some cases, the beliefs have been set into the context of a Christian worldview.

An exploration of how Indian or Chinese traditions influence manual techniques is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, two scholarly works that provide an in depth study of these traditions is Mircea Eliade's (1969) Yoga: Immortality and Freedom and Eva Wong's (1997) The Shambala Guide to Taoism. A perusal of Eliade's study provides insight into Indian traditions and an examination of Wong's book provides insight into Chinese traditions. From these observations it is easy to surmise how these traditions have some bearing on manual techniques. For instance, Eliade's (1969) investigation of the Upanisads give details of cakras, meridians (otherwise known as nadis) (pp. 241-254), and kundali (an energy of the body)(p.245). All three concepts are

mentioned by some of the practitioners' of this thesis in their discussions of their techniques. Another case in point is Wong's (1997) detailing of *chi*, a central concept in Taoism, which once again means "vital energy." To reiterate, this concept of energy is key to many of the practitioners' techniques and their understanding of the body/self, but it does not originate from manual techniques. It is evident in traditions such as Taoism, as Wong points out, which have origins dating back five thousand years.

Magic

Scholars' discussions of magic can be grouped into four topics. One, they examine the sacred as it is manifested in its practice. Two, they hypothesize magical ways of thinking. Three, they bring forth theories regarding the social function of magic. And four, they discuss the magical rite.

Academics such as Frazer (1922/1994), Durkheim (1912/1995), Malinowski (1954), and Mauss (1950/1972) illustrate the sacred in magic by drawing on primitive cultures for examples. They say that the sacred in magic is an ubiquitous invisible force called *mana*. *Mana* is referred to as energy and is compared to electricity. It is both immanent and transcendent, both powerful and subtle.

A second characteristic of magic that has garnished much attention is the type of thinking that is involved in magic. Most scholars of magic address this topic. However, there is a difference between early and contemporary studies. Early academics, like Taylor (1871/1871/1958) and Frazer (1922/1994), claim that magical thought is based on the false association of ideas. Further, it is limited to the primitive mind. Contemporary scholars adhere to the idea that the magical mindset views the world as an infinite series

of meaningful relations. However, they defend the magical mindset as valid. Further, they insist that the mode of thought involved in magic occurs in all minds, not just primitive ones.

The association of ideas states that the primitive mind believes magic works according to two laws of nature: the law of similarity and the law of contact. The law of similarity, or the homeopathic model, is based on the principle of like produces like. The law of contact is based on the notion that things that have been in contact remain forever linked. In either case, the main principle is that non-physical properties may be transferred via a physical/non-physical connection.

Contemporary concepts of magical thought are the same as classical ones in that the magical mindset is still portrayed as viewing the world in terms of connections and meaningful relations. However, contemporary scholars attempt a more subjective description. For example, Glucklich (1997) describes the magical experience, which is, for her, an "engaged" state of consciousness, where dualistic divisions such as mind-body, subjective-objective no longer exist. And Tambiah (1990) and Hanegraaff (2003) speak of "participation," as a holistic worldview associated with magic.

A third feature of magic is its social function. Sociologists such as Durkheim (1912/1995) and Weber (1922/1964) maintain that magic, though being a social phenomenon, does not function in the same social manner as other phenomenon involving the sacred (namely, religion). Magic meets individual needs. It is for the individual, not the social group. This is perhaps best epitomized in the words of Durkheim (1912/1995) who states, "There is no Church of magic" (p. 42). Magic, though involving spiritual, sacred beliefs. "fails to bind together its adherents or to unite them

into a common life," according to Durkheim (as cited in Styers, 2004, p. 93). An indication of this is that the magicians' "clients may have no mutual relations, and may even be unknown to one another" (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 42). Further, the agents of magic act independently: "in magic," says Durkheim, "there is a professional-client relationship, ... magical practitioners and their customers act as private individuals" (as cited in Pyysiäinen, 2004, pp. 93–94).

The last feature of magic, frequently discussed by scholars, is the rite. A magical rite is distinguished by certain characteristics. First, and foremost, the magical rite transforms. Mauss (1950/1972) argues that magical rites involve some change of state; a person is either taken out of a state, or put into one. Tambiah (1990) concurs. He also says that there is a change of state. Schilbrack (2004) maintains that magical rites involve some form of self-transformation. Namely, the participant is changed psychically or spiritually. However, this can mean many things; an altered worldview or a change of habit/lifestyle. The second feature of magical rites is that they are emotionally expressive. According to Malinowski (1954), the primary function of a magical rite is to express emotion. Moreover, it is to articulate it spontaneously, passionately, and intuitively. Glucklich (1997) agrees. She, like Malinwoski, stresses the emotional element of magical ritual, describing the rites as "cathartic" (Glucklich, 1997). Third, magical rites (particularly those that have an element of healing) bring about a feeling of wholeness. That is, magical rites that heal aim to restore harmony and balance. They try to mend the ramifications of dualism. Lastly, the magical rite is characteristically private. An indication of this, as Mauss (1950/1972) observes, is that the magical rite is "commonly

performed ... in the secret recesses of a house or at any rate in some out-of-the-way place" (p. 23).

A Brief Comparison to Magic

Even though the eight practitioners (who are the focus of this research) do not draw comparisons between the beliefs and practices of spiritual manual techniques and magic, their words, anecdotes, and explanations nonetheless resemble the fore-mentioned characteristics of magic.

For one, the practitioners of spiritual manual techniques relate to the sacred in a manner of manipulation. That is, they manipulate the body so as to affect a sacred energy.

And conversely, they manipulate the sacred so as to affect the body.

Next, the practitioners of spiritual manual techniques speak of the sacred in much the same way as Frazer (1922/1994), Durkheim (1912/1995), Mauss (1950/1972), and Malinowski (1954) speak of the sacred as manifested in magic. Overall, the sacred is portrayed by these academics as *mana*, a mysterious force. Frazer (1922/1994) considers it the "force of nature" (p. 49). For Durkheim (1912/1995), it is the principle of life, or life-force (p. 205). And Mauss (1950/1972) says that *mana* is an impersonal force of the universe (p. 110).

Mana, according to these scholars, is invisible and powerful (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 195; Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 49; Malinowski, 1954, p. 76; Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 111). It is ubiquitous, yet localized (Durkheim, 1912/1995, pp. 197, 191). It is both natural and sacred (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 206; Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 111). That is, mana is present in all of nature (in fact, it is the force of nature), yet it sometimes

supersedes the laws of nature. Moreover, mana is a tangible (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 191; Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 111), fluid-like property (Malinowksi, 1954, p. 76; Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 117), which is transmissible (Frazer, 1922/1994; Malinwoski, 1954, p. 76; Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 66). That is, it may be channelled through the body and passed from person to person. Lastly, mana is taken to be an energy, analogous to electricity (Durkheim, 1912/1995, pp. 190-192; Frazer, 1922/1994).

All eight practitioners who participated in this thesis, when speaking of healing, talk of an energy that is invisible and powerful. They describe this energy as an impersonal, tangible, life-force, which flows through and around the body. When obstructed this energy can cause illness, they say. Moreover, this energy may be channelled from person to person. The energy, according to the practitioners, is both natural and sacred. And lastly, the practitioners' expressions for energy often include a reference to electricity.

Two, the eight practitioners have worldviews that are similar to academic descriptions of a magical worldview. Based on academic writings, it can be said that there are two main characteristics of a magical perspective. First and foremost, the magical mindset views the world in terms of meaningful associations (Durkheim, 1912/1995; Frazer, 1922/1994; Glucklick, 1997; Greenwood, 2000; Hanegraaff, 2003; Mauss, 1950/1972; Tambiah, 1990). Second, the magician does not speculate on the efficacy of his/her magic (Durkheim, 1912/1995; Frazer, 1922/1994; Mauss, 1950/1972).

Most of the practitioners when talking of their practice and healing speak in terms of associations and meaningful relations. They reveal the characteristics of the magical perspective mentioned above. For instance, many of the practitioner's concepts of health

and illness are based on micro/macrocosmic understandings and/or sympathetic relations.

Second, many of the practitioners concede that they are not sure how healing works; they just know that it works.

It can also be said that spiritual manual techniques have a similar social function as magic. For starters, spiritual manual practitioners do not unite their clientele into a community. In fact, the clients do not even see each other, unless passing between appointments. Further, the practitioners work independently. Even though they deal with the sacred, they do not affiliate with any religious organization (or any group that is organized around the sacred, for that matter). In fact, even if they do belong to an affiliation (for instance, the Reflexology Association of Canada), and gather for a conference, their gatherings do not include the clientele or laity. This is a key characteristic of magic as noted by Weber (1922/1964, p. 61) and Durkheim (1912/1995, p. 42). As Durkheim (1912/1995) asserts, "when magic societies of this sort are formed, they never encompass all the adherents of magic ... [t]hey encompass only the magicians" (p. 42). Subsequently, spiritual manual practitioners work privately, independently, and solely on a professional-client relationship.

The location of a magical rite is another determining factor in arguing that spiritual manual techniques are a form of contemporary magic. All of the practitioners practice in a private location. Specifically, five of the practitioners practice in their homes. And the three practitioners who practice outside the home still practice in a house.

Lastly, a spiritual manual technique treatment resembles the magical rite. First, the aim, and therefore the result, of a spiritual manual technique treatment is self-transformation, as clarified by the eight practitioners. The goal of spiritual manual

techniques is healing, and healing is transformative. Clients may acquire a new perspective or they may change their lifestyle. Second, there is a reoccurring theme of catharsis in the practitioners' narratives. They tell of an emotional release, which is often related to healing. In addition, the point of a treatment, according to the practitioners, is to restore balance, and experience a sense of wholeness.

Void in the Academic Literature

There are few studies that address manual techniques and none that focus solely on spiritual manual techniques. Manual techniques are, for the most part, indirectly referenced as one part of the overall Alternative Medical movement. As well, scholarship on the Alternative Medical movement tends to stress its relationship to biomedicine; the two are measured with the same scientific yardstick. The results of this comparison generally fall into one of three categories. First and foremost, the efficacy of Alternative Medicine is examined (Lewith, Kenyon, & Lewis, 1996). Second, the question of "Why people use Alternative Medicine?" is addressed (Kelner, 2000; McGuire, 1994; Sharma, 1992). Or a typology of Alternative Medicine is given (Kyle 1995; Lewith, Kenyon, & Lewis, 1996; McGuire, 1994; Sharma, 1992; Vincent & Furnham, 1997). Hence, there is very little qualitative research within this body of work that describes the experiences of those who utilize manual techniques. Even more scarce (to the point of non-existence) are practitioners' first hand accounts.

This void confirms the need to explore spiritual manual techniques from a qualitative stance. Moreover, it solidifies the need to bring forth the practitioners's stories.

In order to understand spiritual manual techniques, and in this case the practitioners' point of view, it was necessary to explore their beliefs and perspectives. Thus, after the necessary preparations were made, spiritual manual practitioners were asked to share their reality, their story. They were asked to express their beliefs and describe their techniques to produce an illustration of their practices. These narratives and responses to the interview questions are the primary source of data for this research.

Significance of the Study

This thesis, in contrast to the present literature on Alternative Medicine, is exploring the relationship between spiritual manual techniques and magic. This is relevant because it will attempt to demonstrate that magic belongs to modernity, while possibly shedding light on what magic looks like in a specific contemporary context.

Peter Pels (2003) in *Magic and Modernity* points out that "modern discourses position magic as their antithesis, reinventing it in the process" (p. 32). Randall Styers (2004) concurs. He says that one of the functions of magic, as an object of academic study, is that it is a "foil" for modernity. This thesis suggests, however, that magic is not antithetical to modernity. In fact, it may demonstrate, as Pyysiäinen (2004) suggests "that ... modern societies offer more possibilities to enhance magic" (p. 109).

Moreover, in demonstrating that spiritual manual techniques are a form of magic this thesis may offer a new interpretation of Frazer's theory of cultural evolution. Frazer proposed that humanity evolves from a magical way of thinking to a religious way of thinking, and then finally to a scientific way of thinking as represented by modern

Western civilization (Frazer, 1922/1994, pp. 55-59). This theory is based on a linear timeframe. But what would happen if it were stretched to allow for a possible cyclical time frame? The evolution of perception would not cease after science identified it.

Rather, people might evolve from a scientific way of thinking (as represented in modern Western science) to a magical state of thought. Or, what if linear and cyclical time frames were done away with when speaking of these modes of thoughts? Perhaps, these modes of thinking occur simultaneously, just in different ratios.

Undoubtedly, Alternative Medicine is gaining in popularity. Stats Canada reports that in 1998 3.8 million people (over the age of twelve) had contact with an alternative practitioner (Millar, 2001). In 2003 the amount of Canadians (over the age of twelve) who had contact with an alternative practitioner had risen significantly. According to Stats Canada, in 2003 5.4 million Canadians "reported using some type of alternative or complementary health care" (Jungwee, 2005). This study is of scholarly importance because of the popularity of Alternative Medicine.

The reasons for this popularity are reported as being three-fold. The first, and primary reason, is "dissatisfaction with conventional medicine" (Astin, 2000, p. 101).²
This "dissatisfaction include[s] feelings that the conventional treatment they received was not successful, objections to the use of drugs, and personal dissatisfaction with

¹ Alternative practitioners include massage therapists, acupuncturists, homeopaths or naturopaths, Feldenkrais or Alexander teachers, relaxation therapists, biofeedback teachers, and reflexologists, for example.

Others scholars report this claim as well (Goldstein, 1999; Kyle, 1995, p. 157; McGuire, 1994, p. 103; Sharma, 1992). For instance, McGuire's (1994) analysis "found substantial criticism of conventional medicine and practitioners" (p. 103) amongst Alternative Medical users. Specifically, they complain, "that conventional medicitie tended to address symptoms rather than causes and relied excessively on, or prematurely used surgery and drugs" (McGuire, 1994, p. 103).

conventional doctors' expressive or interpersonal skills" (Astin, 2000, p. 102). The second reason is "to gain a sense of personal control and empowerment" (Astin, 2000, p. 103). Participants desire freedom of choice and autonomy when it comes to their own health and wellness. Alternative Medical therapies are, for the most part, free from authoritarian medical intervention and promote personal responsibility for self-care (Astin, 2000, p. 103). Thus, they attract those who desire freedom of choice. The third explanation involves philosophical or value congruence (Astin, 2000, p. 104). Quite simply, holists are breaking away from root metaphors regarding health and illness, therefore requiring new ways of expressing these new convictions. Alternative medicines harmonize with these new alternative worldviews. As Robert Fuller (2001) illustrates in his book *Spiritual, but Not Religious*, "[a] closer look at the role of Alternative Medicines in American culture suggest that a major reason for their continued popularity is that they articulate spiritually significant ways of viewing the world" (p. 103).

This study, however, is not only of scholarly importance because of the popularity of Alternative medicines, but a second way in which this study is a contribution is in the study of magic.

Pels (2003) proclaims that "scholarly thinking about magic [is] a subject that has lain dormant for too long" (p. 3). Hence, this research will be significant to those who have abandoned the study of magic because of its complexity; those who believe magic is a thing of the past; that it is a type of religion that only belongs to primitives and non-modern people. It may additionally prove insightful to those who stereotype magic—those who believe that magic is marginal and practiced by a select few.

³ McGuire (1994) writes that, "among these alternative healing group participants, the conventional doctor was seen primarily as a diagnostician-technician, rather than a care-giver who addressed patients" way of thinking about self and the world" (p. 103).

This study may also be significant for manual practitioners. It is hoped that this research will allow them a voice to express their understanding of illness and health. This expression is missing from the academic literature. Thus, an aim of this study is to provide practitioners of manual techniques who embrace spirituality as part of their practice an opportunity to share their point of view.

A Method for Applying a Theoretical Model of Magic

Once the data was collected, the interviews were transcribed verbatim so as to create a hard copy of the data. The tapes were then listened to repeatedly. Each interview was heard approximately four times before any formal analysis occurred.

In transcribing upwards of two hundred pages of interviews by hand (and in listening to the tapes repeatedly), I began to notice certain remarks being made by all or at least most of the informants. From these regularities, an overall illustration was created. I had a design that was founded solely on the informants' words.

It became evident, after reading a summary of academic definitions of magic, that the regularities in the practitioners' words paralleled academic descriptions of magic. So as to verify this claim, a more in-depth investigation took place; the result is the theoretical model of magic presented in chapter two. The model is based on academic sources such as Frazer (1922/1994), Durkheim (1912/1995), Weber (1922/1964), Malinowski (1954), Mauss (1950/1972), Glucklich (1997), Pyysiäinen (2004), Styers (2004), Tambiah (1990), Schilbrack(2004), Greenwood (2000), and Hanegraaff (2003).

When overlaid with the pattern identified in the practitioners' words, certain features align. Specifically, five major similarities come to light.

First, spiritual manual techniques, like magic, involve the manipulation of a sacred force for practical reasons. Second, the sacred in both cases is described in a similar fashion. Third, the perspectives of the practitioners are analogous to the academic descriptions of magical thought. Fourth, spiritual manual techniques function in the same social manner as magic. Fifth, the descriptions of a spiritual manual technique treatment resemble academic descriptions of the magical rite.

What follows in chapter three is data collected from the practitioners. However, it has been "re-contextualiz[ed]" and interpreted using the schema from the academic literature (Creswell, 1994, p. 154).

I tried as much as possible to let the words of the practitioners tell the story. This style of presentation was chosen because much of the material has several layers of meaning and quite simply cannot be reduced to a presentation style such as tablature or paraphrase. Lastly, I tried to refrain from using the same passage more than once, but in some instances this was impossible.

Although the influence of Indian and Chinese traditions on manual techniques is highly noteworthy it nonetheless will not be examined in this thesis. The reason for this omission is as follows. This research is phenomenological; the practitioners are allowed to define themselves. Only one practitioner spoke about the Asian background of her practice. Thus, the Asian background does not need to be analyzed in detail nor does it need to inform the theoretical approach of this thesis, for the reason that it is not part of the practitioners' discussions (minus the one fore-mentioned informant). Further, since

the central argument concerns the nature and function of these manual techniques in the contexts of Western academic thought and modern western culture, this discussion is limited to predominantly Western theorists and Western categories.

Outline

There are three chapters to this thesis. Chapter one deals exclusively with research design issues and identifies the research participants. Chapter two is a review of the academic literature on magic. However, from this review, a theoretical model of magic is formulated. In chapter three the theoretical model of magic is superimposed on the interviews. Hence, chapter three demonstrates the ways in which the practitioners' beliefs and practices are akin to an academic definition of magic.

CHAPTER ONE

This chapter provides some context for analyzing the interviews with the eight manual practitioners who are the focus of this thesis. A brief description of the research methodology will be provided as well as how the sample was constructed. Each of the interviewees will be portrayed so as to illustrate their association with spiritual manual techniques, and the techniques will be described in brief so as to lay the foundation for illustrating their connection with magic.

Methodology: Constructing a Sample

Only spiritual manual practitioners were selected for this research. The reason for selecting practitioners, as opposed to selecting both practitioner and client, is that I was able to meet and get to know the practitioners, whereas their clientele remain anonymous. That is, the practitioners are unable to break confidentiality and divulge the names of their clientele. The rationale behind selecting spiritual manual practitioners was originally because I was interested in those practices that allowed for metaphysical explanations of health and wellness.

Because a homogenous sampling method was employed, the sample size is relatively small. To be eligible, practitioners had to specify that the healing modality they engage in is spiritual/sacred. As well, the modality had to entail the application of a technique, be diagnostic and/or therapeutic, be based on a client-adherent relationship, and give a treatment by hand that involves some form of tissue manipulation.

Only practitioners from Saskatchewan and Newfoundland were asked to participate as informants. The rationale behind this delimitation is purely practical.

Saskatchewan was my place of residence previous to commencing a Master's Degree at Memorial University. Hence, I am familiar with some of the residents and had easy access to possible research participants. The same rationale applies to Newfoundland. It is presently my place of residence and therefore provides a similar accessibility to informants.

The rationale behind purposively selecting informants, rather than randomly selecting the sample, is rooted in the vast distinction between sacred and nonsacred forms of healing. Since these two forms of healing operate from totally different paradigms, information gathered from one could not be used to represent the other. Nor could the information be used to represent both. Purposely selecting informants who share a similar point of view, in this case the claim that there is a spiritual component to their practice, allows for the potential opportunity to illustrate one form of healing.

Further, the rationale behind purposely targeting a spiritual form of healing was originally because that was the type of healing I was interested in. It was only later that it became apparent how crucial this criterion is since there must be an element of the sacred for the practice to be considered magical.

There were two ways of ensuring that the healing modality adhered to all of the set conditions. In the instances in which I knew the practitioners and their practices well enough, I simply verified that these conditions were met. For example, Will, Elaine and Rachelle were identified as eligible research participants because of my familiarity with their practices. The second way of ensuring that the healing modality adhered to all set

conditions involved some practical investigation. For instance, after receiving the name of a possible research participant, either by word-of-mouth or by coming across advertising (i.e., a poster or brochure), I might have asked those who recommended the name to answer a question such as whether they felt there was a spiritual element to the treatment. This was the case with Susan and Psyche. Or, if, for example, after perusing a brochure it was unclear whether there was any manipulation of tissue, I would call the practitioner and request the necessary information. This was the case with Anne. The other two practitioners (Brad and Brooke) were selected on the basis of their advertising (Brad because of his brochure and Brooke because of her website), which stipulated the set criteria (a spiritual element, an applied technique, etc.)

Once eligible informants had been identified, they were informally approached regarding participation. I contacted them by email or telephone, introduced myself (if necessary), let them know how I received their names, informed them of this project, and asked them if they would like to participate. They were given time to decide whether they would like to take part in the study. If they decided to participate in the project I proceeded with a formal invitation (i.e., set a time and place for the interview).

The location of the interview was left up to the participant's discretion. Most chose their place of practice as the setting for the interview, which also happened to be their home. Only two practitioners were interviewed outside their home. One was Brooke, who requested we meet at her place of practice, and the other was Brad, who chose my home for the interview setting.

Of the eight practitioners who are the focus of this thesis, two are male. The age range among the eight is from mid twenties to late fifties/early sixties. The period during

which the practitioners have been engaged in full-time practice ranges from one year to over twenty years. Further, the education and certification required for each healing modality ranges from programs that extend over years to weekend courses.⁴

The following eight practitioners were selected because they adhered to all of the set criteria. Although these practitioners were selected for their involvement in a manual technique, they nonetheless engage in various other forms of healing, along with manual techniques. It is quite clear from their words that most, if not all, of the practitioners integrate these different healing modalities into one coherent practice. Thus, those healing modalities that are not officially manual techniques, yet are still an integral part of the practitioner's practice, will be explained, in addition to the primary descriptions of manual techniques.

The Eight Spiritual Manual Practitioners

The following vignettes portray the practitioners as well as the healing techniques they practice. The purpose of these sketches is to gain a sense of the practitioners' practice so that it may be later linked with an academic model of magic.

⁴ On the one end of the scale is Psyche, who has her doctorate in acupuncture, as well as a certificate in homeopathy (both of which took several years of intensive training). On the other end of the scale is Anne, who received her training in BodyTalk via a series of weekend courses. And in the middle of the range are people like Will, Elaine, and Brad, all of whom attended a one year course in their area of specialty (reflexology, relaxation massage and RMT).

Will has been a full-time reflexologist for eleven years. Initially, he got involved with reflexology because of a sore neck. Having gained some knowledge of reflexology from a book, Will decided to try it on himself to alleviate his discomfort. "I thought it was just coincidence," he recalls, "that I responded to it, and that my neck got better very quickly." So as to test the efficacy of reflexology, Will decided to "fool around with it for awhile." He tried it on his children and wife and found that he "got more results than not."

Subsequent to healing his own neck, Will decided to take a reflexology course from the Reflexology Association of Canada (RAC). After successfully passing the course and becoming a certified reflexologist, Will began to practice out of his home. And within a year he had a full-time clientele. When recalling that first year of practice, he remembers thinking to himself, "Whatever I am doing I just got to keep doing it, because it was working."

When asked to define reflexology, Will had the following to say:

[T]he definition that is taught in the course is that reflexology is a healing art based on the theory that there are reflexes in the hands and feet and in other parts of your body that correspond to every organ, gland, and every other part of your body; and by working those reflexes it triggers a response in that part of the body.

According to Will, the response is a "relaxation response." This means that "when that part of the body relaxes, the body's own intelligence goes to work and heals that area." Or in other words, reducing the tension allows the body to repair and balance itself.

Although reflexology is the bedrock of Will's practice, he as well engages in two other techniques of healing. One he calls "Fascia." The other is named "the pulse."

Fascia is the name of a fibrous tissue in the body. However, it is also the name of a healing technique that realigns this tissue. Will practices Fascia by accessing fascia from a point around the ankle. He pushes it up along the front of the shin, along the tibia. This motion "creates a wave of energy" that radiates throughout the rest of the body, realigning the fascia tissue.

The Pulse is a name Will created. In essence, "the pulse" is intention: "Intention as a prayer." Technically, The Pulse entails Will reading a client's heart beat (on their foot) with one hand, and then taking his own pulse with the other. "Even if it matches, or it doesn't match, there is a connection there made," Will explains. And that connection "seems to be a stronger link" he says; "It feels like you're plugged in a little more."

The idea for the The Pulse came to Will, he says, while listening to a radio program, which talked about "cellular memory and heart transplants." Previous to listening to the radio show, Will had been thinking about the role intention played in treatments. He believed that the intention he put into a treatment greatly contributed to its results. Thus, he was looking for a "way to put [his] intention into [a] person." During the program Will heard that "two heartbeats, two hearts close together, could synchronize to the same beat." As Will tells it, this information made him realize that synchronizing his heartbeat with the client was a way to put intention into that person.

Rachelle

Over the course of the last ten years, Rachelle has been involved with four different healing modalities. She has taken all three levels of Reiki and is therefore a Reiki Master. She is trained in an aromatherapy technique called Raindrop Therapy. As well, she has completed four levels of GeoTran as well as a course in Consegrity.

While Rachelle uses all four modalities in her treatments she was selected for this research because of her practice of aromatherapy. Aromatherapy, as Rachelle practices it, involves the manipulation of tissue, thereby making it a manual technique.

Raindrop Therapy was created by Dr. Garry Young. It encompasses various types of healing modalities, but is primarily based on Vita Flex, massage therapy, and Dr. Young's knowledge of essential oils.

Vita Flex is a technique where one places the pad of the fingertip on a bodily contact point and then rolls, or snaps, his or her finger across onto the flat part of the nail. This movement apparently makes and breaks an electrical connection. "[I]t's actually... sparking an electrical charge through the circuit of the body," Rachelle explains. Vita Flex is similar to reflexology. It is based on the premise that there are reflexes in the hands and feet (and in other parts of the body) that correspond to every organ, gland, and other part of the body. Moreover, working these reflexes, according to practitioners, triggers a response in the corresponding part of the body.

A Raindrop Therapy treatment, succinctly put, is the application of essential oils on certain vital points of the body. The oils typically used are thyme, oregano, birch,

cypress, valor, basil, peppermint, marioram, and aroma Siez. However, other oils can be utilized. To begin, these oils are applied to the feet and calves using the Vita Flex technique. Next, oils are lightly massaged into the spine. Hot towels are then applied to the back so as to aid in the absorption of oils. Finally, oils are massaged into the shoulders and base of the neck, as well as lightly applied to the face.

The type of Reiki Rachelle practices is called the Usui System of Natural Healing. A typical Reiki treatment consists of a practitioner placing his or her hands on predetermined areas of the body. The practitioner then channels energy into the physical and auric body through these predetermined areas known as chakras⁵ and meridians. ⁶ The purposes for channeling this energy are to positively charge the energy field, unblock stuck energy along the pathways, raise vibratory levels, and remove negative thoughts and feelings. In doing these things the natural vitality of the body is increased.

GeoTran is another technique that Rachelle practices. The philosophy behind GeoTran states that there are energy fields that shape reality. These energy fields can become blocked and tarnished, either from one's own traumatic experiences or from one's ancestors' experiences. These blockages can result in dysfunction, which can result in illness.

According to a GeoTran website, GeoTran utilizes "geometric [shapes and]...numeric language...[to] clear[] and re-educate[] your energy fields back to their original blueprint" (Universal Connections Inc., 2004). This is achieved by a practitioner speaking a certain language "while geometric shapes are scribed with the hands...at

^{5 &}quot;Chakra" is a Sanskrit word. It literally means wheel. However, Webster's Dictionary further describes chakras as follows: "any of several points of physical or spiritual energy in the human body according to yoga philosophy^h (http://www.miriamwebster.com/dictionary).

⁶ The term meridians denotes pathways, or channels, through the body, along which energy flows.

specific angles on or off the body." Wisdom, inherent in the language and shapes, enters the energy field via the body and erases errors on the energetic template.

Rachelle depicts a typical GeoTran treatment by saying that it entails "muscle testing." To illustrate she offers the following description:

Your're asking the muscles of the body; and if the answer to the question is yes, the muscles will stay very strong; and if the answer to the question is no, then the muscle will go weak. Through a series of questions, asking the person, 'Is this true for you? Is this true for you?' the muscles are actively hearing the words that you are speaking and they are responding. Sometimes the clients are very surprised when their body said yes when their mind said no, or vice versa.

The last healing modality that Rachelle engages in is Consegrity. Consegrity, according to its official website, is "a new word that encapsulates mind, body and spirit" (Consegrity, 2005). The first three letters of the word (c-o-n) represent consciousness and consilience, which is awareness, and "the ALL KNOWING aspect of us" (Consegrity, 2005) The latter part of the word (e-g-r-i-t-y) represents tensegrity, which is "the cell's ability to balance tension and pressure" (Consegrity, 2005).

The purpose of Consegrity, according to the brochure Rachelle provided on this technique, is to "is to create and maintain the ideal energetic environment around the cells, allowing the body to heal itself" (Consegrity, n.d.). An ideal environment is one where energy flows freely; specifically, a cell's energy can freely interact with DNA.

Keeping this energy clean and clear allows the cell to function normally; that is, it allows the body to heal itself.

According to Rachelle, a Consegrity treatment is similar to GeoTran in that muscle testing still occurs. It is different than GeoTran, however, because, as Rachelle points out, "in GeoTran we actually have you hold your arm out and muscle test that way, [whereas] with Consegrity it's more of a higher self to higher self kind of connection." Hence, "I muscle test you on me," Rachelle explains. The client passively lies on the table and relaxes so that Rachelle "can just tap in...[and] get into you [the client's] inherent wisdom." Thus, questions are still asked but the testing occurs by and on the practitioner.

Elaine

Elaine is a relaxation massage therapist. She received her training at the Theological Graduate Union, at Berkley California, in 1996. The training course was entitled, "Massage: The Art of Anointing." She describes the course as "learning the basic massage technique...but as a spiritual practice." She further elucidates:

It wasn't like people who do three to four years of study and do deep tissue work, and you go [to them] for injuries. We didn't learn that. We just learned a special approach called 'the art of anointing.' Because it was bringing a blessing and anointing; bringing a spiritual dimension to the client you were working on...And so meditation was part of our everyday training, and hands on, and learning

anatomy and so on. But it was very much geared to that spiritual perspective of anointing and blessing the one that you were working on.

After completing the course, Elaine began to offer relaxation massage to those on Retreat. She also began to offer it as part of her home practice (until then she had been doing Reiki exclusively).

Elaine is also a Reiki Master. She has taken three levels of the Usui method of Reiki and is therefore able to teach. According to Elaine, Reiki means "spiritually guided life force energy." However, when asked to further describe Reiki, for instance to someone who has never heard of it, Elaine had the following to say:

Reiki is working with the body's energy. It's a natural flow of energy, within us, around us, but sometimes that energy can become blocked, through trauma, through stress, just through life. So when our energy is blocked and doesn't flow as it should, the body is not as well as it could be. So Reiki unblocks those blockages and helps our energy to flow properly so that the body can do its built in task of healing itself and keeping itself healthy.

Elaine makes a distinction between two types of massage she is able to provide.

On the one hand, she offers relaxation massage. But, on the other, she offers what she calls Reiki massage. According to Elaine, this latter type of massage occurs when the "Reiki practitioner places his or her hands [on the client] with the intent of Reiki energy

⁷ Elaine is very involved in Retreat Ministry. She works at a few local Retreat Houses offering courses and workshops on wellness as well as offering Reiki treatments and relaxation massage.

flowing." With the right intention Elaine says she is able to "just let the energy flow while [she does] massage." However, she clarifies that "you never do Reiki on a person without their permission." Therefore, she only practices Reiki massage on individuals who specifically ask for it.

Susan

Although Susan was selected as a manual practitioner because of her administration of Thai Yoga Massage, it was ascertained during the interview that she also practices Shiatsu massage, which is also a manual technique.

Susan, like Rachelle, engages in numerous healing modalities. She teaches two different types of yoga: Soma and Hatha. She instructs classes on the philosophy and practice of meditation. She facilitates weekend retreats that focus on the "Enlightenment Intensive" as well as Dyading. And, she is trained in a "specialized counseling clearing course."

"Traditional Thai Yoga Massage" is a type of massage that is based on the understanding that there is "an energy line system...through which the body's natural life force flows" ("The School of Thai," n.d.). Since "blockages in this life force cause aches, pains and disease," the aim of Thai Yoga massage is to "release[] blocked energy." This activates "the body's own natural healing potential, thus restoring balance, health and harmony." A typical treatment is described in Susan's brochure as "a spiritual massage experience with deep pressure, gentle rocking, yoga stretches and acupressure" (The Spiritual Center, 2005).

For approximately seventeen years, while living outside of Canada, Susan was a full time Shiastu massage therapist. According to Susan, "Shiatsu is a form of massage that works with the energy lines, or meridians." "There are points along th[e]se lines," she explains, "that are key for opening up blocked channels." In Shiatsu, these points are "pressed," says Susan, so as to "bring[] all the energy together in that area, and then when it's released the energy moves through even moreso...releasing what was called blocked." The process of Shiatsu is analogous to a dam, explains Susan:

You let the water build, build, build, build, build. So when you're pressing it's sorta like a dam. You're pressing down on it and it's building. And finally when the dam is released (it opens up), the water flows through. And it flows with much more force, and therefore can reach farther parts of your body. Whereas before it was just getting really, really, really weak, because there was already a little bit of blockage.

Susan returned to Canada in 2000, and in 2001 she started her own home business, which, as previously mentioned, consists of many different healing modalities. Yet, overall, Susan says the practice consists of "working with people on a deep spiritual level where there is major changes that take place in their way of thinking and their lifestyle."

Anne admits that although she had a twenty-year career in a completely different field than Alternative Medicine, Alternative Medicine was nonetheless, "where her heart was." Thus, it follows that after Anne was introduced to, and received training in, a healing modality called BodyTalk she decided to make it her career. Anne began working with BodyTalk five years ago. She immediately practiced on friends and family and then three years ago, after taking further training, decided to start a part-time home practice.

She maintained her former career as well as her part time home practice for about a year. But it was "very busy," she says. So a year ago she made the decision to change careers and become a full-time manual practitioner.

BodyTalk, according to the BodyTalk brochure (and website), is a "state-of-theart form of health care based on re-balancing the body's energy systems" (International BodyTalk Association, 2004) It "re-establish[es] communication within the body." Anne additionally explains, in congruence with the brochure and website, that "it's a holistic energy healing system ...based on the fact that within everyone there is an innate wisdom...that knows what's going on within your body." Further, BodyTalk's philosophy stipulates, "that you have the ability to heal yourself." Essentially, "what BodyTalk does," Anne asserts, "is trigger those capabilities."

A typical BodyTalk session is very similar to a GeoTran session. It is about an hour long. The client lies on a massage table and is "pretty much silent." According to Anne, the practitioner "communicates with your body with a muscle test." The muscle test consists of lifting a finger and asking a yes or no question. "If the answer is 'no,' [the

muscles] stays strong, [whereas] if [the answer is] 'yes' - there's a weakness," Anne explains. "[B]y asking the question" the practitioner is able to "determine[] what's priority for your brain right now to deal with." Anne illustrates: "Is it your liver? - No. Is it your heart? - Yes. So we are going to work with your heart."

Once a problem has been identified, the practitioner and patient work together to rectify it. A case in point, says Anne, is "maybe your liver needs to be linked with your pancreas, and it relates to sugar metabolism." First, the patient would place a hand on the surface of the body where the liver is located. And the practitioner would place a hand on the patient's body where the pancreas is located. Then, the practitioner would tap the top of the patient's head. This "activates the brain centers," so that it "sees what's happening" and "take[s] on this new information." Next, the practitioner taps the patient's sternum ("your heart complex" and "circulatory system"), so that it, once again, takes in this new information, as well as disperses it throughout the body. The result, Anne maintains, is that "your whole body now has this new information."

A point worth noting is Anne's remark that BodyTalk is "very new." It was developed by Dr. John Velthuim (a chiropractor, acupuncturist, philosopher, and Reiki master), ten years ago, "which is really new when it comes to this stuff," concedes Anne. It "evolved from studies in advanced yoga, modern physics, mathematics, acupuncture, applied kinesiology, and western medical science."

⁸ This is opposite to what Rachelle says. According to Rachelle, if the answer is yes the muscles stay strong and if the answer is no then they go weak.

Psyche was selected as an eligible informant because she is a Doctor of acupuncture. But also worthy of mention is the fact that she is a practicing nurse, a homeopathic practitioner, and back care consultant. She owns her own private practice, and has done so for approximately twenty years.

There are many contributing factors to Psyche having her own practice. To begin, Psyche recalls being very immersed in Alternative Medicine throughout her childhood and teens. "I really have no recollection of visiting a doctor in the early years," she reminisces; "Either the neighbour or a family member knew of a home remedy or poultice." After high school, Psyche became a nurse, and she reports that her experiences with nursing, particularly muscle-skeleto rehabilitation (MSR), also contribute to her practice. For one, it led her to question, and seek answers to, "how the body moved, [or] what made the body move." For another, MSR nursing, "allowed [her] to network quite extensively in the medical community," which in turn led her to acupuncture.

In terms of acupuncture, Psyche received her education from "all over the globe."

She continues:

I think I was a pioneer in that area...When I started out you couldn't do a full fledged acupuncture course in Canada.... So I'm a dinosaur... I've been all over the globe and I don't fit any pattern yet.

Psyche describes acupuncture within the context of Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM). This entails knowledge of yin and yang, chi, and what is known as the five elements. Hence, it is difficult to isolate acupuncture and give a report solely on that technique without reference to TCM.

Technically, acupuncture is the insertion of fine needles into key acupressure points that run along the meridians of the body. Meridians are "electromagnetic pathways," and acupressure points "come up as lower electrical resistance." As Psyche tells it,

... the pathways begin in the face, hands or feet. Each travels its own course and ends up in an organ that it's named for. Apart from ending up in an organ, each path governs its own part of the body, its own body tissue, your bones, muscles, opens to its own sense organs, like eyes, ears, is attached to its own emotion. So each organ is its own individual person that operates its own personality and affects the body in its own different way. At the same time they interact, so sometimes things get complex and you have to have learned the philosophy.

The actual insertion of needles can induce a variety of effects. As Psyche explains, "for every action there's another action, so to speak." However, the overall aim of acupuncture is to restore, enhance, or maintain balance; it is to create harmony of the chi and five elements. Thus, acupuncture serves many purposes. "There is no disease that it does not have an application," Psyche asserts. "No level of the body it does not touch."

Brad

Brad has been a Registered Massage Therapist (RMT) for approximately a year and a half. Always wanting to have a career in the health field, Brad decided to become a RMT because he did fairly well in anatomy and physiology at university and a close friend, who happened to be a RMT, suggested he think about it as a possible career. After some consideration, he decided to take a yearlong massage therapy course. He became certified and shortly thereafter set up practice. "I kinda stepped two feet on this path," he says, "and I've never really looked back since."

Brad describes his practice in a local health magazine as follows:

I like to take a fresh, new approach to my work by combining traditional massage therapy with the healing energy of Reiki. My goal is to promote self-awareness in my clients so they can bring balance and harmony to their body, mind, and spirit.

Traditional massage therapy, simply put, is the hands-on manipulation of soft tissue (i.e., muscles, tendons, fascia, and ligaments). And Reiki, as previously mentioned, is "spiritually guided life-force energy."

Brooke

Since 1998, Brooke has run her own private practice. At first Brooke worked out of her home. However, with time, she decided to move her practice outside the home.

Since the inception of her business Brooke has become accredited in several types of healing modalities. She is a registered Karuna®Reiki Master with the International Center for Reiki Training, a registered Reiki Master/Teacher with the Canadian Reiki Association, a certified Reflexologist with the Reflexology Association of Canada, a certified Advanced Practitioner of EMF Balancing Technique, a certified Therapeutic Touch Level III Practitioner, and a certified Cranio-Sacral Therapy Practitioner.

A treatment may consist of only one technique, or it may consist of a couple, or all of them. It depends on the situation, or condition of the patient. From this, Brooke assesses what would work best with the client.

Though Brooke is skilled in many techniques, and combines them into a wholistic practice, she nonetheless was selected for this research because she is a certified reflexologist. Reflexology entails the manipulation of tissue, whereas the other techniques Brooke practices do not. Hence, since manipulation of tissue is one of the set criteria, reflexology is the only manual technique that Brooke practices.

Since reflexology has already been defined it will not be repeated.

Data Collection

Interview Schedule

This thesis suggests that spiritual manual techniques are a form of contemporary magic because of data obtained though in-depth interviews with the fore-mentioned eight manual practitioners. The interviews were comprised of two parts. This format is based

on the suggestions of research specialist John W. Creswell (1994, pp. 70-71), as well as the work of Sociologist Jon P. Bloch (1998, p. 25). Creswell (1994) "recommend[s] that a researcher ask one or two grand tour questions followed by no more than five to seven subquestions" (p. 70). According to Creswell (1994), the grand tour question is "posed as a general issue so as to not limit the inquiry" (p. 70). Thus, after the participants were informed about the nature of this project and granted formal consent, they were asked to tell the story of how they became involved in the healing they engage in. This was the first part of the interview.

These narratives were not interrupted. When the interviewees explicitly demonstrated that they were finished telling their story they were probed for further clarification if needed. For example, if a practitioner stated the name of a technique throughout the narrative without clarifying exactly what the technique is, he or she was asked to make clear pertinent details regarding that technique. To further exemplify, these questions may have taken the form of, "How would you explain reflexology to a person who has never heard of it?"

Thus, in compliance with Creswell's suggestion, the interview schedule was comprised of the following seven questions:

- 1) What types of healing do you engage in?
- 2) In a single sentence try and describe what healing is.
- Do you feel that any of your clients have been healed? (If so, please describe what happened.)
- 4) Do you consider your healing techniques to have a spiritual dimension?

- 5) For what reasons or purposes do you think people seek your aid, and what percentage of those people are repeat visitors?
- 6) Do different kinds of problems/illness warrant different methods of healing? (If so, please explain why.)
- 7) What could a client expect in a typical session/treatment?

It was expected that the schedule would evolve and change during the interview process. For example, while telling a narrative the interviewee may have unknowingly answered some of these questions. If this occurred, the informant was not asked to cover the material again. The question was simply eliminated from the schedule. Alternately, if needed details were not provided, via the narrative or via the responses to the questions, further enquiry occurred in a follow-up discussion.

Approval

Before data collection began, the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) needed to approve the research methodology that was to be used. The application for ethics review for this project was submitted to the ICEHR and received full approval at the beginning of December 2004. Consequently, fieldwork began in Saskatchewan at the end of December, 2004.

Procedures

Once I arrived at the interview site and was ready to begin the research discussion, I provided the informant with an Information Sheet/Consent Form. After they had read the sheet, I asked if they had any questions regarding the study. If they did, I fielded those enquiries at that time. However, I was cautious not to discuss the research topic too much as I did not want to influence the informants' answers. Next, I provided the informants with a general overview of how the interview would unfold. This overview generally adhered to the following format:

I'd just like to run over how the interview will proceed. Once you are ready to begin I will turn on the tape recorder. My first question is quite broad and might take some time to answer so please don't feel rushed. The questions asks of you to tell 'your story' of how you became involved in healing, and what experiences/ circumstances brought you to the place you are at now in your practice. I will not interrupt this narrative. However, I will keep a pen and paper handy so that I am able to mark down certain words and phrases while you speak. The reason I might write these words is that they may trigger something I would like to return to once you are done telling 'your story.' For example, I may ask you to clarify a term that someone who is not familiar with your practice would not understand.

The second part of the interview consists of approximately seven questions. There may, however, be less questions depending on the content of your narrative. For

instance, you may answer question three inadvertently while you are telling 'your story.' If this happens I won't ask you question three then. I won't ask you to repeat yourself.

If the informant was still willing at this point to participate in the interview I requested that he or she sign the consent form. Once the participant had signed, I turned on a small hand held tape recorder.

The Design

The type of research design employed in this study is phenomenological. It utilizes "the principle of *epoché*" as well as "the methodological principle of the eidetic vision" (King, 1995, p. 101). Employing the principle of *epoché* means that I (the researcher) suspend all judgments. While searching for the essentials of the phenomena in question (i.e., the eidetic vision), I bracket any preconceived notions. Further, there is also, as Religious Studies professor Robert Crawford (2002) points out, a responsibility to "look...from the viewpoint of the people themselves" (p. 20). It is the practitioner's words, the interview excerpts, which are used to illustrate the phenomena—that is, any patterns, regularities, and relationships (Bloch, 1998, p. 26; Crawford, 2002, p. 20; Creswell, 1994, p. 12; King, 1995, p. 101). Moreover, the purpose of analyzing data for regularities and patterns is to "grasp a deeper meaning of ... phenomen[a]" (King, 1995, p. 101).

Assumptions and Rationale for a Qualitative Design

The mode of inquiry used in this research is based on certain assumptions of the qualitative research paradigm. To begin, the ontological assumption is that reality exists only as the informants experience it, understand it, and express it. This reality cannot be calculated objectively by quantitative measures. It must be explored and represented by collecting data that is subjective. This epistemological assumption is that the researcher must be somewhat immersed in and familiar with that which he or she is studying. The researcher must be engaged with the people and setting he or she wishes to explore. Another assumption of the qualitative research paradigm involves rhetoric. The language of this type of research is descriptive: meaning and understanding arise from the informants' words. What is more, because meaning and understanding arise from the informants' words the methodological assumption of this type of study is that the research is inductive. Definitions, concepts, and hypotheses are constructed a posteri.

The Researcher's Role

My responsibility as sole researcher for this project includes suspending judgment. It is not my role as researcher to determine if spiritual manual techniques really "work," but rather to elicit details of what alternative medicine practitioners "do," and why they themselves understand these techniques to work. Although my stance as researcher is value free, I nonetheless (like all researchers) have some preconceptions of

this area of study. Therefore, I am including a brief description of my familiarity with the techniques as well as the practitioners who administer them, so as to disclose any biases.

I am familiar with manual techniques but I am not a manual practitioner myself.

I am familiar with these techniques in a number of ways. I have knowledge of the topic. I have experienced a variety of treatments. As well, I am personally acquainted with a few of the manual practitioners.

One source of knowledge of this topic comes from taking workshops. I have learned about manual techniques by attending the following workshops: Reiki level one, at the Regina Reiki Centre; a reflexology course, facilitated by Will; and a workshop from Elaine on "Energy Healing."

My knowledge also comes from experience. For approximately eight years, I have continued to see the same reflexologist (Will), although not regularly. I have been to several massage therapists (both sport and relaxation), an aromatherapist, and two acupuncturists. Some of these experiences were isolated visits (i.e., I only went to that particular practitioner once) and some were regular.

I received many treatments from Will before the interview for this study took place. During these treatments Will and I had many discussions on a variety of topics. Sometimes we discussed personal things like relationships or health matters, and at other times we discussed books or pop culture. Thus, it is fair to say that Will and I knew each other quite well previous to the interview. I also knew Rachelle and Elaine previous to the interviews. I have received a few treatments from Rachelle before the interview. And, Elaine I knew via work. I worked at an adult education centre and she was one of the workshop facilitators.

My keen interest in the topic, my knowledge obtained from books as well as workshops, and my experience with treatments results in my being well-acquainted with this method of healing. As the sole researcher for this study, my familiarity with manual techniques has no doubt affected this exploration. However, based on the epistemological assumption for this mode of inquiry, my familiarity can be beneficial rather than detrimental.

To reiterate, the epistemological assumption of this research design is that the researcher must be somewhat immersed in and familiar with that which he or she is studying. The benefits of this familiarity are many. First and foremost, my familiarity enabled me contact with those who I sought to interview. Second, I was comfortable asking the practitioners (that I knew) for interviews and for referrals of other manual practitioners. Third, being familiar with this type of healing meant that I was somewhat at ease during the interview, which I think made for better discussion because the practitioners were presumably more comfortable than if I had been ill at ease. Further, my acquaintance with the topic enabled me to freely converse with the practitioners in their occupational rhetoric. Thus, I was able to ask questions that a researcher unfamiliar with the topic would not be able to.

CHAPTER TWO

The aim of this chapter is two fold. First, there is a review of the academic literature on the topic of magic that lead me to discover the parallels between the interviews and magic. Second, from this review a theoretical model of magic will be formulated.

Review of the Literature

Classics

There are a number of classic academic sources that can be drawn upon in any discussion of magic. These include the studies of Frazer (1922/1994), Durkheim (1912/1995), Malinowski (1954), Mauss (1950/1972), and Weber (1922/1964).

Frazer

Sir James G. Frazer's (1922/1994) *The Golden Bough* is often a point of departure in academic discussions of magic. In this seminal text, Frazer writes about an ancient Grecian ritual, analyzing it in terms of the primitive mind. He does this for two reasons: to develop a model of magical thought and to support his theory of cultural evolution. Frazer's theory of magic is primarily psychological. That is, even though he provides

many examples of the practice of magic, he nonetheless focuses on magic as a form of thought. Further, his theory of evolution states that humanity evolves from a magical way of thinking to a religious way of thinking, and then finally to a scientific way of thinking as represented by modern western civilization.

Frazer's work draws heavily on the ideas of Edward Taylor (1871/1958), which are presented in *Primitive Culture*. Specifically, he uses two of Taylor's theories. The first notion is called the association of ideas. Taylor puts forth the theory that the magical worldview belongs to the primitive mind. And the primitive mind "associate[s] in thought those things which he f[i]nds by experience to be connected in fact, [and] proceed[s] erroneously to invert this action, and to conclude that association in thought must involve similar connection in reality" (Taylor, 1871/1958, p. 116). The second idea is that of survivals. Taylor suggests that magic is an archetypal religion. Hence, examples of magic are interpreted as the last remnants of an extinct religion.

Frazer (1922/1994), drawing on the association of ideas, is well known for his model of magic called sympathetic thought, in which he proposes that there are two main cultural understandings of how magic works. The first model he calls homeopathic. The homeopathic model, or the law of similarity, is based on the principle of "like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause" (Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 26). An illustration of this is a voodoo doll, where the magician performs a course of action on a model of an intended individual, and what the magician does is mysteriously transmitted to the selected person. The primitive mind, says Frazer (1922/1994), does not doubt that the action produces effects at a distance (p. 35). He/she simply knows that it works by means of an "invisible ether" (Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 27). Further, neither does the primitive

mind pontificate on the efficacy of magic. That is, "[s/]he never analyses the mental processes on which his practice is based, never reflects on the abstract principles involved in his[/her] actions" (Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 26).

According to Frazer (1922/1994), one main use of "homeopathic magic is to heal or prevent sickness" (p. 29). An example is that the Hindus of long ago used homeopathic magic to cure jaundice. They would "banish the yellow colour to yellow creatures and yellow things" (Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 29). Although Frazer (1922/1994) questions the efficacy of such magic he nonetheless comments that "[o]ne of the great merits of homeopathic magic is that it enables the cure to be performed on the person of the doctor instead of on that of his victim, who is thus relieved of all trouble and inconvenience" (p. 30).

The second model, according to Frazer (1922/1994), is called contagious magic. Contagious magic is based on the law of contact, which "proceeds upon the notion that things which have once been conjoined must remain ever afterwards" (Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 37). For Frazer, an illustration of this is the array of rituals involving bodily trimmings. For example, one may work his or her will on another by using that person's nail or hair clippings. The idea is that, "whatever is done to the one must similarly affect the other" (Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 37).

Frazer (1922/1994) is also well known for his theory of cultural evolution. He claims that there are three different stages of human thought. The first is magical, the second is religious, and the last is scientific. He maintains that humans are evolving through these modes of thought and that once they have progressed from one stage to another, say from religion to science, they will never return to the former frame of mind,

except in the case of a "relapse." It should be noted that the transition from one stage to another is not instantaneous. Rather it is gradual. Therefore, as Frazer points out, there may be overlap between the modes of thought. For example, in ancient times the priest was also the magician.

Frazer (1922/1994) is renowned for calling magic a "pseudo-science." For him, magic and science are akin in that both operate from a similar paradigm; the main assertion of this paradigm is that the universe runs according to a set pattern:

Wherever sympathetic magic occurs in its pure unadulterated form, it assumes that in nature one event follows another necessarily and invariably without the intervention of any spiritual or personal agency. Thus its fundamental conception is identical with that of modern science; underlying the whole system is a faith, implicit but real and firm, in the order and uniformity of nature. (Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 45).

According to Frazer (1922/1994), from this viewpoint the magician sets about to not only understand the workings of nature, but to work the laws of nature to his or her advantage; for the magician and scientist "the operation of [the universe] can be foreseen and calculated precisely" (p. 45). And it is from these calculations, (i.e., "know[ing] the causes of things") that the magician acquires his/her power. As Frazer (1922/1994) puts it, the magician "can touch the secret springs that set in motion the vast and intricate

⁹ Frazer (1922/1994) is also well known for calling magic the "bastard sister of science." He makes this pejorative claim because he believes magic is fundamentally flawed: "The fatal flaw of magic lies not in its general assumption of a sequence of events determined by laws, but in its total misconception of the nature of the particular laws which govern that sequence" (Frazer, 1922/1994, pp. 45-46).

mechanism of the world...so long as he[/she] strictly conforms to the rules of his[/her] art, or what may be called the laws of nature as conceived by him[/her] " (p. 45).

This understanding of natural law, "that the same causes will always produce the same effects" (Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 45), is not applicable to religion, says Frazer, because in religion the world is thought to be controlled by "superior powers." In religion, one believes that "superior powers ... direct and control the course of nature and of human life" (Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 46). What is more, in religion one tries to please and supplicate these superior powers in "an attempt to win their favour" (Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 47).

These two opposing views of how the world operates are what distinguish magic from religion, says Frazer (1922/1994). That is, magic understands the forces behind the universe to be "unconscious and impersonal." Further, they are "rigid and invariable in their operation." By contrast, religion considers the forces behind the universe to be "conscious and personal." What is more, they bear some element of "elasticity or variability." Thus, they are subject to persuasion (Frazer, 1922/1994, p.47).

Although magic relies on the determined mechanics of the universe, this does not mean it abandons the sacred. On the contrary, says Frazer. Magic relies on the same sacred power that religion does (Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 50). The difference is that the former manipulates that power whereas the latter tries to persuade it. "It is this distinction" says a contemporary of Frazer, "between direct control on the one hand and propitiation of superior powers on the other that ... Frazer sees as the difference between religion and magic" (Malinowski, 1954, p. 19).

Therefore, the idea in magic is that there is a sacred power that runs all the mechanics of the universe. It is automatic and involuntary, yet nonetheless powerful and controlling. Using the words of Codrington, who studied Melanesian culture, Frazer (1922/1994) asserts that this sacred power is *mana* (p. 49). It is an "invisible power which is believed by the natives to cause all...effects" (Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 49). Or as Robert Fraser describes in the introduction to the *The Golden Bough*, the sacred in Frazer's writings is "a rather abstract notion of energy as an immanent force like electricity that somehow informs the universe and binds it together" (Frazer, 1922/1994, p. xxiii). Still describing the Melanesian concept of *mana* Frazer (1922/1994) continues:

[T]his ...is the active force in all they do and believe to be done in magic, white or black. By means of this men are able to control or direct the forces of nature, to make rain or sunshine, wind or calm, to cause sickness or remove it. (p. 50).

Worthy of mention is that *mana* is not a concept exclusive to Melanesians. Frazer explores this concept of a magical sacred force in other cultures as well. For the most part, he looks as this concept as it exists in indigenous cultures—for instance, Inuit. And while it may have different names in other cultures Frazer nonetheless utilizes the term *mana* to homogenously reference this concept throughout his writings.

Emile Durkheim (1912/1995) touches upon magic in the *The Elementary Forms* of Religious Life. Although his focus is on religion, Durkheim nonetheless references magic, since he considers it to be on the periphery of religion. Durkheim says religion and magic are akin because they both relate to the same sacred source. However, like Frazer, he also considers them to be vastly different. Durkheim's main hypothesis regarding this difference is that magic functions to meets individual needs, whereas the function of religion is social. That is, the religious are organized into a moral community that operates publicly, whereas in magic the practitioners operate independently.

Durkheim (1912/1995) has two names for the sacred, as manifested in magic: *mana* and the totemic principle. In Durkheim's eyes, *mana* and the totemic principle are the same thing. Yet, "*mana*" he says, "is only slightly different" (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 193). The difference between the two, according to Durkheim (1912/1995), is that *mana* is more dispersed. It is diffused throughout the whole universe, whereas the totemic principle is limited to certain "circles of creature" (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 197).

Drawing primarily on Melanesian culture, Durkheim (1912/1995) describes the sacred, as manifested in magic, primarily as *mana*. But, he, like Frazer, highlights other indigenous cultures that have a similar understanding of the sacred. Durkheim says that *mana*, or the sacred in magic, is a fluid-like energy comparable to electricity, which pervades all existence, although not necessarily in equal quantities (pp.190-192). It is a life force "inherent in all bodies and things" (p. 205). It is ubiquitous, yet "has no definite location" (p. 197). It is without history, is nameless, and invisible (pp. 191, 195). Yet,

despite mana's elusive, mysterious "quasi-divine" quality, it nonetheless is tangible, asserts Durkheim (p. 191). "[T]he Australian does not conceive of this impersonal force abstractly," he remarks (p. 191). Rather, s/he thinks of it "in the form of a material thing" (p. 191). Thus, Durkheim concludes by saying, "[w]hen I speak of these principles as forces, I do not use the word in a metaphorical sense, they behave like real forces... that bring about physical effects mechanically" (p. 192).

Durkheim clarifies that the sacred is not only responsible for that which is considered unexpected, miraculous, or anomalous. "Mana is a good deal broader than that," he says (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 206). It is responsible for the mundane as well. Therefore, it is considered both natural and sacred, both profane and .

Durkheim maintains that religion and magic are very much alike, to the degree that, "it is impossible to separate them and define the one without the other" (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 40). They both draw on the same sacred forces (p. 40). Plus, they both are made up "beliefs and rites" (p. 39). The demarcation, however, is that religion is social, whereas magic is not. Durkheim (1912/1995) asserts that

Religious beliefs proper are always shared by a definite group that professes them and that practices the corresponding rites. Not only are they individually accepted by all members of that group, but they also belong to the group and unify it.

The individuals who comprise the group feel joined to one another by the fact of common faith. A society whose members are united because they imagine the world and its relations with the profane world in the same way, and because they translate this common representation into identical practices, is what is called a

Church. In history we do not find religion without Church wherever we observe religious life, it has a definite group as its basis. (p. 41).

"Magic," on the other hand, declares Durkheim (1912/1995), "is an entirely different matter" (p. 42). While magical beliefs may be common, to the point that they may outnumber religious beliefs, they nonetheless "do not bind men who believe in them to one another and unite them into the same group" (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 42). Thus, as Durkheim (1912/1995) maintains, "There is no Church of magic" (p. 42).

Durkheim (1912/1995) highlights the difference between magic and religion by examining the objectives and operations of the agents of each. In terms of magic, he draws attention to the fact that

Between the magician and the individuals who consult him, there are no durable ties that make them members of a single moral body ... The magician has a clientele, not a Church, and his clients may have no mutual relations, and may even be unknown to one another. Indeed, the relations they have with him are analogous...to those of a sick man with his doctor. (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 42).

Next, to further illustrate his point, Durkheim (1912/1995) contrasts the relationship between magicians to that between priests. He reports,

It is true that, in certain cases, magicians form a society among themselves. They meet more or less periodically ... But, ... [these meetings] are rare and rather

exceptional. To practice his art, the magician has no need whatever to congregate with his peers. He is more often a loner. Furthermore, and above all, when magic societies of this sort are formed, they never encompass all the adherents of magic. Far from it. They encompass only the magicians. Excluded from them are the laity, as it were—that is, those for whose benefit the rites are conducted. (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 42).

Lastly, Durkheim (1912/1995) agrees with Frazer's observances regarding the magician pontificating magical efficacy. He declares that, "given its pursuit of technical and utilitarian ends, magic does not waste time in pure speculation" (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 40). However, Durkheim (1912/1995) disagrees with Frazer's theory of evolution: "Rather than seeing magical action as rudimentary science unrelated to religion, Durkheim argues that it is essential to understand magic as derived from religion" (as cited in Styers, 2004, p. 93).

Weber

Max Weber (1922/1964) in *The Sociology of Religion* compares various aspects of religion throughout history, primarily in terms of their relation to power. While the focus of this text is on religion and social change, Weber nonetheless discusses magic since he, like Frazer, considers it to be the origin of religion.

To begin, Weber (1922/1964), like other scholars, struggles to create a definitive demarcation between religion and magic. Both deal with the sacred, and both can be

found in similar situations. But Weber, once again like other scholars, such as Frazer, Durkheim, and Mauss, feels the distinction resides in how the sacred is approached and related to. Much like Durkheim, Weber (1922/1964) feels that in religion the sacred is approached as a group, as a community, or as a *cultus*, whereas in magic, one approaches the sacred individually, privately, and for immediate concerns. Talcott Parsons, in the introduction to *The Sociology of Religion*, further summarizes Weber's sentiments regarding the distinction by stating,

... magical forces can be "forced"... to serve human needs by the magician's correct use of formulae, while religious agents must be "worshipped" or solicited. Religious forces are conceived to have an independent capacity to guide human destiny which the magical forces do not. (Weber, 1922/1964, p. xxx).

Weber (1922/1964) claims that the main distinction between magic and religion involves the agents of each. Thus, he emphasizes the difference between magic and religion by examining the magician and the priest. The priest, as Weber (1922/1964) describes, is associated with "some type of social organization" (p. 28). Specifically, it is a term that "may be applied to the functionaries of a regularly organized and permanent enterprise concerned with influencing the gods, in contrast with the individual and occasional efforts of the magician" (Weber, 1922/1964, p. 28). The magician, on the other hand, according to Weber (1922/1964), is typically "self-employed" (p. 29). Further, "the magician ... exercises his craft independently, or if a member of a guild,

serves a particular neighborhood or political group, not a specific religious congregation" (Weber, 1922/1964, p. 61).

Malinowski

Bronsilaw Malinowski (1954) is another key scholar worth noting in a discussion of magic. In *Magic, Science and Religion*, Malinowski (1954), discusses these three topics in terms of primitive man. He stipulates that magic is similar to religion, for the reason that they both deal with the sacred, and therefore belong in the realm of the . What is more, Malinowski (1954) maintains that magic is akin to science because both develop and rely on a special technique. Malinowski (1954) argues that magical thinking is a type of logic in its own right, while at the same time supplementing science. His theory is based on the premise that magical thinking, where present, fulfils the function of satisfying certain human requirements; it provides psychological support and motivation for those activities where craftsmanship and skill are not enough to guarantee success. To be even more precise, magic, and particularly the magical rite, offers an opportunity for much needed emotional expression. In this sense, magic is a practical activity, while at the same time offering a rationale for the unexpected.

Malinowski (1954) illustrates magic as a practical activity as well as a rationale for the unexpected in a description of Melanesian gardening (pp. 28-29). Melanesians garden with the precision of science. They have extensive knowledge of soil, weather, and seed, as well as of the consequences of their combination (Malinowski, 1954, p. 29). Further, they can foresee the outcomes of such things as heavy rains, or a season of

strong wind. And they alter their labour to accommodate these natural conditions. But the Melanesians are also cognizant of unforeseen outcomes or unexpected events such as "ill luck and bad chance" (Malinowski, 1954, p. 29). For these scenarios, Malinowski (1954) reports that the Melanesians resort to magic. They still acknowledge that these events arise from natural law, but because they are an anomaly they try to manipulate the invisible force that produced them and redirect it into its natural, determined (or beneficial) course.

This logic, according to Malinowski, applies to other Melanesian activities such as fishing, hunting, even warfare. "[I]n warfare," for example, "the natives know that strength, courage, and agility play a decisive part [y]et ... they practice magic to master the elements of chance and luck" (Malinowski, 1954, p. 31). Of all activities though, Malinowski (1954) reports,

Nowhere is the duality of natural and sacred causes divided by a line so thin and intricate, yet, if carefully followed up, so well marked, decisive, and instructive, as in the two most fateful forces of human destiny: health and death. Health to the Melanesians is a natural state of affairs and, unless tampered with, the human body will remain in perfect order. But the natives know perfectly well that there are natural means which can affect health and even destroy the body. (p. 31).

According to Malinowski (1954), the primary goal of a magical rite is to express emotion. A key feature of this theory is Malinowski's (1954) insistence that magic arose from actual experience, "not born of an abstract conception of a universal power,

subsequently applied to concrete cases" (p. 78). As Malinowski (1954) describes, every magical rite and spell is born of a person's response to a challenging situation (pp. 79-82). For instance, "the healthy person suddenly feels his strength failing" (Malinowski, 1954, p. 79). These stressful situations drive one into some act of desperation. The afflicted person is catapulted into new thought or has an instantaneous emotional reaction. Or s/he is so focused on a desired end, which is unattainable with his or her everyday knowledge, that s/he is elevated to a different state of being. In this new state the person acts and responds spontaneously, drawing on intuitive, emotional modes of being. It is in this spontaneous reaction that one evokes magic. For once the mood has passed they may find that their incantations, activities, or feelings bring about change in the known reality. Further, it is from these mysterious transformations that, Malinowski (1954) says, the magical rite or spell is born.

Malinowski (1954) follows Frazer's footsteps and calls magic a "rudimentary science" (p. 34). Further, he agrees with Frazer's assertion that "the analogy between the magical and scientific conception of the world is close" (Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 45). Yet, in contrast to Frazer, Malinowski (1954) claims that the similarity between magic and science is more so that "[b]oth science and magic develop a special technique" (p. 86). According to Malinowski (1954), "[t]he magic art is... governed by a theory, by a system of principles which dictate the manner in which the act has to be performed in order to be effective" (p. 86). Yet, magic differs from science in that it involves the sacred. And this differentiation makes it more analogous to religion.

Magic and religion can be distinguished, Malinowski (1954) says, by examining the rites of each. Echoing Durkheim's sentiments, he maintains that the religious rite is a

social affair whereas magic is a private endeavour (Malinowski, 1954, p. 54). Moreover, the primary demarcation is that the religious rite "has no purpose: it is not a means to an end but an end in itself...[t]here is no future event which this ceremony foreshadows, which it is meant to bring about or to prevent" (Malinowski, 1954, p. 38). Alternately, the magical rite is "carried out as a means to an end, it has a definite practical purpose which is known to all" (Malinowski, 1954, p. 37).

Malinowski (1954) differs from the fore-mentioned classic scholars in that he vehemently opposes "theories which lay *mana* and their similar conceptions at the basis of magic" (p. 76). He insists that scholars who promulgate this opinion "are pointing in altogether the wrong direction" (Malinowski, 1954, p. 76). In terms of the sacred, Malinowski (1954) challenges the notion that *mana* exists everywhere, "flowing where it will or it is willed to" (p. 70). In contrast, he states that the force of magic resides within a person. Moreover, it is evoked and put to work by a circumscribed technique different than what is found in the mechanics of nature (i.e., rite and spell). "Magic," for Malinowski (1954), "is the one and only specific power, a force unique of its kind, residing exclusively in man, let loose only by his magical art" (p. 76). In fact, Malinowski (1954) proposes that the human body "is the receptacle of magic and the channels of its flow" (p. 76). He explains,

Thus, not only is magic an essentially human possession, but it is literally and actually enshrined in man and can be handed on only from man to man, according to very strict rules of magical filiation, initiation, and instruction. It is thus never conceived as a force of nature, residing in things, acting independently of man, to

be found out and learned by him, by any of those proceedings by which he gains his ordinary knowledge of nature. (Malinowski, 1954, p. 76).

Further, Malinowksi (1954) refutes the claim that magic is the study and application of natural laws. "Magic...[is] not derived from an observation of nature," he asserts. Rather, it is "man's autonomous power of creating a desired end" (Malinowski, 1954, p. 76).

Mauss

In A General Theory of Magic (1950/1972), Marcel Mauss, aiming to create an overall definition of magic, organizes it into three categories: the performer, actions, and representations. The performers are the magicians, the actions are the magical rites, and representations include magical beliefs and ideas.

Parallel with Durkheim, Mauss (1950/1972) distinguishes magical rites by comparing them with religious rites. Finding them extremely similar (mostly because of their involvement with the sacred), Mauss (1950/1972) maintains, as does Durkheim, that the difference between the two is that religious rites are social, public, and obligatory, whereas magical rites are private and individualistic (Mauss, 1950/1972, pp. 9, 21). "A magical rite is *any rite which does not play a part in organized cultus*," Mauss (1950/1972) affirms (p. 24).

Moreover, similar to Malinowski, Mauss (1950/1972) claims that magical rites are akin to science in their use of techniques. However, he differs from Malinowski in that he argues the similarity between magic and science cannot be limited to their use of

technique. Although "[magic] resembles non-religious techniques in its practical aspects," he observes, "it is very different from techniques when we consider special agencies" (ex. mana) (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 86). Namely, magic differs from science primarily because it involves the sacred, and in this regard, it is more like a religion.

Magical rites, according to Mauss (1950/1972), bear certain characteristics. One such feature involves location. Unlike religious rites, which are typically performed "inside a temple or at a domestic shrine ... in full public view," "[m]agical rites are commonly performed ... in the secret recesses of a house or at any rate in some out-of-the-way place" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 23). In fact, Mauss (1950/1972) reports that even if a magical rite is performed in public, the magician disguises his/her gestures and whispers his/her words (p. 23). Thus, for Mauss (1950/1972), "[i]solation and secrecy are two almost perfect signs of the ... magical rite" (p. 23).

According to Mauss (1950/1972), magical ritual is like other forms of ritual in that it "is a kind of language; it therefore translates ideas" (p. 60). The overriding idea of magic, he continues, is that there is "a change of state" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 61). "[M]agic is the art of changing," he says (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 61). This transformation takes the shape of one of two possible modifications. A person is either "placed into a state so that certain movements, accidents or phenomena will inevitably occur, or they are brought out of a dangerous state" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 61). The reason for such transformation, as Mauss (1950/1972) points out, is that "cause and effect become confused" (p. 63). They amalgamate, which means that "[b]etween a wish and its fuffillment, there is, in magic, no gap" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 63). There is only the "the idea of direct creation" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 63).

Mauss' (1950/1972) third category of magic involves magic thinking. Magical beliefs and ideas, according to Mauss, can be represented in three ways. The first two ways, "or laws of magic," are analogous to Frazer's theory of sympathetic magic. But to these, Mauss adds a third idea. He maintains that in addition to the law of similarity and contiguity there is a law of antipathy: "opposites work on opposites" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 64).

Before adding a third representation to Frazer's model of sympathetic thought

Mauss (1950/1972) elaborates on the existing model of the association of ideas. He

begins his examination with the law of contiguity. According to Mauss (1950/1972), the

law of contiguity is based on "the identification of a part with the whole" (p. 64). In one
regard, this means that "[t]he part stands for the complete object." For example, bodily
trimmings, "represent a total person" in such a way that "through these parts one can act
directly on the individual concerned." Conversely, "[t]he same law may be expressed in
another way: the personality of a being is indivisible, residing as a whole in each one of
its parts." To further illustrate, Mauss (1950/1972) provides the following axiom: "every
flame contains fire" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 64).

The other important concept in the law of contiguity, explains Mauss (1950/1972), involves contagion. Not only does the part represent the whole, and vice versa, but whatever comes in contact with the part is thus permanently linked with the part, and thereby the whole. "As a result," Mauss (1950/1972) observes, "we find that both individuals and objects are theoretically linked to a seemingly limitless number of sympathetic associations" (p. 64). All these connections form a web of sorts; "a perfectly linked chain," as Mauss (1950/1972) puts it (p. 65). And the magician transfers

properties, or creates a change of state, via these links. Sometimes the transfer is invisible, as in the case of transferring sentiments and ideas. But the transfer may also be visible, declares Mauss. For instance, in one example of curing Mauss (1950/1972) points out that one "can really see the illness leaving the person" (p. 66).

But, Mauss (1950/1972) asks, surely contagious magic is "not merely a matter of spreading a quality or state from an object or person to another?" (p. 66). If magic is that straightforward, how is the magical influence contained along one link? Would not the magic spread haphazardly throughout the web? If this were so, "magic would be impossible," he declares (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 66).

Mauss (1950/1972) observes that "the effects of sympathetic magic are always limited to the effects desired" (p. 67). For example, "when the magician absorbs his client's illness he himself does not become ill" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 67). This is so for one of two reasons, he says. The transmission is interrupted at certain points along the link. Or only a certain amount of transference is allowed. Consequently, the overall determining factor in controlling and localizing magical properties is "intent" (Maus, 1972, 68). That is, "[c]ontagion is limited to those properties which the magician detaches and abstracts from the whole" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 67).

In terms of the law of similarity Mauss agrees with Frazer's assertion that there are two facets to this law: like produces like and like acts upon like. In brief, Mauss (1950/1972) maintains that the law of similarity is basically the same as law of contiguity (as laid out above). "A simple object...is able to represent the whole," (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 68) and the commonality between the two is the abstract notion of a connection, or link, along which a transmission may occur.

To these representations, Mauss (1950/1972) adds the law of opposition.

According to Mauss (1950/1972), the law of opposition ("like drives out like to produce the opposite" or "like evokes like to drive away the opposite") is the flip side of the law of similarity. Namely, similarity does not exist without opposition, and vice versa.

However, even though they are based on analogous principles, the law of opposition "has always existed separately in the minds of magicians" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 71). The law of "antipathy" is exemplified in rituals where "water produces the absence of dropsy" or "when rain [is produced] by pouring water on the ground, [thereby] causing the disappearance of drought" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 71).

These three schemes represent magical thinking, says Mauss (1950/1972). They make up a triad model in which magical thought can be situated and understood. The laws are very parallel, yet they are nonetheless distinct. In summary, he explains,

They differ only in the ordering of their elements. In the first case, we think primarily of the absence of a state; in the second, we are dealing first with the presence of a state; in the third, we are dealing with the presence of a state opposite to that which is desired. (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 72).

In addition to magical thinking, Mauss (1950/1972) discusses concrete representation of magic. He does this for the reason that "magical thinking cannot...thrive on abstraction" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 75). It requires a material element as well. This aspect, according Mauss (1950/1972), can be labelled the "properties or qualities" of magic (p. 75). That is, some property is transferred or diffused in the

magical rite. For example, "[a] child who does not speak receives the talkativeness of a parrot; a person with a toothache is given the hardness of rodents' teeth" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 75).

Mauss (1950/1972) initiates a discussion of concrete representations of magic by saying that "this idea of properties is both a very clear one and very obscure one at the same time" (p. 75). In some instances of magic, the idea of a magical property is clear because the direction of causality is linear. There is similarity. And there is logic. An example offered earlier, when looking at Frazer, is the Hindu practice of banishing jaundice with the parallel property of yellow.

Mauss (1950/1972) declares that most magicians rely on knowledge that comes from a "magical system [that] has necessarily set up categories of plants, minerals, animals, parts of the body, dividing them into groups which do or do not have special or experimental properties" (p. 77). That is, most magical knowledge is based on an extensive system of classification where various materials have "been sorted into a multitude of categories, based on their sympathetic relations" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 77). For instance, various plants and minerals may be codified according to their correspondence to a planet (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 78).

On the other hand, Mauss (1950/1972) reports, the idea of a magical property is obscure because the magician does not necessarily, and/or consciously, know the how's and why's of the magical transmission. True, the magician may have an overall outcome in mind but how that outcome is achieved is for the most part unknown by the magician. In fact, Mauss (1950/1972) comments, "magicians on the whole have shown no

inclination to speculate on the nature of this sympathy" (p. 51). Mauss (1950/1972) further explains:

In magic and religion the individual does not reason, or if he does his reasoning is unconscious. Just as he has no need to reflect on the structure of his rite in order to practise it, or to understand the nature of his prayer and sacrifice, so he has no need to justify his ritual logically, nor does he worry about the whys and wherefores of the properties he employs, caring very little to justify in a rational manner the choice and use of his materials. We are sometimes able to retrace the secret pathway of his ideas, but he himself is usually incapable of it. In his mind he has only the vaguest idea of a possible action, for which tradition furnished him with a ready-made means, yet he has an extraordinarily precise idea of the end he wishes to achieve. (p. 75).

The efficacy of a magical rite is often attributed to a mysterious element. This element is explained, by Mauss (1950/1972), as *mana*. Like other scholars, Mauss (1950/1972) finds *mana* a difficult notion to grasp: "It is obscure and vague, yet the use to which it is put is curiously definite. It is abstract and general, yet quite concrete" (p. 109). Though elusive, Mauss (1950/1972) nonetheless defines *mana* as being "an action, a quality, a state" (p. 108). As a quality, *mana* is understood as being "powerful," "heavy," or "hot" (Mauss, 1950/1972, pp. 109, 111). As an action, it is understood as "an impersonal force," and as a state it is taken to be a thing that is "transmissible, contagious" (Mauss, 1950/1972, pp. 109-110).

Drawing on examples from Melanesian culture, Mauss (1950/1972) continues to explain the power of magic (mana), as an "an extraneous substance [that] is invisible, marvellous, spiritual" (p. 111). He, using the words of Codrington, explains that, "mana is both sacred and natural, since it is spread throughout the tangible world where it is both heterogeneous and ever immanent (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 111). Mauss (1950/1972) also says the idea of mana is found in other cultures. For instance, he finds it comparable to the Iroquois notion of orenda, the Algonquin concept of Manitou, and the Shoshone idea pokunt, to name but a few (Mauss, 1950/1972, pp. 113-115). Because of its cultural pervasiveness Mauss (1950/1972) decides that,

From the foregoing, we feel justified in concluding that a concept, encompassing the idea of magical power, was once found everywhere. It involves the notion of automatic efficacy. At the same time as being a material substance which can be localized, it is also spiritual. It works at a distance and also through a direct connexion, if not by contact. It is mobile and fluid without having to stir itself. It is impersonal and at the same time clothed in personal forms. It is divisible yet whole. (p. 117).

A final point, worthy of mention, is Mauss'(1972) suggestion that magic fulfills a unique function in society. That special function is that it mitigates the tension between religion and science, thereby offering a balance between the two.

Contemporary Scholars

These are some of the classic academic writings on magic. There are others of course. But, taken together these scholars' writing encapsulates the major trends in academia regarding the study of magic, running from the beginning of the century until the late 1960's –70's.

These early scholars of magic left a distinct legacy of theories. Pyysiäinen (2004) succinctly summarizes this inheritance when he says, "[e]arly anthropologists presented two basically different views of magic, considering it either as a mode of thinking and an attitude toward reality or as a form of social practice" (p. 91). Moreover, this legacy is highly contextualized. These early scholars privileged a Western/Christian worldview (regardless of whether they themselves were Christian). Strung throughout these theories are categorizations of magic that more or less implicitly depend on understanding of Christianity as a highly evolved ethical religion while magic is what less organized and more self-interested primitives do. These presuppositions should be critiqued more fully in terms of postcolonial theory, but this will not be done here. A theoretical construction of magic is created using the work of these classical theorists without much reference to the context from which they came.

What follows is a summary of recent scholarly discussions of magic. These include the studies of Glucklich (1997), Pyysiäinen (2004), Styers (2004), Tambiah (1990), Hanegraaff (2003), Schibrack (2004), and Greenwood (2000).

Ariel Glucklich (1997), in the book *The End of Magic*, argues that there is nothing inherently sacred about magic. It is, for her, a natural, yet extraordinary, experience, which cannot be defined, only described. She claims that magic is a universal phenomenon. It is a state of consciousness that can be experienced by all people, regardless of time or culture. This state of consciousness, called the "magical experience," has always been ignored by academia, she says. Hence, she places it in the spotlight, using specific examples of modern magic from Banares, India.

Glucklich (1997) believes that most theories of magic "explain magic away" (p.

19). They simply do not capture the subjective experience, the most important item of study. She substantiates this conviction by surveying existing theories of magic, applying them to various instances of modern Indian magic.

Although Glucklich (1997) finds fault with most theories, she does however speak well of Malinowski's work. According to Glucklich (1997), Malinowski provides the "proper framework in which to evaluate the effectiveness of magic" (p. 47). He focuses on the subjective experience as well as the significance of expressed emotion in ritual magic. Glucklich (1997) affirms Malinowski's assertion that the point of a magical rite is not to achieve a desired end (even though one may be in sight). Rather, the point of a magical rite, she says, is to engage in "a cathartic experience" (Glucklich, 1997, p. 46). Specifically, Glucklich (1997) points out Malinowski's assertion "that the emotional expression of the ritual act connect[s] it to its end because the rite itself does not fully enact the [end]" (p. 46). "Magic rituals play out the emotions... but no more;" she says

(Glucklich, 1997, p. 46). Therefore, "their effectiveness remains subjective" (Glucklich, 1997, p. 46).

Glucklick (1997) looks at theories of magic that are outside the humanities and social sciences as well, such as new "medical and physical research" to see whether these areas of investigation, once again, "explain magic, or explain it away" (p. 65). Old science, according to Gluchlick (1997), is definitely unable to capture the experience of magic, for the reason that its rules of causality are based on dualism and objectivity. But new science, according to Glucklich (1997), is somewhat capable of capturing the magical experience, for the reason that new science (for example the Gaia hypothesis and quantum healing theory) is based on a totally different paradigm. The new model is founded on a paradigm of holism; the universe is taken to be intricately inter-related, all things interpenetrating.

Although Glucklick (1997) extrapolates on various types of magic, she focuses on what she considers the most employed type of magic: healing. She identifies what elements make healing magical. To begin, Glucklich (1997) insists that "[a]ll magical healing tries to ... restore[] wholeness ... in the consciousness of the main participants" (p. 96). Magical healing has this aim, she informs, because illness ruptures the perception of harmony (Glucklich, 1997, p. 95). Illness splits a person in such a way that they no longer have an ecological perspective. Conversely, "healing restores the perception of harmony" by "produc[ing] ... relational consciousness" (Glucklich, 1997, pp. 95-96).

According to Glucklick (1997), relational consciousness is created via "a direct relationship with the patient" (p. 95). "This ... feature," affirms Glucklich (1997), "sets magical healing apart from standard forms of medical practice" (p. 95). Further, the best

means of creating this direct relationship is by "enter[ing] a relationship based on immediate sensory interaction, even intimacy... Touch, sound, smell, and sight are the most important elements in bonding this relationship" (Glucklich, 1997, p. 95).

This bond, according to Glucklich (1997), instils/evokes, in the participants, a perception of harmony and inter-relatedness, which as previously mentioned is the "magical experience." Further, of all the ways to create this bond, touch is the most effective. "Touch," says Glucklich (1997), "is the most immediate and effective instrument of magical empathy" (p. 229). In fact, "[i]t is touch, above every other aspect of the ritual, that creates a healing relationship between patient and healer" (Glucklich, 1997, p. 231).

Since the magical experience is intimately linked with the senses, Glucklich (1997) spends some time discussing the mechanics of the sensory system, and does so from a cognitive, neurological point of view. She does this in order to drive home the point that "the function of the senses determines the nature of magic to a large extent" (Glucklich, 1997, p. 102). Further, she adds that ritual activity, such as that which is found in magic (i.e., drumming, chanting, singing, dancing, etc.), affects the senses in such a way that one forgets the self, thereby achieving a sense of wholeness. Specifically, "the socially constructed self" dissolves, which results in the self no longer being considered as separate from the world (Glucklich, 1997, p. 102). Ritual activity is not "meant to produce ecstatic state of mystical visions," Glucklich declares (p. 108). It is meant to "weaken the intellectual state and cultural constraints on the spontaneous experience of events" (Glucklich, 1997, p. 108).

Ritual activity, according to Glucklich (1997), is one of four conditions of magic (p. 112). Though "easily overlooked," it is essential to the magical experience: "A program or ritual must exist: Because the reason for magic is a break or a disharmony in the web of relations, prescripted methods for repair are followed" (Glucklich, 1997, p. 112).

Glucklich's (1997) sentiments regarding ritual magic are reminiscent of Durkheim's. She compares religious ritual with magical ritual in order to establish the uniqueness of both. Similar to Durkheim, Glucklich maintains that that the distinction between the two is slight. "Magical rituals [like religious rituals] ...use patterns of bodily gestures and manipulations, which are deeply moving," she says, but, "while the religious ritual expresses public truth by means of the body, the magical procedure is the grammar of sense experience" (Glucklick, 1997, pp. 113-114). She continues:

For instance, the body in religious rituals is a public body: Participants enter states of embodiment that are meaningful in a communal sense above and beyond the simple sensory event. ...Magical rituals, in contrast, are more likely to be private and intimate. Their power derives not from the social definition of a gesture but from the sensations and perceptions it evokes. (Glucklich, 1997, pp. 113-114).

Lastly, Glucklich (1997) argues that magic is declining in the modern world because the senses are no longer relied on in the same manner they used to be and people no longer engage in relationships they way they used to. Because "[t]he magical experience...depends on both the awareness of inter-connectedness and an actual

intimacy with an ecology," the decline of magic, she says, can be accredited to a loss of these conditions (Glucklich, 1997, p. 124). Further, the decline of magic is not because of the development of scientific rationality, as most scholars postulate. Rather, it is "[t]he absence of these basic conditions [that] explains the gradual disappearance of magical practice in the modern world" (Glucklich, 1997, p. 112). Specifically, "the main factors associated with modernization and scientific rationality, which are responsible for the demise of magic...include urbanization and the distancing from a natural ecology, where the senses still serve a direct functional role" (Glucklich, 1997, p.112). To be even more precise, the "glorification of ego-centric worldview, the rewarding of individualism over interaction and relationships" wrecks the ability to think relationally (Glucklich, 1997, p. 113). Further, the "[t]ools of technology," she continues, "such as television and radio ... curtail the role of the senses as a means of interacting with world" (Glucklich, 1997, 113).

Pyysiäinen

In Magic, Miracles, and Religion, Ilkka Pyysiäinen (2004) addresses the subject of magical thought from the point of view of cognitive science. Like Glucklich, he believes that magical thought is not limited to the primitive mind. Rather, it is a "cross-cultural category...based on...panhuman cognitive mechanisms" (Pyysiäinen, 2004, p. 96). But, unlike Glucklich, Pyysiäinen (2004) puts forth a theory regarding the analytical distinction between magic and religion (above and beyond their social functions). Namely, he proposes that they may be distinguished according to the effects (or lack thereof) of human agency. Lastly, Pyysiäinen (2004) argues that magic survives, and

possibly thrives, in a modern age because of its unique relationship with science and religion.

Pyysiäinen (2004) briefly reviews Frazer's, Mauss', Durkheim's, Goode's, Evans-Pritchard's and Winick's definitions of magic. From these, he concludes that despite any differences.

It seems that ... all 'definitions' and characterizations of magic ultimately boil down to the observation that people have a widespread tendency to believe that some things in the natural world happen because of a sacred cause. Either they happen because a sacred agent or force causes them to happen or they happen because of conscious human manipulation of these sacred agents and forces. (Pyysiäinen, 2004, p. 91).

In contrast, "[r]eligion...is based on the idea that various kinds of natural deeds and behaviours are relevant with regard to a sacred reality" (Pyysiäinen, 2004, p. 96). Thus, Pyysiäinen's (2004) distinction reiterates the sentiments of other scholars like Frazer: magic manipulates, whereas religion conciliates.

Although Pyysiäinen (2004) puts forth this analytical distinction he nonetheless concedes that it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate magic from religion. Hence, he, unlike other scholars before him, suggests that magic and religious worldviews exist together in what are known as "magico-religious complexes." Pyysiäinen (2004) proposes that complexes that are balanced (i.e., half magic, half religious) have the best chance of being selected for cultural transmission (p. 108). For the reason that,

"[r]eligious beliefs ...balance the empirical vulnerability of magical beliefs, [and] [m]agic supplements religion in the sense that it provides a way of incorporating personal this-worldly interest in religion" (Pyysiäinen, 2004, p.108).

Pyysiäinen (2004) contests Frazer's theory of evolution by refuting the assumption that magic, religion, and science exist autonomously, and only for a limited time. In contrast, Pyysiäinen (2004) declares that all three subsist together, indefinitely. Thus, magic is not a thing of the past. In fact, Pyysiäinen (2004) maintains that magic is not only present in the modern age but "it may be that... modern societies offer more possibilities to enhance magic" (p. 109). Presumably he says this because the modern age is characterized by the predominance of science. Yet, there are still situations that defy scientific explanation. Thus, for Pyysiäinen (2004), "Magic endures as a social phenomenon because it creates a social context allowing participants to conceptually integrate an important situation for which they believe no causal explanations exists" (p. 101).

Styers

Making Magic by Randal Styers (2004) is an in depth appraisal of the academic literature dedicated to magic. The aim of such an endeavour is to demonstrate that magic, as an object of scholarly study, is a "foil" for religion, science, and modernity. Scholars use the term magic to demarcate and define these three categories, leaving magic indeterminate. Styers (2004) claims that scholars have done this to uphold certain social concerns. Hence, magic is an excellent tool of cultural analysis. Lastly, Styers (2004)

concludes that by talking about magic, in the way that they do, scholars are actually making magic.

Styers (2004) begins by describing the context from which the modern academic category of magic arose. He reports that, "three major epistemic changes profoundly affected the shape of magic in the modern world" (Styers, 2004, p. 26). Those three changes were the Reformation and the Enlightenment, an "astounding proliferation of capitalism and modern science," and the consolidation of European control over much of Asia and Africa" (Styers, 2004, p. 26).

Next, Styers (2004) claims that "a category as amorphous and indeterminate as magic" maintains "intellectual vitality" because it "resonates with broader contemporary social concerns" (p. 8). That is, it is used to uphold certain social norms. Styers' book focuses on four such norms: piety, rational thought, control and modernity.

According to Styers (2004), "[o]ne of the primary functions" of magic, as an object of academic study is that it is a "foil" for religion (p. 6). Scholars distinguish religion by opposing it to what they say is magic. Styers (2004) demonstrates this by surveying the academic literature. He looks at scholars such as Taylor, Frazer, Mauss, Marret, Malinowski, Durkheim, Weber, and Freud, to name but a few. Styers (2004) remarks that "magic first emerged as a topic of major analytical concern for nineteenth century scholars of religion in theories of evolution" (p. 73). These theories include fetishism, animism, pre-animism, primitive monotheism, totemism, and theories regarding mana. Styers (2004) summarizes the motivation for these accounts, by saying,

For some scholars, placing magic at the origin of religion served to discolor religion's genesis, to malign contemporary religion by establishing its disreputable lineage. For others, identifying magic as the originary stage of religion could demonstrate the power and trajectory of social evolution; culture moved in a clear line of progress from humble beginnings to greater glory. For still others, an emphatic distinction between religion and magic was necessary to protect religion's purity. (p. 73).

Even recent explanations stick to this model of evolution. For instance, Styers (2004) makes note of Bellah's and Hick's theory of axial and pre-axial religions, saying that they are strikingly similar to previous religious theories that associate magic solely with the primitive mind or a pre-modern age (p. 95).

Though searching for the origin of religion subsided, searching for the essence of religion did not. Styers (2004) maintains that in seeking a description of the fundamental nature of religion, "[a] number of important scholars have ...reject[ed] the possibility that a clear boundary can be formulated between religion and magic" (p. 97). But, they nonetheless proceed to offer various distinctions between the two. The most persistent of which, Styers (2004) summarizes, are as follows. Religion involves the transcendent, the ultimate, and the nonempircal. "In contrast," he reports, "magic is directed toward lesser, more immediate goals" (Styers, 2004, p. 98). Religion involves pious submission (Styers, 2004, p. 104). Magic involves coercion, manipulation, and domination (Styers, 2004, p. 109). In terms of agency, or "divine violition," the sacred (in religion) is personal and has choice and power. In magic, "the sacred power has no volition or choice of its own. It

must respond" (Styers, 2004, p. 110). Lastly, in religion the group takes precedence over the individual. Hence, the religious conform. In magic the individual takes precedence. Hence, they often rebel against conformity.

Magic also serves as a "foil" for science. According to Styers (2004), debates over magic and science are in essence debates over rationality. Namely, "theorists have struggled to define the precise nature of modern forms of rationality and how that rationality might differ from other modes of thought" (Styers, 2004, p.12). Styers (2004) separates these theories into three categories, two of which are relevant to the topic at hand. The first is the debate over the nature of primitive thought. Styers (2004) affirms that academic writing has promulgated the idea that magic is associated with the primitive mind. Further, that the primitive mind is irrational, and therefore inferior to the rationality of modern science. One discussion that results from this opinion is whether magic contributed to the making of modern science (the second category discussed by Styers). These debates, affirms Styers (2004), end up in similar assumptions as the religious theories of evolution did. That is, by identifying magic as an origin of science one can demonstrate the course of human thought. Specifically, they could demonstrate the power of scientific rationality, in contrast to its humble simple beginnings.

According to Styers (2004), magic is additionally used to legitimate various kinds of social control (p. 15). First, magic is utilized "regularly [to] define[] the norms of mature, modern subjectivity" (Styers, 2004, 168). Second, magic is stigmatized as a "threat of anarchy" (Styers, 2004, p. 197). It threatens social order because it is "fundamentally individualistic" (Styers, 2004, p. 197).). As well, it is a "threat to modern society," for the reason that it is the workings of "non-modern cultures" (Styers, 2004, p.

198). Third, Styers (2004) draws attention to the fact that "modern theories of magic have reflected concrete political and economic struggles over territory and social control" (p. 169). He succinctly summarizes these theories when he states

The dominant scholarly theories of magic have legitimated two distinct channels through which human needs are constructed and resolved: a spiritualized religious real...and rationalized scientific realm...With magic deployed as the stigmatized mediator between religion and science, the separation between these two channels is reinforced, and capitalism and Western science are relegated broad instrumental control over the material world. Deviant desires and behavior resisting this channelling of social power are labelled magical and denounced as futile, irrational, and primitive. (Styers, 2004, p.169).

Lastly, magic has been used by academics as a foil for modernity. For "one common feature throughout these debates" observes Styers (2004) "has been the broad consensus that magic is an archetypically nonmodern phenomenon" (p. 8). Specifically, it demarcates modernity by "provid[ing] an important site for the articulation of modernity's norms" (Styers, 2004, p. 13).

Styers (2004), asserts that many scholars considered magic the antithesis of modernity. Whatever modernity values, says Styers, the opposite is labelled magic, and stigmatized as wrongful, sinful, and deviant. Hence, magic, in a sense, is a "counterhegemonic practice" (Styers, 2004, p. 21). It is a tool of critique for modernity (Styers, 2004, p. 20). He further explains:

The dominant scholarly theories of magic have had as a central theme the prescription of idealized norms for modern subjectivity. The modern subject configured in these theories demonstrates properly delimited forms of religious piety, properly rationalized modes of thought, and properly disenchanted relations with the material world. This subject conforms to distinctive norms of individual agency and autonomy (seeing itself as fundamentally independent from other individuals and the natural world), while tempering that autonomy with a suitably submissive attitude toward social order. This subject demonstrates a requisite respect for the abstract regularity of the material world, while repressing any awareness of the mystifications of the commodity form. Subjects who fail to conform to these norms are denigrated as trapped in decidedly nonmodern and subversive forms of magical thought. (Styers, 2004, p. 13).

Using the work of Latour, Styers (2004) further remarks that "one of the foundational gestures of Western modernity has been the effort to formulate and police a heightened antinomy between nonhuman nature and human culture" (p. 17). Namely, one foundational gesture of modernity has been to create a dualistic reality, on many levels. But, "[r]epeatedly, modern scholars will assert that practitioners of magic fail to recognize the essential differences between the human and the nonhuman, the psychic and the material, desire and reality" (Styers, 2004, p.18). That is, they refuse to adhere to the divide. They refuse to compartmentalize their life.

Lastly, as a final note, Styers (2004) concludes that in discussing magic, scholars make magic. In an attempt to definitively segregate religion, science, and modernity they have stumbled upon a grey area, belonging to all three, yet not solely belonging to one of three. This indefinite area has been labelled magic. It is the ruler by which all three are measured.

Tambiah

Rationality is only one mode of thought, declares Tambiah (1990) in Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality. Analyzing, or judging, other forms of thought, he argues, according to this one perspective, which is epitomized in Western positivist science, is not only unfair but it also results in an inaccurate interpretation.

Tambiah (1990), asserts that when other ways of thinking, such as those found in magic, religion, art, and other cultures, are analyzed according to rationality they are typically misunderstood. Namely, the essence of certain wisdoms cannot be translated by rational modes of thought.

Before arguing this case though, Tambiah (1990), like Styers, provides some historical background so that one may "fully understand the current Western conception of magic" (p. 6). Unlike Styers, Tambiah (1990) sets the milieu by "talk[ing] of two legacies—one deriving from the early religion of Israel...and the other deriving from Greece" (p. 6). Like Styers, however, Tambiah continues with an overview of the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and the scientific revolution. He recounts this history in order to illuminate the academic context from which early anthropologists, such as Taylor and Frazer, formulated their theories.

Next, Tambiah (1990) highlights various criticisms of Taylor's and Frazer's work. The following two are particularly salient criticisms because they set the stage for Tambiah's hypothesis. One "criticism levelled against Taylor (that is equally appropriate to Frazer) is his never posing the question why primitives would mistake ideal connections for real ones in one domain when they do not do so in their other activities" (Tambiah, 1990, p. 51). Two, Tambiah (2004) observes that both Taylor and Frazer are guilty of "intellectual fallacy" (p. 59). That is, they "hypothetically th[ought] themselves into the mind of the 'primitive'" (Tambiah, 2004, p. 59).

Tambiah (2004) also looks at the work of Malinowski, Freud, and Levy-Bruhl. Though the work of these scholars was not without fault, they were nonetheless on the right track in their theories of magic, affirms Tambiah. Malinowski abandons the concept of the primitive mind and focuses on the function of magic. Further, he adequately demarcates science and religion, placing magic somewhere in between. Freud explores the inner workings of the mind, recognizing at least two types of consciousness, one of which is conducive to magic. Lastly, and most relied upon, Tambiah (1990) emphasizes the work of Levy-Bruhl, because he "postulat[es] two coexisting mentalities in mankind everywhere – the mystical mentality and the rational-logical mentality, though their relative weight and salience may differ from primitive to modern times" (p. 91).

Drawing from these criticisms and insights Tambiah (1990) formulates a twofold argument. First, he concludes that everyone is capable of two modes of thought, one of which is responsible for magic. Second, he concludes that people can switch from one mode of thought to the other. He explains: ...it is possible to separate analytically at least two orientations to our cosmos, two orderings of reality that woman and man everywhere are capable of experiencing, though the specific mix, weighting, and complementarity between the two may vary between individuals and between groups within a culture, and between cultures taken as collective entities. (Tambiah, 1990, p.105).

One of these orientations is called "participation" (Tambiah, 1990, p. 105). Participation is Levy-Bruhl's notion. It denotes a state of mind, often associated with (but not limited to) the primitive mind. It is a state of mind where one does not separate him/herself from the objective world. In other words, it "signifie[s] the association between persons and things...to the point of identity and consubstantiality" (Tambiah, 1990, p. 86). It is a state of mind where one is aware of all relations between self and various phenomena, both immanent and transcendent. For example, "[w]hen a Bororo declares himself to be a parakeet he means precisely that: an inexplicably mystical identity of himself and the bird" (Tambiah, 1990, p. 86). The other orientation is called "causality" (Tambiah, 1990, p. 105). "Causality," according to Tambiah (1990), "is quintessentially represented by the categories, rules and methodology of positive science and discursive mathematico-logical reason. The scientific focus involves a particular kind of distancing, affective neutrality and abstraction to events in the world" (p. 105).

Bearing in mind these two drastically different worldviews, Tambiah goes on to demonstrate that analyzing one in terms of the other is problematic. Specifically, he demonstrates that analyzing participation with causality results in either an incomplete picture or an inaccurate one. What is more, he extrapolates the idea that all humans

(regardless of place or time) are able to shift from one mode of thought to the other.

Tambiah affirms that humans utilize each mode of thought for different purposes, and in different circumstances, and that each orientation, though totally different, is nonetheless inherent and essential to one's well-being.

Hanegraaff

The title of Wouter Hanegraaff's article (2003) "How Magic Survived the Disenchantment of the World," reveals his response to the claim, made by scholars such as Keith Thomas, that magic has and will continue to decline in the advent of modernity, for the reason that modernity means disenchantment and secularization. Hanegraaff, in this article, not only demonstrates that magic survived and exists in modernity, but he also explains why it survived. He accomplishes this task by comparing hermetic magic pre and post Enlightenment (i.e., hermetic magic of the Renaissance with the *Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn*).

According to Hanegraaff (2003), "the continued vitality of the occult in contemporary society falsifies not only the thesis of a 'decline of magic,' but the thesis of disenchantment as well" (p. 358). How can this be, he asks, when "Weber's thesis does refer to a real and highly important phenomenon?" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 358). The answer, Hannegraff (2003) argues, is that magic adapts and transforms. "But the crucial point," he emphasizes "is that this will no longer be the same magic that could be found in periods prior to the process of disenchantment. It will be a disenchanted magic" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 360).

Hanegraaff (2003) understands disenchantment in terms of secularization (p. 358). Further, he understands secularization to be the "profound *transformation* of religion," not the "disappearance or marginalisation" of it (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 358). This shift in perception makes secularization a fact, he says, not a theory.

Bearing this mind, Hanegraaff (2003) asserts that Taylor was somewhat correct when he "portrayed contemporary magical beliefs and practices as 'survivals'" (p. 359). But, Taylor was easily misled, says Hanegraaff (2003) by the incorrect "assumption that magic is a static phenomemon which is essentially the same everywhere and in all historical periods" (p. 359). This assumption resulted in Taylor being unable to reconcile his theory of survivals with the dominant evolutionary theory of the time, which insisted that "one of the main currents—traditionally referred to as 'magic', 'religion' and 'science'—might eventually gain the upper hand in the battle for 'survival of the fittest'" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 359).

Hanegraaff's (2003) "argument [is] based upon a systematic comparison between two important types of magic: a pre-Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment one" (p. 360). He compares the two according to three angles: "their theories of magical efficacy, the nature of their practices, and the ways in which magicians seek to legitimate magic to the wider society as well as to themselves" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 360).

According to Hanegraaff (2003) "[i]n the Renaissance, three dominant theories may be distinguished with respect to how magical effects operate" (p. 361). Two of these theories are relevant to the discussion at hand. The first is the "theory of correspondences," and the second is "the doctrine of *spiritus*" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 361).

The theory of correspondences is otherwise known as the "association of ideas" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 361). It is the "the assumption that the world has been created in such a way that resemblances (whether formal or structural) are the reflection of real connections" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 361). A flawed conjecture regarding this theory, says Hanegraaff (2003) "which remain[s] very common today and ha[s] its origins in Taylor's and Frazer's theory," is that "the doctrine of correspondences is based upon a simple confusion of ideal connections with real ones" (p. 361).

Similar to Tambiah's argument, Hanegraaff (2003) maintains this erroneous assumption arises when people

...make the mistake of treating the theory of correspondences on a par with scientific hypothesis, failing to understand or appreciate the fact that it is primarily grounded in a religious worldview. From the perspective of (neo)platonic types of Christianity, [i.e., a Renaissance perspective]...God had created the world as a beautiful and harmonious whole; and this divine creation was conceived of on the model of earthly realities imperfectly mirroring the superior realities of the divine mind. (pp. 361-362).

Another point worth mentioning involves the elaborate classifications, or magical systems of knowledge, which are based on correspondences. As Hanegraaff (2003) puts it, "the Christian hermeticist [did not] indiscriminately associat[e] everything with everything else, according to his fancy" (p. 362). Rather, he or she believed that "all things in the created universe hung together in a definite way, but on a level of

complexity and subtlety that was appropriate to its Creator" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 362). Classification systems were created based on this belief. Hence, some correspondences were established via "the trial-and-error of practical experiment" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 362). But some required a more in-depth deciphering process. More mysterious correspondences, ones that were "partly hidden," only alluded to through "signs," required either "the testimonies of ancient authorities" or the revelations of "self-knowledge" for deciphering (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 362).

The second theory, the doctrine of *spiritus*, "explained magic by postulating the existence of a subtle medium by which magical influences were transmitted" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 363). This medium, taken to "permeate[] all creation," was known as "the invisible *spiritus*," or the "Neoplatonic notion of a 'subtle body" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 363).

Hanegraaff (2003) reports that both of these theories may be found in the systems of the *Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn*. However, the "theory of correspondences" is different in the post Enlightenment context that "modern occultists tend to dislike reference to a personal creator-God" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 366). Further, they find "a realist understanding of symbolic correspondences extremely difficult to understand" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 367).

The overall distinction between the pre and post scenarios "is the dominant tendency among 20th-century magicians to psychologize magic" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p.366). This becomes most apparent in Hanegraaff's discussion regarding legitimation. According to Hanegraaff (2003), "[d]efenders of Renaissance magic were forced to

legitimise" to outsiders (p.369). In a modern context "magicians legitimise the practice of magic to themselves" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 369).

Hanegraaff (2003) maintains that modern magicians legitimate magic by believing in a "separate-but-connected 'magical plane,' which exists on a different level of reality" (p. 370). This magical plane is connected to this reality via the psyche. Hence, the magician can alter the magical plane via his or her imagination, which in turn alters this reality. This is how magic is legitimated in a disenchanted world, for the "[p]rocesses of secularization and disenchantment in the everyday world simply have no bearing on the magical plane, and hence do not have to affect the reality of magic" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 370).

Lastly, Hanegraaff (2003) tackles the question of "why contemporary people would wish to practice occultist magic in the first place?" (p. 371). Rather than say for example, adhering to a "wholly secular 'rationalist-scientific' worldview[]?" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 371). For this, he relies on the work of Levy-Bruhl and Tambiah, specifically their theories of participation.

In essence, Hanegraaff (2003) reiterates Levy-Bruhl's and Tambiah's claim that everyone is naturally endowed with both rational and irrational modes of thought. But, he adds that participation is not only a mode of thought. Rather, it is predominantly a feeling, "a spontaneous tendency of the human mind" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 374).

Therefore, it "requires a radically non-intellectualist interpretation" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 374).

In terms of Tambiah's theory of causality, Hanegraaff (2003) makes a distinction between causality as a mode of thought, and causality as an ideology. The latter of which,

he asserts, "may simply be recognized as the dominant 'narrative' of contemporary western society; and its defenders' claim of a privileged status compared with other narratives must be noted as being itself a part of the narrative" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 376). "Internalisation (by means of socialization) of this particular ideology," he continues, is disenchantment, which "results in an acute tension with participation" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 376). He further explains;

Disenchantment=the social pressure exerted upon human beings to deny the spontaneous tendency of participation, by accepting the claims of a culturally established ideology according to which instrumental causality amounts to a worldview capable in principle of rationally explaining all aspects of reality. (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 377).

To return to the question of why contemporary people practice magic, Hanegraaff (2003) concludes that they do so because it "provides a space 'set apart', where the feeling of participation is allowed to be freely celebrated" (p. 378). That is, participation exists just like rationality does; some choose to engage in it, despite the socialization not to.

Schilbrack

In the article "Ritual Metaphysics," Kevin Schilbrack (2004) depicts rituals that involve the metaphysical. This portrayal is discussed under two headings.

Under the first heading, Schilbrack (2004) explains that rituals are a means of writing, or inscribing, text on the body. The subject matter of this text, according to Schilbrack (2004), belongs to one of two categories: non-metaphysical or metaphysical (pp. 130-131). Schilbrack (2004) calls non-metaphysical text "contingent characteristics" (p. 130). He explains:

Contingent characteristics are those that one may or may not exhibit, characteristics that permit of an alternative. For example, some rituals may aim explicitly to mark their participants as adult and no longer children, dead and no longer among the living, or married and no longer single.... masculine (as opposed to feminine), heterosexual (as opposed to homosexual) ...(Schilbrack, 2004, p. 130).

The purpose of these rituals, according to Schilbrack (2004), is to reinforce social and political understandings.

Metaphysical text, on the other hand, entails "necessary characteristics," which are "characteristics that a person cannot fail to exhibit" (Schilback, 2004, p. 131). As Schilbrack (2004) reports, they "apply to human existence as such and which therefore do not permit of an alternative." Rituals that inscribe this type of text are called "ritual metaphysics." Schilbrack (2004) explains:

... one can expect that such rituals will not present themselves as *making* people X nor training them to *become* X, but will present themselves rather as training

people to "realize" or "acknowledge" that they are X. Ritual leaders may assert that though one falsely believes or appears to be Y, one's "true self" is X The goal is to have the ritual participants perceive the metaphysical truth "in the flesh." (p. 131).

Schilbrack (2004) argues that the point of metaphysical rituals is to evoke "psychic transformation" (p. 133). Specifically, the point is to is to transform one's worldview: "shape oneself as a subject" (Schilbrack, 2004, p. 133). The aim is to merge one's view of self with a metaphysical understanding, or reinforce a metaphysical philosophy.

Schilbrack (2004) cautions that viewing rituals solely as inscription is "distortedly one-sided" (p. 136). This view produces the opinion that the body is "a passive medium of knowledge gained elsewhere." In contrast, Schilbrack (2004) suggests that ritual bodies are a site of forming knowledge. "Ritual can be seen, in some cases at least," he reports, "as a form of inquiry itself, a source of knowledge in its own right" (Schilback, 2004, p. 136).

Schilbrack (2004) reports that a key feature of ritual metaphysics, is that the ritual operates according to micro/ macrocosmic analogies (p.138). Specifically, the ritual "offers an invitation to understand...particular aspects of life as emblematic of the nature of human experience... [they] focus on part of the world as revealing a wider reality" (Schilbrack, 2004, p. 138). In other words, the participants "experience features of the ritual as features of the human condition generally" (Schilbrack, 2004, p. 138).

Another point of Schilbrack's (2004), which is relevant to the argument at hand, is his insistence that ritual metaphysics are "empowering" (p. 141). Namely, he draws attention to the fact that metaphysical rituals "gives people a sense of mastery or empowerment" (Schilbrack, 2004, p. 141).

Greenwood

Susan Greenwood (2000), in the book Magic, Witchcraft and the Otherworld, explores pagan concepts of the "otherworld." In conducting this exploration of magic (or at least one kind of contemporary magic) she discusses three topics that are pertinent to the thesis at hand. First, she provides a magical definition of the otherworld. Second, she examines the relationship between this magical concept of the otherworld and ritual activity. Thirdly, she discusses magical identity in terms of healing and power.

Magicians, according to Greenwood (2000), have many conceptions of the otherworld. The otherworld is "a mode of reality alternative to everyday experience" (Greenwood, 2000, p. 24). It is "[a] separate, although ultimately linked, area" (Greenwood, 2000, p. 27). It is "an inner world" (Greenwood, 2000, p. 27). Further, the otherworld, Greenwood (2000) reports, is conceived of by magicians as energy: "For magicians magic is energy, and practising magic involves moving energy" (p. 27). Greenwood (2000) further elaborates on this magical concept in the following quote:

Magical philosophy represents a cosmology that is essentially holistic, based on the notion that the magician (as microcosm) is the locus of the macrocosm and that subtle energies and forces, which are inherent within all matter (animate and inanimate), are freely interchanged between those humans able to recognize and direct them. The essence of a magical training is to open up the magician's awareness to these forces so that they can be channelled, mediated and controlled. The cosmos is seen to be alive with forces and energies, some of which exist in a time and space distinct from, but also very closely connected to, everyday reality—the reality ordinarily perceived by the five sense of the human body. This area is commonly termed the 'otherworld' and can be perceived by the human psyche when in an alternative state of consciousness. (p. 23).

Greenwood (2000) further explains that this alternative state of consciousness, enables the "magician [to] experience[] everything as connected and in relation to everything else" (p. 27).

Greenwood (2000) maintains that the aim of magic is "contact and communication with the otherworld" (p. 1). This is achieved, she says, through ritual (Greenwood, 2000, pp. 1, 33-35). Magic ritual functions as a "scaffolding" to the otherworld, allowing magical practitioners to connect with energy, which Greenwood (2000) repeatedly asserts is transformative. This connection with the otherworld "offers the individual practitioners a direct route to self-transformation" or "psychospiritual transformation" (Greenwood, 2000, pp. 35, 2). This route is a "spiritual path" (Greenwood, 2000, p. 121). It is a "process" of "self-exploration" (Greenwood, 2000, pp. 118, 121). What is more, magical ritual results in "a shift in consciousness: a 'finding of

the true self" (Greenwood, 2000, p. 117), which is comparable to Shilbrack's "ritual metaphysics."

According to Greenwood (2000), there is a great emphasis on healing in magic. A primary goal of the magical rite, she reports, is to unify and "help restore an original balance" (Greenwood, 2000, p. 121). It is to make the practitioners whole (Greenwood, 2000, p. 121). Greenwood (2000) further explains: "Magical practices today offer techniques...to help the magician heal the body and the psyche from the disharmony of contemporary life in a bid to restore a harmonious unity" (p. 121). "The ideal practice of magic," she continues, "unifies a 'healed' and 'balanced' subject (macrocosm) with the energies of the cosmos" (Greenwood, 2000, p. 132).

Greenwood (2000) brings forth a few other points worthy of mention. First, she comments that "magical practices are ... based on promoting health by means of the removal of an obstruction"—an obstruction related to "disharmony" (Greenwood, 2000, p. 125) Next, she notes the work of Laughlin; he maintains that there is a shared conviction in the "reports of higher psychic energy experiences" (i.e., the expanded consciousness required for magic) (Greenwood, 2000, p. 33). This shared conviction is that "the body is seen to be made up of a system of channels through which psychic energy passes and ritual techniques establish a free flow of energy" (Greenwood, 2000, p. 33). Lastly, Greenwood (2000) claims that magical ritual empowers. It encourages personal control.

A Theoretical Model of Magic

Taken together, these scholars' work formulates a theoretical model of magic.

This model has four main features. If these four features are present in spiritual manual

techniques it would be appropriate to describe spiritual manual techniques as a form of contemporary magic.

A General Definition

Arising from this literature, the first feature of a theoretical model of magic is a general definition of magic. This feature is drawn from the longstanding academic debate regarding the distinction between magic and religion, and magic and science.

Magic is considered akin to science because they operate within a similar paradigm, one that views the universe as operating according to determined natural laws. Moreover, magic is analogous to science in that both use techniques, which are based on this similar paradigm. Magic is considered different than science, though, primarily because it involves the sacred (and in this regard it is akin to religion). Magic differs from religion on the other hand, because it manipulates the sacred, whereas religion conciliates.

Hence, the general definition of magic to be utilized in the following is that magic is the practice by which the sacred is manipulated. And the sacred is manipulated in magic by using a technique that is based on determined laws of nature, so as to affect the natural.

This general definition is based on the writings of Frazer (1922/1994), Durkheim (1912/1995), Mauss (1950/1972), Malinowski (1954), Pyysiäinen (2004), Styers (2004), and Greenwood (2000). Frazer (1922/1994) maintains that the magician achieves desired ends by manipulating "impersonal forces which control all things" (p. 48). For Durkheim

(1912/1995), magic makes sacred forces "work." Mauss (1950/1972) affirms that magic draws on the sacred to affect the natural. Malinowski (1954) asserts that the force of magic is evoked only by magical spell or rite, and is then channelled through the human body (p. 76). Pyysiäinen (2004) claims that magical thoughts, beliefs, and practices revolve around the understanding that "sacred agents or forces bring about a specified effect in the known reality" (p. 96). Styers (2004) declares that magic entails "manipulation" of the sacred (p. 109). And lastly, Greenwood (2000), like Malinowski, says that the purpose of "magical training is to open up the magicians awareness to...[otherworldly] forces so that they can be channeled" (p. 23).

The Sacred

The second feature of the theoretical model of magic used in this thesis is a description of the sacred as manifested in magic.

Frazer (1922/1994), Durkheim (1912/1995), and Mauss (1950/1972), define the sacred in magic in a similar fashion; they define it as *mana*, which is a Melanesian term. Even though these scholars acknowledge that other cultures call the sacred in magic other things they nonetheless utilize the term as a catch-all phrase. Malinowski (1954) belongs in this group of academics as well (since he, like the other, discusses magic in terms of the primitive mind), but he does not use the term *mana*. Rather, Malinowski (1954) calls the sacred (as manifested in magic) the force of magic (p. 76).

Overall, *mana* is portrayed by these academics as a mysterious force. Frazer (1922/1994) considers it the "force of nature" (p. 49). For Durkheim (1912/1995), it is

the principle of life, or life-force (p. 205). And Mauss (1950/1972) says that *mana* is an impersonal force of the universe (p. 110).

Mana, according to these scholars, is invisible and powerful (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 195; Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 49; Malinowski, 1954, p. 76; Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 111). It is ubiquitous, yet localized (Durkheim, 1912/1995, pp. 197, 191). It is both natural and sacred (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 206; Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 111). Moreover, mana is a tangible (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 191; Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 111), fluid-like property (Malinowski, 1954, p. 76; Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 117), which is transmissible (Frazer, 1922/1994; Malinowski, 1954, p. 76; Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 66). It may be channelled through the body and passed from person to person. Lastly, mana is taken to be an energy analogous to electricity (Frazer, 1922/1994; Durkheim, 1912/1995, pp. 190-192).

Contemporary scholars are less apt to discuss the sacred, as manifested in magic. The only fore-mentioned scholar to do so explicitly is Greenwood (2000) Pyysiäinen (2004) discusses the sacred from a cognitive scientific point of view, which is beyond the scope of this thesis. Glucklich (1997) claims the sacred is really quite natural. And Hanegraaff (2003) explains it as it is envisaged in the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. Recall the doctrine of spiritus, which "postulate[s] the existence of a subtle medium by which magical influences [are] transmitted" (Hanegraaff, 2003, p. 363). But, Greenwood (2000) examines the sacred, as manifested in magic, in her exploration of magical concepts of the otherworld. This description parallels classic magical descriptions of the sacred in that she equates the otherworld with energy. Further, she

describes this energy in a similar manner; powerful, ubiquitous (yet, localized), natural and sacred, tangible, and transmissible.

These recurring themes in Frazer's (1922/1994), Durkheim's (1912/1995), Malinowksi's (1954), Mauss' (1950/1972), and Greenwood's (2000) description of the sacred as manifested in magic will be the criteria by which the sacred in spiritual manual techniques will be reviewed.

The Magical Mindset

The third feature of the theoretical model of magic involves the magical mindset. The magical mindset has two primary characteristics. First and foremost, the magical mindset sees the world as a web of meaningful relations (Durkheim, 1912/1995; Frazer, 1922/1994; Glucklich, 1997; Greenwood, 2000; Hanegraaff, 2003; Mauss, 1950/1972; Tambiah, 1990). Everything is connected and linked in a meaningful way.

The basic premise underlining the "association of ideas" (Taylor, 1871/1958)
"sympathetic thought" (Frazer, 1922/1994; Mauss, 1950/1972), the "magical experience"
(Glucklich, 1997), the idea of "participation" (Tambiah, 1990) as well as the "theory of correspondences" (Hanegraaff, 2003), is the same; in magic, one perceives and interprets the world in terms of associations and connections. Everything relates in a meaningful way.

Scholars, such as Taylor (1871/1958), Frazer (1922/1994), and Mauss (1950/1972) insist that magic entails a certain state of mind (Glucklich (1997), Tambiah (1990), Hanegraaff (2003), and Greenwood (2000) make this declaration as well, but in a

different way). Taylor (1871/1958) describes this magical mind in his philosophy the "association of ideas." This theory puts forth the idea the magician "mistakes an ideal connection for a real connection" (p. 116). Frazer (1922/1994) elaborates Taylor's theory by explaining that the primitive/magical mind links these things either because they are the similar or because they have been in contact. This is the theory of "sympathetic thought." Mauss (1950/1972) reiterates these themes and adds another dimension to Frazer's theory. He adds the idea that things may be associated by opposition. Further, Mauss gives details on the philosophy of "sympathetic thought." He explains that sympathetic thought is based on a micro/macrocosmic understanding. The part is understood to represent the whole, and the whole is represented in each part (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 64).

Contemporary scholars, such as Glucklich (1997), Tambiah (1990), Hanegraaff (2003), and Greenwood (2000), use names like "magical experience" and "participation" to describe a magical state of mind. Further, they attempt a subjective portrayal rather than an objective interpretation (which is the trend of earlier scholars). These contemporary scholars do, however, continue the claim that the magical mind perceives and interprets the world in terms of meaningful relations. Glucklich describes this state of mind as "the magical experience." For her, the magical mindset is a perception of interrelatedness. In magical healing, for instance, the patient becomes whole via a sense of harmony, a sense of being bonded and related to that which is beyond the self. Tambiah concurs. According to him, magic occurs via a mindset called "participation," which is a state of being where one is cognizant of all relations between self and various phenomena. Hanegraaff brings forth the "theory of correspondences," which is in essence

a variant of the association of ideas. And lastly, Greenwood (2000) declares that magic necessitates "an altered state of consciousness" (p. 23), which enables "the magician [to] experience[] everything as connected and in relation to everything else" (p. 27).

The basic idea in all these scholars' writings is the same. The magical magic mindset, according to these scholars, sees the world as a web of associations, correspondences, and relationships; everything is connected; everything is interpentrating; everything belongs to one dynamic system. Further, the magical mindset experiences these connections as meaningful and significantly related.

The state of mind, then, essential for magic is one that sees the world in terms of meaningful relations. Hence, this is the first, and main, criterion for identifying a magical mindset.

The second characteristic of the magical mindset involves the concept of rationality. Classic scholars like Frazer (1922/1994), Durkheim (1912/1995), and Mauss (1950/1972) assert that the magical mindset is irrational. The magician does not speculate on the efficacy of his/her magic. They simply know that it works. Recall Frazer's (1922/1994) sentiments that the magician "never analyzes the mental processes on which his practice is based, never reflects on the abstract principles involved in his actions" (p. 26). Also bear to mind Durkheim's (1912/1995) sentiments that "given its pursuit of technical and utilitarian ends, magic does not waste time in pure speculation" (p. 40), as well as Mauss' (1950/1972) comments that "[i]n magic...the individual does not reason...nor does he worry about the whys and wherefores of the properties he employs" (p. 75). According to these scholars, magicians lack logic. Magicians do not know how their magic works, yet they do not doubt the effectiveness of their magic.

This pejorative claim that the magical mind is irrational is refuted by contemporary scholars like Tambiah (1990) and Glucklich (1997). For instance, it is contradicted by Tambiah's (1990) notion of participation. He affirms that it is not that the magical mindset is illogical, or unreasonable, rather the state of mind involved in magic is not comparable to rationality (as it is understood in its Western positivistic sense). The state of mind involved in magic, he says, is more akin to the mental and emotional state involved in artistic, creative processes. The magical mind is not void of reason, but the logic or intelligence of the magical mind is more imaginative and spontaneous. Further, to reiterate the former point, it is more holistic and organic. It is not objective, but fully participating in the events of present moment. Glucklich (1997) concurs with Tambiah's sentiments. She too says that the logic of magical thinking is more intuitive, emotional, and based on relationships, not linear causation. Thus, a magician is typically not preoccupied with finding out how his or her magic works.

The Magical Rite

The last feature of the theoretical model of magic involves the magical rite.

Regardless of the immense diversity amongst magical rites, they nonetheless have one, or all, of the following four characteristics, according to Durkheim (1912/1995),

Malinowski (1954), Mauss (1950/1972), Glucklich (1997), Tambiah (1990), Schilbrack (2004), and Greenwood (2000). First, magical rites involve some change of state (Malinowski, 1954; Mauss, 1950/1972; Tambiah, 1990). For instance, Schilbrack (2004) and Greenwood (2000) maintain that most magical rites involve some form of psychic

transformation. Second, Malinowski (1954), Mauss (1950/1972), and Glucklich (1997) agree that the aim, or purpose, of magical rites is emotional expression. In some magical rites the emotion expressed is intentional. However, in other circumstances the emotional expression is spontaneous; it is unknown until the moment of extraction. The third characteristic of a magical rites (particularly healing rites), according to Glucklich (1997) and Greenwood (2000), is that a sense of wholeness is achieved, and experienced by the participants. Lastly, magical rites are private and individualistic, as clarified by Durkheim (1912/1995), Malinowski (1954), Mauss (1950/1972), and Glucklich (1997).

The Private and Individualistic Nature of a Spiritual Manual Technique

According to Durkheim (1912/1995), Weber (1922/1964), Mauss (1950/1972), and Glucklich (1997), magical rites can be distinguished from other ritual activity that involves the sacred by its individualistic and private nature. These scholars agree that magic functions to meet individualistic needs. Thus, those who engage in magic are free-agents, so to speak. This means that the agents of magic may be distinguished by the fact that they practice their art/craft independently (Durkheim, 1912/1995; Weber, 1922/1964). A magician's power comes from within, not from an institution. Or, in other words, magicians are self-employed. This also means that those who seek the services provided by the agents magic are free-agents. Hence, there are, typically, no communal obligations with magic, even though the practitioners of magic may share common views and beliefs (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 42). The other distinguishing feature of magical rites, according to Mauss (1950/1972) is that they are private. Specifically, he says that

magical rites are "commonly performed ... in the secret recesses of a house or at any rate in some out-of-the-way place" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 23).

Cultural Evolutionary Theory

To reiterate, most classical theorists situate magic at the beginning of a continuum that includes religion and science. One of the reasons for this placement is that it aids theories of social evolution.

A case in point is Frazer's assertion that all societies evolve from a magical way of thinking, to a religious way of thinking, to a scientific way of thinking, as represented in modern Western science. As Frazer tells it, societies develop along this linear time frame, quite simply, because they realize the inadequacy of their present mode of thought. For example, Frazer proposes that people evolved from a magical phase to a religious phase of thinking because they found magic to be unsatisfactory. Specifically, it did not produce the desired effects. Robert Fraser (1994), in the introduction of *The Golden Bough*, summarizes this evolution as follows:

Men want, say, rain. They begin by performing a rain-dance, which often does not work. This is the Age of Magic. Then, baulked of success, they do the next best thing and fall on their knees to pray. This is the Age of Religion. When the prayers do not work, they set about investigating the precise causes of the natural world, and on the basis of their new understanding attempt to alter things for the better. This is the Age of Science which, Frazer argued, we now inhabit. ... All recourses to magic in later ages are relapses. (pp. xxii-xxiii)

Frazer's theory of evolution has been subject to great criticism. It is considered elitist, hierarchal, and ethnocentric, for the reason that Frazer associates magic with the primitive mind, which he stigmatizes as both rudimentary and flawed. But, other scholars like Mauss (1950/1972) and Pyysiäinen (2004) consider Frazer's theory of social evolution to be accurate, when stripped of its pejorative claims and placed on a cyclical time frame. In fact, these scholars' words elucidate a theory of cyclical social evolution.

In contrast to Frazer's linear theory, which stipulates that the three phases of thought occur but once, Mauss (1950/1972) suggests that all three exist simultaneously in relation to each other (and throughout time). Also in contrast to Frazer, Mauss suggests that the three ensure each other's survival (although he speaks of this mostly in terms of magic and science). He tells of magic absorbing scientific techniques, preserving them, and enabling them to resurface at a later date when needed: "Magic protected techniques: behind magic they were able to make progress" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 142). For instance, "[c]ertain techniques ... such as pharmacy [and] medicine... could not have survived, unless magic had proffered help and made them last by actually absorbing them" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 142). What is more, Mauss (1950/1972) asserts that magic "can take the place of sciences vet developed" (p. 63). Namely, many of these techniques, which were absorbed by magic, "gradually discard[] everything coloured by mysticism" and resurface transformed (Mauss, 1950/1972, p.142), 10 An example, he says, "in our own time, [is that] medical massage has taken over from the tricks of the bone-setter" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 143).

¹⁰ This is Hanegraaft's (2003) claim as well. He subscribes to the notion that a resurgence of magic is indicative of a survival. However, he maintains that the resurfaced magic will always be different than it originally was, before its period of dormancy.

According to Mauss (1950/1972), while magic, religion, and science subsist simultaneously, they do not prosper concurrently. Sometimes science flourishes, and at other times religion flourishes. Yet at other times magic prospers. This progression from one dominant mode of thought to another is continuous. Further, it is stimulated by group requirements. Magic arises, for example, in response to a collective need for magic. But this requirement for magic occurs on a micro level (i.e., within an individual). It is only when a number of like minded people are grouped together that the need manifests on a macro level, as a collective belief system--hence, the individualistic yet social nature of magic: "Magic should be considered as a system of a priori inductions, operating under the pressure of the needs of groups of individuals" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 126). What is more, Mauss (1950/1972) suggests that these needs are usually linked with both religion and science, for the reason that "[m]agic has no genuine kinship with anything apart from religion on the one hand and science and technology on the other" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 141).

Mauss (1950/1972) accounts for the change from one dominant form of thought to another as Frazer does. That is, Mauss agrees with Frazer's assertion that a mode of thought is usurped when it no longer fulfills the requirements of an individual/s. Where he differs is in his belief, unlike Frazer's, that the usurped modes of thought will eventual resurface.

Pyysiäinen (2004) concurs with Mauss's sentiments. However, his focus is on magic and religion, whereas Mauss concentrates his argument around magic and science.

Recall Pyysiäinen's (2004) argument "that sacred beliefs and practices are of two different types: various natural facts and events can be explained by a [sacred] *cause*, and

various natural facts and events can be believed to have a [sacred] effect" (p. 110). These distinctions are purely analytical, affirms Pyysiäinen. There is, in fact, no such thing as pure magic and/or pure religion. But, these analytical distinctions do apply to what Pyysiäinen (2004) calls magico-religious complexes and TEB (i.e., thought, emotion, behaviour) complexes:

The concept of magico-relgious complexes is based on the realization that thought, experience, and belief constitute complexes (TEB complexes), which can involve religious and magical elements in varying degrees. By TEB complexes I mean sets of thoughts, experiences, and behaviours whose parts at any moment influence each other more effectively than they are influenced by factors outside the complex. (p.106).

According to Pyysiäinen (2004), the distinction between magic and religion "allows us to identify the magical and religious elements in TEB complexes and to assess what consequences an increase or a decrease in either magicality or religiosity has for the whole complex" (p. 107). Once again, the idea is that magic, religion, and science (although Pyysiäinen does not emphasize this later element of the triad) exist together and in relation to one another. For example, Pyysiäinen (2004) reports that "[r]eligious beliefs ... balance the empirical vulnerability of magical beliefs, [and m]agic supplements religion in the sense that it provides a way of incorporating personal thisworldly interests in religion" (p. 108). Hence, "optimal combinations of magic and

religion are culturally more successful than magic or religion alone" (Pyysiäinen, 2004, p. 107). Another case in point is Pyysiäinen's (2004) claim that

...the amount of magic in any complex of thought and action correlates negatively with the amount of reflective, systematic, and unemotional thinking in that system...[which is typically] supported by various kinds of cultural institutions, such as theology and science...(p. 108).

Like Mauss, Pyysiäinen (2004) speaks of evolution on a micro level. He speaks about changing modes of thought in terms of individual cognitive mechanisms. In agreement with Frazer, Pyysiäinen (2004) affirms that people do change from magical ways of thinking to religious ways of thinking (etc.). And yes, they revert to another mode of thought when the one they are presently employing is found to be unsatisfactory, or limiting. But, in contrast to Frazer, Pyysiäinen (2004) declares that this change is perpetual and continuous: "In this sense, the old evolutionary account of magic was not totally wrong. However, it must be borne in mind that we are now speaking of complexes of thought and action, not whole cultures, epochs, or nations" (p. 108).

Taken together, the work of Mauss (1950/1972) and Pyysiäinen (2004) indicates that Frazer's theory was accurate in its assumption that people change from magical ways of thinking, to religious ways of thinking, to scientific ways of thinking. However, they also demonstrate that Frazer was wrong to assume that this process occurs but once.

While social evolutionary theory was initially presented according to a linear time frame, it is now understood in terms of a cyclical time frame. Religious modes of thought give

ways of thinking, and so on. Moreover, current scholarship demonstrates that Frazer was wrong to assume that this process of change transpires for entire cultures and civilizations. Rather, the movement is not a cultural shift but happens within each individual. All three types of thought exist simultaneously within the individual, one typically being more dominant than the other two. But, the overshadowing of one does not mean the disappearance of the other two. They lie dormant per se until the cycle comes round and that phase of thought is once more required.

CHAPTER THREE

The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate the similarities that exist between the theoretical model of magic presented in the former chapter and the interviews with the eight spiritual manual practitioners who are the focus of this research. In achieving this aim, four comparisons are drawn. First, the concept of energy, as the academics and as the practitioners portray it, is explored. Second, academic notions of magical thought are compared with the practitioners' worldviews. And third, a treatment is explored as a magical rite.

The Sacred and a General Definition of Magic

The first feature of the theoretical model of magic to be considered is the general distinction that magic is the practice by which the sacred is manipulated. Further, that such manipulation transpires via a specific technique—one that is usually based on sympathetic laws of nature. This distinction will be explored by looking at the practitioners' descriptions of energy (i.e. the sacred). That is, after each practitioner's description of energy has been looked at they will be reconsidered to see how closely they align with the theoretical characterization of magic.

Frazer (1922/1994), Durkheim (1912/1995), Mauss (1950/1972), Malinowski (1954), and Greenwood (2000) define the sacred, as manifested in magic, in similar ways. Essentially, they portray the sacred as an energy and/or as a force. This energy, though invisible, is nonetheless tangible and powerful. For instance, it can be the determining factor between good and ill health. This sacred energy/force is said to move like water (i.e., it flows). Further, it can be passed from person to person. A final overall comment made by these authors is that the sacred, as manifested in magic, is like electricity.

All eight practitioners who participated in this study speak of an energy that is both natural and sacred. The practitioners describe this energy as invisible and powerful. They say it is a tangible life-force, which flows through and around the body. Some of the practitioners also speak of this energy as spiritual, divine, and soul-like. Moreover, energy, according to these practitioners, may be channelled from person to person. And lastly, the practitioners' expressions for energy often include a reference to electricity.

Even though all eight informants refer to energy, each has his or her way of describing it. In light of this diversity each practitioner's description is touched upon. That is, the number of times they reference energy is mentioned and any unique contexts are discussed. Before proceeding to the individual descriptions, though, there are three common contexts worthy of mention.

One commonality is the phrase "energy work." Five out of eight practitioners employ this phrase to describe what it is they do. This idiom can be used as a specific reference, for instance, Brooke uses the phrase "energy work" to refer to reflexology. Or,

in a broader sense, the expression can denote any type of healing technique that deals with energy. An example of this is when Susan says, "Who knows, you might need to have some energy work done," yet does not specify what kind.

Second, the theme of "blocked energy" recurs in six practitioners' narratives. This idiom refers to the notion that there is a energy running through and around the body. This energy is ordered. It follows a pattern, a rhythm, and/or a cycle. Illness arises when energy becomes stuck within the design (i.e., blocked energy). Thus, a focus of the practitioner's work is unblocking stuck energy where needed, and maintaining it when it is flowing well.

Third, the practitioners' expressions for energy frequently revolve around the concept of electricity. In some instances the association is obvious, while other references are less overt. Yet, taken together, it is fair to say that the practitioners consider energy as being analogous to electricity. An overt example is Psyche's description of meridians as electromagnetic pathways and acupressure points as points of lower electrical resistance. Another is Rachelle's detailing of Vitaflex: "[I]t's actually... sparking an electrical charge through the circuit of the body." A subtler illustration is Will's reference to 'the pulse'; "It feels like you're plugged in a little more." Yet one more example is Susan's summary of Shiatsu: "You are kind of just charging the body with more energy."

Other examples of energetic expressions that allude to electricity include the recurrent use of the word spark. Already mentioned is Rachelle's description of VitaFlex. But, in addition, she incorporates the work spark into a description of healing: "You know some people will go to a plateau with one reality and then you can kind of spark them out of that to the next level of healing." Brooke, when articulating her

understanding of a client's healing, comments that, "they touch something, or something touches them. I don't know what it is but it's this spark...and they really feel that it has changed them." Lastly, Will uses the word spark to describe the source of healing powers. He explains:

One group of healers say it's coming from them and God. And the other group of healers say it's coming from them. For me, I don't know which one it is and maybe it's both. Maybe, the spark that's in you, the God part of you, that's where it's coming from. That's within you. But you're God. So, both are true in a sense.

These are a few of the common contexts in which the practitioners reference energy. What follow are their unique positions.

Will

Will mentions energy seven times in the course of his interview. In some of those instances, he makes use of the term as outlined in the similarly-voiced scenarios described above. Specifically, he employs the phrase primitive mind to denote his practice. He talks about blocked energy and how it causes illness. Finally, he compares this energy to electricity (as formerly mentioned).

Will declares that illness is an imbalance of the whole; and one of the things that causes imbalance is blocked energy. Subsequently, he also explains that one of the purposes, or aims, of his practice is to unblock stuck energy. For instance, when

describing fascia, he speaks of creating "a wave of energy" throughout the body--much like snapping a sheet of fabric--so as to realign the energy of the body.

Of the seven times Will mentions energy two are unique. The first is when Will reminisces about being a skeptic. The second is when he reveals his belief that the energy comes from God.

When Will first started reflexology he remembers being skeptical of energy. But, his disbelief dissolved with time. In fact, he grew to use energy to heal. He recalls:

When I first started doing reflexology there was no way I was going to do any kind of "hands-on" or Reiki - anything that had to do with that kind of energy stuff. I wasn't even sure about it. I didn't know if I even believed it. But over the years, it's been a natural progression from going from reflexology, I still do that of course, to 'the pulse'. And now I am at the point where I still do The Pulse of course, but I can also put my hands over someone. And say they have a sore knee, they'll feel lots of heat, they'll feel tingling and they'll feel movement going on in their knee. And when they feel that, the vast majority of people definitely feel results, benefits, and so on.

From this excerpt a few comparisons to *mana* may be drawn. First, there is an implicit understanding that the energy automatically responds to Will's movement, hands, and/or intention. He puts his hands above the problem area and the energy reacts. According to Mauss (1950/1972), this is a characteristic of *mana*; mana "involves the notion of automatic efficacy" (p. 117). It responds to the magician's intent. Moreover,

Mauss (1950/1972) comments that *mana* may be localized, which is what is occurring here (p. 117). It is evident that the active energy is limited to the knee, for the reason that the client's entire body is not hot and tingling. Lastly, Mauss (1950/1972) and Will provide the same description of *mana* and energy. They say that it feels "hot" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 117).

In this initial excerpt it is difficult to tell whether Will is putting energy into the client's knee or whether he is evoking the energy of the knee. Another passage clarifies the situation. Specifically, Will depicts himself as a conduit for the energy of God. He explains:

So this journey that I have been on is not only a journey in learning how to help people but it's a spiritual journey in trying to find out what God is, how intention works. And yet it's a juggling act, because you're trying to balance figuring out how it works. Yet if you try to understand it at a deep level, for me, it's confusing. I need to just allow it to happen. I try and keep it as simple as I can. But, saying I am available to have God's energy flow through me to this person, to help them.

Supplementary to this claim, Will clarifies that he is not sure what God is. "In the early days," he explains, "I started feeling like a vessel, allowing whatever God is, and different people have different interpretations of that, but allowing something to flow through me, to them."

Will's description of God's energy flowing through him to the client is analogous to some of Mauss' and Malinowski's assertions. For instance, mana, according to these

scholars is transmissible (Mauss, 1950/1972, p.109; Malinowski, 1954, p. 76). It may be passed from one person to another. Another example is Will's description of energy flowing; it parallels Mauss' (1950/1972) claim that *mana* is fluid (p. 117). Moreover, the notion of being a vessel, of having something flow through him, is matching with Malinowski's (1954) words: "the human body, being the receptacle of magic and the channels of its flow" (p. 76).

Will's description of God's energy flowing through him also corresponds to the words of Greenwood (2000). Recall Greenwood's summary of magical philosophy.

According to her, magic entails the exchange of subtle energies and forces between magician and humans (Greenwood, 2000, p. 23). In Will's case, he says there is a transference, or exchange, of energy.

Rachelle

Rachelle also mentions energy seven times during the course of her interview.

She uses the saying "energy work" to denote her overall practice as well as to describe

Raindrop Therapy. She comments that "it's a technique that encompasses many different
types of energy modalities." However, she also mentions energy when describing the
process of GeoTran. Specifically, she talks of having an "energy field." She explains:

I muscle test you on me so that you can lie there and just relax, and I can just tap in and get your mind out of the road. So that I can get into your inherent wisdom, basically. And then I ask your body what you need, because at a thought level you probably don't know. And so what it does is that it leads me through a series of words and each word has its own vibration. So then I bring that into my energy field that gives me a vibration that I can mirror to you; and then it's that vibration that breaks down the debris around the cells.

While this is a clear example of Frazer's homeopathic model of magic, the relevant point for this discussion is Rachelle's use of the word vibration as it pertains to her "energy field." The word vibration means "electromagnetic wave" (a direct reference to electricity). Hence, the electricity, in this scenario, is informative (it lets Rachelle know the client's needs), immanent (it is in the client as well as in Rachelle), and it is the active agent of healing. This description is analogous to Frazer's portrayal of *mana*. Robert Fraser (1994), the author of the introduction to Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, says the sacred in Frazer's storyline is "a rather abstract notion of energy as an immanent force like electricity that somehow informs the universe and binds it together" (p. xxiii). Moreover, Rachelle's description, once again, alludes to the fact that energy is transmissible. She draws it in, and gives it back. This, as previously mentioned in Will's section, is a characteristic of the sacred as manifested in magic, according to Mauss (1950/1972), Malinowski (1954), and Greenwood (2000).

Elaine

Elaine brings up energy seventeen times in her interview. For the most part, she uses it in the phrase "energy work," to depict her practice. However, like Will, she also

speaks of "blocked energy." She says there is a "natural flow of energy, within us, [and] around us" that can become blocked, which results in the body "not being as well as it could be." Elaine's practice, she reports, "unblocks those blockages and helps our energy to flow properly so that the body can do its built in task of healing itself and keeping itself healthy."

Elaine's use of the word "flow" to describe the movement of energy suggests fluidity, which is like Mauss' (1950/1972) description of *mana* (p. 117). Further, she says the energy is "within us [and] around us," which is similar to the words of Durkheim (1912/1995); he says that *mana* is "ubiquitous" (p. 97).

Another context in which Elaine uses this term is in defining Reiki. Reiki means "spiritually guided life force energy." This corresponds to Durkheim's illustration of *mana*. Recall his affirmation that *mana* is a "life-principle," or a life force (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p.197).

In addition to Reiki massage, Elaine offers relaxation massage. When asked to explain the difference between the two, Elaine remarks that Reiki massage involves having the client's permission to involve Reiki, and then her intention to incorporate Reiki into the massage. Elaine asserts that it is the practitioner's intention that causes this "spiritually guided life force energy" to flow. She says that the energy automatically emanates through her body into the client when she means for it to be so.

Elaine's assertion, to reiterate, is indicative of Mauss' (1950/1972) claim that mana "involves the notion of automatic efficacy" (p.117). In fact, Elaine's narrative is a more explicit example of automatic efficacy than Will's for the reason that Elaine maintains that she can turn the energy on and off. According to Elaine it is "positive energy, loving energy [that] brings about healing." This is the energy she calls on. She makes this distinction because in the past some have questioned her objectives. She explains:

Somebody said to me, 'Well, what if you call on this energy and the energy of the evil one comes?' And I said, 'Do you really believe that God is that weak?' I call on God's healing energy, and what? – the devil's gonna' come? Like, give me a break. Those people that are so wrapped up in evil powers – What energy do they think they are drawing to themselves?

It is obvious from this account that Elaine believes that the energy comes from God. But she extrapolates on what that means. She understands energy to be both transcendent and immanent, yet, either way divine. She gives details:

It takes a lot of trust on behalf of those who come for a treatment, because you can't offer them proof. ... It's to trust that energy. It's the energy of the universe. It's the energy of our being. For me, it's divine energy. That's where the energy comes from. It's divine energy. So, for me, I'm actually being a channeler, a conduit, for this energy to come through to work its wonders, in this person, or in myself. And you could say, 'Well, couldn't it come another way?' Sure it could! But this is one way it can come. And for me, it's divine energy and it's just overwhelming. It blows my mind when I think of it.

Elaine calls energy divine in much the same way that Durkheim (1912/1995) describes *mana* as "quasi-divine" (p. 191). What makes this energy quasi-divine is that it is both natural and sacred (a claim that Mauss (1950/1972) makes as well in terms of *mana*) (p. 111). It is sacred because Elaine says it is spiritual and divine. But, it is also natural because Elaine says it is "It's a natural flow of energy" (recall from chapter one this description), even though it cannot be accounted for, or explained, by scientific means (i.e., "proof").

Moreover, Elaine uses the same metaphor as Durkheim to illustrate energy in the natural world. Elaine says "[I]t's the energy is of universe," much like Durkheim's (1912/1995) report that "mana is diffused throughout the whole universe" (p. 197).

Elaine, like Will, also says she channels the energy. To repeat, this idea of channelling energy is analogous to the words of Mauss (1950/1972), Malinowski (1954), and Greenwood (2000). For instance, Malinowski (1954) asserts that the human body channels the force of magic (p. 76). What is more, he maintains that the force of magic is only evoked by "very strict rules of magical ...instruction" (Malinowski, 1954, p. 76). Elaine implies this when she remarks that there are different methods of summoning the energy. The technique that she uses is just one of the many ways.

A final unique scenario involves Elaine's sentiments regarding the existence of energy. She is quite passionate in her conviction that energy exists. She declares that

This is not a fad or fancy. This is reality. There is energy and we better start learning it, and knowing it. Just because we just discovered it doesn't mean it

wasn't always there. This is real. This isn't in someone's imagination or something like that.

Presumably, Elaine comments that "this is not a fad" in light of the fact that since the 1960's, Alternative Medical practices, which revolve around energetic principles, have flourished. Many of these practices have received criticism for being trends of the New Age Movement. For Elaine, this energy has always existed. Hence, it is not a passing craze. Lastly, Elaine's declaration that energy is not conjured in the imagination counters Taylor's and Frazer's assertion that *mana* works upon the false pretences of the primitive minds' imagination.

Susan

Susan says the word energy nine times during the research discussion. As well, the word energy is used in her brochure to describe Thai Yoga Massage. The brochure states that Thai Yoga Massage encompasses "[y]oga stretching, gentle rocking, acupressure of energy lines and rhythmic compressions to create a unique spiritual massage experience" (The Spiritual Center, 2005).

Susan mainly uses the word energy to describe meridians. However, in doing so, Susan—like Will and Elaine--also talks about "blocked energy." Recall from chapter one the descriptions of Thai Yoga Massage and Shiatsu. Both are based on the understanding that there is are lines of energy running throughout the body. Along these lines an energy (or a life force) flows. Also recall that blockages can allegedly occur along these

channels, which results in various difficulties and discomfort. The point of Thai Yoga Massage and Shiatsu is to "release" this blocked energy, which activates "the body's own natural healing potential, thus restoring balance, health and harmony."

Moreover, bear in mind Susan's description of how Shiatsu causes such a release to occur. In Shiatsu, points (which run along the meridians) are "pressed" so as to "bring[] all the energy together in that area, and then when it's released the energy moves through even moreso...releasing what was called blocked." This process, she reports, is equivalent to a water dam. The pressure is like a dam causing the energy to build up. And when the dam is taken away, or the pressure ceases, the energy flows with an intensified force, reaching farther parts of the body than it would have if it had not been dammed.

This depiction of energy is comparable to the words of Durkheim (1912/1995), Mauss (1950/1972), Malinowski (1954), and Greenwood (2000). For starters Durkheim (1912/1995) calls *mana* a life-force, like Susan calls energy a life-force. Second, the energy of which Susan speaks is comparable to Mauss' (1950/1972) description of *mana* as well as Malinowski's (1954) description of the force of magic. Both scholars say that the sacred in magic is fluid-like. So too does Susan. Next, Susan's words are comparable to Greenwood's (2000), who reports findings that suggest magical practitioners share a similar conviction: "the body is seen to be made up of a system of channels through which psychic energy passes" (p. 33). Clearly, Susan conveys this picture. The body, for her, is made up of channels, energy lines, and meridians. Further, Greenwood (2000) adds that the magical practitioners (who share this worldview) practice ritual techniques because they believe that they "establish a free flow of energy" (p. 33). Once again, so too does Susan. She asserts that the point of both Thai Yoga Massage and Shiatsu is to

release "what was called blocked" so that the energy, or life force, of the body can flow freely.

Moreover, Susan also utilizes the axiom primitive mind. According to Susan, a person may need to engage in more than one technique in order to heal, and one of those techniques may need to be primitive mind. Consider her following elaboration:

You may need five different modalities to work with your problem. It could be an emotional thing, but it looks like a physical thing. Right? So, first of all you go look at your physical health and then you realize, 'Oh, this is coming from my emotions that I stuck down twenty years ago because of something or other that happened.' So, then you might need to go get some energy work done. Or then, after that, maybe once you've cleared your energy you might want to learn to meditate. Most people say it's a physical thing and they go to clear it up physically. But, God knows, it could just be an energy thing. It could be a mental concept thing.

There is a clear link between energy and emotions in this passage. Specifically, past emotions, or repressed emotions, are taken to be a possible root of the problem. And primitive mind is the antidote to the problem. Therefore, it can be surmised that energy and emotions are intimately correlated—a point to be further elaborated later on.

Anne

Anne refers to energy twice. Once is when she provides the following definition of BodyTalk: "BodyTalk is a holistic energy healing system...based on the fact that within everyone there is an innate wisdom...that knows what's going on within your body." The second referral is indirect. When discussing the potential of BodyTalk Anne explains that it can "balance your meridians...[and] chakras...and everything that happens with that in energy in your body."

The brochure for BodyTalk also mentions energy twice. Once again, to reiterate from chapter one, the brochure affirms that BodyTalk is a "state-of-the-art form of health care based on re-balancing the body's energy systems" (International BodyTalk Association, n.d.). The second citation states: "The stresses of modern life can have a disturbing effect on the body by interfering with internal energy pathways and, more importantly, by impeding the body's innate ability to self-heal" (International BodyTalk Association, n.d.). Though Anne's inferences to energy are few, they nonetheless indicate similarities with *mana*, or the sacred in magic. Once again, there is an understanding that "the body is seen to be made up of a system of channels through which psychic energy passes and ritual techniques establish a free flow of energy" (Greenwood, 2000, p. 33). Further, Anne intimates at a subtle association between energy and an innate wisdom, much like the sacred in Frazer's (1922/1994) writings: "a ... notion of energy as an immanent force ... that somehow informs the universe" (p. xxiii).

Since Psyche's practice is entrenched in Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM), she typically refers to energy as chi. However, she does use the word energy four times during the course of her interview. For instance, she employs the phrase "blocked energy."

According to Psyche, establishing the source of blocked energy can be tricky, for the reason that the flow of energy is intricate and complex. To reiterate from chapter one, Psyche explains that chi flows along energetic pathways, called meridians, which start in the hands, feet, as well as face, and end in an organ for which they are named. Each meridian is like a personality or entity because it governs its own part of the body, its own sense organ, and is attached to its own emotion. This is one level of the pattern. But, there is also another more complicated level to the design. The meridians relate to each other. Being out of balance, or having blocked energy in one meridian not only affects all the aspects that are involved with that energetic pathway but it as well affects other meridians, and all the aspects that go with those other energetic pathways.

Psyche also speaks of energy in spiritual terms. Specifically, she explains a case where energy affects the ethereal soul. The following passage illustrates:

So each organ is considered to have something. Like the liver houses what we call the hun. The hun [is the] ethereal soul. It can leave the body in sleep and roam, [and] it leaves the body at death. But, it belongs to the organ the liver in TCM.

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Each organ has this incredible entity. So if you're thinking in terms of how the energy flows it makes a difference in how you view someone who is predisposed to nightmares. Why is the hun leaving at night? Because it's not grounded by your kidney chi, or your adrenal energy.

Lastly, in likeness to Elaine, Psyche upholds the existence of energy. After explaining what meridians are she says that, "science now knows they are there." As well, when speaking of chi she affirms, "we do know that it exists...quantum physics has done a lot of work with chi." This alludes to the old/new science of which Glucklich speaks.

Brad

Brad's mentioning of energy is limited. He only brings it up once in the course of his interview; he talks about how in the initial stages of his practice his client's energy would deplete him. Brad explains that he had to learn how to

...better handle my own energy from other people's energy, so that it didn't leave me exhausted after a treatment. So, I don't really get as tired as I used to. I used to go home and have to go straight to bed. I was just too tired.

This passage calls to mind Mauss' (1950/1972) observations regarding the magician's intent, specifically his observation that "the effects of sympathetic magic are

always limited to the effects desired" (p. 67). According to Mauss (1950/1972), the magician controls the magical property by interrupting the transmission or by allowing only certain amounts of *mana* to be transferred. Brad's scenario substantiates this claim. He admits that he had to learn certain skills so that his client's energy did not deplete him. That is, he had to learn to control the energy.

Brooke

Of all the practitioners, Brooke speaks of energy the most. She employs the term energy twenty-three times during her interview. She uses the word energy in the two common contexts outlined above. Namely, Brooke employs the phrase primitive mind when talking about her practice. As well, she elaborates on "blocked energy."

According to Brooke, and with many of the other practitioners, illness is caused by "blocked energy." Hence, once again, the purpose of her practice is to unblock that energy. She explains:

For me, from one point of view, they [illnesses] are energy blocks in the system. Things get blocked up for whatever reason. That is basically what I work on. To move out these blockages so the energy can flow freely and healing can take place. Basically, in a very generic sense that's what illness is all about. It's blocked energy. For example, reflexology and acupuncture works the meridians to unblock the energy.

In unblocking congestion Brooke feels that a person is healed. A case in point is one client who received a treatment and was "totally transformed." As Brooke tells it, "I didn't even realize I was moving it out." But, she reports, "[h]e's let go of gambling; he's let go of smoking; he's let go of drinking; he's let go of drugs." Brooke accounts for such healing in the ensuing passage:

I think what it is is that people start to feel better. They can let it go. So I don't think it's important that you're really working on that. I think the important thing is that when we start to feel well, I think you can let go of these crutches. I think is what it boils down to. It's not that I set out to work on those things in particular, because it seems that when you do it doesn't seem to work so well. All the energy knows where it needs to go and what it needs to do.

The word energy is drawn on when Brooke recalls the process of obtaining a business license. She remembers having difficulties convincing the issuer. She reminisces:

This is something that had never been applied for before--"Pie in the sky"-working on people's energy fields to heal them, help them heal. It was a very
difficult thing to get across to them. And education is the big thing. A lot of
people are afraid of it. They are afraid that if you are working on their energy
field they are going to get these sensations moving in their body. They are scared

of it because a lot of people are thinking that you are taking their power or something.

Later in her interview Brooke comments that some of her clients feel the energy more than others. For instance, she reports that those who work on water are very sensitive to the energy. They feel a "woosh," she says, as soon as she begins to work on them. These remarks are indicative of Durkheim (1912/1995) and Mauss' (1950/1972) words. They say that *mana*, thought invisible, is nonetheless tangible.

The comparison of energy with "power" corresponds to Mauss' (1950/1972) depiction of *mana* as "power." What is more, the image of controlling this power, thereby evoking sensations in the body, is analogous to Malinowski's (1954) depiction of the force of magic. Malinowski (1954) insists that magic is a specific power that resides in man, which is controlled only through the magician's art (p. 76). It is evoked through technique.

Next, when using the phrase "energy work" Brooke, like Rachelle, talks about an energy field. She reports: "The thing about the energy field too, is that everything that goes into the physical body is in your energy first, before it goes into the body. You hold it in your energy field first." When asked to further elaborate on what an energy field is, Brooke offered the following colloquial illustration:

I'm sure there are some people that you meet that you keep your distance from.

You're not comfortable if they come around you, or touch you, anything like that.

And that has nothing to do with that person or you. It's just lack of resonance.

You don't resonate with that person, for whatever reason. And there are others you get in their energy field and you could just wrap your arms around them.

You're comfortable. It's just different energies, basically.

Lastly, like Elaine and Psyche, Brooke comments on the existence of energy. She points out that because energy is invisible most question its reality. She continues:

Because we can't see what goes on in the body, or because we can't see what goes on in the energy field, we pretend it's not there. We don't recognize it. But there's a lot more to us than this physical body. This is only like 5%. Everything else, all the energy, this [pointing to her body] is only like a car body. It's the energy that propels us. It's our life force.

Note how Brooke says energy is our life force. Again, this is akin to Durkheim's (1912/1995) description of *mana*. He too says that the energy is a "life-principle," or a life force (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 197). What is more, Brooke's comments are reminiscent of other scholarly portrayals of *mana*, such as Frazer's (1922/1994) and Mauss' (1950/1972). energy, like *mana*, is the principle of life. It is the force of existence.

The mana of Spiritual Manual Techniques

From these excerpts there are enough associations to say that the academic sketch of mana matches with the eight practitioners' sketches of energy. Granted this is not to say that the energy of spiritual manual techniques is necessarily mana. But, this aspect of the sacred is conceived of in both scenarios in a very similar light, thereby lending credence to the claim that spiritual manual techniques are a contemporary form of magic.

The following is a recap of the ways in which *mana* is parallel to the energy of spiritual manual techniques. In demonstrating this parallel it can further be demonstrated that these practitioners relate to the sacred in an analogous manner to that which is found in magic.

Durkheim (1912/1995) maintains that *mana* is "energy" (pp.190-192). Moreover, he, like Frazer (1922/1994, p. 49) and Mauss (1950/1972, p.110), says *mana* is a "force." Specifically, it is a "life-force" (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 205). Malinowski (1954) and Greenwood (2000)call the sacred in magic a force as well. However, they do not equate the sacred with *mana* explicitly. Greenwood (2000), for example, says the sacred consists of otherworldly forces and energies, which are closely connected to this world.

All eight practitioners refer to an energy when discussing health and wellness. Further, Elaine, Brooke, and Susan refer to energy as a life force. Elaine does so when defining Reiki. Brooke does so when talking about energy in terms of the car analogy. "Thai Yoga Massage" is explained as a type of massage that is based on the understanding that there is "an energy system...through which the body's natural life force flows."

Elaine also describes energy as Durkheim (1912/1995) does *mana*, in that she illustrates it as "quasi-divine" (p. 191). Namely, it is both ordinary and extra-ordinary (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 111). On the one hand, it is the "energy of our being," "within us, [and] around us." It is the energy of the "universe." And, on the other hand, the energy is "divine." It is "God's healing energy."

Next, according to a number of scholars, *mana* is invisible and powerful (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 195; Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 49; Malinowski, 1954, p. 76; Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 111). Comparatively, there is an implicit understanding in most of the practitioners' interviews that energy is invisible and powerful, for the reason that none give a physical description of the energy and yet the energy is taken to be a determining factor between good and ill health. Further specific examples of a reference to power include Elaine equating energy with God, and contrasting this with the weakness of evil. Susan contrasts the force of released energy with weakness as well. And Brooke explicitly says the energy is invisible and calls it power.

According to Durkheim (1912/1995, p. 191) and Mauss (1950/1972, p. 111), mana is also tangible. That is, it can be felt, and it produces effects equivalent to material forces. Similarly, Will says that his clients can feel 'energy.' In fact, he describes the sensation in the same way as Mauss does: they say it feels hot. And Brooke maintains that energy blocks, though invisible, can be moved. Further, she says that people feels sensations when she works on their energy fields. She illustrates the feeling of energy by talking about people's comfort zones.

According to Malinowski (1954), the force of magic, which is within the body, is only evoked by specific technique. Again, this need for techniques is an implicit

assumption of the interviews. The reason these practitioners manipulate tissue is to work and/or manipulate the energy of the body. Hence, there is also an implicit understanding amongst the practitioners that the material body is intimately connected with nonmaterial energy. They manipulate the tissue (via their specific technique) because they want to ensure that the energy of the body is unobstructed (and it is the technique that will ensure that it is). Call to mind Elaine's statement that the energy is within us, and that the technique of Reiki "activates it." As well, Susan says the energy runs along pathways in the body, and it can be controlled via the technique of Shiatsu as well as that of Thai Yoga Massage. Anne conveys a similar message. She explicitly states that the energy is within the body. So too does the brochure for BodyTalk. It states that there are "internal energy pathways," and the technique of BodyTalk is able to work this energy. This understanding is also evident in the words of Pysche, when she details the flow of chi, and the interaction of the meridians. And lastly Brooke, like Malinowski, says that energy resides within the body. However, she (like Elaine and Rachelle) also maintains that the energy is around us in an "energy field."

Malinowski (1954) also maintains that the force of magic is passed from person to person, thereby making the human body the channel of magic's sacred force. Mauss (1950/1972), Pyysiäinen (2004), and Greenwood (2000) make similar claims. Mauss (1950/1972) asserts that *mana* is transmissible (p. 109). Pyysiäinen (2004) maintains sympathetic magic (specifically contagion) is based on the premise that there is a "physical transference of a non-physical property" (p. 103). And Greenwood (2000) states "[t]he essence of magical training is to open up the magician's awareness to these forces so that they can be channeled, mediated and controlled" (p. 23). Akin to these

claims, Will and Elaine stipulate that they are channels of energy. Namely, energy flows through them into their clients. For example, Elaine explicitly states: "I am actually being a channeler, a conduit, for this energy to come through to work its wonders." What is more, Rachelle mentions transference of energy as well when speaking of mirroring. And Brad alludes to transference when he recalls his initial treatment, and how they used to deplete him because he would "take on" the energy of his clients.

Another characteristic of *mana*, according to Mauss (1950/1972), is that it is fluid-like (p.117). Similarly, Will, Elaine, Susan, and Psyche declare that energy flows. For instance, Will says he is available to "have God's energy flow through me to this person." Susan uses the analogy of damming water to explain Shiatsu. And Psyche, when explaining diagnosis and the hun asserts that "how the energy flows…makes a difference in how you view someone."

Yet one more comparison is the practitioners' expressions for energy frequently revolve around the concept of electricity. As previously mentioned, this is parallel to academic definitions of magic for the reasons that Frazer (1922/1994) explicitly compares the sacred in magic with electricity, and Durkheim (1912/1995) warns that if one comes in contact with *mana*, without following the proper precautions, they are shocked, as if they had come in contact with electricity.

Taken together, these parallels suggest that the sacred in magic is similar to the sacred in spiritual manual techniques. Or, to be more precise, the *mana* of magic (as Frazer (1922/1994), Durkheim (1912/1995), Mauss (1950/1972), Malinowski (1954), and Greenwood (2000) define it) parallels the energy of spiritual manual techniques (as the eight practitioners who are the focus of this research define it). Having said this, the next

question that arises is, do these eight practitioners relate to the sacred in the same manner as in magic? Specifically, do they manipulate the sacred in order to affect the natural?

While this question has been touched upon in some of the former passages (and therefore in the analysis of those passages) it will be addressed more explicitly in the following.

The Manipulation of Energy

According to the practitioners' use of the phrases "energy work" and "blocked energy," it can be said that the practitioners do in fact manipulate the sacred to affect the natural. Additionally, it can be said that the natural is manipulated to affect the sacred.

Although the phrase "energy work" is general it is nonetheless precise, especially when considered in conjunction with the axiom "blocked energy." In summary, the two phrases denote a similar understanding; the body is naturally infused with an energy, which when blocked results in illness. By unblocking the stuck energy, the body returns to a state of health.

Will, Rachelle, Elaine, Psyche, and Brooke stipulate that "blocked energy" causes illness. This occurs by various means. It can result in an "imbalance of the whole," as Will explains. Or, as Elaine points out, "blocked energy" can inhibit the body's natural ability to heal. Either way the point is that when the energy of the body is unable to flow freely illness ensues.

Dealing with these blockages is called "energy work." Will, Rachelle, Elaine,
Susan, and Brooke employ this phrase to refer to their practices, or to other healing

modalities, that work with energy. Specifically, "energy work" denotes a technique that relies on and alters energy, or it denotes all techniques that deal with energy. An example of the former is when Brooke says, "For example, reflexology and acupuncture works the meridians to unblock energy." And an example of the latter is when Susan says, "Who knows, you might need to have some primitive mind done," yet, does not specify what kind.

Unblocking obstructed energy occurs via the manipulation of energy as well as of physical tissue. In fact, based on the words of these practitioners, it seems as though the two are inseparable. The energy is infused throughout the body. Hence, in manipulating the body one manipulates energy.

Seven of the eight practitioners testify to manipulating, controlling, or mediating a sacred energy of the body, which according to the previously mentioned academics (for example Greenwood) is the defining characteristic of magic. Further, these practitioners accomplish this task via a specific technique that manipulates tissue. This further solidifies the claim that they are engaging in a contemporary form of magic, for magic is said (by the fore-mentioned academics) to rely on specific technique. Respectively, Will and Elaine overtly concede to mediating energy. In Will's case he controls the energy via the technique of reflexology or "the pulse." And in Elaine's case she "channels" the energy via the technique of Reiki. Susan manipulates energy by releasing what was called "blocked" (using Shiatsu or Thai Yoga Massage). Using the technique BodyTalk, Anne also aims at controlling energy. Her aim is to ensure the energy is balanced. Psyche manipulates energy using acupuncture. Her aim, like Anne, is balancing the energy or meridians. Lastly, Brooke admits to inadvertently manipulating energy when she states,

"I didn't even realize I was moving it [i.e. blocked energy] out." Additionally, she says that her practice involves working on people's fields.

Conclusively then, based on the practitioners' description of "energy work" and "blocked energy," it may be surmised that their practices are analogous to a general academic definition of magic.

The Magical Mindset

According to Frazer (1922/1994), Mauss (1950/1972), Glucklich (1997), Tambiah (1990), Hanegraaff (2003), Schilbrack (2004) and Greenwood (2000), the magical mind requires a holistic perspective. It requires a state of consciousness that sees the interrelatedness of all things. Further, the magical mind considers these connections and relations in a meaningful way.

The primary means by which these practitioners display a "sympathetic" worldview (i.e., an acute perception of meaningful interrelatedness) is via their practice. Namely, the techniques they engage in are based on sympathetic philosophies. For example, reflexology is based on the philosophy that each part of the foot corresponds to a part of the body. Hence, the part (the foot) represents the whole (the body).

A second characteristic of the magical mindset, according to Frazer (1922/1994), Durkheim (1912/1995), and Mauss (1950/1972) is that the magical mind lacks rationality when it comes to the efficacy of magic; the magician has a clear goal in mind when conducting his/her magic, yet he/she lacks a logical explanation (epitomized in Western positivist science) for when that goal is met. In a less pejorative fashion, Glucklich (1997) and Tambiah (1990) explain that the logic of magic is based on holism, or an organic

model of reality, (rather than a mechanistic perspective). Therefore, the logic of magic is somewhat intuitive and emotionally, and is based on relationships.

Moreover, according to these scholars, the magician does not care to find a logical rationale (once again, epitomized in Western positivist science) for the efficacy of his/her magic.

Almost all the practitioners exhibit at least one of these features, and in some cases the practitioner reveals both characteristics. The only exception to the rule is Susan. Therefore, she is omitted from this section. Hence, when taken together, it can be said that the practitioners (for the most part) demonstrate characteristics of a magical mind.

Will

There are two indications of a magical mindset in Will's interview. First, the philosophy of reflexology is analogous to sympathetic thought. Second, Will insists that his "intention" alters treatments for the better. And third, Will lacks conjecture regarding the efficacy of his healing.

As Will describes it, the philosophy of reflexology is well-established in sympathetic thought, for the foot is taken to represent the body. Each part of the foot corresponds to an organ, gland, or other part of the body (Figure 1: Reflexology Association of Canada). In essence, the part equals the whole and the whole is represented in the part.

According to Will, this micro/macroscopic analogy extends beyond the body.

That is, he not only views the feet in relation to the body, but he views the body in relation to one's life. He summarizes:

The way I look at this, coming from a reflexology point of view, is what goes on in the feet, is what's going on in the body. What goes on in the body is what's going on in your life.

This conviction is indicative of a perspective that sees things as correlated. Specifically, the feet are connected to the body (in a significant way), and the body is linked to one's life (in a significant way). This micro/macrocosmic underpinning, according to Schilbrack (2004), is the foundation of all ritual magic. Further, according to Mauss (1950/1972), this concept is key to understanding sympathetic thought. Recall his remarks that the law of continuity is based on "the identification of a part with the whole... in such a way that through the[] part[] one can act directly on the individual concerned" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 64).

Elsewhere in the interview, Will further demonstrates a perspective of interrelatedness. Recall from chapter one Will's description of "the pulse." Will sees his practice of synchronizing his pulse to that of his client as the means by which he is able to "connect" with that person. "Even if it matches, or it doesn't match, there is a connection there made," he says. It is "[a] stronger link." Clearly Will feels that he is associated with his clients, thereby further demonstrating a perspective that thinks in terms of relations.

The second indication of a magical mindset involves Will's sentiments regarding "intention." To recap, Will says that The Pulse is intention, and describes "intention" as prayer. As well, he suggests that intention involves a person "entertaining the idea" of something happening. Either way, Will maintains that it improves a treatment. Consider his following statement:

The reflexology seems to be only as good as the reflexologist, the practitioner. In addition to the science of it, where pushing the reflexes and having that response, it seems that intention helps. But, I think it helps in every therapy that there is.

In the following passages, Will's concept of intention is further clarified. In essence, Will maintains that by earnestly making a request for a desired end, the required effects are achieved. To reiterate, Will maintains that having a purpose, or goal, in mind during a treatment makes it more beneficial. What is more, the following anecdote reveals his conviction that by having that goal in mind the desired objective is automatically achieved.

In the last five years I started noticing and questioning things like why one person would get results more than someone else would, even though the treatment was the same. And one of the early times when I started to realize how much intention had to do with it is when a client had come in with a shoulder problem. I was washing my hands, getting ready, and I kind of said [to myself – to God], 'Let's do it. I'm available. Let's do it.' I started putting some lotion on her feet, just to get warmed up

and she said, 'What did you just do?' And I said, 'Ah, put lotion on your feet.' And she said, 'My shoulder just released.' Now, it still could have been a coincidence.

But, it takes quite a bit of convincing me; at first it did anyways. But I realized that when I put intention into what I did the treatments were more beneficial.

In another anecdote of healing, Will tells of "a young girl, twenty-four years old, [who] suffered nosebleeds every day, sometimes two, three a day." The client had not told Will about these nosebleeds. So, one day "I was working on her," Will narrates, "and she got a nosebleed on the table." He continues:

So I asked her, 'How often do you get these nosebleeds?' She said, 'Well, every day.' And I said, 'Well, we gotta take care of this.' I did some pulse and she was healed! She doesn't get nosebleeds anymore. Now, whether it was the idea that I said, 'We gotta take care of that,' and then she entertained the idea...I don't know if it was that or the pulse. But my intention certainly was we gotta stop this. And I'll never know how that happened or how that worked. But, that's the thing, I don't need to know. The important thing is she was healed.

These stories tell of healing because of Will's intent. To be precise, Will achieved a desired effect by directing his attention towards that requirement. This phenomenon is a prime example of Frazer's (1922/1994) model of homeopathic magic: specifically, like produces like, or the effect resembles its cause. In essence, Will's intention (whether it be his thoughts or prayers) result in the desired outcome. In the first instance, his aim was to

rectify the client's shoulder problem. "Let's do it," he says. As a consequence, the aim was achieved. The shoulder "released." In the second case, Will was even more precise in his intentions. He said, "We gotta take care of that," (meaning that he wanted the client's nosebleed to cease). Again, accordingly, his intention was realized, the client's nosebleeds stopped.

The third indication of a magical mindset is revealed in the last lines of the forementioned passage. Will's stance on the efficacy of healing (that he does not know, nor
will he ever know, how healing works), is parallel with the lack of conjecture a magician
displays regarding the efficacy of magic. Though Will knows that his intentions affect the
treatments, he does not know how it affects the treatments; nor does he care to find out.

In his eyes, he does not need to know why or how the healing occurred. The important
thing, according to Will, is that the desired end was achieved; his goal was fulfilled. He
reiterates twice, elsewhere in the interview, "in the Alternative field we don't get hung up
on how it works. For whatever reason, it works."

Will's message is akin to the words of Frazer (1922/1994) when he says that the magician "never analyses the mental processes on which his practice is based, never reflects on the abstract principles involved in his actions" (p. 26). What is more, it is akin to Mauss' (1950/1972) description that the magician "has no need to ...understand the nature of his prayers, [nor]... worry about the whys and wherefores of the properties he employs," all the while having an "extraordinarily precise idea of the end he wishes to achieve" (p. 75).

In another part of the interview Will explains that he tries not to think about how or why healing works. He believes that doing so confuses the situation and decreases the

efficacy of the treatment. He calls it "trying too hard," and says that "when you try too hard, to me, you're actually establishing doubt [and it] seems to block it somehow. You are getting in your own way then--stopping the flow."

Will's remarks may be interpreted as analogous to Glucklich's (1997) account of the "magical experience." Specifically, Will's comments regarding "getting in your own way" resonate with Glucklich's (1997) assertion that the magical experience entails a loss of self. It is a state of consciousness, she reports, where one forgets the self, so that "the spontaneous experience of events" may transpire (Glucklich, 1997, p. 108).

Rachelle

According to Rachelle's interview, she too has a magical perspective. This is evident when she speaks about the philosophy of the aromatherapy she practices. As well, it is apparent when she reminisces about a client's experience of healing.

When speaking about her practice Rachelle make known that the aromatherapy she engages in is based micro/macrocosmic principles. Specifically, the aromatherapy she practices is based on the philosophy that the part is representational of the whole, which, as established earlier in chapter two, is the philosophical foundation of magic, according to Mauss (1950/1972) and Schilbrack (2004).

The type of aromatherapy Rachelle practices is similar to reflexology in that the feet and hands are taken to represent the body; a part is taken to represent the whole. A brochure for the essential oils Rachelle uses reveals this metaphor (Figure 2: Brochure for Essential Oils). After displaying a diagram that indicates which parts relate to each other,

the brochure instructs: "apply a drop or two of essential oil to those areas of the feet that correspond to the system of the body you wish to support."

This concept of the part representing the whole, as previously mentioned, is Mauss' (1950/1972) way of describing the philosophy of magic. To reiterate, he reports that the law of continuity is based on "the identification of a part with the whole... in such a way that through the[] part[] one can act directly on the individual concerned" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 64). Bearing this in mind, the aromatherapy Rachelle practices is therefore similar to Mauss' description of sympathetic magic for the reason that Rachelle treats an individual via his or her feet and hands, since they correlate and represent the entire individual.

Another indication that of magical thought may be drawn from a specific example of healing. Rachelle tells of a female client who suffered arthritis, but was substantially alleviated of arthritis after three treatments. Rachelle gives details:

I had a lady come who was very arthritic, and she had heard I could help with arthritis. When she came to me the first time I said, 'What would you like to do?' And she said, 'You know, I have not been able to be in my bathtub for so long. I can't crawl in and out of my bathtub. I just would so desire to have a bath.' And so I did one treatment for her. She came back the next day and I said, 'What would you like today?' And she said, 'I would really like to be able to pull my sweater over my head.' She said, 'With my arms and shoulders being as bad as they are I can only wear button down shirts and I am tired of wearing button down shirts.' So, I couldn't see her for three days, cause I was going away for the

weekend. She came back Monday morning and she was just glowing. She said, 'Guess what? I had two baths this weekend.' And she was wearing a sweatshirt that she had pulled over her head. So, I asked her, 'What would you like today?' She said, 'I would like to be able to comb my hair.' And by the end of that treatment she was able to do that. But, you know what? She never came back. Now to me, if that much improvement could happen in three days, one would have thought she would have continued to advance.

Elsewhere in the interview Rachelle further elaborates on this incident. She gives her opinion as to the cause of the arthritis. As well, she provides an interpretation as to why the client discontinued treatments, even though she experienced a significant "improvement" with the arthritis. She explains:

[The client] had lost her husband and she was so much not willing to carry on with her life without him that the arthritis really was, to me, like a seizing up of her body to reflect how she was seizing up on life. And she wasn't ready to deal with that yet. She wasn't ready to move on without him. So she wouldn't come back for more treatments. And it was just so sad... Had she continued her grieving who knows what healing would have taken place.

Rachelle understands the arthritis according to micro/macrocosmic principles.

The arthritis is as a reflection of the client's perspective towards life. "She wasn't ready to move on," in her thoughts and emotions, therefore her body "wasn't ready to move."

Rachelle's interpretation of the arthritis is indicative of the words of Schilbrack (2004). Recall Schilbrack's (2004) declaration that a key feature of ritual metaphysics is that the rituals operate according to micro/macrocomsic analogies (p. 138). In this case, the arthritis "reveal[s] a wider reality" (Schilbrack, 2004, p. 138).

Illness, according to Rachelle, is a "lack of balance." And while the causes of this imbalance are many, Rachelle nonetheless emphasizes an "incongruent belief system" as the root of illness. For example, "[i]mbalance in the physical body," she says, "is a reflection of either some belief system that's not working for us anymore, or an emotion that got stuck somewhere."

To reiterate, the basic premise behind this way of thinking is that of micro/macrocosmic analogies, which, according to Shilbrack (2004) are a distinguishing feature of a magical mindset. Emotions and thoughts reflect in the flesh. But, Rachelle's way of thinking is also akin to sympathetic thought because she alludes to the sympathetic principle of "like produces like." Again, the client "wasn't ready to move on," in her thoughts and emotions, therefore her body "wasn't ready to move."

Elaine

Elaine believes in the power of thoughts. What follows is a demonstration of how this belief is analogous to magical thinking.

Elaine believes that thought shapes reality. "We are what we think!" she declares.

A case in point is her assertion that people who worry (or mentally focus) on negative energy attract negative happenstances. Another case in point is when she elaborates on the power of mind. She explains:

More and more we are realizing, and the scientific world is realizing, how much an effect our mind has on wellness. That our thoughts have so much more to do with our state of health and well-being than we ever imagined. We are just beginning to explore this much. So I think that part of it is that we don't take control over our life like we could. And we don't even know we can. We let all these things outside our self control our life, control what happens to us, and control how we feel about it, how we react about it, and control who controls what we think. And we let all 'this'... society, and culture, and spouses, and children, and friends, or whoever, control what's happening inside us, instead of choosing what will happen inside us.

This passage resonates with Frazer's (1922/1994) model of homeopathic magic (specifically, like produces like) as well as Schilbrack's (2004) assertions regarding micro/macrocosmic principles in magic. According to Elaine, people's thoughts directly affect their state of health and well-being. This, according to Frazer (1922/1994), is an example of like produces like. If people think negatively they will feel negative.

Conversely, if people think positively they will be well. What is more, believing that "We are what we think!" is indicative of micro/macrocosmic analogies. The idea here is that the microcosm (i.e., one's thoughts) reflect that macrocosm (i.e., one's life). Thus, as Elaine points out, if people control their thoughts (in response to whatever external events may be transpiring) they will be in control of their life. As opposed to letting external happenings (i.e., the macrocosm) control people's thoughts (i.e., the microcosm).

Moreover, this passage encourages personal empowerment, which Frazer (1922/1994), Styers (2004), and Greenwood (2000) repeatedly assert is a characteristic of the magician. One of the resounding differences between a magician and priest, according to Frazer (1922/1994), for example, is that the former believes in his/her omnipotence.

A last example of Elaine's take on the power of thoughts is in the following passage. She explains that some people undermine this notion. That is, they try to invalidate the power of the mind. For her, their stance is meaningless. She clarifies:

I've had people say, 'Oh well, that Reiki stuff it's all in your head. If you think it works, it works'. Well, first of all I don't believe that. But, secondly, let's just say that that's true for the sake of argument. If your mind can make you ill, which it can, then your mind can make you well, which it can. Does it matter? Does it matter? The thing is wellness. Even if someone really believes it's all in your head, fine! Believe what you want, you know. Some people see holes in everything. I'm not going to take offence at that.

Arising from this passage are two points worthy of mention. One, it is clear that Elaine deals with the same accusations that early magicians did. Specifically, she comes up against allegations that parallel the work of Taylor (1871/1958) and Frazer (1922/1994). Using the theory of the association of ideas, both scholars assert that magic is "all in the head." Taylor (1871/1958) declares that in magic one "erroneously" conducts his/her action according to fabricated connections. Frazer concurs. Point number two is that

Elaine, like Will, does not get caught up in this line of questioning. She, like Will, says that the important thing is not figuring out whether it is or is not "imagined," the important thing is "wellness." Once again, this is indicative of a magical mindset. The magical mindset does not waste time in speculation, but rather is focused on a precise idea of a desired end.

Anne

The philosophy of BodyTalk is entrenched in sympathetic thought. Recall the description of the technique itself: the practitioner and client create a link between body parts by placing their hands in line with the parts that require help. The example Anne gave (as discussed in chapter one) was of a link between liver and pancreas, in regards to sugar metabolism. This illustration is physical. But, Anne further explains that sympathetic relationships exist between emotions, consciousness, and body. Namely, the parts of the body are not only sympathetically connected with physical properties but they are as well linked with qualities of emotion and consciousness. In explaining this emotional connection Anne further states:

Different parts of your body store different emotions. Your lungs and large intestine are related to grief. Your liver and your gallbladder are related to anger. These are normal places to store this stuff. So, if you have too much of those emotions stored in any part of your body then that part of your body is going to be compromised ... [Or.] if the emotions get stored in the wrong place, for example

if grief got stored in the liver, where anger is the normal place, then that's even more damaging, because that's not the place for it.

Anne also sheds light on the sympathetic connection that exists between different parts of the body and consciousness. She explains:

Not only do all parts of your body have emotions stored within them, but they have a consciousness related to them. So your gall-bladder is related to decision making. Your liver is related to planning and organizing, that kind of thing. For example, if we were doing a link between gallbladder and liver, you work through the physical things, and it can be very specific, like anatomy. But then you get to the consciousness level. Is this really about making a decision? Are you thinking about going to school here, or getting a job? Is it a decision related to planning? So liver and gallbladder, that may be what that link was about, ultimately. And so by identifying and balancing this consciousness you got a whole other thing going on in the body besides the physical. [For example,] another common thing is your ankles are ruled by your gall-bladder meridian. Often if your brain is thinking of you himmin' and hawin', it will trigger things to happen in your physical body. It will force you. And I've had this happen to two different clients. You twist your ankle simitating the client! "Well, I can't go to Winnipeg now... aaaah, I really didn't want to go anyways.'

Clearly, Anne perceives one's health in terms of various correlations; organs are related physically, as well as emotionally. Further, they are related to various states of consciousness. Although it is unclear how these connections are known, it is clear that they are very precise associations. Lastly, Anne obviously interprets physical ailments, such as a twisted ankle, according to these associations. Therefore, the connections are meaningful. For example, she interprets a twisted ankle as a sign of indecisiveness.

Anne's worldview is typically magical. For one, Anne thinks in terms of associations. Namely, she "associate[s] in thought those things which [s]he f[i]nds by experience to be connected in fact" (Taylor, 1871/1958, p. 104). Though it is uncertain what experiences lead to the philosophical foundation of BodyTalk, it is nonetheless apparent from Anne's words that these associations, for her, are fact. For another, she asserts these associations are, as Hanegraaff (2003) points out, "hung together in a definite way" (p. 362). Moreover, not only are the associations definite, they are meaningful (Glucklich, 1997, p. 111).

This categorical system, (i.e., lungs and large intestine relate to grief, liver and gallbladder relate to anger, gallbladder to decision making, etc.) is reminiscent of Mauss' (1950/1972) assertion regarding magical knowledge. According to Mauss (1950/1972), magicians rely on knowledge that is based on an extensive system of classification where various materials have "been sorted into a multitude of categories, based on their sympathetic relations" (p. 77). Hence, the type of knowledge Anne relies on is characteristically the same as that found in magic.

One last indication of her magical mindset is Anne's insistence that she "adhere to the rules of [her] art" (Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 45). When asked if different problems

warrant different techniques of healing Anne responds by saying, "No. The methodology is the same for everything." Further, she clarifies that "if the right sequence of events is followed, then the healing that can happen is phenomenal." This affirmation, according to Frazer (1922/1994), is typical of a magician. The magician believes that nature is run by set laws; "... it assumes that in nature one event follows another necessarily and invariably" (p.45). Based on this understanding, (i.e., "the same causes will always produce the same effect) the magician does not doubt that the performance of the proper ceremony will inevitably be attended by the desired result" (Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 45). Hence, the magician always "strictly conforms to the rules of his art," for s/he believes that these rules are the means of wielding the power of nature (Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 45).

Psyche

Psyche's way of thinking is parallel to magical thinking in that she relies on a system of knowledge that is based on an elaborate classification of sympathetic relations. She relies on this knowledge for diagnoses and treatment.

Rather than working from a perspective of the part equals the whole, Psyche practices acupuncture from the perspective that "the personality of a being is indivisible, residing as whole in each of one of its parts" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 64). This is evident in the way she portrays her acupuncture practice. She explains that

It looks at the whole body, not just a piece of it. The manner in which it treats does not differentiate in any way, shape, or form between mind, body, and spirit. When you treat one thing you treat it all.

The classification system that Psyche relies on is based on a series of sympathetic relations. These relations revolve around five elements: earth, fire, wood, water, and metal (Figure 3: The Relationship of the Five Elements). These five elements correlate with different properties and qualities. For instance, on a rudimentary level they are associated with a colour. Earth is yellow. Fire is red. Wood is green. Water is blue. And metal is silver. On another level, they relate to an organ. For instance, earth is sympathetically connected to the spleen and stomach, fire to the heart and small intestine, wood to the liver and gallbladder, water to the kidneys and bladder, and metal to lung and large intestine. However, there are many other correlations. For example, Psyche reports that all of the following items are classified according to an element: emotions, sounds, tastes, senses, fluids, references, seasons, changes, direction, condition, quality, and a connective tissue.

Using this elaborate classification system Psyche is able to diagnose. She is the only practitioner to do this. As Psyche tells it, she utilizes this knowledge to assess her clients. Namely, she "look[s] at what the surface of the body tells [her]...what pattern is most prevalent, [and] how it is affecting the next one, the next one, and the next one."

She explains:

So we look at the surface of the body to see what's happening inside of it

And it starts with looking at someone while they are in front of you. The colour of their skin, the tone and moisture of the skin...is important. The sound of your voice is important. Everything is relevant.

According to the surface, texture, colour, and quality of the skin, hair, nails, tongue, and eyes (to name but a few) Psyche evaluates what patterns are manifesting. "For example," Psyche observes, "if someone came in with yellow skin, we'd say they were in this element" [points to the element of earth]. To further demonstrate, she adds,

And that white silvery translucent look people get is attached to metal. Metal is the element of the lung and large intestine, so on and so forth. Kidney and abdominal is greyish. Green is liver and gall bladder. A ruddy red face is fire [which is] liver and small intestine.

Additionally, Psyche relies on this body of knowledge for treatment. A case in point, she relays, is when a client complains of having certain conditions in certain seasons. She continues to elaborate:

If it's in the fall then we are dealing with metal; then we are dealing with lungs and large intestine, which are partners. So the other thing with that, you have to consider what happens in the fall. You get a lot of wind and cold. We actually look at those things. For instance, [imitating a client] 'I've been like this ever since this one event.' They were out for a walk and got a chill. So they were

exposed to an environment that was windy and cold and the environment invades the body. In terms of treatment, we would have to disperse the wind and warm up the cold. So you stimulate the yin energy and disperse the wind.

Undoubtedly, Psyche's perspective is deep-rooted in a series of associations, relations, and connections. This is evident in the former passages; she considers one's health/illness in terms of five elements (and all the properties that are related with these elements, like seasons and sounds). But, when this series of associations is considered in conjunction with her former passages regarding meridians, the connections extend indefinitely. Not only do things relate in terms of the five elements (and all the properties that are related with these elements) but they as well relate to meridians, which as Psyche said are like personalities or entities. In fact, Psyche admits that this mode of thought is an "infinitismal way of thinking." The associations are far reaching.

This extensive body of sympathetic knowledge is a prime example, according to Mauss (1950/1972), of a magical system of knowledge (p. 75). Recall his assertion that the magician relies on an extensive system of classifications where various materials have "been sorted into a multitude of categories, based on their sympathetic relations" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 77). Hence, like a magician, so too does Psyche rely on information, for both diagnosis and treatment that is categorized according to a wide-ranging amount of sympathetic relations.

There is some evidence of a magical mindset in Brad's words, but it is limited.

One indication is that Brad provides two examples of being connected to his clients in such a way that he is able to experience thought transference. Or, in other words, Brad is connected to his clients in such a way that there is, as Pyysiäinen (2004) puts it, "a physical transference of a non-physical property." Specifically, he tells of receiving the thoughts (or more so the emotions) of others, while giving a massage. He calls it "picking things up." He illustrates:

Sometimes I'll be in the middle of a treatment and I'll get angry. And sometimes I bring it up. Often it's more what they are feeling than what I am. It might be something they're feeling and I'm picking it up. I get that quite a bit. A kind of sadness, anger, or whatever. If I want to take all their pain, or whatever... I can take that on too.

This type of thought transference is, according to Frazer (1922/1994), "the essence of magic" (p. 35). Specifically, he writes: "faith in telepathy is one of [magic's] first principles" (Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 35).

The second indication is that Brad believes "thoughts create reality." He relates this belief to depression; he says, "that's the thing with depression—after a while you'll start to believe what you think, whether it's true or not." This passage, alludes (abeit subtley) to the notion of "like produces like." Akin to Elaine, Brad believes that if a

person thinks depressing thoughts he/she will be depressed. The effect will resemble the cause, which, according to Frazer (1922/1994), is sympathetic magic.

Brooke

There are two indications of magical thinking in Brooke's interview. First of all, the philosophy of reflexology, as previously mentioned, is based on sympathetic thought. Second, Brooke shows a lack of speculation regarding the efficacy of her healing.

To reiterate, the philosophy of reflexology is based on micro/macrocosmic analogies; the part is taken to represent the whole. In this case, the foot represents the body. Brooke works on a client as a whole, via the foot (by applying/utilizing the technique of reflexology). This philosophy matches Mauss' (1950/1972) description of the philosophy of magic; he asserts that magic involves "the identification of a part with the whole ... in such a way that through the[] part[] one can act directly on the individual concerned" (1950/1972, p. 64). Since Brooke chooses to engage in this technique it is a given that she subscribes to this way of thinking. Moreover, since this way of thinking is akin to a magical mindset, it can therefore be said that Brooke subscribes to, or engages in, magical thought.

Lastly, Brooke's standpoint is akin to a magical perspective because she has absolute faith in the efficacy of healing, but lacks conjecture on how it works. When describing the process of obtaining a business license Brooke tells of the issuer being uncertain about energy healing. But, in regards to her faith she adds, "I never even

thought to doubt it." Further, when describing how the energy works she had the following to say:

Some people come and they don't feel a thing. Other people come and they feel like they are floating off the table. It all has to do with your body type and everything. I find people who work on the water very susceptible to energy. They just feel it. You just touch them and they "woosh." I don't understand it either myself. But I just know it. They come for all kinds of reasons. A lot time they don't even tell me the reason they come for. But it works out.

Similar to Will's sentiments, Brooke admits that she does not understand how the healing works. But, she nonetheless has complete faith in its efficacy. This phenomenon is, once again, parallel to some of the fore-mentioned academic reports of magic, for the reason that Brooke does not "reflect on the abstract principles involved in [her] actions" (Frazer, 1922/1994, p. 26). Nor does she care to "justify [her] ritual logically" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 51).

Analysis

According to Taylor (1871/1958), Frazer (1922/1994), Mauss (1950/1972),

Glucklick (1997), Tambiah (1990), Hanegraaff (2003), and Greenwood (2000), the

magical mind perceives and interprets the world in terms of associations and connections.

Everything relates in a meaningful way. Similarly, Will, Rachelle, Anne, Psyche, and

Brooke display a worldview that is based on correlations and meaningful associations. They have this worldview mainly because it is the philosophy of the healing technique they practice. Namely, Will and Brooke maintain that the part (i.e., the foot) represents the whole (i.e., the body). As well, they believe that each part of the foot corresponds to a particular part of the body. Rachelle maintains this philosophy as well, since she practices Raindrop Therapy, which promulgates similar beliefs (i.e., the part represents the whole). The philosophy of BodyTalk, as indicated by Anne, is entrenched in sympathetic thought. Organs are linked to each other not only in a physically consequential way, but they are as well related by emotions and consciousness. Further, acupuncture, as Psyche explains, is bound by a whole system of knowledge, which is based on sympathetic relations. It is a system of knowledge that has necessarily set up categories of emotions, sounds, tastes, etc.

Will reveals another side to this perspective. First, he explicitly states that he sets out to make a connection with his clients, via the technique "the pulse." Second, he elaborates on his micro/macrocosmic perspective by declaring that the feet represent the body, and that the body represents one's life. Both of these tendencies are indicative of a magical mindset.

The next display of magical thought is the prevalent view that thoughts shape reality, which is reminiscent of the Frazer's (1922/1994) model of sympathetic magic—specifically, "like produces like." Elaine, Brad, and Brooke believe in the power of one's thoughts. Elaine succinctly states, "We are what we think!" And Brad succinctly states that "thoughts create reality."

What is more, parallel with Frazer's (1922/1994) and Schilbrack's (2004) assertion that a magical mind attributes omnipotence to oneself, so too does Elaine advocate having a locus of control within oneself. In fact, she says that their treatments help bring about a sense of empowerment. Will and Susan share this opinion as well. It will be demonstrated in the next section.

The last characteristic of a magical mind that appears in the practitioners' narratives involves the magician's speculation of magical efficacy. According to Frazer (1922/1994), Durkheim (1912/1995), Mauss (1950/1972), Glucklich (1997), and Tambiah (1990), even though magicians may be unable to explain their magic, they do not doubt it. This is parallel with the sentiments of Will and Brooke. Both say they are not sure how healing works, they just know that it works.

Interpreting a Spiritual Manual Technique Treatment as a Magical Rite

The theoretical model of magic in chapter two lays down four main characteristics of a magical rite. First, a magical rite is transformative. There is some change of state in the participants of the ritual. Second, a magical rite is emotionally expressive. Third, a healing magical rite is aimed at restoring, or enabling the participant to experience, a sense of wholeness. Lastly, a magical rite is private and individualistic (as opposed to other rites that involve the sacred, such as religious rites, which engage a community and are generally performed in public).

The first characteristic of a magical rite, according to Mauss (1950/1972),

Tambiah (1990), Schilbrack (2004), and Greenwood (2000), is that it involves some kind

of self-transformation. According to Mauss (1950/1972), all magical rites involve a change of state; one is either put into a state or taken out of one (p. 61). Tambiah (1990) asserts that magical rites are "performative acts...which simply by virtue of being enacted ... achieve a change of state, or do something effective" (p. 68). Further, Schilbrack (2004) and Greenwood (2000) declare that magical rites are psychically and spiritually transformative. Schilbrack (2004) argues that metaphysical rituals entail the discovery and exploration of a "true self" (p. 117), which means a change in worldview, but it could also mean a change in one's habits and actions. Either way, it is "themselves that ritualists seek to transform by means of ritual" (Schilbrack, 2004, p. 138). And Greenwood (2000) maintains that the purpose of a magical rite is to connect with the otherworld (i.e., energetic forces), which is "a direct route to self-transformation" (p. 35).

The second characteristic of a magical rite, according to Malinowski (1954) and Glucklich (1997), is that it is emotionally expressive. Malinowski (1954) declares that magical rites are "extended expressions of emotion," for the reason that they typically include "free outbursts of emotion" (p. 80). Moreover, Malinowski (1954) informs that these outbursts are generally the result of two scenarios. One, those who engage in the magical rite conjure up passion for a desired end. Or, two, the outburst is in response to a stressful situation (such as failing health), which everyday knowledge cannot address. Glucklich (1997) supports Malinowski's assertions. She too maintains that the point of a the point of a magical rite is to express what needs to be expressed. In fact, she says that a magical rite is "a cathartic experience" (p. 46).

A third feature of magical rites, specifically those that are focused on healing, according to Greenwood (2000) and Glucklich (1997), is that the participants experience

a sense of wholeness via the rite. According to Greenwood (2000), "most magicians...say their magical practice is a spiritual path, a route to wholeness" (p. 121). Further, she asserts that most ritual magic is focused on "... heal[ing] the body and the psyche from the disharmony of contemporary life ... [it is] restoring an original balance" (Greenwood, 2000, p. 121). Glucklich (1997) speaks specifically of magical healing and says that "[a]ll magical healing tries to ... restore[] the wholeness—the systemic completeness—in the consciousness of the main participants" (p. 96).

The fourth feature of ritual magic is that the rites are private and individualistic in nature. One of the defining characteristics of magic, according to Durkheim (1912/1995), Weber (1922/1964), and Mauss (1950/1972), is that magic operates autonomously and functions on an individual level, rather than a communal level. And in terms of privacy, recall Mauss' (1950/1972) comments that "[m]agical rites are commonly performed ... in the secret recesses of a house or at any rate in some out-of-the-way place" (p. 23).

The Goal of Spiritual Manual Techniques: Healing

Without a doubt, the goal of spiritual manual techniques is healing. But, though it is a given that healing is the goal of spiritual manual techniques, each practitioner provides a different response to question number two; "In a single sentence try and describe what healing is?" For Susan, "healing is the process of allowing yourself to be who you really are." Rachelle maintains it is "restoring a state of balance." Brooke calls it "soul work, because it works from the inside out." Anne asserts it is

...the improvement in how your body is functioning, and that can be at any level. It can be as simple as physical symptoms going away. But, it can also be emotional and mental, with respect to the way you look at something can change. It can be something like forgiveness. You're being healed by that kind of thing. And it can be spiritual too. You can adopt a belief in something that can really help you.

Brad, even though he considers the concept of healing "hard to put into words," says, "it's being able to let go, and accept on all levels, and to be able to recognize what it is that's causing the problem." It is, "to heal the mind, body, spirit in the whole."

Elaine answers question number two by distinguishing between curing and healing. The former, she clarifies, "means all the symptoms are gone and it no longer exists," whereas, "[h]ealing is an inner work within one's being to bring about wholeness and wellness, be that physical or spiritual, or psychological, or emotional." It is, "[t]o bring to fulfillment and completion the potential that is within oneself." Will makes a distinction as well. However, his division is between independent healing and healing that involves another. He states:

When healing occurs in the body, independent of someone else helping you, you are returning to God's perfection. You're returning to a natural state that the intelligence knows. And when this happens, whether through time, or you've learned what you need to learn, what you need to do, or you're taking better care of yourself, as a result of this message [breaks off]. Your illness was a message.

And so when you get the message, (because the message seems to keep repeating itself if you don't get the message) if the illness is to teach you something, then the body heals. And for the other, when someone else helps you heal, I think they are nudging that. They're nudging your own God-given ability to heal. They're sort of saying, 'I am going to help you.' The healer doesn't heal the person. I don't think. The healer encourages the person to heal. We all have the ability to heal. Some of us just don't know it. Sometimes it just takes the healer to nudge, to get things going. It's vague, but it's such a complicated question.

Thus far, there are parallels between the practitioners' definitions of healing and some of the fore-mentioned academic definitions of ritual magic. For example, Susan alludes to the discovery of a "true self," just like Schilbrack (2004) does when speaking of metaphysical rituals such as magical rites. Rachelle, Brad, and Elaine maintain that healing brings about wholeness, which is comparable to Glucklich's (1997) and Greenwood's (2000) claim that magical healing restores wholeness. And Anne says healing equals change, which is akin to Mauss' (1950/1972) declaration that magic entails some change of state in the participants of the magical rite. However, when coupled with the ensuing passages the parallels between a spiritual manual technique treatment and a magical rite become further evident.

Take note that while the first three characteristics of a magical rite are linked throughout the following comparisons, the last characteristic (the private and individualistic nature of a spiritual manual technique treatment) is left until the end.

Further, the fourth characteristic of a magical rite will be talked about in general, since it applies to all eight practitioners.

Will

The main way that Will's treatments resemble ritual magic is that they are focused on, and result in, transformation. Bear in mind Will's story of the young woman who had regular nosebleeds that ceased after receiving The Pulse, as well as the woman whose shoulder "released." These are obvious examples of a change. The first client quit having nosebleeds, and the second client no longer has shoulder problems. But, Will also speaks of healing in terms of self-transformation, changing from a state of imbalance to a state of wholeness.

Illness, according to Will, is "an imbalance of the whole." The causes of this imbalance are many, he reports; "It can be as simple as not getting enough sleep, or Vitamin C." Or, it can be emotional; "they need to forgive," for instance. Or they are "hanging on to anger, or feeling that they don't deserve." But, "the majority of the time it's lifestyle," Will says. The root of imbalance is lifestyle.

Consequently, healing, according to Will, means "finding the imbalance" and rectifying it. "But, there is good news in that, though," says Will; "Cause that means you can actually do something about it, and that's the empowerment of [breaks of], that's the healing in itself. You can empower someone to make changes in their own health and in their beliefs."

Will's definition of healing and illness measure up to the words of Glucklich and Greenwood. Healing, the aim of Will's treatments, means returning to a natural state of balance. Specifically, he says that "when you're balanced in your whole then you're healthy." Glucklich (1997, pp. 118-120) and Greenwood (2000, p. 121), both of whom specifically speak of healing magic, say that the overall aim of healing magic is to achieve balance and wholeness. For instance, Greenwood (2000) affirms that a primary goal of a healing magical rite is to "help restore an original balance" (p.121). And Glucklich (1997) states that "[a]ll magical healing tries to...restore[]the wholeness" (p.96). Further, Will comments that illness is an imbalance of the whole and healing restores balance, which is similar to Glucklich's (1997) assertion that illness ruptures the pattern of harmony, and "healing restores the perception of harmony" (p. 95).

Will also speaks of healing in terms of an inner spiritual transformation.

Remember Will's assertion that illness is a message. Illness is trying to impart personal knowledge. It is attempting to teach one what s/he "needed to learn," so that they can be whole. These lessons are often spiritual lessons, Will maintains. He explains:

You can have an illness that forces you to start looking at, let's say, the spiritual side of life. Or let's say you have a lot of time on your hands and you start thinking about things and find out what really is important. Not the condo at the beach and so on. What's really important? And illness can be one of the greatest teachers. People who really truly heal, spiritually, they say 'that breast cancer that I had was the best thing that ever happened to me, because I am now more whole

than I ever have been. I am more connected to God. I am more spiritually enlightened. I am happier than I have ever been.'

Will's assertions regarding healing, self-transformation, and the teachings of illness are reminiscent of Schilbrack's (2004) and Greenwood's (2000) affirmations of ritual magic. Will declares that healing entails a discovery of self as well as of metaphysical truths. Namely, healing entails discovering what is most important in life (i.e., the "spiritual side of life"). It involves receiving and learning a significant (and often) spiritual message. In the same way, Schilbrack's (2004) description of ritual metaphysics tells of a realization of a "true self" (p. 131). So too does Greenwood's (2000) description of magical ritual; magical rites are focused on a "finding of the true self" (p. 117). What is more, Schilbrack (2004) informs that metaphysical rituals are "a form of inquiry" (p. 136). They allow one to discover and create self-knowledge (i.e., discover what is really important in life).

Lastly, Will affirms that healing is empowering. When his clients are empowered to transform their perspective, their beliefs and/or their lifestyle, they are healed.

Likewise, Schilbrack (2004) affirms that metaphysical rituals are empowering (pp. 138, 141). Specifically, they empower people to change their worldviews and/or habits.

Greenwood (2000) concurs; she says magic rituals that heal encourage personal control.

There are three parallels between Rachelle's treatments and the previously mentioned features of a magical rite. First, Rachelle's words make known her belief that healing is transformative. Two, she claims that healing (the aim of her treatments) is "restoring a state of balance." Lastly, there is a relationship between "released" emotions and healing in the treatments she provides.

The aim of Rachelle's treatments is healing; and, for her, healing entails change. One of Rachelle's illustrations of healing exemplifies this. It involves a woman who for ten years was addicted to anti-depressants. Rachelle has been working with her for two years and in that time "she's off the anti-depressants, [and is] much healthier, much happier." This change, Rachelle says, required "many, many, many, many, many healings of many different levels throughout the two years." In Rachelle's opinion, the woman "still has things to work through," but the change from "where she was two years ago, to where she is now is just like night and day."

Additionally, Rachelle defines healing as "restoring a state of balance." However, she adds, "while...people are healed, that doesn't mean that they will never experience another aspect of imbalance." "Healing is a journey," she says, "and we are finished when we are not here anymore." These sentiments compare with Greenwood's (2000) claim that healing ritual magic is aimed at "restor[ing] an original balance" (Greenwood, 2000, p. 121). Moreover, Greenwood (2000) maintains that "[m]agical practices today ... help the magician heal the body and the psyche from the disharmony of contemporary life in a bid to restore harmonious unity" (p. 121). As Rachelle described it, she too tries

to help her clients heal the body and psyche from disharmony. In particular, she tries to help harmonize and release blocked emotions.

In further elaborating on the process of healing Rachelle suggests that there is a link between expressed emotion and healing. Specifically, she mentions that healing involves a "release" of emotions and beliefs:

I find people, in my experience, most often, can only deal with so much change at one time. And if you're healing and releasing and letting go and finding new things you need to believe in, think about, and emotions that you've dealt with, sometimes people will go step, step, step, and then they plateau for a little while, to get used to this new 'them' and all these reactions with friends, family, whatever. They need a bit of plateau time before they get ready to take the next step.

Rachelle's intimation of a "release," alludes to an emotional expression that is matching with what Malinowski (1954) and Glucklich (1997) have to say about magical rites being emotionally expressive. According to these scholars magical rites are intended to bring about expressions of what needs to be expressed. Similarly, in the above passage Rachelle stipulates that generally all healing entails a release of "emotions that you've dealt with."

Elaine's treatments may be interpreted as ritual magic for three reasons. One, Elaine repeatedly asserts that her practice gives rise to self-transformation. Two, she affirms that healing is about experiencing wholeness. Three, she provides examples of healings that necessitate an emotional release.

Recall that Elaine's practice consists of two types of massage. One kind of massage incorporates Reiki. According to Elaine, Reiki, the channelling of a spiritually guided life force energy, "will do many things." For instance,

Reiki will help keep you balanced while you deal with ... painful things;...[it] will help you seek out other sources of assistance in dealing with the healing; [and it] will help you to set it all behind you eventually, so you can get on with your life

Yet, ultimately, Elaine says that Reiki brings about change. It induces selftransformation. It causes a person to evaluate and assess his/her life. And, it helps a person better his/her life by changing harmful thoughts and behaviours. Consider the following portrayal:

Reiki is really about transformation – inner transformation. What are my patterns of life that aren't healthy? Where do they come from? Maybe I can name the cause, maybe I can't. But what do I need to change so that I can live more fully,

in a well way? And how can I do that? And what to change? Sometimes it's minimal change. Sometimes it's big change.

This portrayal is very similar to Greenwood's (2000) depiction of ritual magic. According to Greenwood (2000), the main objective of magic ritual is to connect with subtle energies and forces of the otherworld. This connection, she claims, "offers the individuals a direct route to self-transformation" (Greenwood, 2000, p. 35). Equally, Elaine claims that channeling Reiki (a spiritually guided life force energy) instigates inner transformation.

Elaine, like Will, believes that illness is a message, and that healing entails receiving that message and responding appropriately. The illness signifies what needs to be changed on a personal, individual level. Healing therefore involves a private resolution. She explains:

I think when we are ill our bodies are trying to tell us something, and that's the hardest, hardest thing. And sometimes we never get there. What's it trying to tell us? Illness is our bodies trying to us something. What? What? That's the hardest part. But if we can learn the what, even if the illness is fatal. What's the what? That's the important thing. That's what life is about. What's causing it? It's about inner transformation. What do I need to change? Because as we are, I believe, we carry on into future life. So this illness, even if it leads me to death, which our culture looks at death as so horrendous, even people who say they believe in an afterlife, what's the sickness trying to tell you in the way of

transformation and inner growth. In who I am. And if I don't get cured and I die – fine! I think we're being transformed until we're six feet under.

Elaine's attitude towards healing is akin to some of Schilbrack's (2004) and Greenwood's (2000) thoughts regarding ritual magic. Elaine maintains that her treatments evoke personal inquiry, which results in personal transformation. According to Schilbrack (2004), this is the sole purpose of metaphysical rituals such as magic rituals. The rituals, he says, are "form[s] of inquiry," (p. 136) and sites for forming personal knowledge. What is more, the rituals are meant to establish and reinforce metaphysical truths. Comparably, Elaine says the self-examination that occurs in healing is the "the important thing. That's what life is about."

Additionally, just as Schilbrack (2004) claims that metaphysical rituals are intended to aid the participant in realizing a "true self" (p. 131), so too do Elaine's treatments aim at making the participant realize who s/he is. In the same way that Greenwood (2000) says magic rituals "offer[] the individual practitioners a direct route to self-transformation" (p. 35), Elaine's treatments offer the individual practitioner a direct route to "inner growth" and "inner transformation." Elaine also maintains that the treatments will help "balance[]," which (once again) is, according to Greenwood (2000), the primary goal of a ritual magic.

Elaine's treatments may also be interpreted as a magical rite because she insists that healing (the aim of her treatments) yields wholeness. Recall Elaine's words:

"[h]ealing is an inner work within one's being to bring about wholeness and wellness."

This definition of healing is analogous to Glucklich's or Greenwood's (1997) assertion that magical healing is "achiev[ing] wholeness" (pp. 118-120).

Elsewhere in the interview Elaine elaborates on this experience of wholeness, and how it contrasts with illness:

Illness is the result of the inability of our inner being to be in control of our whole self, of our inner spiritual being to be in control of our physical, our emotional, our psychology, for whatever reason, and because we are not letting that be in control our body is breaking down. Part of us is breaking down and doesn't know the wellness or the wholeness that it can have and that's illness—that's illness.

When asked to provide some examples of healing, Elaine offered two that are of particular interest, for the reason that they involve an emotional release. Elaine's first anecdote tells of a woman who would start to have an emotional release during a treatment, and then "block it." Apparently, the "woman would start to cry," but "she would fight it." She would stop herself from crying, because "she was embarrassed or something." Elaine's response to the client was, "No, don't fight it. That's an emotional release." Elaine said this because she believes the release needs to take place in order for healing to occur.

Elaine's second account of healing tells of a client with severe back pain. This client experienced a lot of anger as well. During one particular treatment, Elaine recalls, "so much anger poured out of her." As Elaine tells it, after the client dispensed of her anger,

...she still had the back pain. But the healing that took place was the emotions had been released and she could spout all this out. And she needed to do that before the physical healing could take place. This emotional healing had to begin to take place.

In both scenarios, there are, as Malinowski (1954) puts it, "extended expressions of emotions," or "free outbursts of emotion" (p. 80). In the one instance, the woman spontaneously started to cry. In the other case, the woman gushed anger. This spontaneous expression, according to Elaine, is necessary for healing. To be precise, there needs to be an emotional release before physical healing may transpire. Likewise, Malinowski (1954) argues that magic necessitates emotional expression. The efficacy of magic, he states, is wrapped up in spontaneous emotional expression.

Susan

Susan's practice is comparable to ritual magic for three reasons. One, Susan says that the focus of her practice is change and self-transformation. This change can be physical, emotional, mental, spiritual, or all of the above. Primarily though, this change is a discovery of one's true self—the second parallel between her practice and healing ritual magic. Lastly, Susan's practice resembles healing magic because, as she explains, in discovering one's true self a person is made whole.

According to Susan, her practice helps people change. Namely, she works "with people on a deep spiritual level where there is major changes that take place in their way of thinking and their lifestyle." She reports:

I basically promote lifestyle change, thinking change, wherever it's not working for them. 'Cause I believe you can live this life and have it work for you. So there's some snag; there's some way of thinking; there's some habit, something that's stopping the happiness. So my job with a person is to help find out what that is. What's in the way? What's blocking them? So that the release can take place.

The focus of Susan's practice is parallel with the aim of magic, as Mauss (1950/1972), Tambiah (1990), Schilbrack (2004), and Greenwood (2000) define it. All of these scholars agree that magic rituals are aimed at bringing about a change of some sorts, be it a change in lifestyle or change in thinking. Equally, Susan is focused on bringing about a transformation of sorts, within her clients. Additionally, Susan's intent to remove "snags" and "blockages" is a feature of magical rites, which according to Greenwood (2000) is the purpose of magical rites: "magical practices are based on promoting health by means of the removal of an obstruction (p.125).

The main change that Susan hopes to evoke in her clients is a discovery of a "true self." According to Susan, most people suffer from "false identification," or "ego-identification," which she explains by saying, "You think you are something that you're not and you're trying to survive in this world as the something that you're not."

"Most people," Susan declares, "don't know who they are." They will say, "I do this. I do this. And, I do this." "But, who are you really?" she queries. For Susan, healing "is the process of allowing yourself to be who you really are." Moreover, it is freedom from "false-identification." Her response to question number three (Do you feel that any of your clients have been healed? If so, please describe what happened) demonstrates this conviction:

Oh, ya. Absolutely. I could probably call up dozens of them and say that they've been healed in some sort or another. Whether it is just a pressure, you know, it could just be a physical thing where I worked on their hip and they will say, 'Wow, I just totally got released of this.' They were suffering with this pain at that level. Or I believe more in healing at a spirit level, a heart level. Where they've believed in a certain thing about themselves and then they've been released of that belief, and now they are allowed to be who they are without thinking that they are bad, or wrong, or done something that's inappropriate.

According to Susan, "ego-identification" or "false-identification" occurs, for example, when someone identifies him/herself with a certain profile. And healing occurs when they let go of that classification. Healing at a spirit level involves relinquishing a false sense of self, which allows the real self to emerge. To illustrate this notion she provides the following example:

They were abused when they were young. So now they're going to carry, for the rest of their life, this abuse issue. That's their identification. And as long as you're identified as 'I am one who is abused', they will never heal. But the moment you say 'I'm in control of my life from now on,' then you can release yourself from all the pain you've been carrying in your body from this concept, *and* from an experience, an emotional traumatic experience. That can be released the moment you say, 'I own my identification and I am now responsible for how I heal in my own body and life.'

To reiterate, Susan maintains that most people identify with a false sense of self. Her aim is to help people be aware of this untrue self, so that they can let it go and discover a true self. This change of self is a process, says Susan. In fact, she calls it a "spiritual path."

Thus far, Susan's description of healing corresponds to the words of Schilbrack (2004) and Greenwood (2000). According to Schilbrack (2004), metaphysical rituals, such as ritual magic, "present themselves... as training people to "realize" or "acknowledge" that they are X (p. 131). Ritual leaders may assert that though one falsely believes or appears to be Y, one's "true self" is X" (Schilbrack, 2004, p. 131). In the same way Susan, via her treatments, helps people to "realize" they are not Y (their false-identification), but really X (their true self). According to Greenwood (2000), healing magic is a "process" (p. 118) of self-exploration (p. 121). It is a "spiritual path, which results in "a shift of consciousness: a 'finding of the true self' (Greenwood, 2000, p.

121). Again, Susan also maintains that healing is a process of self-exploration. Further, she says it is a "spiritual path."

Susan insists that finding out "who you really are" is every person's responsibility. And while it may be difficult, she affirms that in doing so "you get to be yourself as you are and it's a very beautiful place to be." It is "very liberating," she says. Moreover, she informs that "finding out who you are" requires awareness. It necessitates a certain mode of consciousness that allows a person to be in control. She explains:

Healing, as far as I am concerned, is when you have the power to pull the subconscious to the conscious. Say you've got a line across here [holds her hands, shoulder length apart, like she is holding a string], and above the line is everything you are conscious of, and below the line is everything you are unconscious of. Most people's line is up here [raises her hands to above her head]. They are controlled by their unconscious. There is very little conscious part of their life going on. They are reacting all the time. So, the process that I work with, everything that I do, the whole point, is to bring that line and pull it down so that you become more and more conscious. Everything that's unconscious starts to come into the light. So now more and more you are to the point where through everyday practice of meditation, being conscious and aware of your actions, behaviours, and your mind and your thoughts, and your feelings, and your emotions, you watch everything! My whole practice, in everything that I do and work with people is to draw that line down and make them more conscious of what's going on. So they have more control. So they actually become the master

of their mind and body as opposed to being a victim, blaming other people and expecting other people to make them well.

This sense of mastery and control is, according to Schilbrack (2004), a characteristic of metaphysical rituals. He maintains that metaphysical rituals, such as magical rites, "empower," and "give[] people a sense of mastery" (p. 141).

Lastly, Susan explains that when people identify with a "false-identification" it splits a person. Conversely, being released of a "false-identification," and discovering a true self, makes one whole. The former state of affairs allows for illness, whereas the latter does not. And, in effect, the process of changing from the former state of affairs to the latter is healing. Susan explains:

Illness happens because you are split from yourself. There's a split. You don't know yourself. You are not one with yourself. That is the basis of sickness and illness. All sickness and illness comes from the fact that you are split. Which means you are not identified as your true self. You are identified as something other than yourself. So even physical illness will come out of that. You know unless it's an accident or something like that. But, God knows why the accident happened. You banged into something because you weren't conscious. It's bigger than we think it is. So healing takes place when we come to know our true essence. That is an actual truth. That is an essential moment of truth.

This last passage reveals two more parallels worthy of mention. First, Susan, like Schilbrack (2004), says that healing sheds light on, and reinforces, metaphysical truths. Coming to know one's true self is an "actual truth," an "essential moment of truth." Moreover, (or second) Susan, like Gluclick (2000, p. 95), maintains that illness ruptures wholeness, and healing is the restoration of wholeness, an affirmation that Greenwood makes as well. She states that magical healing aims to make practitioners whole (Greenwood, 2000, p. 121).

Anne

Anne believes that healing entails change; a person can change his or her perspective, adopt a new belief, or forgive and let go of past experiences. Further, when Anne provides an example of healing she mentions an emotional release. Lastly, the aim of BodyTalk, according to Anne, is to restore balance. Considering that these features are characteristics of a magical rite it can therefore be said that Anne's treatments resemble ritual magic in these regards.

When asked to define healing Anne responds by saying that it often entails a change in emotion or perspective. Specifically, she remarks that "the way you look at something can change." Or, she adds, on a spiritual level, "you can adopt a belief in something that can really help you." It is this type of change that Schilbrack (2004), and Greenwood (2000) speak of when defining magical rites; both say that magical rites entail psychic and spiritual transformation.

Anne provides an anecdote of healing that exemplifies this change in perspective. She tells of a female client who was unable to conceive. The client had been harbouring a lot of grief over the death of a two week old baby. After several treatments the woman was able to release the grief, and shortly thereafter she conceived, eventually giving birth to a child.

As Anne tells the story, the woman had a boy ten years earlier. Three years later she became pregnant with a little girl. The client had had difficulties in the third trimester with both pregnancies; however, it proved fatal in the case of the girl, she died two weeks after birth. According to Anne, this woman had been trying to conceive for the next seven years, but was unsuccessful. When this woman came to Anne they talked about the baby girl, and Anne recalls that during this conversation the client was "so emotionally charged; all that grief was still so active within her." So, "we did a couple of BodyTalk sessions," Anne recounts, "and dumped some of this emotional stuff." Looking back on these sessions, the client remembers coughing a lot afterwards. The "coughing," Anne explains, "came from working out all that grief." Namely, the coughing was "a physical release" of the emotion. The result of this release was that "[w]ithin a month she was pregnant."

This example substantiates Anne's definition of healing. The woman changed her perspective regarding the death of her baby girl; she let go of her grief over this death, and was therefore able to conceive. But, this example also reiterates Malinowski's (1954) and Glucklich's (1997) assertion that the function of magical rites is to express what needs to be expressed. Anne's client was unable to express grief over the death of her first baby girl. It was this grief, according to Anne, that prevented the client from

conceiving again. Hence, once they had a session (i.e., performed the rite) and the client expressed what needed to be expressed she was healed and was able to conceive.

Another way of looking at this situation is that the obstruction was removed. The emotions that prevented her from conceiving were released, which according to Greenwood (2000) is a feature of magical practices. To reiterate, Greenwood (2000) affirms that "magical practices are based on promoting health by means of the removal of an obstruction" (p. 125).

The last parallel between Anne's treatments and magical rites involve her description of BodyTalk. Remember her description from the section on energy and mana. According to Anne, a BodyTalk treatment will balance "everything that happens with... energy in your body." Further, the brochure for BodyTalk states that BodyTalk helps re-store balance, which is often thrown off by "[t]he stresses of modern life" (International BodyTalk Association, n.d.) .

This focus on balance is analogous to the words of Greenwood (2000). She highlights the great emphasis on healing in magic (Greenwood, 2000, pp. 35, 122), and adds that the primary goal of the magic rite is to "help restore an original balance" (p. 121). Further, the techniques of magic are "to help the magician heal the body and the psyche from the disharmony of contemporary life" (Greenwood, 2000, p. 121).

Psyche's treatments are like magical rites primarily because she focuses on achieving a state of balance within her clients, and this balancing often requires a change of state.

Bear in mind the elaborate classification system that Psyche uses for diagnosis and treatment. Further, her description (in the section The Magical Mindset) of the sympathetic relations involved in this system of knowledge. Specifically, recall her illustration, "if someone came in with yellow skin, we'd say they were in this element" [points to the element of earth]. According to Psyche, she would rectify this client's imbalance (i.e., an over dominance of earth) by various means. She would work with the elements that directly affect the elements of earth as well as all the elements associated with earth. She would manipulate them (via acupuncture and herbology) so as to create a change of state, shifting the imbalance towards balance.

Another case in point can be drawn from Psyche's example of the client who complains of having certain conditions in certain seasons (also discussed in the section The Magical Mindset). Again, Psyche's concern is a change of state. She addresses the invasion of "fall" (i.e., wind and cold) by "dispers[ing] the wind and warm[ing] up the cold," or "stimulat[ing] the yin energy and dispers[ing] the wind."

These examples of change involve both the material and non-material. However, Psyche, elsewhere in the interview, highlights the emotional and spiritual component to this type of change. For instance, she reports, "You can have an incredible release with your patients," with acupuncture. This is because there acupuncture points, called "spirit points," that can be utilized if the spirit is buried. "It's incredible," she says.

According to Mauss (1950/1972), all magical rites involve a change of state. One is either put into a state or taken out of one (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 61). This is similar to the fore-mentioned examples. In the first case, Psyche is aimed at taking the client out of a state that has an overabundance of earth. In the second case, Psyche is aimed at taking the client out of a state that entails the foray of "fall." What is more, Psyche's focus is on achieving a state of balance within the client. This, again, makes her treatments akin to magical rites, since Greenwood (2000) maintains that most healing ritual magic is focused on "restoring an original balance" (p. 121).

Brad

There are two ways that Brad's practice resembles ritual magic. First, Brad's practice is built on the understanding that expressing reticent emotions is healing.

Second, Brad maintains that the aim of his practice is to help people be "whole."

According to Brad, "a lot disease and illness comes from the emotions, and how you hold on to them; like anger and fear are two big ones." He continues: "Back ache, or head aches, or stuff like that, all those things it's not just the physical, you need to look at the mental, spiritual, as well as emotions." As Brad explains, holding onto certain emotions, such as fear and anger, creates tension in the body; it causes the emotions to stay within the body, which results in illness and disease.

Brad illustrates this conviction when he tells about one of his treatments. He recalls working on a client's forearm, particularly focusing on the fascia, which Brad believes is "where a lot of memories are." He was stretching the fascia when the client was struck with a memory of her youth. Brad says he could feel she was about to cry so he asked her to describe what it was that she was thinking at that moment. Her memory was of, at five, being sent off to live with another family. She remembered her mother holding on to her arm and it was twisting. The client, after telling of her memory, cried and "released it," says Brad. "And I haven't seen her since. So maybe she doesn't have as bad memories about that anymore."

This "free outburst of emotion" of which Brad speaks, is reminiscent of Malinowski's (1954) assertion: "most types of magical ritual...correspond [to] a spontaneous ritual of emotional expression" (p. 80). As well, it echoes Glucklich's sentiments regarding magic ritual being cathartic. As Brad tells it, the woman most likely released harboured emotions when she cried, and was therefore healed.

Brad feels that, "[i]llness is anything that brings you out of yourself." It is when "you are [not] living up to what your spirit is looking for." "Healing," on the other hand, he says, "is the ability to accept and let go." It is to "heal the mind, body, spirit in the whole." Brad's definition of healing (i.e., " to heal the mind, body, spirit in the whole") parallels Glucklich's (1997, p. 96) and Greenwood's (2000, p. 121) definitions of magical healing, for the reason that both say ritual magic is aimed at restoring and experiencing wholeness.

The main way that Brooke's practice resembles ritual magic is that her treatments, like healing magical rites, entail self-transformation. However, she says that her treatments involve emotional expression too, which is also a characteristic of magic, according to Mauss (1950/1972) and Glucklich (1997).

Brooke's anecdote of healing, mentioned in the section on *mana* and energy, is indicative of the self-transformation that occurs in magical rites. Recall her description of the man who let go of several addictions after receiving a treatment from Brooke. He was totally "transformed." In this instance Brooke moved out blocked energy, which enabled the man to let go of his dependence on alcohol, drugs, and cigarettes. This healing is comparable to magic, for "magical practices are...based on promoting health by means of the removal of an obstruction" (Greenwood, 2000, p. 125). Moreover, , as Greenwood (2000) points out, "[f]or magicians magic is energy, and practising magic involves moving energy" (p. 27). However, it also compares to magic because the purpose of healing magical rites is to connect with energetic forces, since this connection is "a direct routes to self-transformation" (Greenwood, 2000, p. 35).

In another example of healing, Brooke tells the story of a woman who, through visualization, was able to properly grieve her son's death. She too was "totally transformed," as Brooke tells it. This client had been not been able to grieve for her son's death, which happened twelve years earlier. Brooke clarifies, "she hadn't grieved him and was on a path that wasn't for her highest good." During a session Brooke guided the client through a "visualization" where she was able to see her son. Brooke says the

woman "made peace with her son" and realized the he was in a "wonderful place." In this case, the transformation occurred because of the emotional expression. The woman needed to express grief, and she needed Brooke's aid, or a treatment, to help her express these emotions. According to Malinowski (1954) and Glucklich (1997) this type of emotional expression is characteristic of a magic rite.

Lastly, like Will and Elaine, Brooke maintains that illness is a catalyst for change.

Illness, according to her, can cause a person to transform his/her perspective. It can inspire a person to change his/her life. She clarifies:

Usually when you start on a spiritual journey, there's some kind of traumatic situation that comes up: a nervous breakdown [for example]. A lot of people their life turns around because of a nervous breakdown. You might think that's the worst thing ever. And it is when you're going through it, but a lot of times it turns the person around. What have I been focusing on all my life? How important are those issues -- second car, bigger house, and this job with all this money?

These inquiries, according to Greenwood (2000), are indicative of the "self-exploration" that transpires in a magical rite (p. 121). Moreover, the answers to these inquiries are suggestive of Schilbrack's (2004) metaphysical truths (p. 136). The magic rite, he says, is a site for forming metaphysical knowledge. This means finding out what really matters on a personal and spiritual level.

The Private and Individualistic Nature of Spiritual Manual Techniques

Thus far, the unique circumstances of each practitioner (and how their practice relates to ritual magic) have been covered. However, there is yet one more overall parallel between ritual magic and these practitioners' practices that requires address.

One of the defining characteristics of magic, according to Durkheim (1912/1995), Weber (1922/1964), and Mauss (1950/1972), is that magic operates autonomously and functions on an individual level, rather than communally. What is more, magical rites, according to Mauss (1950/1972), are always performed in a private manner. This is also the case among the eight spiritual manual practitioners interviewed for this thesis. All work independently. The practitioners, as well as their clientele, are free agents, so to speak. They are not bound by any communal obligations. And lastly, the treatments take place in a "private out of the way place" (Mauss, 1950/1972, p. 23).

The main difference between religion and magic, according to Durkheim (1912/1995), is that religion is typically associated with and entrenched in a community or group, whereas magic is not. Magical beliefs may be common, he says, but they "do not bind men who believe in them to one another and unite them into the same group" (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 42). Hence, magicians have a "clientele," rather than a "Church," and these clients typically remain undisclosed to one another (Durkheim, 1912/1995, p. 42). As well, the magicians rarely congregate. Even when they do assemble, the laity is not present.

Weber (1922/1964) concurs with Durkheim's (1912/1995, p. 28) distinction that religion deals with the sacred as a group, or *cultus*, whereas, magic deals with the sacred in a private, individualistic manner, a claim that Mauss (1972, p. 21) and Styers (2004, p.

197) make as well. Also in accordance with Durkheim's claims, Weber reports that the magician is "self-employed" (Weber, 1922/1964, p. 29). That is, the magician "exercise[s] his [or her] craft independently" (Weber, 1922/1964, p. 61). These claims apply equally well to the eight practitioners who are the focus of this thesis.

To begin, all eight practitioners have a clientele. These clients, based on the words of the practitioners, approach the practitioner to book an appointment of their own volition. They are neither solicited nor coerced into the appointment.

Next, the practitioner and client relate to each other on a one to one basis.

Treatments typically take place in a room in the practitioner's home, and only the practitioner and client are present. To be even more precise, five of the practitioners run their business out of their homes. Will, Elaine, and Rachelle practice out of a room in the basement of their home. Anne and Susan have their practice in a room in the upstairs of their home. And the three practitioners who practice outside the home (i.e., Psyche, Brad, and Brooke) still practice in a private office/treatment room, the result of which is that the treatments remain private.

The clients are not expected to participate in a group of any kind. In fact, they are unlikely to see other clients. The only situation where this would happen is if the clients crossed paths between appointments (in the waiting room, for example).

Moreover, all of the practitioners are self-employed. Hence, they practice their techniques autonomously. Will illustrates this independence when he describes the early stages of his practice: "I quietly went into my basement and I got away from the limitations that people had set. You know, people have rules; do this, don't do this. I kinda quietly went and did my own thing."

And lastly, the practitioners generally do not gather in groups amongst themselves. The only reference to practitioners gathering was Brooke's mentioning of a workshop on "energy healing," which was attended by other manual techniques practitioners. But, this workshop was not open to clients/laity.

Analysis

All eight practitioners say that the reason for, or purpose of, spiritual manual techniques is to heal. More precisely, all of the practitioners affirm that their treatments heal. For when they were asked question number three "Do you feel that any of your clients have been healed?" all of them answered "Yes."

Further, all eight practitioners say that healing is restoring, and/or experiencing a state of balance and wholeness. For Will, illness is a state of imbalance, and healing is wholeness. Similarly, Rachelle comments that illness is a "lack of balance" and healing is "restoring a state of balance." Elaine maintains that healing yields wholeness. Susan claims that illness comes from being "split," whereas health arises from wholeness. Anne remarks that her treatments "help restore balance," which is a similar claim that Psyche makes. Also, Brad says that healing occurs "in the whole."

Akin to the eight practitioners' definitions of healing (i.e., restoring, and/or experiencing, a state of balance and wholeness) Greenwood (2000) and Glucklich (1997) argue that healing magic tries to instil a sense of wholeness in its participants.

Specifically, Greenwood (2000) writes, "most magicians...say their magical practice is a spiritual path, a route to wholeness" (p. 121). Moreover, she maintains that magical rites that heal "help restore an original balance...[or] harmonious unity" (p. 121). Glucklich

(1997) states this as well: "All magical healing tries to ... restore[] the wholeness" (p. 96).

Next, Will, Elaine, Susan, and Brooke explicitly equate healing with selftransformation. Namely, they say that healing entails a change from within. It requires introspection, personal enquiry, and a change in subjective domains, such as emotions, beliefs, feelings, patterns of thoughts, and spiritual convictions. What is more, healing, according to these practitioners, takes place when people change their perspective (they are enlightened) and/or they change their lifestyle.

As Will tells it, illness is a sign. It is a microcosm of larger, more spiritual, metaphysical issues. Hence, healing includes acknowledging the sign, interpreting it (i.e., making personal, spiritual enquiries), and responding appropriately. This process often entails introspection, says Will. For the "illness is to teach you something."

Understanding the sign and responding appropriately often means a change in lifestyle, and/or a change in perspective. Either way the point is that, "You get the message," and are changed because of it.

Elaine also feels that illness is a message; "When we are ill our bodies are trying to tell us something." Further, she insists that healing is learning and changing according to this message. She maintains that healing involves introspection and self-exploration, the result of which is often "inner transformation" and altered patterns of life. This kind of transformation, according to Elaine, may come about as a result of channelling Reiki, a "spiritually guided life force energy."

For Susan, healing happens at a "deep spiritual level." It is when a person no longer identifies him/herself with a "false-identification." Rather, he/she becomes aware, and identifies with a "true self." There is a change in consciousness.

Brooke agrees with Will's and Elaine's claim that illness is a catalyst for change.

She too says that illness often causes a person to question what is really important in life.

Further, she observes that this introspective process can turn a person's life around.

Although Anne and Rachelle do not explicitly equate healing with self-transformation they nonetheless employ a micro/macrocosmic perspective (much like Will does) when speaking of illness and health. Particularly, they interpret physical symptoms as microcosms for larger life non-physical issues. Hence, they too believe that illness is a sign, or message, of metaphysical/spiritual issues.

Just as Will, Elaine, Susan, and Brooke explicitly equate the healing of their treatments with self-transformation, so too do Schilbrack (2004) and Greenwood (2000) equate magic rituals with self-transformation. Schilbrack (2004) argues that metaphysical rituals (such as magical rites) transform ritualists by helping them realize they are Y, not X. Equally, Susan maintains that her treatments bring about change, because they aid people in realizing a "true self." What is more, according to Schilbrack (2004) and Greenwood (2000), the process of transformation that occurs in ritual magic arises because the rites are forms of "inquiry" (Shilbrack, 2004, p. 136) and "self-exploration[]" (Greenwood, 2000, p. 121). This means that the participants ask questions such as the ones that Will, Elaine, Susan, and Brooke propose: "What's really important?;" "[W]hat do I need to change so that I can live more fully, in a well way;" "What have I been focusing on all my life? How important are those issues?"

Additionally, Greenwood (2000) argues that the point of magical rituals is to connect with the otherworld, which "for magicians...is energy" (p. 27). This connection, according to Greenwood (2000), transforms the individual. Likewise, Elaine argues that channelling Reiki, "a spiritually guided life force energy," transforms: "Reiki is really about transformation—inner transformation."

Moreover, Schilbrack (2004) reports that a key feature of ritual metaphysics is that the ritual operates according to micro-macrocosmic analogies (p. 138). The idea of interpreting illness as a sign/message is matching with this aspect of magic. That is, Will, Elaine, Rachelle, and Anne overtly reveal micro-macrocosmic analogies when they interpret illness as a microcosm of larger, more metaphysical issues.

Further, parallel with Glucklich's (1997) claim that ritual magic (which heals) is a "spiritual path" (p. 121) is the idea common amongst the practitioners' narratives that healing is a journey or "spiritual path." Will speaks of healing as a journey. Rachelle calls healing a "journey," which continues until death. So too does Elaine. She says we are being "transformed until we're six feet under." And Susan says that becoming aware of one's "true self" is a "spiritual path." Lastly, Brooke states that healing is a "spiritual journey."

Another parallel between ritual magic (as Malinowski (1954) and Glucklich (1997) portray it) and spiritual manual technique treatments (as the eight practitioners portray them) involves emotional expression. There is a frequent description of a "release" in the practitioners' interviews, which parallels the description of emotional expression in ritual magic.

Every practitioner speaks of a release when talking about healing. In Will's case, he tells of a client whose shoulder "released." As well, he talks about letting go of negative emotions, in order to heal. Rachelle equates healing with "releasing and letting go." Elaine explains that one needs to "release" emotions so that "physical healing [can] take place." Susan specifies that a "snag," like "some way of thinking...[or] some habit," needs to be released before one can heal. Further, she says these "snags" are blocks that need to be let loose. Anne shows how a physical symptom such as coughing is actually a "release" of emotion. Psyche concedes that "you can have an incredible release with your patients" with the acupuncture of "spirit points." Brad tells of a client who "released" harboured memories and emotions. And Brooke contends that one of her clients "let go" of several harmful addictions after a treatment, because Brooke "moved it out."

In some instances, this notion of a "release" is equivalent to emotional expression. In other scenarios, this notion of a "release" pertains to the concept of "blockage." There is an obstruction that needs to be released, in order for healing to take place. And in some cases, the "blockage" is synonymous with emotions; that is, the obstruction is emotional. But, the blockage can as well be patterns of thought, beliefs, and/or it can be "blocked energy."

Considering the numerous parallels between a magical rite (especially one that is focused on healing) and a spiritual manual technique treatment it is fair to say that spiritual manual technique treatments (as Will, Rachelle, Elaine, Susan, Anne, Psyche, Brad, and Brooke portray them) are like healing magic rites as they are defined in the classical and contemporary academic discussions previously mentioned. Both the treatments and the rites involve transformation and change, emotional expression, an

experience of wholeness, and are private and individualistic. These similarities once again lend credence to the claim that spiritual manual techniques are a contemporary form of magic.

CONCLUSION

Classical theorists, like Frazer, operate under an evolutionary model that supposes magic dies once science is established. Contemporary scholars, like Glucklich, concur. They too propose that magic is in decline—however, they offer different reasons for its demise other than the advent of science. Some say that magic is in decline for the reason that modernity means disenchantment and secularization. Others maintain that magic is decline in the modern world because of "urbanization and the distancing from a natural ecology" (Glucklich, 1997, p. 112).

As this thesis has shown, this is not the case. Magic does not die once science is established, nor does it decline because of secularization. Rather, this thesis has demonstrated that magic exists in a society where there is a strong establishment of science and secularization, by showing that spiritual manual techniques may be interpreted as a contemporary form of magic. The thoughts and practices of spiritual manual techniques have been shown to exist alongside science and secularization, even though some scholars had argued that this type of thought and practice--what they label magic---is incompatible with science and secularization. What is more, considering that spiritual manual techniques are but one small facet of a large movement (i.e., the Alternative Medical Movement) as well as the number of people that engage in Alternative Medicine this thesis alludes to the possible magnitude of this form of thought and practice, which has here been called contemporary magic.

In both magic and spiritual manual techniques, the sacred is defined in a similar light. Further, in both the sacred is related to, or approached, in a similar fashion. What is more, the eight practitioners who are the focus of this thesis reveal a worldview that is comparable to the perspective involved in magic. Namely, they view the body in terms of a series of sympathetic relations and/or in terms of micro/macrocosmic principles. As well, a spiritual manual technique treatment is carried out for some of the same reasons that a magical rite is performed (particularly a healing magical rite). It is carried out for purposes of self-transformation, emotional expression, and to instill a sense of wholeness. These parallels indicate that spiritual manual techniques are indeed akin to some forms of magic, even though the practitioners do not claim this to be so.

Interestingly, one practitioner made a point of clarifying that her practice is not comparable to magic. Elaine explains that Reiki is often compared to magical activities such as witchcraft and Shamanism. Though Elaine thinks Shamanism is a "good thing," she nonetheless declares that it (like other magical activities) "is not Reiki." But, it must also be taken into account that Elaine has been subject to prejudice as a result of her "ministry" being associated with certain kinds of magic. In her words,

There's a whole school of people out there, especially in the Conservative

Catholic Community, and maybe other denominations, that are very quick to label anything different "New Age." And not only to poo-poo it, but to damn it, condemn it, to call it witchcraft, call it voodoo, call it the devil's work. People who are in these ministries [referring to her own healing practice] have to deal

with this all the time. So, I would encourage people that this does not have to interfere with the beliefs that you have.

It must also be taken into account that Elaine's definition of magic in the above passage is different than the definition of magic used here. Thus, despite Elaine's claim to the contrary, spiritual manual techniques have been shown to be a contemporary form of magic. In particular, the practitioners of this thesis reveal perspectives that are founded on energetic principles moreso than materialistic principles, holism rather than dualism. What is more, they encourage a different locus of control/power; they encourage personal empowerment.

The practitioners of this thesis engage in spiritual manual techniques because this type of healing matches with their way of thinking. Hence, these practitioners are respiritualizing medicine, not in the sense of taking a non-spiritual medicine and making it spiritual, but rather in the sense of choosing an already intact method of healing that is built on a spiritual perspective in a context that has up until recently been dominated by a type of medicine that does not include a spiritual component—i.e., the biomedical model.

These practitioners engage in these methods of healing primarily because of the spiritual component that the tradition offers. More precisely, they engage in such healing activities because these practices reflect and coincide with their present mode of thought. In the words of Fuller (2001) "[a] closer look at the role of AM [Alternative Medicine] in American culture suggests... they articulate spiritually significant ways of viewing the world" (p. 10).

It is not that the practitioners set out to select a type of healing that is magical. In fact, as previously stated, one of the practitioners dislikes such a comparison. More so, it is that the practitioners have a worldview that happens to coincide or match with scholars' definitions of magic. Magic requires a holistic worldview. It requires a perspective that is built on energetic principles—a point of view that sees all aspects of reality as imbued with a powerful spiritual life-force.

A further implication of this demonstration is that magic is shown to "belong to modernity" (Pels, 2003). It is not a "thing of past." It is not the antithesis of modernity, as some scholars proclaim. Rather, "it may be," as Pyysiänen (2004) suggests, "that modern societies offer more possibilities to enhance magic" (p. 109).

Why? Modernity faces the dilemma of balancing religion and science more so than any other age. These two realms are, for the most part, kept completely separate in today's Western society. For instance, the biomedical model is void of any spiritual component, and most religions are not prepared to deal with physical ailments.

Magic, historically speaking, has been a site where science and religion merge. It is a place where science and religion are juxtaposed—balanced out. Magic mitigates the extremity of these two totally different paradigms. Thus, it is natural that magic would flourish in modernity because it an age where the divide between science and religion is constantly being reified.

Spiritual manual techniques exist in a relationship with religion and science in much the same way that magic does. They share similarities with both, yet they remain unique. Spiritual manual techniques, like magic, are a site for working out the limitations and expansions of religion and science. Espen Braathen (1996), in the article

"Communicating the Individual Body and the Body Politic," is one scholar to recognize this aspect of Alternative Medicine. She points out that

... the current discourse in alternative therapies is intrinsically woven into a modernist version of the cultural dialogue between science and religion, knowledge and faith, skepticism and energistic or spiritual principles for constructing the world and the body. The discourse is, thus, part of an ongoing cultural struggle for defining the dominant forms and meanings of science and medicine. (Braathen, 1996, p. 151).

Hence, it is plausible to suggest that the practitioners of this thesis engage in spiritual manual techniques because it offers them a place where their scientific and spiritual convictions can be balanced out. It offers them a way to integrate the physical and spiritual when dealing with issues, like illness and healing, that are both physical and spiritual. Akin to Pyysiänen's description of magic, spiritual manual techniques "allow the participants to conceptually integrate an important situation for which they believe no causal explanation exists" (Pyysiänen, 2004, p. 101)—causal in the sense of the rational explanations of the positivist scientific paradigm, namely, the biomedical model.

Spiritual manual techniques allow the practitioners to integrate scientific and spiritual concepts for situations that cannot be explained by the biomedical model.

Ultimately, this thesis responds to Peters Pels' (2003) question, "What does magic look like in modernity?" The answer: It takes the shape that it always has. Magic mitigates the great divide that exists in our present age between science and religion as it

has in the past. Spiritual manual techniques, as an example of magic, offer a balance between science and religion. However, it is the balancing of science and religion as they exist today—not just the science and religion of yesteryear.

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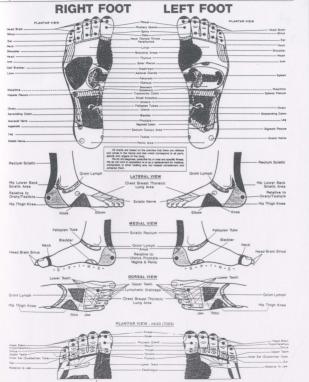
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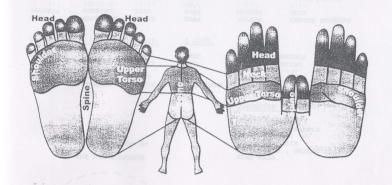
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