"learning by doing." Participants learn the skills of performance. They "deconstruct" their problems collectively in the process of creating a play. The audience is often involved in discussing related problems.

Various examples of theater for development are provided in the book. For instance, during the 1950s women in The Lagos Child Welfare Mother's Union in Nigeria used theatrical means to comment on the problems faced by women. In the 1970s university theater companies in Botswana produced plays with the rural population about social realities in the country. In India and Bangladesh, NGOs such as Proshika and Aranyak use theater as an instrument of education. Aranyak, for instance, creates theater with laborers in order to help them organize themselves.

Theater for development is an effective medium of instruction, as it is inexpensive and utilizes the indigenous language and culture. Target groups are usually acquainted with the form, since in most developing countries traditional theater has already been employed in campaigns for health care, hygiene, agriculture, and birth control.

Epskamp concludes that dialogue in the theater workshops contributes to the emancipation of the participants, but that the effectiveness of this theater as a tool against social injustice depends upon the degree of oppression in a particular nation.

While *Learning by Performing Arts* is written by one author and focuses basically on theater, *The Empowerment of Culture* has two editors — Ad Boeren and Kees Epskamp — and considers the use of various media, such as film, popular radio, cassette tape, television and video, for the purpose of development-support communication. Epskamp addresses the problem of film illiteracy in developing countries. He notes that in order for film to be an effective medium of instruction, audiences must be taught how to "read" it. Ross Kidd, Eugene van Erven, and John Collins write about the use of theater for development in local community issues and adult-education programs. Ad Boeren and Kees Epskamp investigate the role of radio in distance-education programs, especially among the rural poor; radio broadcasts that use local oral traditions and languages are the most successful. Wendelien Voogd, Kees Epskamp, and Jaap Swart examine the use of television and video for development. Epskamp and Swart suggest that video is a far more effective tool for instruction, since television is often controlled by urban-based governments.

All contributors to the book emphasize that local traditional and popular cultures and expressions must be utilized in development-support communication. This increases the response of the population and strengthens the cultural identity of local communities.

These two books are important works for the study of nonformal education in developing countries. They show how the popular media and performing arts can bring about change in different parts of the world, and provide a basis for the exchange of information on this topic by different groups in developing countries. The authors hope that these studies will generate support for future collaborative activities in this area. Such support is crucial, since administrative constraints and a shortage of funds have delayed efforts to set up a permanent alliance for the exchange of information and the transfer of methodology, especially in the area of theater.

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HOPPÁL, MIHÁLY and OTTO J. VON SADOVSZKY, editors. *Shamanism: Past and Present*. Two volumes. Los Angeles: International Society for Trans-Oceanic Research Books, 1989. 409 pages. Illustrations, name and subject index. Paper, n. p. (Order from ISTOR, 1500 Dana Place, Fullerton, CA 92631).

The two volumes of *Shamanism: Past and Present* grew out of a three-day symposium held under the auspices of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences at Zagreb in 1988. According to the introduction, thirty of the papers in this collection were delivered at the meeting, and another nine were written later. The publication of these papers by ISTOR Books attests to the growing importance of the field of shamanic research.

The books are divided into two parts. One part, consisting of nine studies, deals with theory and the history of research, while the other part, composed of thirty studies, presents descriptive studies of shamanism as it occurs in such areas as northern Europe, Siberia, Tibet, Nepal, China, Korea, and the Americas.

In the introduction the editors, Hoppál and von Sadovszky, present concise summaries of each of the contributions. I will therefore restrict my remarks to a few points I feel are important for present and future research on shamanism.

The first point concerns the variety of approaches to the study of shamanism. The beginnings of shamanism are shrouded in the mists of time, yet it is a multifaceted phenomenon that continues to appear in many guises as part of the religious life of contemporary peoples. There is a corresponding variety in the way it is defined and studied. Certain scholars consider shamanism to be a special feature of North Asian (Siberian) religion, while others regard it as a universal religious form that is found in all corners of the world. Åke Hultkrantz in the present collection refers to the first viewpoint as the "restricted concept of shamanism" and the latter as the "universal concept of shamanism." He personally advocates the need for an "extensive perspective on shamanism," and argues that the label of shamanism should be accorded not only to Siberian forms but also to similar complexes found elsewhere in the world. I am in complete agreement with Hultkrantz. The manifold approaches taken in this book are sufficient demonstration of the wealth of approaches to be found in shamanic research. To name just a few represented in these volumes, there are historical studies of shamanism's origin and development; psychological analyses of altered states of consciousness; literary studies of the relation between shamanism and poetry; and symbological approaches to the significance of ritual and ritual instruments. As the view that shamanism is a universal aspect of religious culture gains in importance, the variety of approaches can be expected to increase.

The second point, related to the first, involves the problem of defining shamanism. In the introduction the editors declare that "the definition of the concept of shamanism itself and the plurality of the relevant definitions are partly a result of the kind of cultural environment in which the particular researchers carried out their fieldwork." Different places, in other words, give rise to different expressions of shamanism, leading to a variety of definitions. There are, nevertheless, three points on which all the definitions offered roughly agree. Shamanism, it appears, always involves 1) altered states of consciousness, 2) direct contact or communication with the supernatural, and 3) the performance of rituals for the benefit of the community. Terms such as "trance," "mental dissociation," and Eliade's "ecstasy" are applied to the shaman's altered state of consciousness, while his or her communication with the spirit world is characterized by expressions ranging from "possession" and "inspiration" to "magical flight." The use of helping spirits may or may not be involved; when it is, such use takes many forms and is described in many ways. These variations certainly reflect regional differences, and researchers are of far from a uniform opinion on precisely how to deal with them. I feel, however, that a solution is reachable if we examine what is essential and what is only derivative in the various phenomena.

A third point touches on the relation between world religions and shamanism. Almost no reference is made in these contributions to possible links between shamanism and such religions as Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam. There seems to be a feeling among scholars that shamanism, as a "primitive" or "primordial" religion, must be strictly distinguished from more developed types. Though such a standpoint may not be entirely wrong, I suspect that it may not be entirely right either. We find such links in Japan, for instance, as when a shaman induced a state of spirit possession in Kōbō Daishi, the founder of Shingon Bud-

dhism (one of the more important Buddhist groups). And shamans that call the spirits of the dead by chanting the Buddhist *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra* (*Hannya shingyō*) are by no means rare. In the Philippines, faith healers perform curing rituals in which they enlist the power of Mary, Mother of God, while American spiritualists and channelers often fall into a state of trance to establish direct contact with the spirits. Modern shamanologists might profit by considering shamanism not as something limited to nonmodern societies but as a spiritual force that strongly influences the religious life of the so-called civilized societies as well.

The symposium in Zagreb became the occasion for the founding of the International Society for Shamanic Studies (ISSS), an organization that has greatly stimulated shamanic studies on a worldwide scale. A second meeting of the ISSS was held in Seoul, Korea, in 1991 under the title "Regional Aspects of Shamanism," and another gathering is scheduled for November of this year (1995) in Nara, Japan. All of us in the field look forward to many interesting developments in shamanic studies.

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MAHAPATRA, SITAKANT. *Beyond the Word: The Multiple Gestures of Tradition*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1993. vii + 195 pages. Hardcover Rs. 150.

The twenty essays in this book provide ample demonstration that their author is on the side of the angels. As an anthropologist he has attempted to come to terms with the problem of tradition and modernity, using a threefold approach. First, he notes the dysfunctions that the unrestrained pursuit of modernity has engendered in the West, and consequently in the East. Second, he examines the multiple gestures (as he puts it) that tradition has taken in an attempt to overcome the crisis caused by this pursuit. Third, he adopts a broad and even-handed approach to the tradition-modernity conflict, relying on the Greek concepts of balance and proportionality.

In the first essay, for example, the author points to the sense of dehumanization caused by modernization and the urbanization and industrialization that accompany it, and notes the consequent craving in both individuals and societies for stillness, balance, creativity, and meaning. Turning to tribal art and culture in Orissa, he stresses the need to view them as a continuum (a notion that has engaged the attention of Indians ever since Jawaharlal Nehru sought to dampen communal antagonisms by this means). Then, taking up the questions of art and the primacy of the person, he points out that from the perspective of true spirituality man remains a mystery at his core, that art is the expression of the human soul, and that genuine art has suffered under the strong commercialization and vulgarization in our times.

In another essay he emphasizes that in the process of cultural change, continuity and tradition are as necessary as innovation and progress. He also notes that tradition cannot be bypassed without an upsurge in individual and sociocultural pathology, and that in primitive societies there is no hard-and-fast distinction between art and life. Taking a cue from the Jesuit W. J. Ong on the subject of orality and literacy, Mahapatra deplores the negative consequences that flow from literacy and extols the positive ones associated with orality. In the beginning was the word, he says, adding that oral cultures integrate human beings into compact groups and brotherhoods while literary cultures isolate, separate, and thwart the free flow of the spirit. Since tribal cultures were until recently oral ones, a renewed interest in them will, Mahapatra writes, refocus our gaze on values such as community, instinct, imagination, fraternity, and the like. Such a refocusing is urgently required if we are to