This is a study of how shamans among the Indians of the Sibundoy Valley have resolved the question of external influence. Sibundoy strategy for cultural survival consists of integrating foreign elements without denying their own beliefs by establishing mediations that match native thought structure, which is based on a movement of complementary opposites. This integration yields a great cultural plasticity, whose fundamental principle achieves a dynamic equilibrium in those institutions, such as shamanism, on which their cosmic vision is based. It is the shaman who mediates the diverse contradictions experienced by the Indians.

As traders since precolombian times, Sibundoy shamans have incorporated different cultural codes and elements from other groups into their own shamanic structure, thus widening their magical power over these other groups. This dynamic allows them to resist potentially disruptive influences. Even though new forms may be introduced, the traditional content prevails and continues to respond to their cultural specificity. This strategy was used first in order to achieve a synthesis...
of highland and lowland cultures, later to resolve the contradiction between Indian and Spanish cultures, and currently to confront the national society with its diverse manifestations of popular culture.

The importance of the lowland shamanic systems for highland cultures of Colombia has been documented by various scholars. Reichel-Dolmatoff (1975) investigates manifestations of the lowland shaman jaguar complex among the precolombian Muisca (Chibcha) of the highlands, as well as its presence in extant highland groups (Paez and Kogi) and those of the Pacific lowlands. In particular, southwestern Colombia is indicated as an important area for such migrations, although extensive archaeological research is lacking for the Putumayo and Caqueta river basins. In his study on coca, Henman (1981) discusses the probability of the upper Magdalena river basin of Cauca as an entrance for lowland cultures. He calls attention to the fact that the first formative groups of the Cauca region must have entered from the western and eastern lowlands around 700 to 200 B.C. During this period, a group known for its large painted tombs established itself on the eastern slope of the central chain of the Andes. The vivid geometric designs in these tombs have close parallels with those made by Amazonian Indians using hallucinogens. He speculates that, as in the case of Peru, the introduction of coca among the early agricultural groups of the upper Magdalena came from the Amazonian lowlands (Henman 1981, 48).

The Sibundoy Valley is quite likely another important migratory pathway. It is located in the northwestern end of the Putumayo Intendencia, known as the Upper Putumayo, a mountainous zone in the Andean chain. A semitropical, humid valley, its altitude ranges between 2,000 and 2,500 meters above sea level, with surrounding peaks of 3,000 to 3,500 meters. The valley forms a passage between the highlands and lowlands, giving it importance as a strategic intermediate location in migrations. In addition, the intermediate position of the valley has important implications for the role of Sibundoy shamans in the southwestern cultural region of Colombia, particularly in popular medicine.

Two Indian groups occupy the Sibundoy Valley: the Kamsá, whose linguistic affiliation is not satisfactorily established, and the Inga, speaking a Quechua dialect. According to the 1980 calculations of the División de Asuntos Indígenas (Indian Affairs Division) 4,000 Inga, and 4,419 Kamsá occupy the valley, along with approximately 12,000 whites (Zambrano 1985). The Indians inhabit primarily the rural areas, while ninety percent of the white population lives in the four townships along the
road linking the valley to Mocoa in the lowlands and to Pasto in the highlands. Most of the Inga live near the townships of Santiago, Colón, and San Andrés, while the Kamsá are nearest Sibundoy. Even though these two groups recognize each other as different, they in fact become one by sharing various cultural traits without losing their individual ethnic identities. Because of this common ground, particularly in the shamanic system, we shall refer to both groups as the Sibundoy, considering them together. When necessary their individual designations will be used.

SHAMANISM AND YAGÉ

The Sibundoy shamanic system has been investigated by both anthropologists and ethnobotanists (Bristol 1964, 1966a, 1966b, 1968, 1969; Langdon 1991; Langdon and MacLennan 1979; Seijas 1969a, 1969b; Taussig 1980a). The primary role of the shaman is to cure illnesses and other misfortunes believed to be mystically caused. Although there are other health practitioners in the valley representing both scientific and popular medicine, the Sibundoy shaman is the only one believed capable of curing diseases originating from mystical causes. As a consequence, the shaman has been important in maintaining the Sibundoy worldview as well as ethnic identity.

Sibundoy shamanic practices are inseparable from yagé (*Banisteriopsis* sp.), a jungle hallucinogenic plant. When a Sibundoy shaman discusses his conceptions of the world, he will affirm that they are learned only under the effects of yagé. Yagé leads to a transcendental experience of comprehension of the world’s essence. This is not gained through simple ingestion. A long training process must accompany it, enabling the contents of the experience to be handled and deciphered. As one of our shaman informants states:

"Yagé is a force that has power, will, and knowledge; with it we can reach the stars, enter the spirit of other people, know their desire to do good or bad; we can foresee the future of ours and others’ lives, see illnesses and cure them, and with it we can travel to heaven or hell."

The process of becoming a shaman entails exhaustive training that demands courage, decisiveness, and above all, mental stability: repetitive intakes of yagé may lead one to lose mental equilibrium due to the
multiple realities that must be managed simultaneously. The hallucinogenic journey requires the handling of emotional conflicts, repressed emotions, past affections, and all kinds of fantasies and visions as one acquires a greater understanding of the world.

The initiation and learning process generally lasts from four to six years. The first step consists of knowing the Yagé Spirit and its predisposition toward the novice. If the Yagé Spirit accepts the novice, a master shaman begins his training. The first ceremonial contact with yagé requires a special preparation called andaki. It differs from others in the use of Borrachero flowers as an additive (identified as Datura Andrés by Bristol [1969]).

After four to six years have passed and the novice has ingested many varieties of yagé, experiencing the basic repertoire of sacred visions, the master shaman awards him with instruments and signs corresponding to the hierarchy of acquired knowledge. The first awarded is the pichanga, a whisk of dry leaves; then follows a small feather crown, which signifies that the novice can now fly with his thoughts, as birds do, and that he has traveled to heaven. Subsequently, he continues adding more bead strings to his necklace. The greater number of beaded strings and the greater variety of colors signify his status as shaman, since they represent the number of trips taken in each color of yagé visions. Later he receives a quartz crystal, implying that he has become a "Thunder Shaman." As of this moment, knowledge becomes a matter of perfection and the most visible symbols of prestige are strings of jaguar, bear, and tapir teeth, as well as the number of feathers added to the crown (fig. 12.1).

The decisive test in the passage to master shaman occurs when the apprentice confronts and endures the same number of uninterrupted yagé ingestions as his master. This ceremony is held during the full moon, after four days of fasting and sexual abstinence. The ritual is generally performed after the master shaman has tested the apprentice's healing powers on his patients, covering the entire range of diseases from the most benign to the most serious.

The Sibundoy shamans have various ways of preparing yagé in order to alter the nature of the visions. Three species of Banisteriopsis used by the Sibundoy have been identified as B. caapi, B. inebrians, and B. rusbiana (Bristol 1966b). Gates (1982) has reclassified B. rusbiana as Diplopterys Malpighiaceae. Ethnobotanical and ethnochemical research has demonstrated that all the known species of Banisteriopsis require an additive to
activate the chemical compounds. Although the jungle groups, such as the Siona, tend to rely most heavily of *Diplopterys* Malpighiaceae and other additives to vary the visions, the Sibundoy appear to rely more on *Datura*. According to one shaman, it is the addition of *Datura* that introduces variations in the visions, and also "there's a type of Borrachero to mix with the *yagé* and cause the *pinta* (hallucinogenic episode) that is desired, *yagé* by itself does not produce fine *pintas*." The Sibundoy employ *Datura candida*, *D. sanguinea*, and *D. Andrés* (Bristol 1969).

**ETHNOHISTORY AND SHAMANISM**

The Kamsá and the Inga have a common origin. Both come from the south, possibly from Peru and the lowland jungles. The most accepted theory is that the valley was first conquered by the Kamsá. Shortly before the Spanish conquest, the Quillacinga followed a route on the
eastern side of the Andean slopes and crossed the Sibundoy Valley before settling in northeastern Nariño (Groot et al. 1976, 162). Ethnohistorians and archaeologists suggest that the Kamsá are related to the Quillacinga and probably were part of the migration.

The Inga had not arrived in the Sibundoy Valley before the sixteenth century (Romoli 1978, 16). It is suggested that they might have migrated from the Peruvian tropical rain forest across the eastern flank of the Andes, reaching Colombia through the San Miguel River (Friedemann and Arocha 1982, 108).

Seijas (1969a) and Taussig (1980a) assert that the Sibundoy established their role as intermediaries between the highlands and lowlands before the conquest and that they maintained this role throughout the colonial period. According to archaeologists and ethnobotanists, medicinal plants were an important commercial item. Frank Solomon cites studies that make it possible to date commercial links as early as 400 B.C. (in Taussig 1980a, 291). Seijas (1969a, 71–72) states that active commerce was carried out during the eighteenth century between Pasto and the valley. Among other things, the Indians traded the jungle resin to make the famous Pasto verniz. Medicinal plants continue to be an important commercial item, and their trade is maintained by the Inga of the valley, particularly those from Santiago.

Of course this trade has always included more than medicinal plants. Shamanic healing rituals passed along the trade routes (Langdon 1981), as lowland shamans journeyed to the highlands to demonstrate their powers. Taussig (1980a, 231) affirms that tropical forest master shamans continue to receive great respect from highland Andean healers. The Sibundoy shamans form part of this important network of healing. In the past, they journeyed to the lowlands to contact the Siona and Kofan, two groups famous for their curing powers. There they were taught the use and preparation of the jungle yagé, as well as the use and preparation of other medicinal herbs. They were trained and initiated as shamans, and they returned to the valley with yagé to continue their shamanic practices.

Today the Sibundoy obtain yagé from the Inga in Yunguillo in the lowlands. They also treat whites from many parts of Colombia who journey to the valley seeking cures. Many Inga and some Kamsá travel farther into the highlands and to the lowlands of the Choco, as well as to some of the major Colombian cities to sell herbs and perform cures with yagé.
Given that trade in general, and in particular that of medicinal plants, has been important since ancient times, and taking into account that it is the Inga who continue to maintain the trading tradition, we posit the Inga as a hypothetical link between the lowland and highland. It should also be noted that the Quechua language was the lingua geral at the time of the conquest, allowing them to dominate the region and relate to the various indigenous groups.

The Spanish arrived in Sibundoy in 1542 and began a deculturation process that still continues. This "Christianization" was initially undertaken by the Franciscans. The Dominicans arrived in 1577, to be followed by mercenaries, Augustinians, and Jesuits. In 1893 the Capuchins began their ecclesiastic hegemony, which lasted until 1969 and their replacement by the Redemptorists (Bonilla 1972). The four-century ideological domination is noticeable in Sibundoy oral tradition, which records discontinuously the relevant events and people from within and without native culture. Such histories demonstrate a mediation strategy that clings to historic events by coupling and solving the contradictions and influences that have threatened their ethnic identity. For instance, the elderly recall Carlos Tamoabioy, an eighteenth-century governor, as a mythological hero whose dying wish allowed the Indians to recover ownership of their land. He is referred to as Saint Carlos Tamoabioy. From the opposing culture, Fray Bartolomé de Igualada, a missionary working in the area during the early part of the twentieth century, has become a legendary character, highly respected and remembered for his participation in yagé ceremonies with the Indians. He accumulated enough shamanic knowledge to reach the sacred Patascoy summit, although the spirit dwelling in the mine there prohibited him from entering.

Thus, a member of their own culture, such as Carlos Tamoabioy, is magnified by a Catholic title, though in fact he was central in the struggle against the Church for recovery of native land. The contradiction between Christian religion and shamanic cosmovision is resolved by veneration of Fray Bartolomé as protector of the Indians, honored for his ingestion of yagé. However, native superiority is maintained, since he lacks the full shamanic power necessary to complete his journey to the sacred mine. Both cases show how the mechanism of mediation resolves the contradictions and domination from outsiders by means of magical power. Past events are raised to the mythic level and reinterpreted according to the native worldview.
into portions; one was given to the women to try, and their menstruation began. The men tried another and became ecstatic when they saw how the remaining piece of yagé began to grow and to creep up to heaven. At the same time, shadows formed and their silhouettes glittered. In the depth of heaven, they saw yagé penetrate a huge flower that became the sun as it was fertilized. From there the Solar Men descended. Each one played a distinctive melody with his flute or drum, and each melody transformed into a different color. When they arrived on earth they dispersed, depositing light and color to each being there. When the world was illuminated, all this symphony of colors and music brought forth understanding to humankind, creating intelligence and language. Yagé has been used ever since by shamans to see the world as it really is, and to make everything clear and harmonious for the curaca’s spirit.

The hallucinogenic ritual fulfills two essential functions. First, it mediates a contact situation in favor of mythic categories and indigenous procedures. Second, it allows the reconstruction and reaffirmation of a worldview, much as Langdon (1979a, 85) has asserted for the Siona: “The Siona worldview derives much of its authority from the renewal and reaffirmation given to it by the ritual. Without the authoritative experience of the ritual, the system as an ordered whole will not persist in the face of increasing contact with Western culture.”

The ethnic identity of the Sibundoy is a continuous affirmation intimately related to the blood’s tenor, which renews itself in the yagé ritual. It is through this primeval myth, relived in the ritual, that a mediating model is generated to explain the separation of nature and culture, man and woman. The model establishes the dynamic of oppositions, and thus, those of the mediations that mark the dialectic. It is in primordial time that Man as a generic being finds yagé and experiences the mythic episode establishing sex differences. Women menstruate as they contact yagé, whereas the descent of the Solar Men colors the world and gives birth to intelligence and language. Thus, the opposites are established. Masculinity is linked to intelligence, to order, to culture, and to the spirit through the plant of highest importance. Femininity is linked to nature, to disorder, and to the body by means of the notion of animality.

This model is crystallized through the ritual manipulation of oppositions derived from the primary one of man/woman. Following these we have:
The opposites are dynamic and become relativized depending on the real and immediate context. For example, when men meet to drink "chicha" (fermented corn beer), lower status males occupy the place of women; during pregnancy, women represent order because the fetus represents new life and perpetuation of social order. Female categories can be applied to a man, such as a sorcerer who represents disorder and death. His rituals involve the use of odd numbers and distribution on the left side. During the hallucinogenic ritual, the shaman is able to establish a transformative dialectic from that of masculinity and spirit to that of femininity and animality. Such occurs when he changes into the Jaguar Mother, establishing mediation and synthesis between such opposites.

In the same way, there are constant parameters that identify men and women in daily life. The Sibundoy display them on the forehead as a color spectrum whose intensity depends on two factors: age and the number of hallucinogenic trips realized. This, in its turn, defines gender and status within the group: nonpregnant and nonmenstruating women can be placed in the male category, and those men whose pintia (paint color) in the blood has been robbed by sorcery can be placed in the category of female.

THE SHAMANIC GARDEN

The Sibundoy world arises from the dominion over plants, and it invariably returns to them. The importance of plants is present in all social spheres. From birth to death, plants appear as revealers of the philosophic and supernatural background, used to determine or counteract destiny or to assist the passing of a diseased person's soul to the other world. With children, plants counter deadly influences and help them to enter the realm of culture through rites of passage. Yagé is the highest force
over all plants and life contradictions. It initiates, activates, and allows the shaman to possess the power of the spirit.

Cultivation of magical and medicinal plants is a specialized knowledge and may be performed only by men. A garden should be fenced so that women cannot enter or touch the plants. This prohibition is related to the function and character of medicinal and magical plants. The forces that inhabit them are supernatural and consequently belong to the masculine sequence of life and spirit. The shaman has his plot of healing plants near the house where yagé is prepared. As one shaman explains, "Magical and medicinal plants are like human beings; they must live where they belong. They shouldn’t mix with the cultivation of other plants, for they curtail one another. The spiritual force of remedies cannot be mixed with food. When we take remedies, we maintain a diet. The jungle’s spirit and the earth’s are like this. Each one has its head in its place, and likewise do all the parts of the body."

The garden of medicinal and magical plants is a microcosm containing the basic elements of the mythic world, as well as its animating forces. Gardens also have their guardians, which can be the forces of thunder and lightning or Catholic saints such as Saint Ciprianus. If one enters a garden without permission, one risks attack.

Plants are generally arranged by species. Foremost are the Borracheros, *Datura candida*, and *D. sanguinea*, of which Bristol has found ten and two varieties, respectively. They are used for treatment of illness: *Macan Borrachero* (*Iresine celocal*) is an anti-inflammatory, antirheumatic, menstrual regulator, and magical treatment; *Orejón Borrachero* (*Iresine rigens*) is used to remove evil and as a contraceptive. *Borracheros* potentiate and increase sensory capacities. The *Daturas* correspond to the classes of yagé, since the Sibundoy differentiate three genera of each. In both, the three genera represent animals, the sun, and thunder.

The *CullaBuillos* are in the second rank. These include *Culla8uillo Juá* (*Peperomia gahoides*) and *Vinan* (*Pepermos sp.*), with its subvarieties of *Tausaivinan* and *Condorvian*. In general they have magical powers to prevent witchcraft, to seal the body, to attract people, and to impart wisdom.

The *Chondores* are in the third rank. *Cucochondor* withdraws evil spirits and prevents evil from penetrating. *Tigrechondor* and *Aichachondor* aid in animal reproduction, giving abundant offspring. *Frescochondor* is used for fever. *Guarmechondor* is for conquering women, and *Carechondor* for con-
Shamanism and Popular Culture

In general, both the highland and lowland Indian groups have undergone a progressive disintegration. They are increasingly isolated in miserable conditions in resguardos (reservations), or work as servants and laborers. Nevertheless, it is within the Sibundoy Valley, and specifically within the shamanic system, that we best observe a capacity for adaptation to the market-based class society.

 Whereas the Sibundoy formerly depended on the lowland Amazonian groups for their acquisition of ritual knowledge and ceremonial careers, they have nearly liberated themselves from these teachers. Today, the Sibundoy Valley is a center of synthesis of native wisdom regarding the cosmos, nature, healing, and shamanic power. This is most evident in the shamanic gardens, laboratories of experiment and adaptation for plants from all over the country. In addition, their reputation as powerful shamans has increased as the lowland shamans have decreased in number. Many whites journey from other parts of Colombia for their magical cures, and Sibundoy shamans, particularly the Inga, make trips into the highlands and large cities as far as Venezuela.

Taussig (1980a) has argued that the reputation of the Sibundoy as great shamans has increased as the Amazonian groups have faced cultural deterioration and as the tensions between ethnic and class groups have increased. He attributes this to the economics of the sugarcane industry in the Cauca Valley. Thus, the Sibundoy have infiltrated as the mediators of interethnic conflicts. They continue to use hallucinogens in these healing rites, manipulating the visionary experience to allow the whites...
and others to interpret problems in terms of their own cosmogonic codes. In particular, one of the manners by which popular culture interprets illness and misfortune is through sorcery. Further, the effects of ethnic and class struggles have been interpreted within the causal framework of sorcery.

The increase in social conflicts is not limited to those regions affected by the sugarcane industry, but marks all areas of this developing country. With this, a wide network of healers throughout the country has established itself, creating a popular medical system that draws from prehispanic Indian knowledge, as well as from esoteric Afro-Caribbean cults, and European and North American witchcraft traditions (Pinzón and Suárez 1983). In Bogotá, where tensions have significantly increased in the last ten years, an exceptional variety of healers now flourishes. The variety of techniques and kinds of healers has been described by Press (1971). Although he found no Indian healers in Bogotá, the fame of Indian power and certain techniques, said to be learned from a shaman, were incorporated into the healing repertoires of several curers. Following Press, psychologists Rosa Suárez and Carlos Pinzón began a similar investigation of urban healers. During the first five years, they detected seventy types of different curers, although none had learned his duties from a shaman. In 1978, they finally discovered a Sibundoy shaman who was the son of one of the most famous Kamsá shamans in the valley. He was at that time training a curer from Boyacá, and he invited the investigators to begin the shamanic apprenticeship with him.

From the beginning of the apprenticeship, the shaman was emphatic in affirming that a non-Sibundoy could never become as knowledgeable as the Indians, for they learn about shamanism and how to "paint the blood" practically from birth. This particular shaman began at the age of five, when his maternal grandfather began to instruct him in yagé, the ritual chants, and plant lore. He claimed he had taught healers from different parts of the country, but that the rituals were different because it is the Yagé Spirit that determines, through visions, the point at which each individual can acquire supernatural wisdom. He said in addition, the novice must renounce any sorcery and divination techniques alien to the yagé tradition. According to him, no white healer had ever complied with this, and thus none had attained all that yagé had to offer. Two years after initiating his training, the Boyacán curer decided it was not necessary to take yagé so continually.
The psychologists investigated the differences in perception that the patients held toward the shaman and toward the healer, as well as the shaman's and healer's perceptions of each other. Eighty percent of the patients who consulted the Sibundoy shaman stated that his sorcery was more powerful than the others', since he made them "see," through yagé visions, how the harm was caused and who had caused it. In addition, they felt they could know about their futures, and that they had learned how to feel others' energy. They also affirmed that if they needed a healing again, they would do so with yagé, since in that way they would know what was happening to them or what might happen. This would prevent them from falling into charlatans' hands (who make up any kind of story just to steal their money). Twenty percent of the patients stated that they would not take yagé again since it caused very unpleasant sensations. They also said the Sibundoy shaman was an evil sorcerer, since they had seen demons and black witchcraft in the visions. The patients of the Boyacán healer stated that they understood better what he does and his manner of performing rituals. They felt him to be more accurate than Indians in solving marriage problems, because he knew whether they were actually resolvable. The Indians always promised to solve such problems and failed many times.

The shaman perceived the Boyacán healer as stubborn for insisting on the use of divination techniques, and he objected to the Boyacán's life-style. On the other hand, the Boyacán affirmed that the Sibundoy was efficient in curing magical spells but limited in dealing with other kinds of magic, illnesses, and domestic problems. He also perceived the shaman as very domineering.

After seven years of research with two thousand patients who have sought the Sibundoy's treatments, our conclusion is that each patient centers his beliefs and values within the experience of yagé visions. According to them, the shaman's power consists of "projecting us towards our supernatural world." It is because of this that we believe the Sibundoy shaman plays a "mirror-like" role among the popular classes (in the sense of Lacan), which permits reconstruction or affirmation of identity in reference to the total opposition of "the other."

This relation is made clearer by comparison of the learning process a Sibundoy receives from his shaman and that which a non-Indian receives from the shaman. In the first instance, they share similar beliefs in the world's origins, they experience all of the pintas (colors) in the
rainbow, which are linked to the cosmos, to ecology, and to the animal allies and their power. This is in order to construct a “total image of the world” and to “imprint it in the blood.” During the final test, when the novice is challenged to drink as much *yagé* as his master shaman, the color white, in the form of an animal, appears at the end of the session to confirm that the novice dominates “all levels of form as well as all visions of color.” When the novice belongs to another ethnic group, the final test is never administered, for the shaman considers it obvious that the novice cannot reach the master’s superiority. Also, the non-Indian is never obligated to learn the language, even though the use of chants and use of ceremonial garments are perceived as signs of power (Taussig 1980a).

The capacity to recognize the supernatural world in the *yagé* visions has awakened cultural forces that lie in the unconscious of the popular classes. In this sense, the Sibundoy have succeeded in returning the foundations of popular culture, and in inverting them as well.

The structure of ideas and sentiments created by the Spanish conquest of the New World in the sixteenth century, pertaining to the ideology of cast and class relations lives on today as an active force. Folk healing sustains this structure of ideas... The evil and magic invested in the exploited people, essential to the colonial hegemony, become the means by which the colonizer seeks release from the civilization which assails him (Taussig 1980a, 251).

We are in agreement with Taussig as we continue with our research on popular culture and urban healers. Since meeting the first Sibundoy in Bogotá seven years ago, we have met several of his apprentices. We have also met several Inga shamans who are also teaching urban healers, and healers of various popular religions who include the ingestion of *yagé* as part of their ceremonial repertoires. Beyond the whole of Colombia, the ingestion of *yagé* has extended to Venezuela, Panama, and the United States. In Brazil, Peru, and Bolivia it has generated a religion of its own.

What is true is that a popular culture based on hallucinogens begins to unite threads that were loosened during the colonial period, spreading to all of Latin America and the Antilles. Because of this, we consider important the study of popular culture and its relationships with hallucinogens in the formation of a new Latin American identity.
Notes

1. This research was done during 1985 under the auspices of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología—ICAN—(Colombian Institute of Anthropology). Fieldwork, secondary data, and interviews with Kamsá and Inga informants since 1977 have been our main sources.

2. Malpighiaceae family, genus *Banisteriopsis*, containing harmine, harmaline, and d-tetrahydroharmine as active ingredients (Schultes 1972, 38).

3. Shaman is the name (concept) that anthropologists designate for the native terms *Curaca* or *Taita*; these three denominations will be utilized at random to denote the expert who manages and controls supernatural, magical, or religious forces. He is also a botanical medicine man.

4. The shaman is a master shaman when he has complied with all rituals of initiation, the apprenticeship process, and the final decisive step; he also must have fifteen to twenty years of demonstrated experience in the community.