Art Therapy Considered Within The Anthropological Tradition of Symbolic Healing

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ABSTRACT

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In this study art therapy is compared with anthropological evidence of healing practices that use visual images. Archaeological and anthropological literature regarding the uses of visual art during the Palaeolithic Era was consulted. Research led to the conclusion that Palaeolithic art was created and maintained within a magico-religious system that resembled shamanism. Studies of shamanism were examined, indicating that the shaman was the first symbolic healer. Studies of the healing practices of the Navaho were consulted. This particular system was chosen because it evolved from shamanism, is well-documented, and utilizes visual images extensively. A tradition of symbolic healing is described and analysed to reveal several key factors: the sacred space, the healing relationship, and the transformational symbol. Art therapy is considered within this context, and some conclusions are drawn. Art therapy case material is discussed with reference to symbolic healing.

PREFACE

This study holds personal relevance for me. It has helped relate my new profession as an art therapist to previous interests in shamanism, and magic symbols, as well as to my activities as a visual and performance artist. Coming to art therapy was for me an intuitive realization of the inherent relationships that this study hopes to render intellectually comprehensible. During the course of my training, I anticipated the opportunity to go in search of the historical connections between art and therapy. This search took me further afield than I expected, and I returned with a greater sense of relevance. In this respect it parallelled my training in this profession. As the study progressed I learned a great deal. One realization was that our cultural definitions of "art" and "therapy" cause some of the misunderstandings and ambiguities of art therapy itself. I feel that many of the events and interests of my life have been given a new meaning through my initiation into this vocation as an art therapist. This thesis has been an opportunity to reexamine and more clearly develop my identity and purpose in the field. In this way and in a very real sense, this thesis has been a rite of passage.

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I. Introduction

When I first embarked on this research into healing practices that utilize art images, I found myself lost and confused in an entanglement of awkward concepts and bewildering practices. Credit for helping me out of this predicament and returning me to a new state of equilibrium should be given to many of the scholars with whom it has been my privilige to come in contact. In particular I think it was Donald Sandner's stimulating study, Navaho Symbols of Healing (1979) that caused a transformation in my thinking, for it is to Sander that I am indebted for the concept of symbolic healing.

Symbolic healing is based on myth and ritual, not on physiological principles. The causes and cure of disease are connected to the greater mythological universe that forms a background for all human existence. The inevitable suffering of human life is given meaning by the mythologies of particular cultures. The healer, shaman, or medicine man is thoroughly trained in the specific beliefs and symbols of his culture. Symbolic healing has a definite structure and well defined rules and procedures.

Healing rituals have a prescribed order. Events characteristically begin with acts of purification; followed by evocation or presentation of the symbolic images; identification; transformation; and finally termination or release from the ceremony. Identification by the patient with the powers of the symbols and the healer appears to play a pivotal part in the process. As Cassirer (1953, Vol. I) states, "Over and over again we find confirmation of the fact that man can apprehend his own being only in so far as he can make it visible in the image of his gods" (p.204). Through presentation of, and identification with, these symbols the patient is put in touch with the inner structures and resources of the psyche.

This study attempts to relate art therapy to symbolic healing, that archaic tradition that uses art images and other forms of expression in the treatment and cure of mental disorders, and physical disease. There exists a large body of archaeological and anthropological evidence of art's role in these practices. Aspects of Palaeolithic rock-painting, shamanism, sympathetic magic, and healing rituals reveal important similarities to art therapy. There is no simple correlation. Many changing factors must be taken into consideration when examining these diverse activities.

Some consistencies are apparent. Healing rituals occur within specially delineated parameters of time and space. This sacred space is clearly distinguished from the surrounding profane environment. This segregation has important implications for the healing process. In addition, healing rituals feature a specific type of relationship between the healer and the patient. Many ethnographic accounts indicate that this relationship is an authentic and empathic one. This is consistent with contemporary theories of the therapeutic relationship. Elements of confession and suggestion are believed by some authorities to be universal aspects of this relationship. The psychological phenomenon of transference is commonly found in healing relationships regardless of the particular theoretical approach involved.

Considering art therapy within the context of the long evolution and wide distribution of symbolic healing has interesting and perhaps valuable insights to contribute to developing a broader, theoretical base for art therapy. It may assist in some small way towards a definition of art therapy that does not merely subsume it under the theories of psychoanalysis. Theories regarding the use of the arts in therapy have relied mainly on existent psychoanalytic theory. In particular the work of Freud and Jung has provided theoretical support for the introduction of art expression into contemporary mental health facilities. These pioneers certainly placed great importance on the process of symbolization for expressing the contents of the unconscious mind. In the effort to establish the "new" profession of art therapy in an often resistant professional environment, these two theorists have been called upon heavily for support.

Occasionally attempts have been made to relate art therapy to practices that predate modern psychoanalytic theory. Reference is made to "prehistoric eras when our remote ancestors expressed their relationship to their world in cave drawings and sought the meaning of existence in imagery" (Wadeson, 1980, p. 13). There has been little research into the archaeological and anthropological literature for possible antecedents to art therapy. Recent archaeological research has seriously questioned whether our Paleolithic predecessors were as remote as was previously believed (Lommel, 1966; Marshack, 1972).

Researching archaic healing practices inevitably leads the investigator to a confrontation with such problematic concepts as magic and witchcraft. For a fledgling profession in the western industrial world these are not highly prized credentials. However many scholars have supported the contention that a valid humanistic basis exists for behavior sometimes considered to be the mere foolishness of simple-minded people (Rivers, 1924; Levi-Strauss, 1963; Kiev, 1964).

Some broad parallels have been drawn between the expressive arts therapies and shamanism (McNiff,1979).

There are a number of similarities and a few important differences. McNiff's comparisons do not pay particular attention to the image or the visual arts, and perhaps have greater relevance for expressive therapists who use music, dance, and psychodrama in a group setting.

I have tried to examine practices in which the visual image is an important factor. In the case of shamanism this was not always easy. Much of the literature on shamanism does not specifically attend to the visual component of the shaman's performance. However the amount of scholarly research focussed upon cave and rock-painting of the Palaeolithic Era, and its recent interpretation in terms of shamanistic activities provide some very useful data. This was an important finding because, I believe, any research into practices that foreshadow art therapy must regard the visual image as central to the study.

In the process of researching this material, several important questions had to be answered. How is it possible to specify antecedents for art therapy that originate in very different and remote cultures? Definitions of disease, aberrant behavior, and health may be quite different. As has been stated, some common factors are found in all healing rituals. The degree of correlation between practices separated by exceedingly long periods of time and with virtual _global_ distribution is remarkable. Sandner (1979) describes principles of symbolic healing that seem to have an _archetypal_ character. Two major conceptions of disease causation are found in virtually all cultures. They are _foreign intrusion_ and _soul loss_. The anthropological information and the conceptual tools exist that permit placement of art therapy within a continuous tradition of symbolic healing.

There are significant differences between art therapy and other forms of symbolic healing. In contemporary art therapy the visual image is usually required to be the spontaneous creation of the patient. There are exceptions such as joint productions of patient and therapist, but these are relatively infrequent. In other cultures, the healer will characteristically produce the image, either spontaneously or from a prescribed cultural tradition. There are specific reasons for these differences that will be examined. The apparent lack of a unifying universal mythology with its attendant transcendent symbolism is a major difference between our culture and those cultures with a hunting and gathering or subsistence agricultural economy. One element in the diverse and fragmented mythologies of modern society is the belief in the value of individual self-expression and self-actualization. These beliefs are part of the foundation of art therapy.

What has been called "Palaeolithic thinking" may have more to do with our own cultural prejudices than with the cognitive experiences of Palaeolithic hunters and gatherers. How symbols affect a restructuring of the psyche remains an obscure process. It is quite possible that "magic thinking" and "cures" are related in ways we don't as yet understand. Obviously for shamanism and symbolic healing to have survived to this day must mean that they have some important relevance for the amelioration of human suffering. I believe the fact that there is now a profession called art therapy emerging in the western industrialized world is further evidence for the efficacy of these practices.

By placing art therapy within the historical continuum of symbolic healing a clearer understanding of the essential nature of art therapy may be possible. Case material from my art therapy practice will be presented that illustrates the important functions of projection, identification, symbolic enactment, and ceremony in the therapeutic process.

In parts of the text both Freudian and Jungian terminology and theories are used to analyse and clarify phenomena that originate in diverse cultures and in ancient times. These theoretical models are not entirely compatible. Within the limits of the present work no attempt has been made to explore differences in the two theories.

II. PALAEOLITHIC IMAGES

Perhaps, more than coincidentally, study of the prehistoric visual image has led to evidence of the archaic origins of shamanism. Palaeolithic rock art (petroglyphs and pictographs) has been interpreted in terms of magico-religious practices that must have closely resembled shamanism (Vastokas and Vastokas, 1973; Lommel, 1966; Schaafsma, 1980). The characteristics and locations of many ancient documents of artistic activity suggest rituals of a proto-shamanic nature. The evidence indicates a long evolution of ceremonies involving the use of the visual image. These date well back into the Palaeolithic Era (Eliade, 1968; Marshack, 1972).

Considering the time span involved and fragmentary condition of most of the evidence, much of this area of study is a matter of conjecture. Generally, the further back in time: the less conclusive the evidence. For the purposes of this investigation, no one interpretation is more important than another. Although scholars may disagree about the many possible meanings of Palaeolithic art, there is general agreement on one point; that many of the petroglyphs and pictographs of the Palaeolithic Era found in caves and obscure locations were part of a symbolic system of ceremonies and rites. These rock art sites exhibit characteristics of shrines or sacred places. The visual symbols were part of a magico-religious complex.

Art-making is simultaneously a conscious and an unconscious act. It provides a first-person narrative that is unmatched for the quality of information, albeit imprecise, that it provides. The art of the Ice Age is an interpersonal communication that spans tens of thousands of years. The changing culture and consciousness of the Palaeolithic hunters and gatherers is indicated in the countless representations that survive from that period. Palaeolithic art may provide evidence of the emergence of a unified consciousness (Raphael, 1945; Marshack, 1972).

Remote Ancestors

A human being very similar in skeletal and cranial characteristics to modern man migrated into Europe approximately 37,000 years ago, during the last glaciation. This human population has been called Cro-magnon man. At about the same period, it is believed, human beings began to enter the Americas via a landbridge across the Bering Strait. Studies have tended to confirm that these hunters and gatherers were capable of thinking in surprisingly complex and modern ways. Art, and visual notation were means of expressing, recognizing, and communicating a complex reality (Marshack, 1975). Other means were likely in use, but the visual images have survived to this day.

Bones and Soul

Indications of art and the use of symbols have been found that predate Cro-magnon by many thousands of years. Finds in Italy support the contention that Neanderthal Man of the last interglacial period, the Eemian (180,000-120,000 B.P.), preserved the skulls of the dead in shrines (Maringer, 1960; Breuil & Lantier, 1965). Also from that period, skulls and long bones have been found covered in red ochre, a practice noted amongst hunters and gatherers in historic times (Giedion, 1962; Breuil & Lantier, 1965).

Also dating from the Eemian are many finds indicative of a cult of the cave bear. Skulls and long bones have been found on altar-like ledges and in coffers in Alpine caves. This is a phenomenon remarkably similar to recent practices such as those of the Alaskan Inuit. They hide the skulls and long bones of their quarry to assist in the reincarnation of the souls of these economically vital animals (Breuil and Lantier, 1965; Eliade, 1968).

In the world view of the hunters, every creature is divided into a physical and a spiritual being (Eliade, 1968). The spiritual or psychic component is linked to parts of the body, such as skulls, bones, skin, feathers, etc. The eternal soul of the creature is contained in these body parts (Lommel, 1966). The greatest psychic danger to the hunter lies in the fact that his source of food is made up of souls. Special care must be taken of the animal. No doubt the inevitable stresses of hunting also played a part in the early attempts to charm the animals (Heizer and Hester, 1978). Palaeolithic hunters believed themselves intimately connected to the animals. By treating the body parts in prescribed ways they believed they could intervene in the processes of nature.

The Ice Age hunter and his entire community were dependent upon the animals. The animal was a given resource of nature which he was obliged, by the rigors of survival, to kill (Eliade, 1964). This murder, the hunter was forced to commit, may have been a kind of original sin in the psyche of the hunter. Certainly he must have feared his own death. By treating both human and animal remains honorably, the hunter attempted to make death less terrifying.

Early humans saw all life as invested with soul or spirit (Eliade, 1964). Bones were the final source of life. Methods of burial (for both humans and game animals) are often similar in hunting cultures (Maringer, 1960). In both cases the soul is believed to reside in the bones. The evidence leads to the conclusion that there were ceremonial practices that featured bones and skulls as honored fetish objects.

The human and animal skulls are found objects elevated to a level of the sacred through mythological beliefs and ritual practices. It is the contention of Lommel (1966) that these finds represent a transformation in human consciousness. Here are the beginnings of a sense of relation between the living and the dead. The dead became an object for the projection of fears and wishes by the living. The hunters came to believe that the dead could think, act and feel like the living. These emerging spiritual beliefs were expressed through the ceremonial production and preservation of sacred art objects.

> In this culture of early homo sapiens the real and the symbolic worlds were intertwined and there was a continuity and sequence in man's ritual and ceremonial relationship to this world. Art, image, and notation were means of recognizing and participating in it (Marshack, 1975, p. 89).

Ethnographic Parallels

Comparisons have been made between Palaeolithic art and the practices of hunting cultures in historic time. The possible purposes of human activity within a given level of technological development and with the same economic base are not limitless (Schaafsma, 1980). Ethnographic comparison can indicate what is not relevant and may reveal many valid similarities. Interpretations have been made of Palaeolithic art on the basis of real or imagined associations with hunting magic. Before summarizing the most significant interpretations of Palaeolithic art some clarification of hunting magic may be helpful.

Hunting Magic

There are many examples of visual images being used as part of sympathetic magic rites (Rivers, 1924; Evans-Pritchard, 1937; Field, 1937; Kluckhohn, 1944). Commonly an image is created, and invested by the creator with the soul of the person, animal or thing it represents.

The signifying image becomes the virtual embodiment of the thing that is signified. An identification between the two exists in the mind of the creator or beholder. The image is then treated as if it were actually the thing it represents. The image is believed to have special power. This power seems to arise from the consensus of group beliefs and from the motives of the individual (Kluckhohn, 1944).

Images of animals are not copies of real animals, but spirit animals (Lommel, 1966). The hunter believes that by painting or drawing the picture of an animal, he can capture and influence its spirit. Aboriginal Australians, some of whom remain at an economic and technological level comparable to Palaeolithic hunters, still retouch rock paintings each year so that new soul-forces may go out from them and take on new bodies (Lommel, 1966). Many accounts exist from around the world of hunters ceremonially drawing a representation of a game animal and then shooting arrows or spears into it.

It is not possible to be certain exactly what the purposes were for the production of Palaeolithic art.

Generally, evidence is inconclusive, although some examples seem to favour the hunting magic interpretation. Some of the rock painting of the southwestern United States has pronounced hunting associations. However, Heizer and Hester (1978) suggest that hunting magic may not be distinguishable from other shamanistic practices. Eliade (1968) recognizes the existence of a form of palaeo-shamanism that probably accounted for the performance of hunting rites (Fig. 1 and 2).

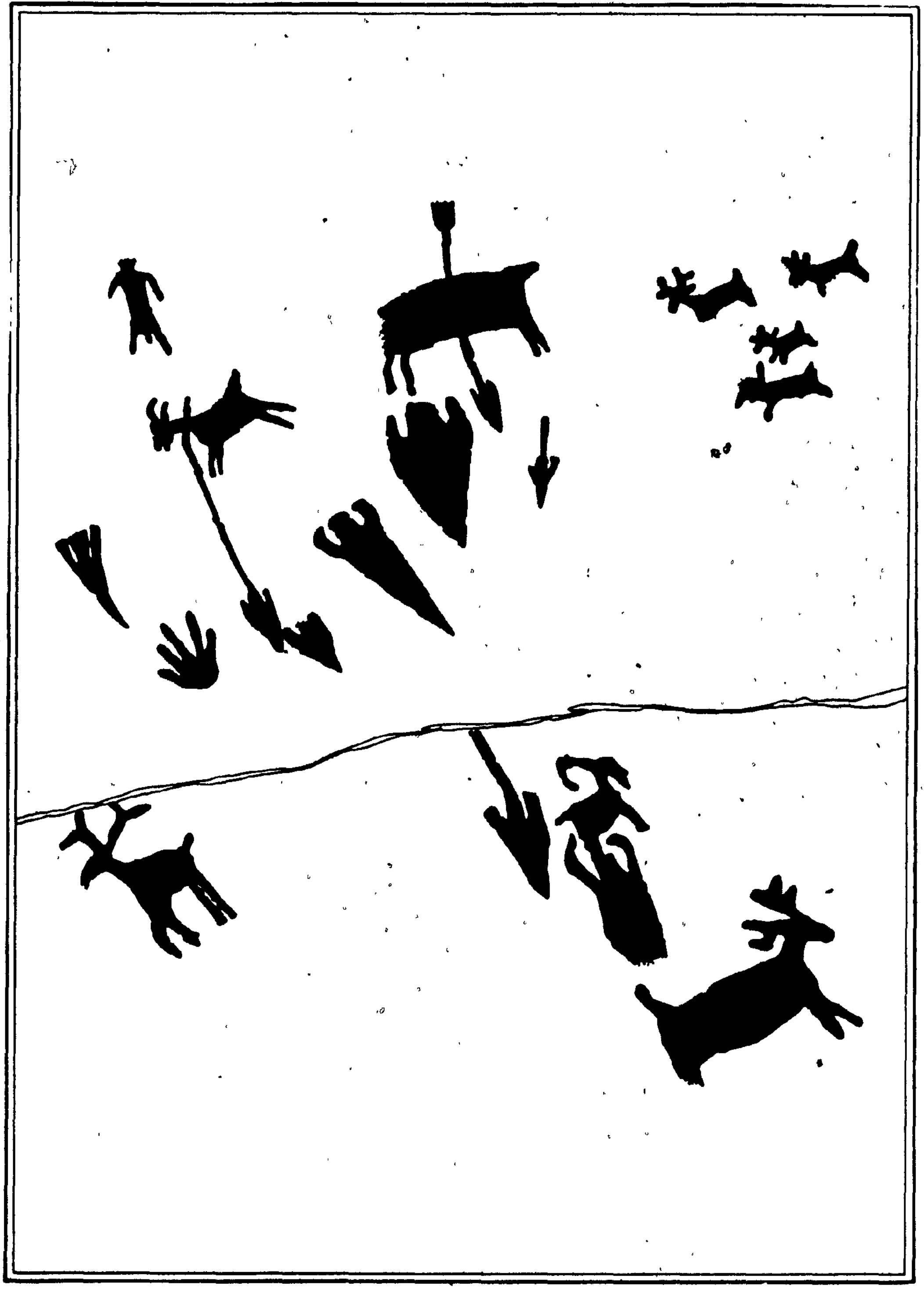

FIG.1 Man, spear points, deer, and sheep in Diablo Dam Petroglyph Style. Man is 10 inches tall. Fort Hancock, Texas.

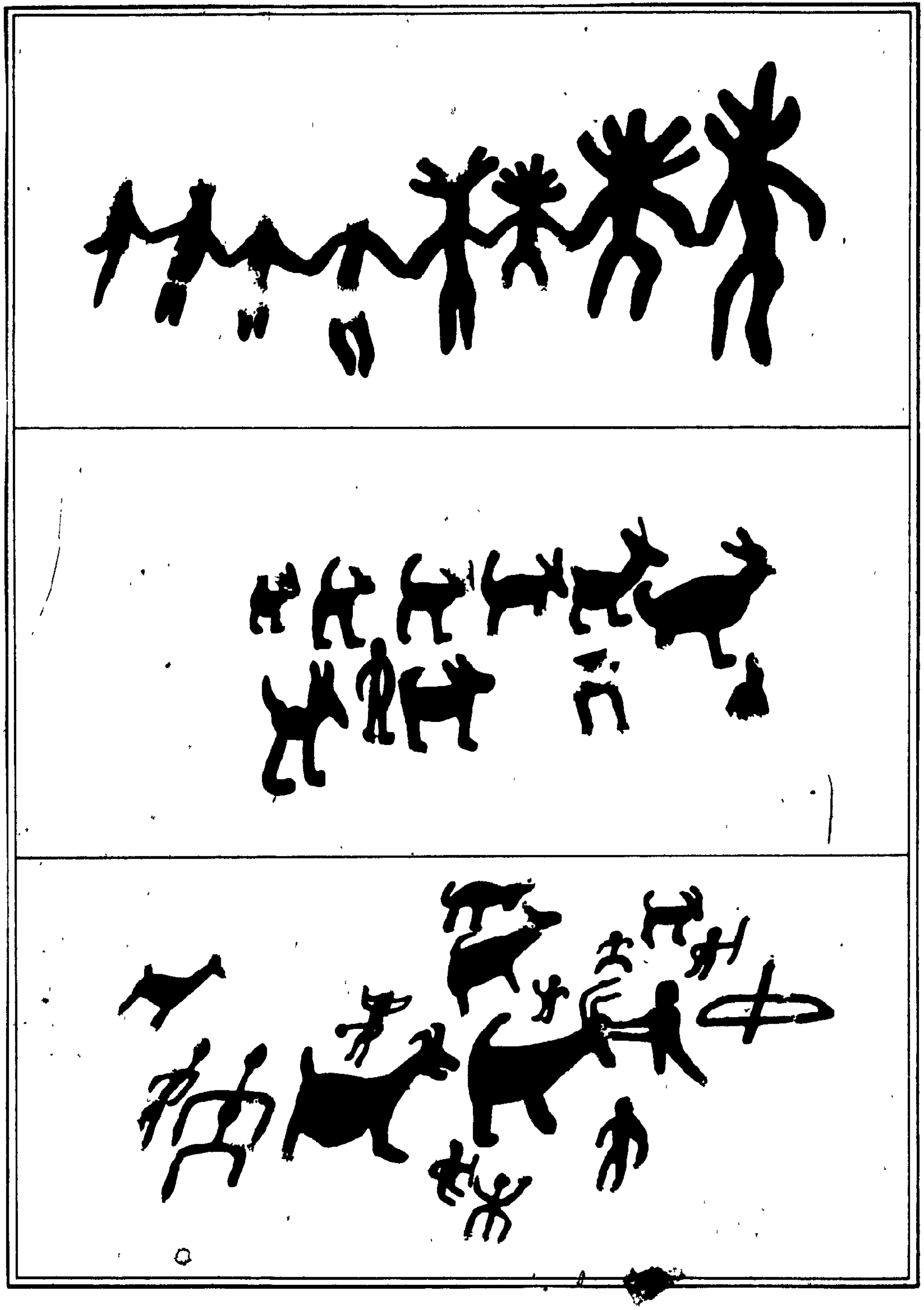

FIG. 2 Dancers, animals, and hunting scene, Gila Petroglyph Style, Picture Rocks, Tucson Mountains, Arizona.

III. A BRIEF SURVEY OF INTERPRETATION OF PALAEOLITHIC IMAGERY

Traditional Theories

Reinach first proposed in 1903 that Palaeolithic art was evidence of a belief in the efficacy of magic. Reinach indicated the two major divisions of magic that would be more fully developed by later scholars: hunting magic and fertility magic. His ideas about the basis of magic relied on Frazer's analysis of magic according to two principles: (i) like produces like, or an effect resembles its cause, and (ii) things which have been in contact will continue to act upon each other even after physical contact has been broken (Ucko and Rosenfeld, 1968).

For Reinach, the first of these principles explained Palaeolithic art. This conclusion was based on the fact that most representations were of animals, and that they occurred mostly in obscure locations. Reinach believed that the images were nondecorative and had an instrumental function in rites of hunting magic. Reinach cited incidents of sympathetic hunting magic amongst aboriginal peoples of Australia and North America (Ucko and Rosenfeld, 1968).

These practices can provide useful information on which to base interpretation, however the theory of hunting magic would appear to offer only a partial explanation.

Abbé Breuil contributed important discoveries and reliable datings. Many of his interpretations are now subject to question. Breuil went further than Reinach and proposed that the painted caves were religious sanctuaries. Particularly in his later work there is an implicit assumption of a religious meaning that pervades his interpretations (Ucko and Rosenfeld, 1968). There was, according to Breuil and Lantier (1965) "a desire to create an atmosphere of mystery in a secret place forbidden to the uninitiated. Certain nooks of the sanctuary-caves were given a specially sacred character" (p. 255). The sheltered location of many Palaeolithic art sites has been considered by a number of prehistorians as evidence of a ceremonial or sacred function. The famous, so-called "Sorcerer" of Les Trois Freres cave, believed by many scholars to be a representation of a magician or shaman, becomes for Breuil a God or Spirit controlling the game and the hunters.

Contemporary Research

Among contemporary prehistorians, André Leroi-Gourhan has made what is probably the most thorough analysis of the typology and distribution of the Palaeolithic cave art of Europe. Over sixty-five caves of southern France and eastern Spain were painstakingly investigated. Earlier excavations have been criticized for not always being scientifically rigorous in their methodology. Leroi-Gourhan refused to accept the primacy of ethnographic parallels as a basis for interpretation. He contended that interpretation should be based, at least in the first instance, on the evidence of the Palaeolithic art itself (Leroi-Gourhan, 1982).

Leroi-Gourhan studied the frequency and distribution of animal images. He also created a separate category for what he termed, the signs. The signs are the abstract shapes and obscure configurations that are often found in association with the animal images. Analysis of the material led Leroi-Gourhan to a number of conclusions. The animals are, it is revealed, not necessarily game

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animals. In some cases, dating of the paintings and subsequent excavation of the caves indicated a lack of correlation between the fossil remains and those species represented on the cave walls (Leroi-Gourhan, 1982).

Over half of the animal images that Leroi-Gourhan studied are either horses or bison. Often the animals are grouped in pairs - male and female. An analysis of the material led Leroi-Gourhan to consider the animals as symbols of male and female principles that are constantly juxtaposed, associated, or coupled. His work with the signs resulted in a similar reduction of the data into two groups, male and female. The caves, for Leroi-Gourhan, are also sanctuaries with visual art representing a complex mythological system, a language of symbolic animals (Leroi-Gourhan, 1982).

It is considered that Leroi-Gourhan has made a major contribution to the study of Franco-Cantabrian cave art through his thorough documentation. However several criticisms have been levelled at his work. One value of ethnographic comparison is to avoid cultural bias. Leroi-Gourhan has attempted to reduce Palaeolithic cave art to a linguistic system. Ucko and Rosenfeld (1968) fault Leroi-Gourhan for making the assumption, that others before him have made, namely, that one can tell what was of interest to Palaeolithic human beings. Palaeolithic art is not a code that can be deciphered.

Alexander Marshack's microscopic examination of a carved bone fragment, dating from approximately 30,000 B.P., provided some new and startling information. The minute and varied markings revealed to Marshack a complex system of notation. In this particular document the notation corresponds to the waxing and waning of the moon for a period of 2¼ lunar months (Marshack, 1975). This was a first step in a program of research in which Marshack has used closeup, infrared, and ultraviolet photography. This research led Marshack to some interesting conclusions.

According to Marshack, Cro-magnons and also Neanderthals had made sophisticated adaptions to the environment. Both left evidence that they were engaged in complex ceremonies and rites (Marshack, 1972).

Marshack examined other bones engraved with a notation indicating signs related to seasonal changes. He agrees with Leroi-Gourhan that there are meaningful associations of animals, signs, and symbols. However Marshack believes these associations are not necessarily concerned with the pairing of male and female oppositions. Marshack's contention is that the mobility art, small statuary and portable objects, contain notational information of a seasonal, behavioral, or mythological kind. The paintings and engravings of the Franco-Cantabrian caves, Marshack (1972) concludes, had a mythological and ritual function.

Marshack takes a more informed and broader view of hunting magic than earlier prehistorians. He cites evidence that many images were acted-upon over and over again. "The horse was an image whose storied meaning, existence or 'spirit' was continuous and not terminated by any one 'killing'" (Marshack, 1972, p. 233). Many animal images have been overpainted, overengraved or have had signs or symbols added later. Rather than an act of sympathetic magic solely with food as its aim, Marshack sees a repeated, ritual act, as an indication of "symbolic mythical killing" (Marshack, 1972, p.234). Max Raphael (1945) believes that the cave paintings are indicators of the development of ego-consciousness. Marshack interprets the art of the Palaeolithic Era as a means of developing, representing, and symbolizing a changing awareness.

Marshack draws attention to other approaches for the interpretation of Palaeolithic art. He believes that we should not rely on such culturally bound categories as magic, animism, and totemism to understand the cognitive processes behind this art. He states that an analysis on the basis of recognized psychological processes and strategies which use symbols and symbolic relations would be more productive (Marshack, 1972). Palaeolithic humans increasingly substituted symbolic action for instinctual action. Marshack suggests a study of the acculturalization process of aggressive and sexual instincts. He repeatedly emphasizes the importance of art images as a part of mythological story-telling. This activity would have been a crucial factor for group cohesion and communication. "Magic and myth, aggression, symbolism, and sexuality are elements in the stories, the whole might more aptly, if awkwardly, be called 'a cognitive-and-time-factored use of art, myth, rite, and symbol'" (Marshack, 1972, p.276).

Marshack also suggests that the study of shamanism may provide the most appropriate basis for an interpretation of Palaeolithic art. The performances of the shaman may help us to understand how "the stories" were used to involve the community in ceremonial events. The shaman's trance is a story of a transformation that is mythological and psychological. This mythic story is a journey, a hunt, or a search in which the hero escapes through a miracle and is transformed (Eliade, 1964). Palaeolithic visual art was, in part, a focal point for these rituals of transformation.

It seems evident, that many of the cave paintings were included in a system of thought and action that helped sublimate and transform aggressive and sexual instincts that were potentially destructive to the group.

Increasingly complex symbolic expression made it possible to develop socially approved solutions for individual problems. Marshack (1972) suggests that symbolic expression may have made it possible to develop a greater diversity of human personality. Through ritual art and ceremony, the crises, transitions and stresses of the Palaeolithic community were expressed, shared, and resolved.

The Palaeolithic Artist

Recent studies have led scholars to conclude that shamanic trance and ritual activities are revealed in Palaeolithic and Neolithic rock art (Eliade, 1964; Lommel, 1967; Vastokas and Vastokas, 1973; Garvin, 1978; Schaafsma, 1980). Shamanistic activities most probably provided the context for the production of petroglyphs and pictographs.

Lommel (1967) considers rock painting to be essentially an art form of nomadic hunting cultures. It seems reasonable that the mythology of a hunting and gathering economy would rely heavily on animal symbolism. Eliade (1968) contends that the spiritual universe of palaeo-shamanism was dominated by relations between man and the animals. Heizer and Hester (1978) have noted that correspondence between rock painting sites and animal migration trails in the Great Basis region of western North America. They suggest that these art productions were related to hunting magic rituals possibly performed by shamans (Fig. 3). Once again it has to be said, on the basis of the archaeological documents, that a clear differentiation between hunting magic and shamanic practices may not be possible. It is likely that the images of the hunt became the symbols of shamanic mythology. Possibly a difficulty arises from the application of relatively fixed theoretical models to the manifestations of distant and diverse cultures.

A clear example of shamanic influence in lithic petroglyphs and pictographs is the, so-called, X-ray Style. These images of animals contain a depiction of the skeleton or internal organs. Many examples have been found in eastern and western Europe and in North

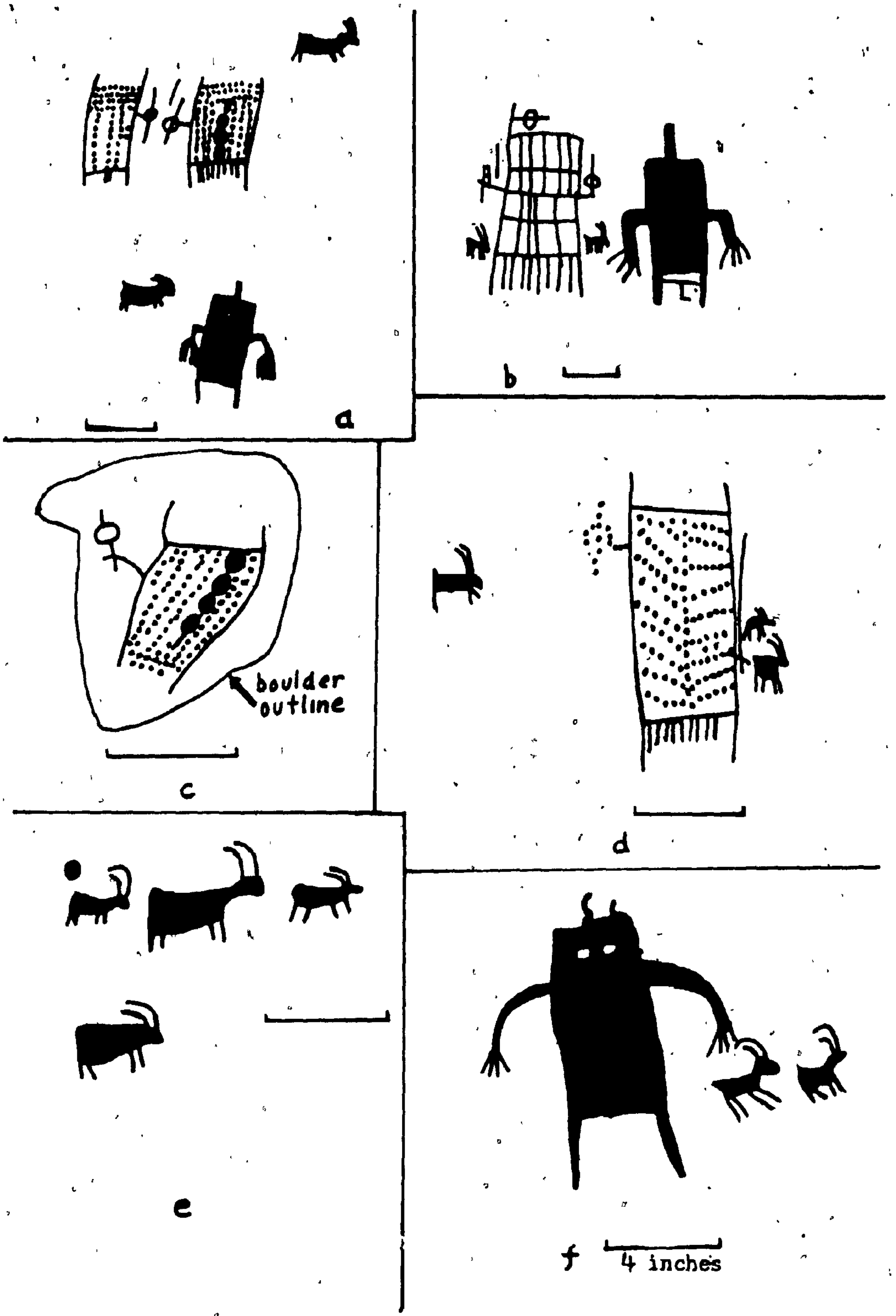

a
b
boulder
outline
c
d
e
f
4 inches

FIG. 3 Spirits, traps, animals . Lower White River Valley, Nevada .

America. The mythology of the shaman refers to his dismemberment, or reduction to bones, and subsequent rebirth. The shaman too can see the skeletons of the living (Czaplicka, 1914/1969). Occasionally the representation of the skeleton or internal organs, has been stylized into a life line (Schaafsma, 1980). Lommel (1967) contends that these images are support for the shamanic origin of rock art(Fig. 4).

Images of animal conflicts are for some scholars the expression of shamanic struggles (Lommel, 1967), or of struggle on a psychic level (Raphael, 1945). There are many examples of animal parts having been recombined to form mythical animals, or human beings with zoomorphic characteristics. Other researchers have seen them as portraits of costumed dancers. Either way, these images portray beliefs and rites of transformation that must have been quite similar to shamanic practices.

In 1950 Horst Kirschner proposed that the painting of a prostrate man, disemboweled bull, and bird perched on a staff that was found in the Lascaux cave in

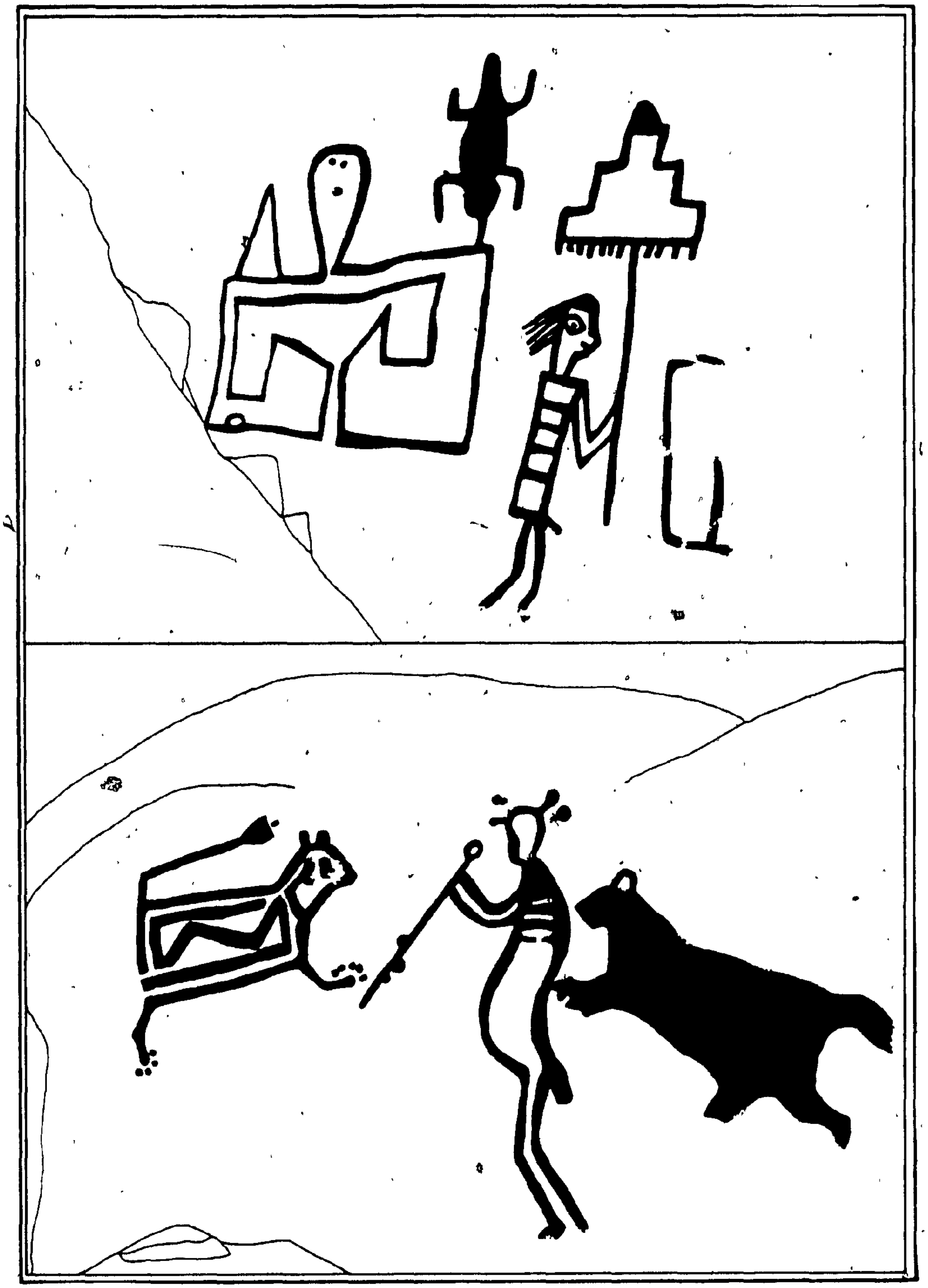


FIG. 4 Jornada Style personages, Three Rivers, New Mexico .

southern France was a depiction of a shamanic seance (Eliade, 1978) (Fig. 5). The widespread shamanic symbol of the bird perched on a pole or in the branches of the World Tree has been noted (Eliade, 1964). Vastokas (1977) considers the painting at Lascaux to be the earliest representation of this symbol known to us. Lommel (1969) believes this is the scene of a shaman's psychic struggle. Remarkably similar images have been found on the cliffs at the Three Rivers site in New Mexico (Fig. 6) and at other locations in North America (Schaafsma, 1980) (Fig. 7 and 8).

The study of rock art in North America has led many scholars to conclude that it was closely related to shamanism (Vastokas and Vastokas, 1973; Furst, 1974; Garvin, 1978; Schaafsma, 1980). Modern day shamans draw pictures that are very similar to figures found on the canyon walls (Castaneda, 1971). The numerous representations of birds acquire a different meaning when seen in the context of the shamanic symbolism of bird flight and the journey of the soul (Garvin, 1978). Many bird figures have noticeable anthropoid features (Fig. 9).

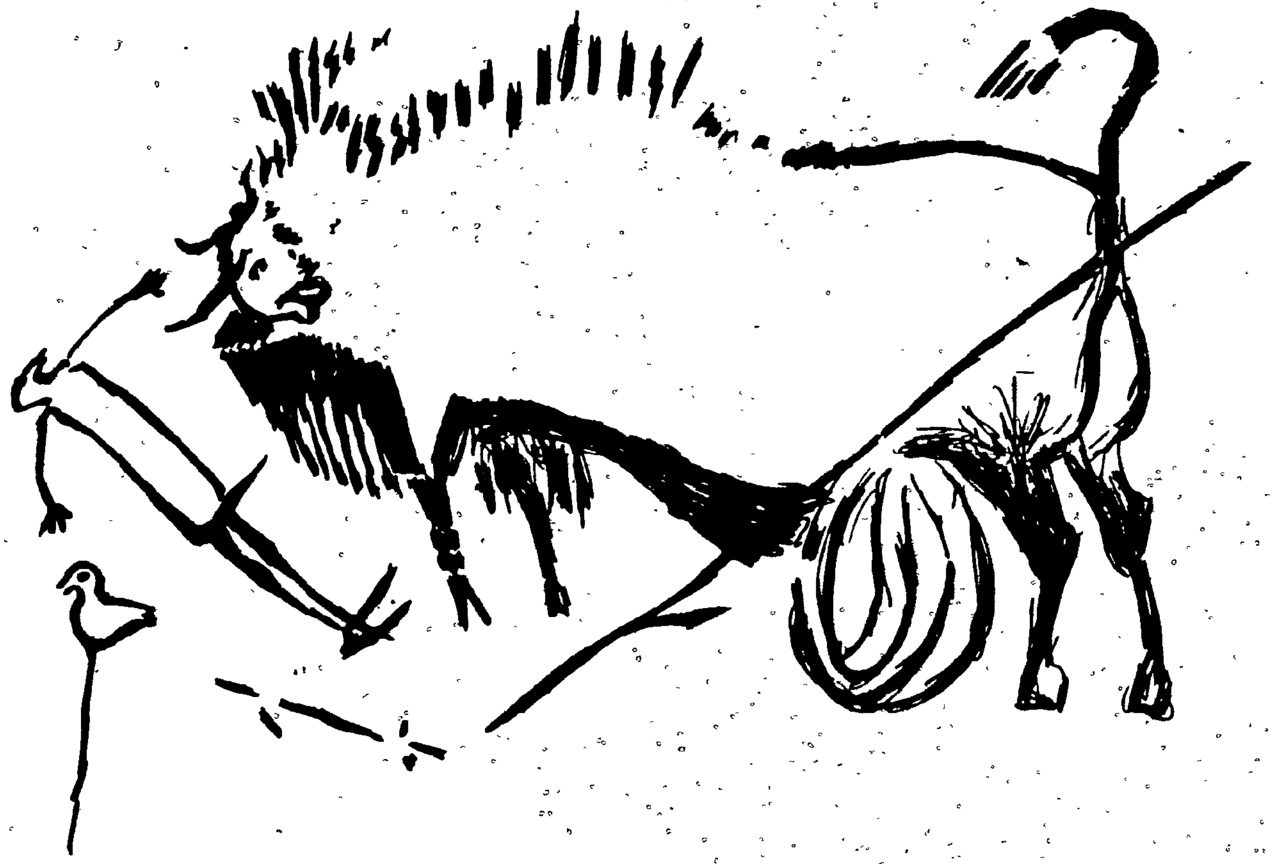


FIG. 5 The prostrate man, disembowelled bull, and bird staff. Lascaux, France.

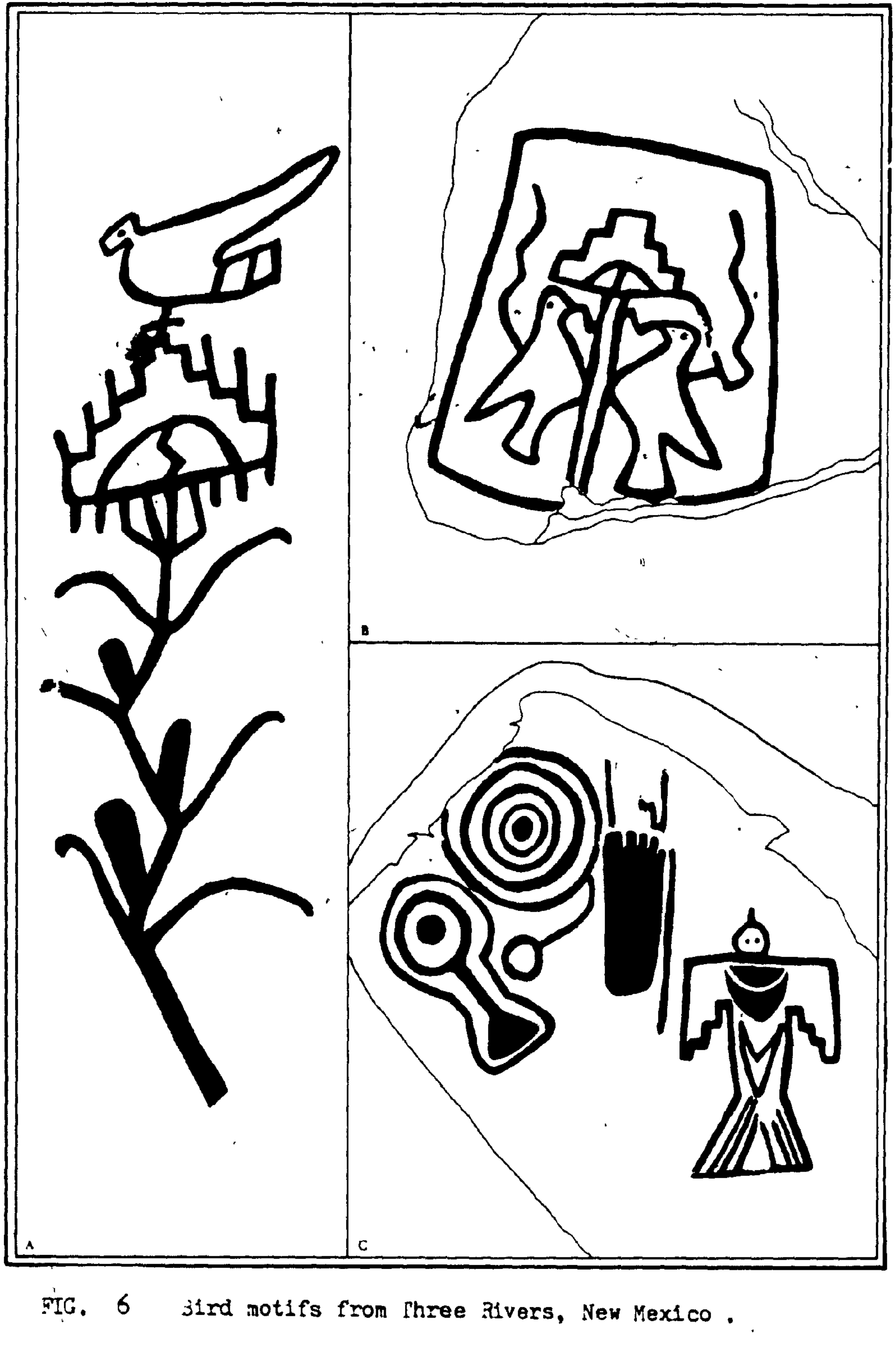


FIG. 6 Bird motifs from Three Rivers, New Mexico .

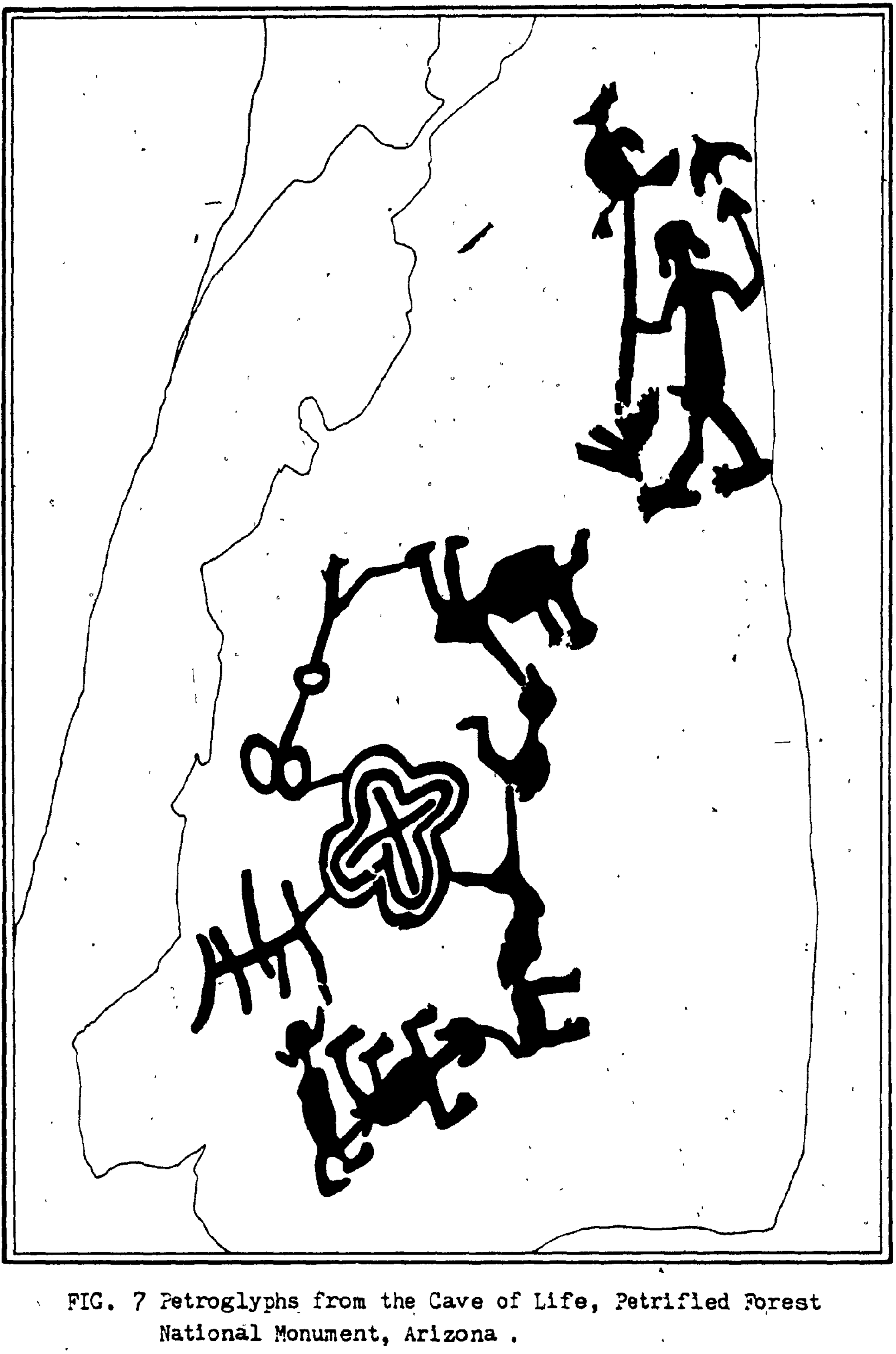


FIG. 7 Petroglyphs from the Cave of Life, Petrified Forest National Monument, Arizona .

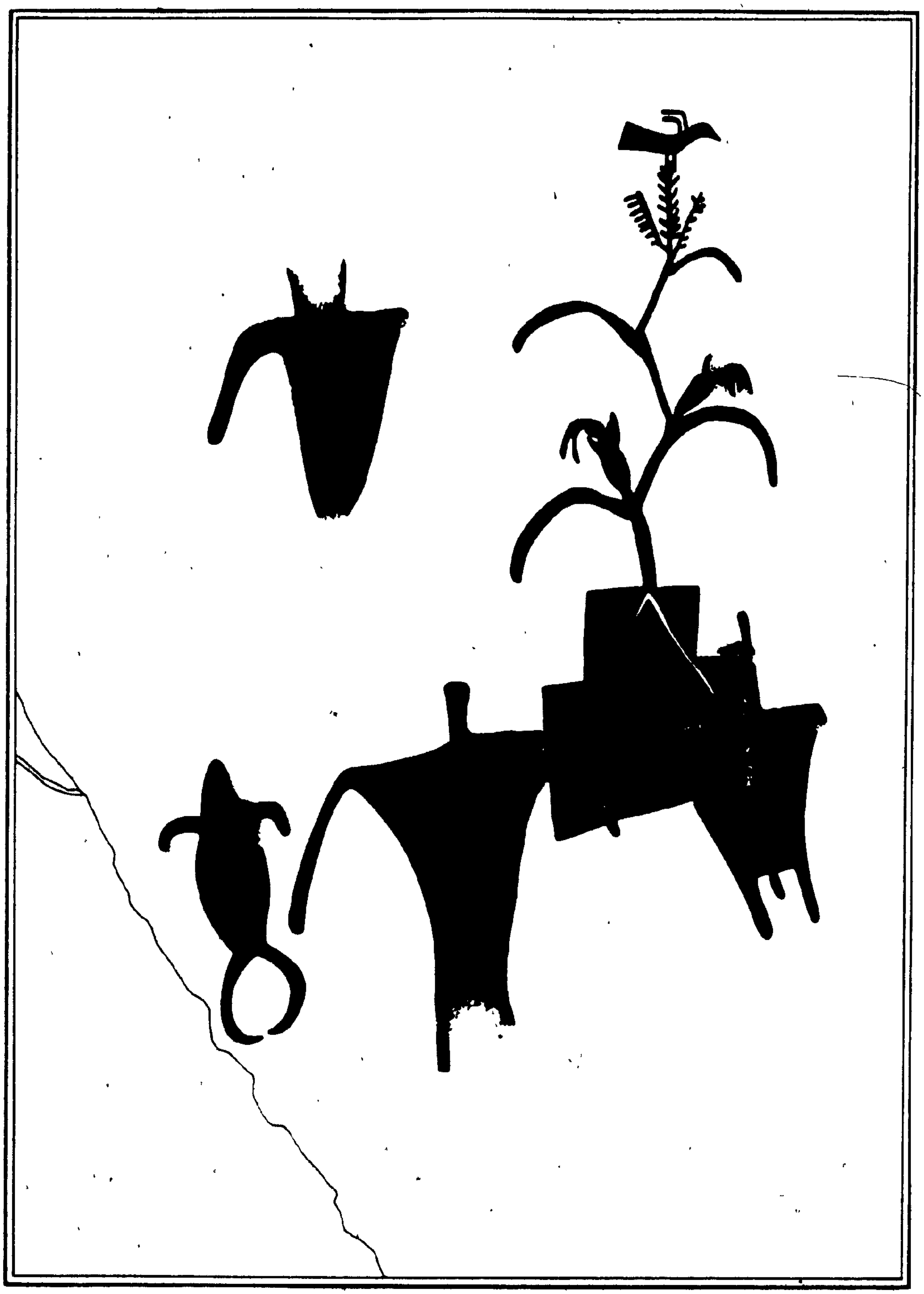


FIG. 8 Navaho bird, corn, and terrace complex pecked over anthropomorphs of the Rosa Representational Style, Largo Canyon, New Mexico.

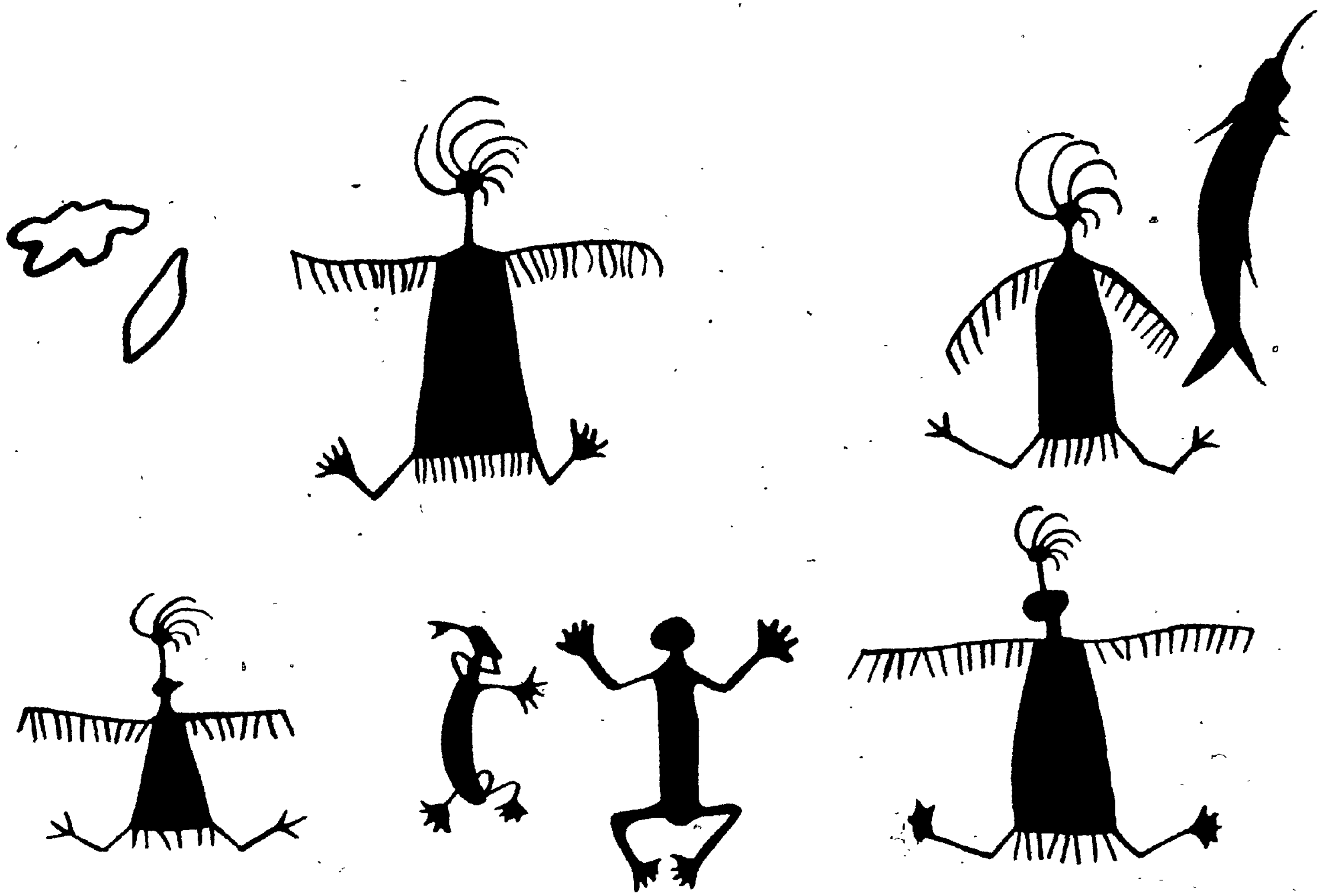
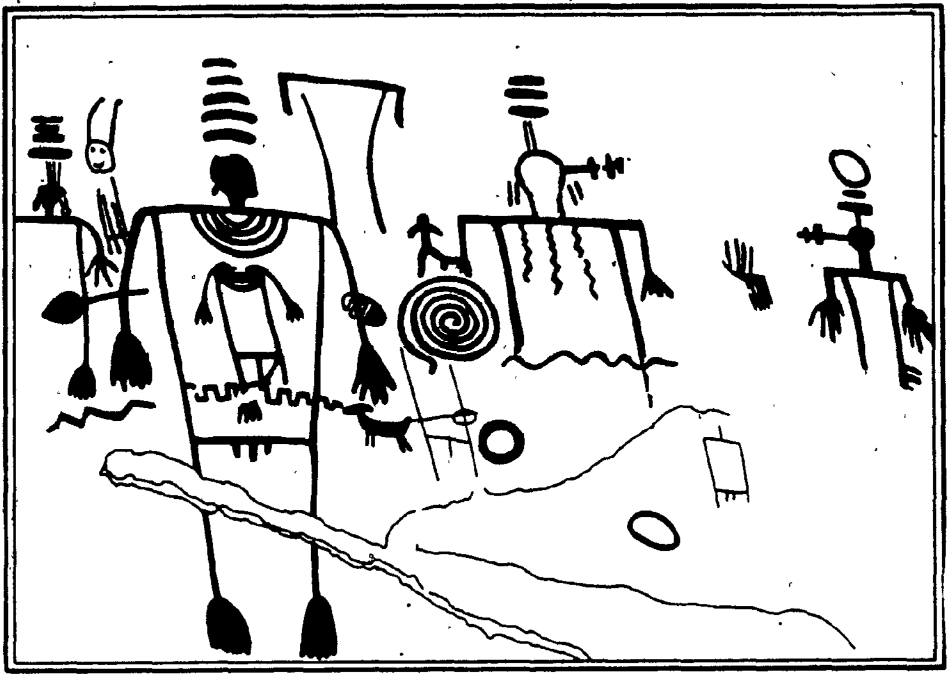


FIG. 9 . Eagles , and anthropomorphs. Site Ven.195 , Ventura, California

The numerous examples of the spirit-like anthropomorphs found in New Mexico and Arizona have been regarded as substantial evidence of shamanic trance activities (Schaafsma, 1980) (Fig. 10).

Research has revealed that the rock art of southern Africa has a pronounced association with symbolic healing rituals. Two common elements of this imagery are dead or dying elands (i.e., large antelopes) and medicine men in trance postures (i.e., shamans). According to J. David Lewis-Williams (1983), the prominence of the eland is explained by its symbolic function rather than by its value as a food animal. In the mythology of the Bushman of the Kalahari the odour of the killed and skinned eland is the essence of a potent force that wards off potential dangers, especially "the arrows of sickness" (Lewis-Williams, 1983, p. 47). To this day Bushman hunters hold a dance at the site of a fresh eland kill. The shamans present believe they can exploit this acquired power in their trance performances. "A medicine man who has special control of eland potency enters a trance and cures all present of known and unknown ills by removing any 'arrows of sickness' which might have been directed against them" (Lewis-Willams, 1983, p. 47).



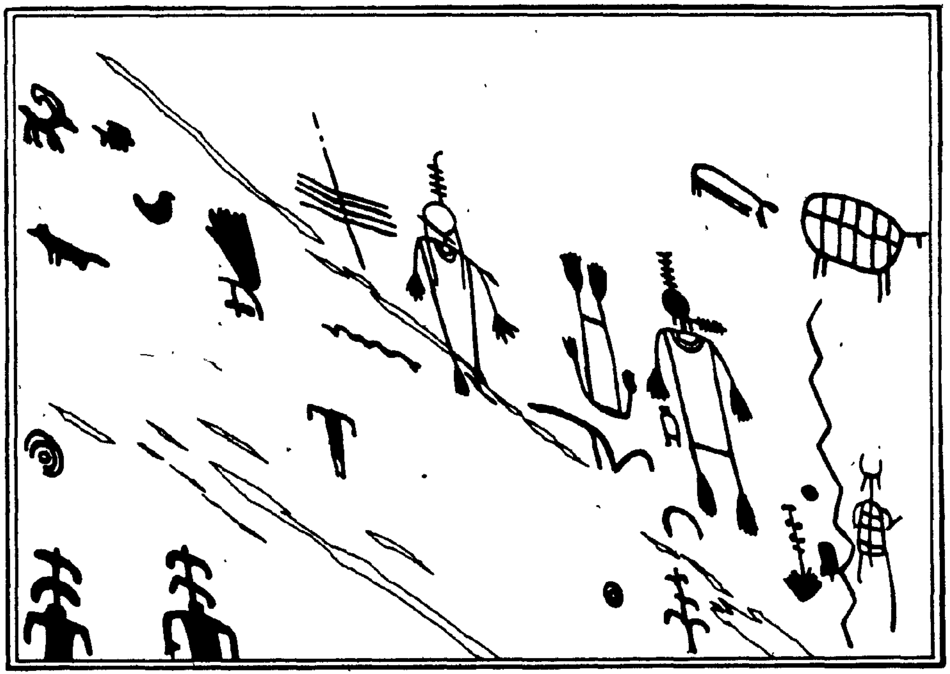


FIG.10 San Juan Anthropomorph Style. Large figures are 3 to 4 feet tall. San Juan River, New Mexico.

The dying eland's appearance is said to resemble a man entering a trance. The eyes roll back, the tongue hangs out, and there are tremors and convulsions as the large antelope drops on its haunches. Paintings of trance dancers have physical features of eland heads, horns, limbs, or hooves. The dancers bleed from the nose and perspire like dying elands. Lewis-Williams (1983) concludes that the rock art of southern Africa represents and expresses an "eland language" (p. 52) of religious ritual. Art played a central role in developing and elaborating upon this system, and according to Lewis-Williams (1983) "...if the artists were themselves medicine men, they were actually strengthening themselves by painting" (p. 52). This study provides the most solid connection between rock painting and rituals of symbolic healing.

Conclusions

The consequences of learned opinion is that many of the painted and etched figures were elements in ritual ceremonies. Hunting and fertility magic, initiation, propitiation of the spirits, and shamanic transformation and healing may all be indicated. For this investigation it is not important which of these functions was paramount.

What is significant is that we have clear prehistoric evidence of visual art being used as a focus for symbolic enactment and ritual. In such an event there must have been projection unto, and identification with the art image. It seems that art was used to express and facilitate the resolution of individual and group conflict. It was a force for personal and social adjustment. The symbolic art ritual would have played an important part in group dynamics, and adaption to the physical and metaphysical environment. This is not to give art an inordinate importance in the cultures of the Palaeolithic. Art existed as an integral part of a complex system of thought and action.

This has important implications for modern art therapy. Art is put in a different perspective. Rather than being considered as a latter and secondary development of culture, art assumes a place of primary importance in the emergence of human consciousness and culture. Art therapists occasionally find themselves required to explain why art is necessary. The assumption being that art is merely a decorative diversion. What needs to be explained is the process whereby art became split off from its meaningful role as an adaptive psychological and cognitive activity in the lives of individuals and social groups. Art therapy is part of a process of rediscovering the capabilities of art as a primary means of successful human adjustment.

IV. SHAMANISM

Defining the Shaman

Shamanism has been extensively recorded and researched. This has been possible because shamanism has survived in vestigial form and occasionally in quite a vital state in many parts of the world to this day. Shamanism is perhaps the oldest form of symbolic healing. Shamanism is a body of mythological thought and practice that originated well back into the Palaeolithic era. Shamanism is a central datum of this study, because it provides the connection between mankind's earliest symbolic productions and traditions of symbolic healing that continue to exist in the late twentieth century.

What appears to be certain is the antiquity of shamanic rituals and symbols. "It remains to be determined whether these documents brought to light by prehistoric discoveries represent the first expression of shamanism _in statu nascendi_ or are merely the earliest documents available of an earlier religious complex" (Eliade, 1964, p. 504). It seems likely that there were magico-religious beliefs that predate the archaeological documents.

This tradition undoubtedly underwent many alterations and renewals in the course of early man's development and migration.

Shamanism is pre-eminently a phenomenon of Siberia and Central Asia (Czaplicka, 1914; Eliade, 1964). Other researchers consider shamanism to have been of circumpolar distribution (Rank, 1967). It was described by the earliest explorers of central and northern Asia. Phenomena observed in North America, South and Central America, Indonesia, Oceania, Korea, eastern and northern Europe, Australia, and southern Africa exhibit similarities to shamanism(Eliade, 1964; Furst, 1977; Harner, 1980). Shamanism's widespread distribution is one of its most outstanding characteristics. This supports the conclusion that shamanism must have almost primordial origins. Authors have attributed shamanism's survival over many tens of thousands of years to the fact that shamanism must answer some basic human needs (Furst, 1977; Harner, 1980). Shamanism has a relevance to the human psyche that should be considered with the realization that this ideology has endured since the first cultural manifestations of homo sapiens.

It is necessary to distinguish shamans from medicine men, sorcerers, magicians and other personages found in primitive societies. Shamanism often coexists with other forms of magic and religion in the same culture. It is the shaman's reliance on the technique of ecstasy that is recognized as his distinguishing characteristic (Rank, 1962; Eliade, 1964).

The Shaman's Trance

Through a self-induced trance the shaman enters an altered state of consciousness. He believes that in this state his soul leaves his body and ascends to the sky or descends below, where he communicates directly with the spirits. There are some authors who do not agree on a clear differentiation of the shaman from the medicine man (Park, 1938; Hultkrantz, 1967). Isolating the factor of trance phenomena is a useful means to organize a body of information that is very large, diverse, and complex.

The physiological phenomenon of a trance is a disconnection or dissociation of normal conscious thought processes (Norland, 1967). Like sleep or the dream state, this is a mental experience of different dimensions. Every human being is capable of experiencing trance-like phenomena. Under the effects of hypnosis, sleep deprivation, sensory deprivation, fasting, intoxication, or hysteria; visual or auditory hallucinations commonly occur. The shaman's expertise lies in his ability to control his access to these sources of knowledge.

By staring at a flame or other object, chanting and repetitive drumming, or other techniques the shaman puts himself into a trance. By so doing he opens himself to the voices and visions. Both the shaman and other members of his community believe that, in this way, the spirits of animals and human ancestors are contacted. There is a widespread conviction that the soul is able to leave the body and journey to meet superhuman beings and ask for help or blessing (Eliade, 1968). The shaman may well be an intuitive expert relying on unconscious processes of abstraction and symbolization. His ability to liberate his unconscious images, his knowledge of the group mythology, and his self-discipline permit him to use his insights for problem-solving (Norland, 1967). This problem-solving is a valuable service to both individuals and the community as a whole.

The ecstatic trance of the shaman is a form of ritual death. Symbolically his conscious mind dies, is dismembered, and reborn in a new form. The shaman thus abolishes his current human condition and returns to a state of oneness with the animals and the spirits. A symbolic system based on animal forms and the hunt describes the shamanic experience. The secret language of the shaman is actually an "animal language" (p. 62) composed of animal cries (Eliade, 1964). The shaman's transformation into an animal or animal spirit is believed to be a return to a primordial condition lost at the beginning of time. The emergence of ego-consciousness in the human psyche differentiated mankind from the other animals. The shaman's contact with the animal spirits is a return to the preconscious or unconscious state of oneness with the mythological universe.

V. THE ART OF THE SHAMAN

Initiation

Whether the shaman was chosen as a result of an innate disposition or actively sought out the visionary power is a point of contention. It does appear certain that the true shaman was an exceptional individual (Elkin, 1945; Castenada, 1974). Substantial demands were placed on the shaman's will-power, intelligence, concentration, and psychic equilibrium. Sometimes, especially in northern and central Asia, the potential shaman is revealed by a sudden illness or epileptic attack (Czaplicka, 1914/1969). The shaman is thought to have a vocation to a direct relationship with the sacred that sets him apart from the profane world (Eliade, 1964).

The initiation of the shaman is an ecstatic experience that may take several years to complete. It is a ritual death and resurrection (Eliade, 1964). This process is at once an initiation and a self-cure (Lommel, 1967). Through this ordeal the shaman gains the power to heal. The prospective shaman must cure himself before he can cure others. By accepting the vocation of shaman, the cure is discovered. The shaman's suffering and aberrant behavior find social validation.

Artistic Expression and Self-Healing

Lommel (1967) describes the shaman as "probably the first artistically active man known to us" (p. 9). The shaman has a personal experience with the mythology and symbols of his culture. He must be able to translate his personal adventures in the spirit world into forms that are meaningful to other members of his culture. In order to accomplish this, the shaman relies on his abilities as singer, poet, dancer, artist, theatrical performer, and producer. He makes his visions visible to others. The shaman externalizes his struggle and it becomes a symbolic struggle with which other members of community can identify. He imposes order upon, and gives form to, chaotic and confused unconscious images. This constitutes a form of self-healing.

The spriits are manifestations of the shaman's unconscious. They are the images of his own psyche. Other members of hunting cultures also have contact with animal spirits and animal guardians. But the shaman is believed to have the closest contact with them, and therefore greater power in combatting them or enlisting their aid (Harner, 1980). The shaman's soul journeys beyond to where the spirits speak to him and reveal their secrets. The spirits can be dangerous, but they can also bestow knowledge, good luck, and good health. The shaman returns and shares the benefits with the community. Shaman's use is a psychological technique whereby obsessional images are played off one against the other in a dramatic enactment (Lommel, 1967). Typically this is an event in which others participate. Much of the shaman's effectiveness resides in his ability to animate the group by means of his artistic productions.

Shamans and Pseudo-Shamans

Klopfer's survey, using the Rorschach test, of Mescalero Apache shamans is of interest (Norland, 1967). Klopfer was able to classify his subjects into two categories:

real shamans and pseudo-shamans. The real shaman had a greater capability of letting loose his ego involvement and thereby regressing to a level of primary process and contacting contents of his psyche not readily available to the pseudo-shaman. The true shaman also had a greater ability to integrate these images and communicate them in a meaningful way to others. In these ways the shaman more closely approximates the psychological profile of the artist than does the pseudo-shaman. Klopfer's tests revealed a significant correlation between true shamans and the level of respect accorded the shamans in their communities.

Creative Mythology

The shaman is the outstanding artist of his community and an expert at manipulating the symbols of the group's mythology. Mythology is dynamic. The oral communication of mythological stories leaves them open to imaginative modification and embellishment to suit different circumstances (Chagnon, 1970). Although fundamental structures may remain the same, mythology is constantly evolving in accordance with mankind's adaptive response to the environment. The shaman is the prime animator of mythological symbols. This involves creative alterations to suit changing needs. Mythology represents a charter for human behavior (Eliade, 1968). Through such a process the shaman came to be not only a specialist in the sacred, but a guardian of the personal and interpersonal equilibrium within his community. It is through mythological artistry that the shaman performs his most important social function as a healer.

Magic and Action

"Palaeolithic man knew no magic without action, nor could he imagine action without magic; to him theory and practice were one" (Raphael, 1945, p. 8). Eliade (1964) considers the shaman's journey as part of a more general search for magico-religious power. The greater the shaman's facility and force of contact with the spirit world, the greater was his power. This power aided the shaman in all his important social functions, such as procuring game, influencing the weather, driving away evil, and curing the sick. The shaman accomplished these functions by means of the practice of magic. Willard Z. Park (1938) defines shamanism in terms of magical power:

> This power is generally manipulated in such a way as to be a matter of concern to others in the society. Accordingly, the practice of withcraft may be as important a part of shamanism as the curing of disease or the charming of game in the communal hunt. We will designate by the term shamanism, then, all practices by which supernatural power may be acquired by mortals, exercises of that power for good or evil, and all concepts and beliefs associated with these practices (p. 10).

In hunting and gathering cultures nothing is so powerful as magic. Magic can kill as well as cure (Kiev, 1964). Magic is a body of knowledge that encompasses all the knowledge that the culture may possess (Rivers, 1924). It is theory and practice. It is science, art and psychology.

The shaman's ecstatic journey defines and authenticates his magic powers. He believes it, his social group believes it. He becomes possessed. The shaman is capable of actually being transformed. The shaman takes on the appearance and spirit of the animal. "He howls like a wolf, he barks like a fox" (Lommel, 1967, p. 137). "He flies like a bird, spreading his arms" (Eliade, 1964, p. 298). The shaman is a creature of transformation. His ability as a healer is based on this capacity.

The Shaman and Transformation

Rather than the creation ex nihilo of the Bible, the concept of transformation is at the center of the shamanic cosmos (Furst, 1977). Transformation can be defined as psychological experience that involves repression, liberation, and reintegration (Lee, 1972). This therapeutic process is applicable not only to sexual repression, but to many other symptoms of personal or social maladjustment.

Superficial examination of the subject of shamanistic transformation might only reveal a technique of instant cure. The essence of shamanism is the inner experience of transformation (Lee, 1972). The shaman has transformed himself, and he endeavors to engage his patient in a similar experience. This seems to depend upon the ability of the participants to become thoroughly involved in the transformational symbols.

An element of charlatanism is present in some shamanic rituals. They are, for the most part, devices to induce the patient's expectation of transformation. Belief in the power of the symbols is a crucial factor in all symbolic healing. The shaman's gifts as master of ceremonies and manipulator of the sacred create an atmosphere of magic. It is a "world in which everything seems possible, where the dead return to life and the living die only to live again, where one can disappear and reappear instantaneously, where the laws of nature are abolished and a certain super-human freedom is exemplified and made dazzlingly present" (Eliade, 1964, p. 54). The inner experience is so intense that it is taken as an outside, "real" event. The patient's adjustment to reality is irreversibly altered. Participants in shamanic rituals believe this change is positive and this leads to more successful adaption, and resolution of conflicts.

VI. THE SHAMAN AS HEALER

Castaneda (1968) has described the shaman as a middleman between ordinary and non-ordinary reality. Harner (1980) calls the shaman "a power-broker" (p. 56). He can manipulate spiritual and psychological power for the benefit, or detriment, of the members of his community. He is entrusted with maintaining the psychic equilibrium of society. He helps maintain a balance between the forces of "good" and "evil". In order to maintain the health and survival of the group, the shaman foresees change, divines the cause, and contacts the spiritual forces of nature. If misfortune threatens the community the shaman takes corrective action. An important social function of the shaman is to promote feelings of security in other members of the community. They feel that at least one member of the community has access to the invisible forces to which they feel subjected. Shamans are the "antidemonic champions"(p.508) of the society (Eliade, 1964).

The shaman's primary function is to cure the sick. This applies to physical as well as to mental illness.

The shaman's first task is to diagnose the nature and the cause of the illness. The shaman, by entering a trance, calls upon his helping spirits to inform and guide him. He will also talk to the patient and other relatives. In this way, the shaman acquaints himself with the medical history and psycho-social factors leading up to the disease (Eliade, 1964; Norland, 1967; Harner, 1980).

Foreign Intrusion

Two fundamentally different types of disease are recognized. They both have virtual worldwide distribution and are consistently referred to in the literature. F.E. Clement's article, Primitive Concepts of Disease (1923), is commonly cited (Rivers, 1924; Eliade, 1964; Kiev, 1964; Ellenberger, 1970).

The first major cause of disease is foreign intrusion. This is the belief that a pathogenic object has been introduced into the patient's body (Rivers, 1924; Ellenberger, 1970). The illness originated from outside of the patient. The pathogenic object can take many forms.

An actual physical object may have been projected into the patient, or a magical object (i.e. immaterial) may be the precipitating cause. In either case it is represented by a symbolic object. Related to this concept, but seemingly of more recent origin, is the belief that the patient's body has been intruded by evil spirits, possessed.

In such cases the shaman's treatment is to extract the harmful object, or to expell the demons. This may be accomplished by dusting and fumigating the patient, or most commonly, by sucking out the foreign object. This is psychosomatic therapy, but in addition the shaman may use what material remedies are appropriate and available (Harner, 1980). The shaman also treats the psychological disorders of the individual and the group. What can be termed confession and counselling occur (Furst, 1977; Harner, 1980). The healer and the patient join forces in a quest to determine the ultimate cause of the problem. This is found in a region where the forces are immaterial, spiritual, psychological, and symbolic. Shaman and patient together seek out the healing power. Alleviating the symptoms is only half of the treatment. The other half consists of neutralizing the imbalance through renewed observation of the values of the society (Furst, 1977).

Soul Theft

The second cause of disease is the theft of the soul or soul loss (Rivers, 1924; Ellengerger, 1970). The disorder is attributed to the fact that the patient's soul has strayed or been stolen away. Something has been taken from the patient. Treatment consists of the shaman finding the soul, capturing it, and returning it to its rightful place. This required the shaman's journey to search for the patient's soul. The shaman utilizes all his knowledge of the patient's circumstances combined with the dramatic enactment of his trance, and theatrical struggle to rescue the soul. The most effective symbols at his disposal that correspond to the patient's predicament are activated.

. . .

Various forces account for the soul loss. Sometimes the soul is stolen by the spirits of the dead. The shaman's services will be directed toward appeasing the spirit of the deceased, and the conscience of the survivors. Some psychological processes similar to guilt and unresolved mourning may be at work here. The shaman's involvement with the psycho-social factors underlying the patient's disease should, once again, not be overlooked.

Soul loss may be punishment for a transgression of the sacred order (Eliade, 1964). This must be rectified by the shaman. His first approach is to purge this impurity through individual and group confession. Ritual bathing, fasting, and fumigating play a part in the purification. The pathogenic actions of fear and guilt are well noted. The shaman does much to alleviate them.

The Shaman: The First Therapist

The shaman's function is very similar to a group and individual psychotherapist (McNiff, 1979; Harner, 1980).

The shaman is most effective as a therapist in situations where his power and the power of his mythological symbols are firmly recognized. Processes of confession, transference, abreaction, catharsis, and resolution may be evident. The shaman uses his own transformation and the symbols of transformation to change the patient's condition. He performs actions to restore the natural and healthy state of equilibrium that must exist between the individual, the family and the symbolic universe.

The master shaman never challenges the validity of anyone's experience. He tries to integrate even the most bizarre experience into his all-encompassing system of thought (Harner, 1980). The shaman listens and accepts the anxiety, fears and confessions of his patient. The shaman does not impose an order. He attempts to bring order from within the confused and troubled state of the patient and the social and natural environment. Empathy must play an important part in these relations. The patient and the group believe themselves to be directly affected by the spirits and mythological symbols. The shaman manipulates these forces to restore psychological equilibrium. The shaman certainly takes a much more obviously active role in the therapeutic process than do most contemporary psychotherapists. This will be discussed more fully in the last section of this study.

There can be little doubt that intuitive knowledge of psychotherapeutic principles is contained in the practices of the shaman. Perhaps the shaman's own transformation gives him insight into hidden psychic connections behind identity and ego (Nordland, 1967). His ability to move fluidly through a symbolic realm that is strongly connected to the unconscious mind of his patient is his most valuable ally.

The shaman is able to use highly-charged symbols (Nordland, 1967). The arts of hunting and gathering cultures symbolize the very essence of their spiritual beliefs (Schaafsma, 1980). The symbols represent active agents in the lives of the individual and the group. They are forces for good and evil, sickness and health, life and death. The shaman can be considered an archaic psychotherapist.

VII. SYMBOLIC HEALING AMONGST THE NAVAHO

Introduction

Symbolic healing appears to be a virtual global phenomenon. Sandner (1979) proposes four archetypal principles of symbolic healing. The first of these is the return to the origin or source. This is the retrieval and reconstruction of the mythological and psychological origins of a person's universe. Primordial structures are reconstituted and things are once again as they should be. The second principle is the management of evil. Whatever may be "evil" for the patient must be confronted and brought under control. The third fundamental principle is the theme of death and rebirth. This can be exemplified by the trance journey of the shaman or the quest of the mythic hero. This theme is present in all rites of passage, initiation, or whenever a pyschic threshold is crossed. The final archetypal principle is the restoration of a stable universe. At this point the regression is reversed and the transference is resolved. The patient is then carefully and securely returned to the normal life of everyday reality.

According to Sandner (1979), "These principles have served the main healing function for the entire human race over a period of time that can only be measured in millenia" (p. 265). Reliable ethnographic accounts exist of the healing practices of countless cultures of the Earth. The diversity of these world-wide practices is truly overwhelming. It seems certain that in many instances these practices evolved from shamanism. To survey the literature on the subjects of magic, witchcraft, and various symbolic healing practices is well beyond the scope of this research. For the purpose of this study, the symbolic healing system of one culture, the Navaho Indians, will be examined in some detail.

Migration and Adaption

The Navaho Indians of Arizona and New Mexico have a well researched and extensive system of symbolic healing. Disease is a metaphor in Navaho society that describes the personal illnesses, family strife, intergroup rivalries, bad luck, famine, drought, and the inevitable death to which any human group is subject (Kluckhohn, 1944). Not only is the Navaho system relevant to this study because of the proliferation of its visual symbols, but also because of certain historical facts that reveal that the Navaho have within the last few hundred years evolved from a hunter-gatherer and shamanistic culture.

The Navaho belong to the Athabascan language group. They are related to the Apache. Neither tribe is related to its neighbors. Evidence indicates that these people migrated to the southwestern United States from what is now northwestern Canada. The date of the migration is variously estimated from around 1000 A.D. (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946) to approximately 1400 A.D.

(Sandner, 1979. Wyman (1983) favours the latter date (Fig. 11).

When the Navaho arrived in the Southwest their ceremonies were not as complex as they are today. The Navaho were a society composed of small bands of nomadic hunters and gatherers, with a shamanic belief system. Shamanism continues to exist among Athabascan speaking tribes of the subarctic. The Navaho translated the relatively spontaneous enactments of shamanism into a formal system of symbols.

The Navaho were greatly influenced by the agricultural and town-dwelling Pueblo Indians (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946). The Navaho made wholescale adaptions and adjustments to this new environment. In the course of a few generations the Navaho adopted many features of Puebloan material and non-material culture.

Navaho Rock Painting

Schaafsma (1980) considers that Puebloan religious designs were incorporated into the existing tradition of

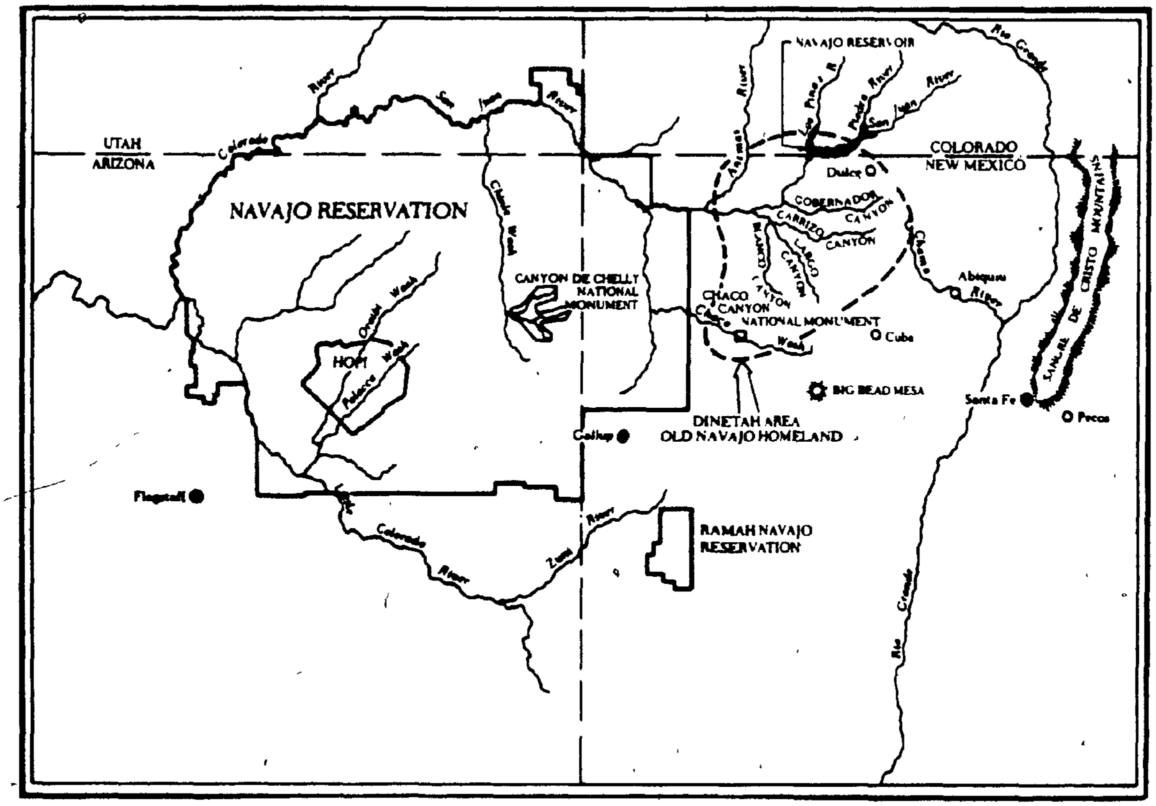

NAVAJO RESERVOIR
Rio Grande
River
San Juan River
Colorado
UTAH
ARIZONA
Animas River
Los Pinos R.
Piedra River
San Juan River
COLORADO
NEW MEXICO
Dulce
NAVAJO RESERVATION
Chinle Wash
GOBERNADOR CANYON
CARRIZO CANYON
BLANCO CANYON
LARGO CANYON
Chama
SANGRE DE CRISTO MOUNTAINS
Abiquiu
River
CANYON DE CHELLY NATIONAL MONUMENT
CHACO CANYON NATIONAL MONUMENT
Chaco Wash
Cuba
Oraibi Wash
HOPI
Polacca Wash
BIG BEAD MESA
Santa Fe
Pecos
DINETAH AREA
OLD NAVAJO HOMELAND
Gallup
Flagstaff
Little Colorado River
Zuni River
RAMAH NAVAJO RESERVATION
Rio Grande

FIG. 11 Map of Navaho Occupation

Nahavo rock painting. There are many rock art sites on Navaho land. As late as 1950 there were reports of groups of Navahos making "pilgrimmages" to rock painting sites (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946). Many images are found in contemporary Navaho drypaintings that are very similar to rock painting images (Schaafsma, 1980; Wyman, 1983). The relatively recent archaeological evidence coupled with the continued survival of aboriginal cultures in the region has facilitated the study of rock art in the southwest. Once again, many finds support the conclusion that rock painting sites were sacred places where shamanic magico-religious rites occurred.

The Navaho System of Healing

The Navaho have a degree of specialization in spiritual and therapeutic functions that far exceeds shamanism (Sandner,1979). Diagnosis of disease is performed by a diviner, usually a woman, who displays features reminiscent of the shaman. The diviner enters a light trance. There is a display of hand trembling, star gazing, or listening for voices. In this altered state, the diviner seeks the cause and nature of the patient's ailment.

Animals play a major role in the Navaho nosology and etiology of disease. The Navaho believe that something similar to an infection destroys the individual's natural harmony with the environment. This affects the natural harmony within the patient. This infection commonly originates from powerful animals. As many as thirty-two different diseases are caused by improper contact with animals. (Kluckhohn, 1944).

The Healer

The major practitioner of Navaho healing is the Singer (Kluckhohn, 1944) or healer (Sandner, 1979). Instead of the ecstatic experiences and performances of the shaman, the healer substitutes prayers, prescribed rituals, and drypaintings. The healer uses formalized symbols to enact and control the transformational process (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946). The central activity of the shaman, the journey of the soul, is replaced by symbolic representations of the journey. In the legends of Navaho mythology, the hero travels to levels above and below the world of everyday reality (Sandner, 1979).

Navaho cosmology has a similar structure to shamanic cosmology (Wyman, 1983; Schaafsma, 1980). Mythological heroes die, are dismembered, reborn, and transformed with a subsequent increase in their powers. The shaman relives the transformation, the healer remembers it.

The healer is accorded high respect in Navaho culture. He has the responsibility of curing disease, but he is also the custodian of the great traditions of the Navaho people. All aspects of the curing ceremony or chant must be committed to memory. Kluckhohn and Leighton (1946) compare the learning of a large chant to memorizing an opera: orchestral score, each vocal part, and every detail of staging. Sandner (1979) compares it to earning a university degree. Outstanding healers may know only three or more major chants. Even the most learned can only know a small portion of the vast chant system (Wyman, 1983).

The healer takes over the patient's case after hearing the findings of the diviner. The diviner will commonly prescribe the appropriate chant. A healer is called who is an expert in that particular chant.

The healer considers the intrapsychic and interpsychic factor's involved in the patient's disease. He talks at length with the patient and the patient's family (Sandner, 1979). He may make alterations or change the diagnosis on that basis. If he must change the chant perscription, he may have to refer the case to another healer who is an expert in that chant . Sometimes a small excerpt of a chant may be tried. If this meets with some positive response, then the entire chant ceremony will be performed (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946).

Confession and Transference

The stresses of contemporary Navaho life have been reported (Kluckhohn, 1944; Sandner; 1979). Intergroup tension and resentment, as well as increasing pressure from the outside produce common incidents of anxiety and alcoholism. There are strong controls against expressing hostility openly. Fear of witchcraft is quite common (Kluckhohn, 1944). Chants have an important function in releasing tensions and improving group relations.

Unsuccessful curing chants are often excused by reason of the patient or the patient's family having withheld information (Sandner, 1979). Participants are encouraged to speak honestly. There are meetings between the healer, the patient, and the patient's family. This behavior resembles confession and counselling. Participants are provided a socially sanctioned place to express their most private thoughts. The healer listens, gives advice, and forgives in the name of the Holy People.

The patient usually thinks of the healer as a respected helper and dependable guide. The patient may well identify with, or project split-off and unintegrated parts of himself upon, the healer. Some of these identities may be emotionally highly charged. Because of cultural differences it is difficult to equate these feelings with transference in the psychoanalytic sense. However there are similarities.

The healer and the patient are in such close relation for several days that strong feelings are aroused in the patient (Sandner, 1979). Often an older man, the healer is the recipient of paternal projections. The healer undoubtedly also is subject to the arousal of strong feelings. The healer is a person who is highly respected, sometimes even feared in the Navaho community. Because of his knowledge of the Holy People, the healer is elevated to a slightly more than human status. The healer may at times speak in the voices of the Holy People and perform their actions. During the chant ceremonies, the healer may become identified with the supernatural beings (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946). Sandner (1979) describes this in Jungian terms as an archetypal transference.

THE CURING CHANTS

The Ceremony

The first portion of the chant attending to purification and evocation lasts from one to four days, depending on the chant. The second section is of equal length. This section is directed to increasing the patient's identification with the symbols of transformation. On the last day the events are summarized, and the patient is released from the chant (Sandner, 1979). Usually for the following four days, the patient is required to stay in isolation and meditation (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946). This has the purpose of consolidating the therapeutic treatment, and providing a transition period before the patient must return to normal life.

Most chants are very complex performances that have elaborate and dynamic staging. Many different media are involved. Numerous, and varied sacred objects have their prescribed uses. Prayers, music, and dance are important elements. The drypaintings play a central part. The overall effect must surely be remarkable. Sandner

(1979) describes the ninth night of the Night Way chant: four teams of costumed dancers "keep up their high shrill song throughout the dance, move with their peculiar shuffling motion in long lines together and apart, back and forth. The effect is strange and otherworldly, and it is meant to be" (p. 91). The beauty and variety of the art forms makes accurate description almost impossible. For the purposes of this study it is not necessary. What is required is to come to an understanding of the psychological impact of the symbols. How do the symbols of transformation contribute to the patient feeling changed?

The Drypaintings

Often called "sand paintings," these works are actually composed of powdered pigments made from pollen, meal, crushed flowers, charcoal, and pulverized minerals. Sand is only used for the background, spread out evenly to a depth of one to three inches. More than five hundred drypaintings have been recorded. Perhaps more than a thousand exist, although some are forgotten (Wyman, 1983). Typically round or ovoid, some are miniatures, only a foot or two in diameter. Others may exceed twenty feet. As with all aspects of Navaho symbolic healing, their efficacy is deemed to rely on the correctness of their execution (Sandner, 1979). Minor variation in choice of some colors and decoration is permissible.

The content of the drypaintings comes from the Navaho pantheon of dieties, personnages, animals, plants, and sacred objects (Fig. 12). Generally, drypaintings tell the stories of the first people, or Holy People. The Navaho believe themselves descended from the Holy People, and are reported to say that they behave in a certain way because the Holy People do it that way (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946). The Holy People provide a guide for living the correct life.

Legends of the mythic heroes are the basis of drypainting designs. Each legend describes how the hero got into a series of predicaments and acquired the knowledge of the ceremony while being rescued or aided by the Holy People. Many of the Holy People have

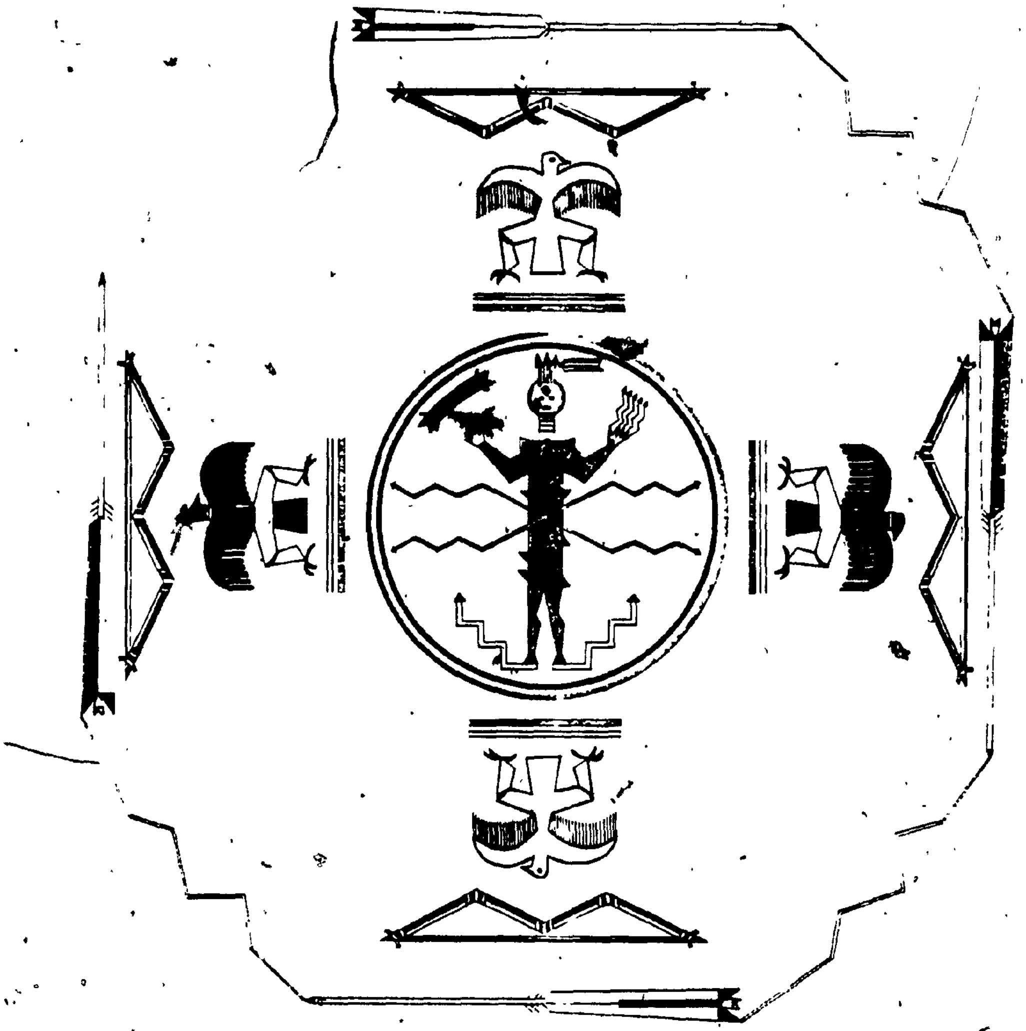


FIG. 12, Slayer-of-Alien-Gods

identities that resemble archetypal figures that have worldwide occurence (Sandner, 1979). The most prominent are Changing Woman, The Warrior Twins, Monster-Slayer, The Child of the Water, and Begochidi and Coyote, two trickster-like characters. Lightning, stars, Gila Monster and other reptiles (especially snakes); and the four sacred plants: Corn, Squash, Beans, and Tobacco are only a few of the many symbolic elements of the drypaintings.

The Ceremonial Function of the Drypaintings

A drypainting is a sacred microcosm. Wyman (1983) refers to Blofeld's The Tantric Mysticism of Tibet (1970) definition of a mandala: "a holy magic or mystic circle or sacred surface representing the structure of the universe or the dwelling place of a diety and his retinue" (p. 4). Jung (1976) calls the mandala "the archetype of wholeness" (p. 4). In this sacred circle the symbols of the Holy People reveal their movements, conflicts, realignments, and resolutions. The patient is centered within this matrix. The patient is returned to the center of the ideological universe. It is a representation of a state of enlightenment into which the patient is immersed.

The drypainting is completed to the accompaniment of song and prayer. The patient is then escorted into the room and sees the painting for the first time. The psychological and aesthetic effect must be very great. The patient is led to the drypainting and instructed to sit in the drypainting in the ceremonially correct manner.

Then the treatment proper begins. Prayers are recited by the healer and the patient. The prayers are usually repeated four times. The healer then begins to touch the feet of the supernatural beings represented in the drypainting. He touches the feet of the patient; "May his feet be well. His feet restore unto him" (quoted in Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 219). The procedure is repeated for many parts of the body. In such a manner identification of the patient with the healing powers of the mythological beings is developed and reinforced. The healer transfers the power of the Holy People to the patient through the medium of sand.

Sand from the drypainting is rubbed onto the patient's body. Often the patient's body is painted with symbols or completely covered in a symbolic color (Sandner, 1979; Wyman, 1983). In this way the patient's identification with the healing process is strengthened.

At the end of the ceremony, relatives may apply the sand to their bodies to share in the healing of the drypainting. Then the drypainting is taken apart. The Navaho believe that the powers cannot be destroyed but only returned to their proper places in the world. The sand and powdered pigments are carried out by the assistants and disposed of in safe places to the North (Sandner, 1979; Wyman, 1983).

Self-Expression in Chant Procedures

Curing chants are formal ceremonies, but there are opportunities for self-expression. Innovations in chant procedures and paraphernalia are viewed with disapproval, however new practices do become accepted once they have been shown to be effective (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946). The healer uses his judgement in combining the chant options and specialties. Creativity plays a part in this process. The healer sings, speaks in the voices of the Holy People, and creates the drypaintings. His abilities in the arts are greatly admired (Sandner, 1979).

Lay people also have opportunities for self-expression. The major ceremonies bring many members of the community together. Talent in dancing, singing, playing a musical instrument or spontaneous poetry can be demonstrated. A person may be particularly skilled at assisting with the drypaintings. It appears that group approval and personal satisfaction result from participation in the public performances (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946; Wyman, 1983). Besides the religious and therapeutic function of the chants, they also provide the bulk of the arts and entertainments in Navaho culture (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946). In some respect they resemble collective arts festivals.

The Healing Symbols

The healing power of the Navaho Curing Chants seems to result from a number of interrelated factors. These therapeutic processes are active on several levels at the same time: the main participants, the special parameters of the event, the symbolic enactments and objects, as well as the assent expressed by the community are all agents through which the therapeutic process unfolds. The factors that support and facilitate symbolic healing will be discussed more thoroughly in the last chapter.

The active therapeutic effect of the Navaho symbols is, for the purposes of this study, the key issue. Just how can symbols cure? Certainly a crucial factor in symbolic healing is the level of identification present in the relationship between patient and symbol. Many of the procedures in Navaho ceremonies can be best understood as efforts to encourage the patient's identification with the symbols. Identification is the psychological energy that "lights-up" a symbol. The symbol is the locus where many meanings coincide. One of the conditions for a healing symbol seems to be that these meanings must become personalized.

Symbols fulfill a psychological need. There is a human need to find a sense of order and meaning for the inexplicable events of existence. Lévi-Strauss (1963) in reference to a symbolic cure says, "what the sick woman does not accept are the incoherent and arbitrary pains, which are an alien element in her system but which the shaman, calling upon myth, will re-integrate within a whole where everything is meaningful" (p. 197). The mythological symbols incorporate the personal fears and anxieties into an "eternal" system of meaning. Beyond this, symbols may be able to penetrate the unconscious and cause a change in psychic patterning (Sandner, 1979).

> In the act of healing, symbols work upon the patient who is vulnerable, open and ready to experience them. He identifies with them in the form of sacred images and the person of the medicine man. They transform him and allow him to partake of their hidden power. Under such conditions he may not only be persuaded by their suggestion or reconciled to his fate, but cured. (Sandner, 1979, p. 15).

IX. FACTORS OF SYMBOLIC HEALING

An Overview

The symbol is the unique feature of healing that most concerns this study. However, the symbol is located within a matrix of meanings and relationships. Concretely, the symbol - i.e. image, is created or presented in a specific location and within a culture which maintains a system of ritualized events. Mythologies ascribe meaning to objects, persons, and events within this context. The _transforming_ symbol is a part of this healing system. The system enables integration of the various elements into a unified structure. Lévi-Strauss (1963) observes, "This structure is a system of oppositions and correlations integrating all the elements of a total situation, in which the sorcerer, patient, and audience, as well as representations, and procedures play their part" (p. 182).

Investigation of the factors involved in a _cure_, symbolic or otherwise, is a complex task. Psychic processes do not avail themselves readily to questions of causation. Sandner (1979) suggests that, "Solid demonstrable proof of inner psychological dynamics that can be convincingly replicated seems not only difficult but impossible" (p. 244). Such an undertaking constitutes an archaelogy of the soul, whose documents are much less substantial than those of the Palaeolithic.

Kiev (1964) cites evidence that supports the conclusion that specific theoretical orientation may play but a minor part in the effectiveness of therapy. Cross-cultural surveys conclude that, as a rule, 65% - 70% of all neurotics improve after therapeutic intervention of any kind. Likewise, approximately 35% of all schizophrenics improved after treatment (Kiev, 1964). Statistics can be misleading, especially cross-cultural ones, but it appears evident that treatments other than western psychiatric medicine can be effective as psychotherapy. Several authors concur that psychopathology and therapy must be defined according to an understanding of the particular social environment, and its relation to the individual's inner motivations (Kiev, 1964; Chagnon, 1970; Ellenberger, 1970).

Some consistent factors are present in all symbolic healing practices from shamanism to modern psychotherapy. Both Ackerknecht (1959) and Frank (1961) suggest that the efficacy of all psychotherapeutic procedures may be related to the activities of confession and suggestion. Evidence confirms that the act of confession is a virtual world-wide phenomenon associated with all forms of psychotherapy. Carl Rogers (1961) has focussed the attention of psychotherapists on the importance of establishing a trusting relationship. Most therapists will attest that aspects of confession are a common occurrence in therapeutic relationships.

The act of suggestion is associated with communicating the meaning of symbols to the patient. Suggestion by the healer and the social group influences the psychological and physiological reactions of the patient. Analyses of deaths caused by magic action emphasize the power of suggestion when an entire community considers the victim cursed, and as good as dead (Elkin, 1945). Similarly, the positive effects of concern and encouragement from the healer and the community are important elements in the healing process.

Much of the meaning of the suggestions is carried by culturally ordained symbols. The symbol is endowed with meaning by the cultural traditions. Suggestion stimulates an increasingly potent meaning for the symbol. The patient has been born and raised within a symbolic belief system that is described by the culture's mythology. It is not questioned. For magic to work, there must be a belief in magic (Lévi-Strauss, 1963). The healer believes in the effectiveness of the therapeutic techniques. The patient believes in the healer and in his practices. The social group supports and has faith in the proceedings.

Perhaps in response to Ellenberger's (1970) assertion that ritual ceremony is lacking in modern psychotherapy, McNiff (1981) states that "All of psychotherapy...is inherently ceremonial" (p. 8). Confession and suggestion occur within the confines of the therapeutic relationship. The intense interaction of patient and therapist is expressed symbolically. Communication takes place through verbal, gestural, spatial, physical, or artistic symbols.

Participants in therapy move in a symbolic environment. Attention may be directed toward any statement, action, or image that seems to carry significance that is considered relevant to the goals of the therapy.

Sandner (1979) contends that every culture has some form of symbolic healing. Scientific treatment can restore the function of a particular organ. Healing the person relies on restoring the individual's belief system. This is transmitted through symbols. Symbolic healing in aboriginal cultures for example is strongly mythological. The mythology describes all phases of medical care - nosology, etiology, diagnosis, therapy, and prognosis. Symbolic systems of healing are culturally-bound. Some authors contend that the classification systems of depth psychology are also culturally-bound (Jaspers, 1963; Hillman, 1975). Concepts such as ego, id, and superego may be no more absolute and universal than witch, curse, and fetish. Sandner (1979) considers psychotherapy as a contemporary form of symbolic healing. However, a number of various and contradictory classification systems coexist in contemporary psychotherapy. Changing social conditions produce different forms of mental disorders. In response, new theoretical models are constructed that better conceptualize these phenomena (Kohut, 1977).

The belief is widespread that psychic disturbance is the result of a dissociation between a part of the person's psyche and the general structure of the personality. Jung (CW v.XVI, 1954) places the basis of neurosis squarely on dissociation. The dissociation is a split between conscious attitudes and the general disposition of the unconscious. This concept of dissociation is similar to the belief in soul loss. In modern terms, therapy consists of trying to relate the disparate conscious and unconscious factors that comprise the total person. In such a way, the shaman goes in search of the lost soul, captures it, and attempts to return it to the patient. As Hillman (1975) observes, a symbolic quest is involved in either process.

There exists a need to find a meaning for what is experienced as an inexplicable loss, or as an intrusion of feelings that seem foreign. Neurosis is a suffering for something that does not make sense. It is a false suffering. Therapy attempts to make sense of the suffering. The suffering becomes genuine when it is understood according to a new frame of reference. "Genuine suffering is therapeutical" (Moreno, 1970, p. 206). The suffering becomes a part of the person, and hence under the person's control. In a sense, the suffering is cured (or at least made tolerable) by being made meaningful. Inherent in psychic healing is the adoption of an enlarged frame of meaning, or an expansion of awareness.

Behavior may be abnormal simply because there is a lack of social value placed upon it (Benedict, 1934). As we have seen, shamanism is one method of giving social value to aberrant behavior. Likewise, the Navaho chant ceremonies integrate the patient's inexplicable suffering into a socially recognized system of "universal" symbolic meaning. Psychotherapy is concerned with transforming meaning in ways that are positive for the patient. This occurs primarily through symbolic aspects of experience. Man "can adapt himself somehow to anything his imagination can cope with; but he cannot deal with Chaos...Therefore our most important assets are always the symbols of our general orientation in nature, on earth, in society, and in what we are doing" (Langer, 1960, p. 287).

Contemporary psychotherapy often facilitates the process of imagining unconscious symbols. Imagining in this context is the contacting of images from the unconscious. Through working with these images, psychic adaption can occur. The parameters of consciousness are changed. In therapy what was split-off or separated becomes associated and integrated into a greater whole. Resolution, growth, and healing are the desired results of this process. As Sandner (1979) decisively states, "It is as if two compartments of the psyche are forcefully brought together: there occurs a release of energy and a feeling of relief" (p. 15). This process occurs through confrontation with and integration of powerfully charged unconscious symbols. The symbol may, for example, appear as part of the shaman's performance, the drypainting, or the dreams of the patient in psychoanalysis. In each case, it is the nature of the patient's identification with the symbol that determines it's power as a transforming and healing agent.

Thus through the interaction and interrelation of the factors in a symbolic healing ritual, the meaning of the symbol becomes transformed and in the process this leads to the patient's psychic transformation. This is the essence of symbolic healing. However this can best be understood, in the context of a wider view of the healing process. With this in mind, three factors will be examined. The first of these is the spatial and temporal *boundaries* of the healing ritual. This can be called "the sacred place," or in modern terminology, "the therapeutic frame." The second factor is the special type of *relationship* that exists between the patient and the healer. The third factor is the *function of the symbol* in the process of symbolic healing.

X. THE SACRED SPACE

From the earliest prehistorians to the most recent, there has been consistent agreement on one point: rock art sites very often exhibit the characteristics of sacred places. The hidden recesses, underground chambers, or grottos where many representations are found, resemble shrines. The art of the Palaeolithic that has survived is found in environments that appear to have been and sometimes still are sacred places.

The mandala is an appropriate model for all sacred spaces. "A mandala delineates a consecrated place and protects it from invasion by disintegrating forces" (Tucci, 1960, p. 14). The mandala depicts in graphic form the spatial, temporal, and social parameters that delimit all ritual events. The sacred space is a bounded field upon which the ritual action occurs. The physical features of the space, as well as the movements and positions of the participants provide a frame of reference. The enclosed space is a microcosm in which a mythology, or other symbolic system of thought defines the various components.

Koestler (1964) notes that the Latin word *sacer* has two meanings: *holy*, but also *accursed*. The concept of the sacred seems to include an element of danger. Mutually antagonistic elements must be protected from each other's influence. Mixing the disparate elements can be dangerous because this can lead to chaos. Chaos is, of course, often felt to be disastrous. The separation of the sacred from the profane protects the integrity of established belief systems (Douglas, 1968). This maintains order. Imposing boundaries prevents categories from being overwhelmed and thus dissolved. Once contaminated, identities become altered and obliterated. Opposing antagonistic values enhances the relative strength of both categories. The curse of the witch reinforces the power of the healer. By radically segregating categories of a *higher* nature, a special value is accorded to those things or events.

Assigning the quality of *sacredness* is no more than a separation of some element or object from its surroundings (Eliade, 1964). Virtually *anything* can be qualified by the term, sacred. It is some tree, some rock, or some place that is chosen as a receptacle for manifestations from another world. A tree becomes the three. The Sacred Tree designates the place where experiences of an otherworldly nature are expected to occur (Eliade, 1964). Leach (1976) regards sacred places as being areas that are on the boundary between this world and the other. They are both of this world and not. Mythology defines this other reality, and so mythology defines the events within the sacred space. Mythology also explains the choice of the sacred place. The Navaho believe that the Holy People were created at the forks of the San Juan River (Wyman, 1983). This place is still considered sacred, and incidentally, is the site of numerous rock paintings. By definition, events that occur in the sacred place are sacred and symbolic. The symbolic meaning of an event is triangulated by the parameters of the sacred, mythic space.

Actions or representations may take on a metonymic relation to the sacred. These symbols thus become signs that indicate the proximity of the sacred (Leach, 1976). They say, in effect, "Here is the sacred." In Siberia, the shaman may erect and climb up The Sacred Tree of Life (Eliade, 1964). It's meaning is symbolic, but it also functions as a sign that the sacred is being approached. The Sacred Tree reaches up to and connects with the other world. Wherever The Sacred Tree appears, that spot becomes the center of the world, the axis mundi (Eliade, 1964). This spot is a metaphysical and psychological door that permits access to other levels of reality.

The paraphernalia of the shaman, and the Navaho healing chants, are "tools to separate the sacred from the profane" (NcNiff, 1979, p. 158). The Siberian shaman's drum is believed to be a slice of The Sacred Tree (Eliade, 1964). When the shaman begins to beat his drum, he becomes relocated at the axis mundi. This is the place where the things "out of this world" may be safely experienced. In some cultures there exist sacred drum beats that indicate that shamanic transformation is about to begin (Furst, 1977; Harner, 1980). The costume of the shaman is itself a religious microcosm that is qualitatively different from the profane surroundings. Putting on the costume, is equivalent to entering the sacred space (Eliade, 1964).

The mandala is an axis mundi. It is the center of a miniature representation of the cosmos. The mythological pantheon may be present as in the Navaho drypainting. "Its construction is equivalent to a magical recreation of the world" (Eliade, 1963, p. 25). When the patient enters the drypainting, he is projected back into primordial time. The patient is reunited with the origins of the mythological universe. The patient witnesses a reenactment of the cosmogeny. Personal origins are no doubt involved as well. Within the safe confines of the drypainting, the patient is placed in correct alignment with supernatural and psychological forces. "Thus the mandala denotes and supports an exclusive concentration upon oneself. This state is anything but egocentricity. It is, on the contrary, a much needed self-control with the purpose of avoiding inflation and disociation" (Jung, 1938, p. 105). The sacred place thus permits a safe concentration of psychic energy.

The Therapeutic Frame

Contemporary psychotherapy occurs within strict parameters of time, space, and social convention. In addition to creating a trusting relationship, some therapists refer to creating a *trusting environment* (McNiff, 1979). Many limits are imposed on the physical environment of the therapy. There is an appointed time, place, and duration. Once a therapeutic alliance is formed, these limits are firmly respected by both the therapist and the patient. Actions that occur in opposition to this structure can then be more reliably interpreted as being symbolic. A consistent therapeutic frame defines a space within which actions may be compared (Weiner, 1975).

A clearly delineated therapeutic frame also provides a secure environment for the patient. Interruptions are rarely permitted. The therapy session becomes a private world that refers exclusively to the needs and problems of the patient. Confidentiality is an absolute necessity in any professionally conducted therapy. Therapy is protected from the contaminating influence that open disclosure would engender. The therapist is constrained from divulging personal information to the patient. The therapy focusses on the patient's feelings and needs, not the therapist's

(Weiner, 1975). Other boundaries of the therapeutic frame include the limitation normally imposed on physical contact between patient and therapist. All extraneous or disruptive elements are excluded from the therapy session. For example, a patient arriving for therapy with a portable radio would probably be asked to leave this appliance outside. In addition, the therapist might also make an interpretation as to the symbolic meaning of the patient's act with reference to the therapeutic frame. These measures serve to focus exclusive attention of both participants upon the patient's problems and the goals of therapy.

In art therapy patients are encouraged to express themselves freely. However self-expression must occur within limits. Destructive or abusive behavior is not permitted. If a patient wishes to destroy, the art therapist provides an object that can be safely and symbolically destroyed or encourages a representation of destruction. Boundaries are applied for the same reason that they are applied to any sacred space. They permit the participants to engage in activities that might otherwise be dangerous. The activity might be dangerous physically or psychologically. Deeply repressed feelings may emerge. The patient's personality could be overwhelmed if these feelings or events occurred in another environment. This separation permits and encourages a heightening of experience. Eliminating extraneous elements allows patients to focus their attention. The therapeutic frame also helps assure a safe return to the world of everyday reality.

Therapy occurs in a sacred place. It is the healer's responsibility to ensure this. We, as therapists, are custodians of the sacred place. This is the place where our clients come to contact forces that normally lie outside the boundaries of consciousness. For art therapists there is the additional requirement of providing a space that encourages free artistic expression. One can be certain that this environment will be an arena for the conflicts and struggles between our patients and their unconscious powers. The art therapist must help the patient to separate from barriers to self-discovery. This is a place of heightened awareness and often for extreme emotion. The limitations permit the liberty. Safety permits the handling of dangerous materials.

External influences are excluded from the magic circle. On entering the therapy session, the patient is also entering the axis mundi. In this environment the therapist orients the patient towards therapeutic transformation. It is in such a place that what has been lost will be returned, and what is foreign will be made one's own.

XI. THE HEALING RELATIONSHIP

At first glance it might appear that the shaman-patient relationship is not at all like the relationship between therapist and patient. The shaman is an "orator"; the psychoanalyist is a"listener" (Lévi-Straus, 1963, p. 199). Certainly the contemporary psychotherapist is generally much more passive than the shaman. But rather than considering them as totally opposed, it might be more useful instead to place them at opposite ends of an active-passive continuum. Lévi-Strauss (1963) suggests that the psychoanalytic cure is identical to the shamanistic cure, but with all the elements inverted. Both procedures aim at inducing a certain type of experience. In both cases the patient is renewed by discovering a myth by which to live.

The patient of the shaman receives a social myth that transposes the individual to a new sense of personal meaning. The shaman is the active agent of this transformation. He enacts the symbolism through his own person. The shaman is the hero. His journey is believed to be real. The patient intensely identifies with the shaman and his transformation. Through identification the patient is also transformed with the concomitant improvement in mental attitudes and health.

The Navaho healer does not live out the experience of transformation. He has knowledge of the ceremonies of transformation. The healer encourages and induces the patient to actively cooperate in the ceremonies. In this way the patient begins to identify with the myths and mythological symbols. The mythic hero is the main protagonist. It is he who makes the journey and undergoes the transformation. The patient is projected, and projects himself, into the events of the myth, and identifies with the mythic hero. As the ceremony ritually transforms the mythological symbols, so too the patient is transformed in a parallel process.

The patient of psychotherapy constructs a personal myth out of the elements from the past. The modern therapist is, by social convention, relatively passive. There are no dances, ecstatic journeys, or established potent visual symbols. The doctor's or psychotherapist's role is primarily a catalytic one. The patient is encouraged to produce symbols from dreams, fantasies, and personal visions. The therapist listens to the patient. The therapist encourages the patient to explore revealed images and feelings. The therapist interprets material for the patient to provide a perspective. Patients are encouraged to discover a personal sense of meaning. Generally, the therapist aims at maintaining a consistently caring neutrality.

Certainly, common elements are present in these three relationships. There appears to be evidence that a healing relationship exists in all cultures (Frank, 1961; Kiev, 1964). As has been stated, confession and suggestion are important elements in all psychotherapeutic treatment. The fundamental basis of the healing relationship probably rests with care-giving. The very fact that another person attends to one's suffering in a sincere manner is to some extent therapeutic in itself. At this basic level, factors, correctly or incorrectly called suggestion, begin to exert an influence.

Shaman, healer, or doctor are each accorded substantial respect in their communities. The practitioner is granted power by the culture and by the patient, but not always for the same reasons. During the course of their relationship, the patient may grow to trust, respect, and depend on the practitioner in a very deep way. The modern therapist, even one who is rigorously nondirective, still communicates many subliminal messages to the patient. Subtle gestures and vocalizations can influence a patient's behavior. All forms of symbolic healing, including psychotherapy, exhibit evidence of counselling, empathic response, confession, and the giving of reassurance and advice. To call this suggestion is to describe the whole by a part. Rogers (1961) places the hub of the psychotherapeutic process directly within the trusting and caring relationship of patient and therapist. Suggestion is a function of this authentic relationship.

When the shaman enacts the symbolic conflict, the patient trusts the shaman's power. The Navaho patient has faith in the expertise of the healer and in the power of the healing symbols. Similarly the patient must trust that the therapist cares, is competent, and will respect the patient's integrity as a unique individual (Weiner, 1975). Trust lies at the heart of client-centered therapy, and is present in all healing relationships.

The particular worldview of a culture has an influence in shaping some aspects of the healing relationship. Consistent with western industrial society's emphasis on the importance of individual initiative, the patient in conventional psychotherapy is active. Patients are active participants in their own cure. This is in keeping with what we in our culture consider to be "right" and "normal". The patient makes the journey, and develops a personal myth with the therapist's guidance and support. The modern art therapist "initiates a search for the lost soul of the individual" (McNiff, 1981, p. 5). But it is the patient who uses creativity and unconscious imagery to produce personal symbols of transformation. The art therapist provides acceptance, support, and a therapeutic context for the patient's struggle to create a uniquely relevant mythology.

In psychoanalysis, abreaction is the decisive moment in the treatment when the patient intensely relives the situation from which the disorder originated. The historical origins of the confused emotional states resist comprehension by the conscious mind. The origins have become unconscious. The shaman relives the original crisis and then returns to a state of equilibrium. He "speaks and abreacts for the silent patient, while in psychoanalysis it is the patient who talks and abreacts against the listening therapist" (Lévi-Strauss, 1963, p. 183). The cure results from psychologically returning to one's origins, finding a new sense of meaning or understanding, and incorporating it into a coherent psychic universe.

Many similarities in the healing relationship may result from the phenomenon of transference. Transference cuts across differences of theoretical orientation. Weiner (1975) defines transference as a distorted perception caused by "the displacement of feelings, attitudes, or impulses experienced toward previous figures in a person's life" (p. 202) onto the therapist. These unconscious feelings and urges are characteristic of infancy and childhood. They are transferred to the therapist because they have not been adequately satisfied at the appropriate developmental level. The nature of the transference can indicate the nature of the disorder. Transference can also function as a resistance to therapy (Weiner, 1975). By forming a relationship "with both halves of his patient's personality" (Moreno, 1970, p. 201), the therapist aims to restore the dissociated projections to the patient. Timely interpretation of the transference, and working through the resultant expansion in self-awareness is considered the proper clinical approach (Weiner, 1975).

In symbolic healing the transference often extends beyond the realm of the personal. The patient may grant godlike or supernatural status to the therapist. Even if the therapist remains neutral, a very powerful transference may occur. Jung (CW,v.VII,1953) comments that the transference may become archetypal whether the therapist wants it or not. Transference in art therapy can be expressed and diffused through the patient's art creations. Transference phenomena can often first become evident in the patient's art work (Landgarten,1981).

The presence of the art work in the art therapy session, in effect, adds a third term to the healing relationship. When the patient identifies with the art work, the split-off projections can perhaps be more readily returned to the patient. The art object may be considered by the patient as a separate entity or a part of himself; however, it can in no way be considered a part of the therapist.

XII. THE TRANSFORMING SYMBOL

Before examining the function of the visual symbol in the practice of symbolic healing, some definition of the concept of a symbol is essential. This is not so easily accomplished. The general characteristics of a symbol may be described, but precise definition may not be possible. Symbols can change meaning as a result of many factors. Also, symbols can be used as signs, and vice versa. I will briefly discuss a few learned observations regarding symbols before considering the specific functions of the visual symbol in symbolic healing.

Exploring the Symbol

Edmund Leach defines a symbol according to its metaphoric quality. According to Leach (1976, p. 14), the sign is based on an _intrinsic_ relationship between signifier and signified; the symbol is based on a _non-intrinsic_ relationship. This corresponds to the difference between _metonymy_ and _metaphor_. Metonymy implies contiguity; metaphor implies similarity.

Leach (1976) contends that magic is based on a confusion or interchanging of symbols, signs, and signals. A symbol implies action, but when this action is believed to be automatic, the symbol has become a signal.

Anything can be used as a symbol. Perhaps attempting to define this psychological process in terms of a noun, the symbol, alters our understanding. Symbolizing is active. The human psyche creates symbols. By creating symbols new meanings are evolved and revealed. Symbols take on a meaning because of the psychological relationship with a human subject. The individual, in a sense, chooses the meaning. Group consensus and suggestion are important influences, but the individual assigns personal meaning to a symbol, especially a healing symbol. "The physical event does not seem to produce the myth, but the physical event provides the projection with the occasion for its appearance, thus the coming of the sun provides the occasion for the birth of the hero who dwelled nowhere but in the soul of man" (Moreno, 1970, p. 17). A symbol is an external event or object that corresponds with or acquires an internal meaning.

Symbols and the Unconscious

The seemingly mysterious nature of symbols is a result of their unconscious elements. Many authors emphasize the unconscious component of symbols (Jung, 1953; Neumann, 1959). The symbol is conceived from the "matrix, or...dialectic, of the conscious and unconscious" (May, 1961, p. 16). The dialectic or combination of psychic forces accounts for the symbol's dynamic and transformative nature. Symbols reveal their meaning. This may happen all at once, suddenly; or gradually, over time. Symbols are never exactly what they seem. A symbol is a locus where many points of meaning coincide. To the extent that the content of a symbol is unconscious, it becomes a source of revelation.

A symbol can come alive and speak. Smith (1973) proposes a three part analysis of this process. The first stage is externalization, that is, an "outpouring of the human into the world" (p. 130). The second stage is objectification where "the products attain a reality that confronts its original producers as a facticity external to and other than themselves" (p. 131). The third stage is internalization which is the reappropriation of the previously unrecognized content. This structure resembles Lee's (1972) analysis of the shamanic transformation: repression, liberation, and reintegration. Cultural symbols can reveal hidden contents that have personal meaning not previously perceived or understood.

May (1961) comments on the conative element of a symbol. A symbol brings together unconscious urges that can be personal and archetypal. This occurs because of the relevance of the symbol's content to the unfulfilled wishes and needs of the observer, in combination with the fantasy activity of projection and identification (Kreitler and Kreitler, 1972). The metaphorical association of unconscious urges with an external object creates an emotionally charged symbol. It becomes inbued with psychic energy. Jung (C.W. Vol. XVIII, 1977) says "if the image is charged with numinosity, that is with psychic energy, then it becomes dynamic and will produce consequences" (p. 257).

A symbol that is alive implies action. The creator or observer cannot remain neutral. If that happens the symbol is personally meaningless. The symbol compels emotion. Jung (C.W. Vol. XIV, 1953) suggested that symbols are a synthesis of opposites. This characteristic originates with the dichotomy of conscious-unconscious. Opposites are conjoined. The real is united with the apparent. The active symbol is at once particular and general, material and spiritual, external and internal, cultural and personal. This unification of seeming opposition accounts for a symbol's *dynamic* character. The *power* of a symbol may come from its location between charged polar forces (Arguelles and Arguelles, 1972).

The symbol's dynamism produces an emotional attraction or repulsion. "This orientation towards movement obviously involves more than conscious levels of the self (May, 1961, p. 22). The numinous symbol confronts and engages the observer in a relationship. The symbol exist both inside and outside. The symbol communicates a previously unrecognized awareness. "The psychological essence of a symbol is that it has the power to grasp the person as a totality as he immediately exists in his world" (May, 1961, p. 22). The numinous symbol penetrates the barrier between external and internal experience; between the conscious and the unconscious mind. Freud (1953) believed that symbols revealed the reality of a personal repressed unconscious. Jung (1956) believed symbols revealed an archetypal or phylogenetic layer of meaning. In either respect the revealed meaning comes about through a dialogue between the subject and an external object that is at once self and non-self. This occurs through the processes of projection and identification.

Projection and Identification

Moreno (1970) defines projection as "the automatic process whereby a content unconscious to the subject transfers itself to an external object, so that it seems to belong to the object and not the subject" (p. 10). Freud recognized two forms of projection. Attributive projection (Freud, 1956) is the perception in others of feelings and characteristics perceived in oneself, for example when a person feels hate, and feels others hate him. Complimentary projection (Freud 1956) is the perception in others of traits that are different from, but complimentary to those attributed to oneself. An example would be when a person is afraid, and sees others as especially frightening.

The bridging of the gap between the creator or observer and the symbol takes place mainly through projection of needs and wishes onto the external form. Projection seems to result in part from the evocation of prohibited wishes that cannot be reconciled with the demands of the individual's superego, ego, or belief system. An individual may find release from the feelings these wishes arouse by projecting them (Kreitler and Kreitler, 1972). Projection is part of the ego's defense mechanisms. It can be activated temporarily or habitually as part of a neurotic defense formation (Weiner, 1975).. Projecting these feelings onto a symbol permits release of repressed emotion.

Identification is the process of internalizing the perceived attributes of the symbol. Identification according to Kreitler and Kreitler (1972) is a response to external objects and events as if their qualities, motives, dynamics, and experiences occurred within the observer. Navaho healing has been seen to use identification effectively in producing an intimate relationship between patient and transformational symbols. In this way the symbol of power is power (Reichard, 1963). It appears that it is through the process of identification that dissociated or unrecognized feelings are returned to the self. Through this interaction the knowledge of the self, self-consciousness or self-awareness, is increased. Identification is the doorway for the return of the repressed.

The Symbolic Image

The image-making property of the psyche has been noted by several scholars. Jung (quoted in Hillman, 1975) says, "Image is psyche" (p. 23). Visual images make up a major portion of all states of consciousness. In order to experience psychic realities we create psychic images of them. Freud developed a concept of the unconscious that was expressed particularly vividly in the symbolic imagery of dreams. "We experience it [a dream] predominantly in visual images: feelings may be present too, and thoughts interwoven in it as well; the other senses may also experience something, but nonetheless it is predominantly a question of images" (Freud, 1963, p. 90). Part of the difficulty in describing dreams is, Freud believed, a result of difficulties translating images into words.

Jung (1956) sees the visual symbol as a transformer of energy. Numinous symbols are visible expressions of an archetype. Contact with the visual archetypal symbol releases energy that has accumulated in the collective unconscious. Confrontation with powerful visual symbols may give rise to insights that enable the individual to transcend the suffering, danger, or humiliation of a specific situation. Transformative symbols deal with universal human problems, such as life and death. Within the transformative symbolic image are implied solutions to conflict, insights into personal problems, and new conceptual relationships. The symbolic image affects the observer's orientation, both cognitively and experientially. This reorientation expands the observer's awareness of the implications, and potentials for decision and action.

"Thinking calls for images, and images contain thought" (Arnheim, 1969, p. 254). Images are indispensible ingredients in making cognitive statements that are coherent and comprehensible. The visual image isolates significant elements of what is thought or perceived. This permits clearer understanding. A visual image is not a diagram of thoughts. It is rather perception and conception combined as two aspects of one experience (Arnheim, 1969). "As observations in art therapy have shown, one of the main incentives for such work is the need to think through something important. The completion of the picture is also the solution of a thought problem" (Arnheim, 1969, p. 120).

As has been described, the symbol in the practice of symbolic healing is completely immersed in the social and ritual context of healing. Neumann (1959) says, "The festivals and rites are nodal points of the numinosum, which shapes everything that comes in contact with its sacral sphere; cult implement and mask, figure and image, vessel and ornament, song and dance, myth and poetry" (p. 84). The visual symbol is a focal point for ritual enactments that further the patient's identification with the symbol. Victor Turner (1968) studied the structure of African religious symbolism and saw that a limited number of symbols appeared over and over again. These symbols are organized into sets of combinations and juxtapositions. Each symbol has a wide range of references which can be diverse and ambiguous. The particular meaning of a symbol changes according to other symbolic references, the context, and personal associations.

As we have seen, symbolic meaning is dynamic. Symbols can change paradigmatically, that is they can reveal different aspects, or different meanings can be perceived in a symbol, at any one time. But symbols can also change syntactically, that is they can change over time by altering the context, symbolic references, and emotional associations. In this way the meaning of a symbol can be consciously and unconsciously manipulated. Mythological stories and ritual enactments influence metaphorical changes in symbols. Symbols can be transposed and reassociated. The meaning of a symbol can be transformed by the syntactic chain of mythological stories (Lévi-Strauss, 1973). The symbols that are included in a healing ceremony can be transformed by the chain of ritual events. The patient may identify with what appears to be a familiar and stable symbol. However in the course of the ceremony the meaning of the symbol may become transformed in front of the patient's eyes. Being linked to the symbol through identification this symbolic transformation may lead to a personal transformation.

Just how the structural reorganization of symbols affects a restructuring of the contents of the psyche remains something of a mystery. It appears that similar processes are involved in both the psychoanalytic cure and the shamanic cure. Lévi-Strauss (1963) provides this description of the process:

> It would be a matter, either way, of stimulating an organic transformation which would consist essentially in a structural reorganization, by inducing the patient intensively to live out a myth - either received or created by him - whose structure would be, at the unconscious level, analagous to the structure, whose genesis is sought on the organic level. . The effectiveness of symbols would consist precisely in this "inductive property", by which formally homologous structures, built out of different materials at different levels of life -- organic processes, unconscious mind, rational thought - are related to one another (p. 201).

Valuable research may be directed towards developing a deeper understanding of how symbols are able to connect with powerful forces in the unconscious mind. The nature of these connections is at the very core of symbolic healing, and art therapy.

ART THERAPY AND SYMBOLIC HEALING

The Development of Art Therapy

Wadeson (1980) states the generally accepted view, "Art therapy today has grown out of the current psychiatric movement, with its particular indebtedness to Freud and Jung, both of whom placed great significance on symbolization" (p. 13). By examining the recent historical developments of psychoanalysis and art therapy, this is exactly what one would tend to conclude, namely, that art therapy is an off-shoot of psychiatry. It is precisely this feeling of indebtedness to psychiatry that has hindered the development of a theory of art therapy that is particularly its own.

It is, I think, clear that symbolic healing is a virtually worldwide phenomenon. Its origins are so archaic that they cannot clearly be delineated. Shamanism is a theory and practice of symbolic healing that is at once Palaeolithic in origin and yet still currently evident in remote areas of the world. Numerous other systems of symbolic healing exist. The Navaho system was described in this study. It is my contention that the expressive therapies are simply the most recent examples of symbolic healing. As Sandner (1979) suggests, psychoanalysis itself may be a form of symbolic healing. It is however a particularly literate form of symbolic healing. It is one that communicates by and in large through words. Unconscious images and symbols are talked about. The recent use of the arts in psychotherapy is an example of a return to traditions. In this case it is the tradition of the healing arts ceremony. As McNiff (1981) says, "Freud could not dance with primary process" (p.22). The inclusion of the arts in psychotherapy is a significant expansion of the language of therapy in our culture.

Art expression as a psychotherapeutic technique came into its own in the 1940's through the pioneering efforts of Margaret Naumburg (1966) and others. Patients were encouraged to draw and to verbally free associate to their pictures. This approach relied heavily upon psychoanalytic theory and practice. In the 1950's Edith Kramer (1971) emphasized the integrative and healing effects of the creative process. This approach did not rely upon verbal reflection. The polarity between these two schools has persisted in the profession to this day. One school emphasizes therapy: the other, art.

I believe this is a false dichotomy because it rests on false premisses. Neither school considers all the dynamic factors involved in a cure. Wadeson (1980) states that she does not agree with the supporters of Kramer who propose that the synthesizing properties of creative energy make art therapy effective. She says (1980), "I have worked with many others whose art expression was minimal or undeveloped, who achieved important insights and changes in themselves through reflecting on their images" (p. 6). The patient may paint or merely reflect. The effectiveness of the therapy does not lie with the degree of sublimation achieved. But it may reside with the degree of identification. The act of creating a work of art stimulates the production of unconscious images. Art-making also stimulates an identification with the images produced. Time that is spent contemplating the image can be just as "productive" as the time spent actively working at art.

The Client-Centered Mythology

"Contemporary man suffers from the deterioration and breakdown of the central symbols in western culture" (May, 1961, p. 22). Many authors have commented on modern man's loss of the symbolic and psychic unity that is thought to have existed in other cultures at other times. Compared to the highly developed and integrated worldviews of hunter-gatherers and agricultural societies, the modern world gives evidence of fragmented and contradictory mythological systems. Cultural symbols are increasingly meaningless to many individuals. Undoubtedly much of our own culture remains hidden to our accultured eyes. Mass media and advertising continuously readapt and create symbols of a false mythology of mass consumption. I call it a false mythology because it does not provide the symbols of transcendence that are the features of authentic mythologies. These symbols of transcendent meaning aid the individual in meeting the inevitable crises of life such as chronic illness, loss of livelihood, and the death of a loved one (May, 1961).

In art therapy, we encourage patients to create their own symbols. Only in this way can our patients come in contact with transcendent symbols that they can believe in. Certainly symbols may come from any apparent source, mass media included. Precisely because the patient finds meaning in these symbols, they are authentic. Again the key element seems to be identification. Where is the mythology that the patient can completely identify with? The answer is: within the patient. The patient in art therapy creates images that come from accepted cultural forms, images from the personal past, and symbols from the deepest, phylogenetic levels of the unconscious. This pantheon of images takes shape and life in front of the patient. With the help of the therapist, the patient interacts with this mythology. "Then begins the continuous process characteristic of creative transformation - new constellations of the unconscious and of consciousness interact with new productions and new transformative phases of the personality" (Neumann, 1959, p. 165).

The Healing Ritual

As I have tried to show, the symbol has to be understood within the context of the healing ritual. This necessitated a study of the various factors involved, such as the sacred space, and the healing relationship. Likewise, the art image must be considered within the context of the total therapeutic ritual. Erik Erikson is quoted by Kavanagh (1973) as saying that the basis of ritual "...must consist of an agreed-upon interplay between two persons who repeat it at meaningful intervals and in recurring contexts" (p. 156). The art images reappear to the patient at the regular interval of the therapy sessions. The patient enters a symbolic space that he or she has had a large part in creating. Often patients pick up "the story" from where they left off the last time. A sense of continuity is developed and this may be reflected in the art works leading from one to another. Perhaps there may be some benefit to displaying some of a patient's art work, or at least having the images readily available, before they enter the art therapy room .

As this study has pointed out, identification is an important element in all symbolic healing. A good deal of the therapist's efforts could profitably be directed towards attempting to encourage this identification between patients and their art work. In cases of psychosis or latent psychosis this might not be advisable. Perhaps projection may be the first step. If a patient can comfortably talk about characteristics and feelings they perceive in the art work, that is a beginning. They may adamantly deny these traits in themselves, and speak about the art work as an entirely separate entity. This is clear evidence of the process of projection at work. As it is undeniable that the art work was created by no other than the patient, the next step of returning those projected feelings to the patient is a very real possibility.

McNiff (1979) criticizes art therapy as often producing "graphic diagrams" (p. 158) rarely characterized by complete bodily expression. This criticism may rest upon the assumption that the greater the freedom of expression the greater the therapeutic effect. If bodily expression is particularly important for a patient then perhaps one of the other expressive therapies may be indicated. However if bodily expression aids in the process of identification, then by all means the art therapist should encourage this expression. Art works may be spontaneously appropriated by the patient for dramatic enactment. The patient may use the art as a prop for expressive gestures or to tell a story. Physical energy and emotion may be expended during the production of a work of art. The art object remains as a permanent record of that expression. The patient can see the energy or emotion in the art work. The more he or she begins to *feel* those properties and characteristics the greater the degree of identification. Patients should be encouraged to form a relationship with their art objects. "What would it feel like to be in that picture?" is a classic art therapist's question to the patient. It's a good one, because it leads the way toward projection and identification. If physical expression will help that process then that too should be encouraged and have a rightful place in the art therapy room. Any action that indicates that the patient cares about their art work is a good approach to encourage personal investment. Investment is identification.

Another spontaneous action that may come up in therapy is the tendency for patients to tell stories about their art work. Here is the mythologizing process at work in its purest form. The patient tries to create a coherent and meaningful statement based on their art work. The art image may be the most rudimentary scribble.

But once the patient begins to talk about it, and then to create a story around it, we can be quite certain that this image is coming alive as a living symbol. The story may be unclear or incomplete. It too is a beginning, a beginning of the patient's search for a meaningful experience and a new meaning for their lives. The therapist would do well to encourage this mythologizing. Subsequent art works may fill out the stories and be incorporated into the ongoing myth. After some time the relevance of the particular mythic tale to the personal circumstances of the patient may become self-evident even to a patient especially prone to denial.

It has been shown how the shaman, the Navaho healer, and the contemporary nondirective psychotherapist all assume positions on an active-passive continuum. All therapists will find themselves being more or less active depending on the particular patient, patient population, or specific circumstances. In some therapeutic interventions the correct approach may indeed be a nondirective one. In other instances, working with the aged for example, this approach perhaps would be inappropriate. The therapist must select the most appropriate position between the active and passive poles. Client-centered therapy should not become a straight jacket for the therapist. The creative component of the therapist's personality may be a very useful and powerful ally. Of course, this must be done solely with the goals of the patient's therapy in mind. It is not done for the self-expression of the therapist. This activity could take the form of joint drawing with the patient, dramatic gestures to illustrate a point powerfully, role-playing and role-reversal with the patient, or perhaps it could take the form of creating a special atmosphere. This special atmosphere is simply a subtle form of suggestion. The skilled and creative therapist can create an atmosphere in the therapy room that is dynamic and changes according to the requirements of the moment and the needs of the patient. These are the tools of the therapist. The therapist, of course, must be judicious in their use. However the choice of a more or less active role is decided by the dynamics of the healing relationship and the goals of therapy.

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APPENDIX A

Sal was born in Greece. He turned 15 during the course of therapy. His parents immigrated to Canada when Sal was 4 years old. His father died of cancer when Sal was 13. Sal is the eldest of four children. His mother works, and supports the family. They own their own home in the suburbs. Sal was tested as having above average intelligence, and is physically big for his age.

Sal had been placed in a youth detention center for one year by a court order. Sal had been involved with drugs, alcohol, petty theft, chronic truancy, breaking and entering, and car theft. He was described by his mother as "uncontrollable", and by youth workers as "unmanageable and hostile". He was verbally abusive, but not physically violent. He was seen twice a week for six months in art therapy.

Sal was quite resistant to art therapy, abusive of the art-making process, and annoyed by the limitations of the therapeutic frame. Sal's underlying emotion seemed to be one of rage. Sal was much concerned about "being a man." Conversation with Sal in therapy revealed that his father's death had preceeded Sal's most extreme anti-social and self-destructive behavior. Sal voluntarily described many of the events surrounding his father's death and his confused emotional state. It was evident that Sal had not mourned the loss of his father. He said, "I never cried." Therapy provided a setting for the expression of pent-up emotions that Sal had previously kept inside. His tone often became confessional, and he on one occasion whispered that he "needed power."

Sal's art work developed rapidly. He began a period of enthusiastic and often intense painting. Sal was resistant to discussing his own feelings, but seemed comfortable and pleased to talk about his art work.

One month into therapy, Sal began a painting that he called, "The Dark Rider" (Fig. 13). He said it was a character from The Lord of the Rings trilogy. This personage inhabits "a dead land" and "a place of evil." "He wants the Ring for Power," Sal said. The partially obscured face of "The Rider" bore a striking resemblance to Sal's own face that was characteristically hidden by his long, dark hair. He was proud of his work.

Our next nession began with Sal arriving in a rage. He had a feud going with one of the male child care workers. Sal swore he will get "revenge." He began to fantacize about his future "power". He painted an arm outstretched with fist clenched. The painting seemed to be developing as an expression of Sal's hostility. This suddenly changed. Sal became calm and the fist became the recipient of "power" dispensed by two charged lightning bolts (Fig. 14). Sal stood and raised his fist in a similar gesture. Sal left the session in a much less agitated state than when he arrived.

At the beginning of our next session, Sal asked me questions about the Universe and the Solar System. He began to outline a figure on the paper. He said "It's one of the Devil's soldiers." He liked "the power" of this image. Sal said that this being "could not satisfy the Devil's orders and so was cast into the flames." A great sense of anguish is expressed in his work (Fig. 15).

Sal enjoys looking at his paintings for long periods of time, often in silence. On this day we put several of his paintings on the wall. Sal said that he could see "a story beginning." Sal is an avid reader of fantasy literature and seems to have used features of this material to create a mythic story with personal meaning.

Sal's next painting in therapy marks the reappearance of the Dark Rider, now renamed "The Grim Reaper". Sal learned this title from a comic book he had read. However its inclusion and integration into the ongoing thematic development of Sal's story indicates that this material is not an avoidance of personal expression, as it can sometimes be, but a personal identification with particular mythic themes. In this painting the hooded figure ascends a staircase and approaches a large fire in a brazier. The figure's hands are outstretched as if in supplication. He appears receptive. A mystical atmosphere seems to pervade the entire scene (Fig. 16). Sal spoke earnestly about being "sorry and ashamed" of some of the things he had done. I encouraged Sal to develop more of the story regarding this picture. He said that it was like a dream he had had in which he himself had ascended a staircase. Sal began to project himself into the picture and to identify with the event portrayed. Sal described himself "asking for a sign." A voice responded with the word "Patience." Sal took this to mean he would eventually acquire the power he needed.

Sal began to talk about "my story" that was being told through his art work. I encouraged this storytelling and attempted to focus Sal's attention upon the themes of "Death" and "The Quest for Power". Sal's concept of power seemed to be transformed over time into something much more than physical or economic power. It began to resemble a search for enlightenment. Many aspects of Sal's story bear striking similarity to the myth of the Hero, as described by Joseph Campbell (1949). Over the course of Sal's therapy his story developed further. Sal's expression became less stridently agressive (Fig. 17).

Sal took increasing pride in his work, and began to identify much more with his paintings and his story. The story was one of acquiring power through confrontation with "evil". Sal was able to say that he could see that the "forces of good and evil" were struggling inside him (Fig. 18). In other works we again witnessed a transformation of emotional expression from one of anger and hostility to heroic suffering and noble tragedy (Fig. 19). Sal would occasionally stand and reanact the dramatic positions of his characters.

As Sal's discharge date approached, new themes appeared in his work. Rather than passively accepting his release from detention, Sal conceived of this event in terms of his skillful powers of manipulation. In his painting of the Trojan Horse (Fig. 20), Sal expresses his need for mastery and his identification with evil as a means of reinforcing his power.

Later on I confronted Sal on his manipulative behavior and his self-identification as a "con-artist". This resulted in several emotional therapy sessions. I believe that the authentic nature of our relationship was a very positive factor in permitting Sal to recognize and admit to the falseness of this role he was adopting. Sal became increasingly aware of himself. He made comments such as "I don't like to express my real emotions;" I always have to prove myself;" and "I need to impress everybody."

Sal's last two works are in part attempts to summarize his therapy process, which was, I believe, prematurely terminated upon his release from the detention center. Sal was returning to his mother's home and was under close scrutiny and control. In this painting "The Dark Rider" is perched on the top of a mountain, surrounded by the moon (Fig. 21). The tortuous path of Sal's "journey" seems to be described by the difficult terrain. The theme of lofty self-aggrandizement is contrasted with precarious entrapment. The Rider cannot remain where he is. Movement is inevitable but extremely difficult.

During the production of Sal's last work (Fig. 22), he spontaneously changed what had been the Dark Rider on horse back to "A Prince". Sal's behavior had improved dramatically in the detention unit and in his home. Sal attempted to terminate therapy on a positive note. He also left the unit with head held high full of positive hopes and ambitions. However there still remained an unresolved anger in Sal. He still had a strong feeling that he had to "prove" himself. He fantacized about renting the local arena in his community and "killing a goat or something." I believed that the aggressivity expressed by the drawn sword was indicative that Sal did indeed have something left to "prove". Sal titled this piece, "Sal Riding Off in Glory".

Sal's work in art therapy certainly demonstrated the mythologizing process very clearly. Sal's intelligence and interest in mythological themes were responsible in part for this aspect of his work. Through developing a story, Sal began to increasingly identify with his work. This permitted Sal to understand that the emotions he was expressing were his own. His mythic tale of a quest for "power", and his need to prove himself were indicative of Sal's social predicament. Being the eldest boy he was propelled forward into the role of "the man of the family" prematurely by his father's death. Feelings of rage, guilt, and fear pressed Sal to commit acts of which he was ashamed. His denial of his feelings, and his insecurity in his premature state of manhood compelled him to adopt his identification with evil. Sal had a desperate need to succeed. He could do this, in his terms, more readily through criminal activities. His need to find what he felt he was missing, could constitute a form of soul-loss.

Within six months of Sal's release he was again sent to detention by a court order. At the time of this report he has been released and has returned home. He is currently enrolled in high school and is by all accounts doing quite well.

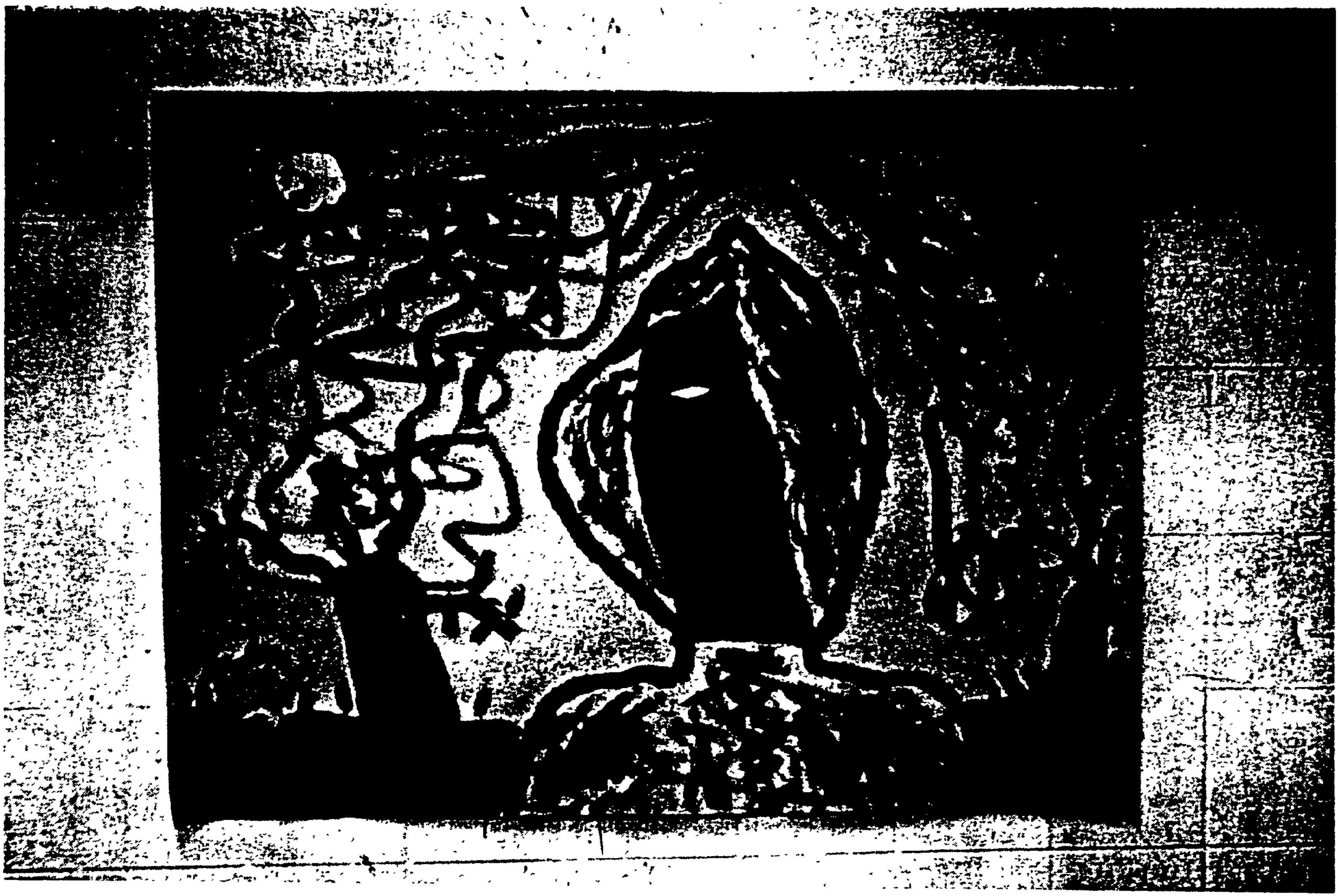

FIG. 13 The Dark Rider

FIG. 14 Power

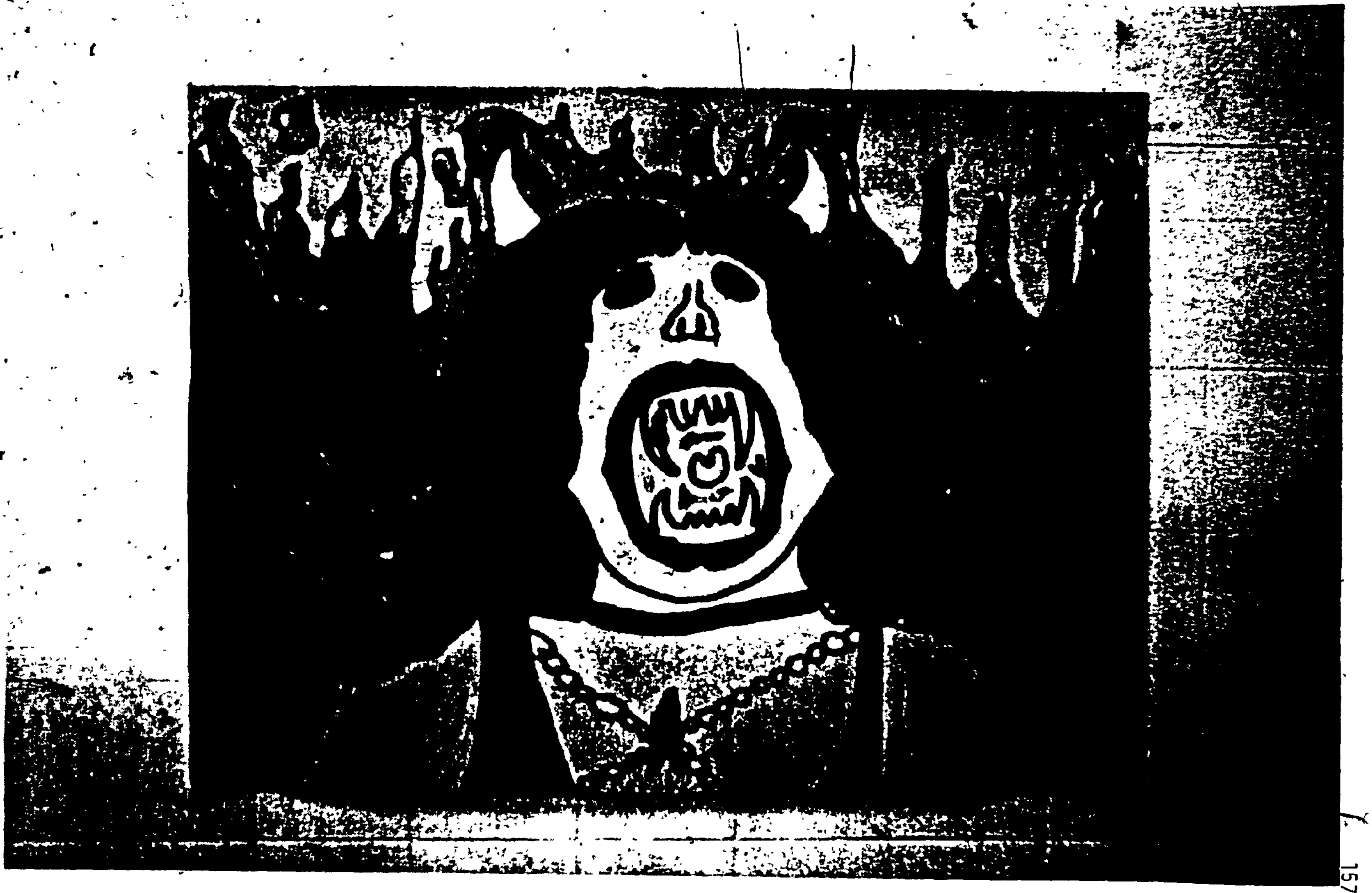

FIG. 15 The Devil's Soldier.

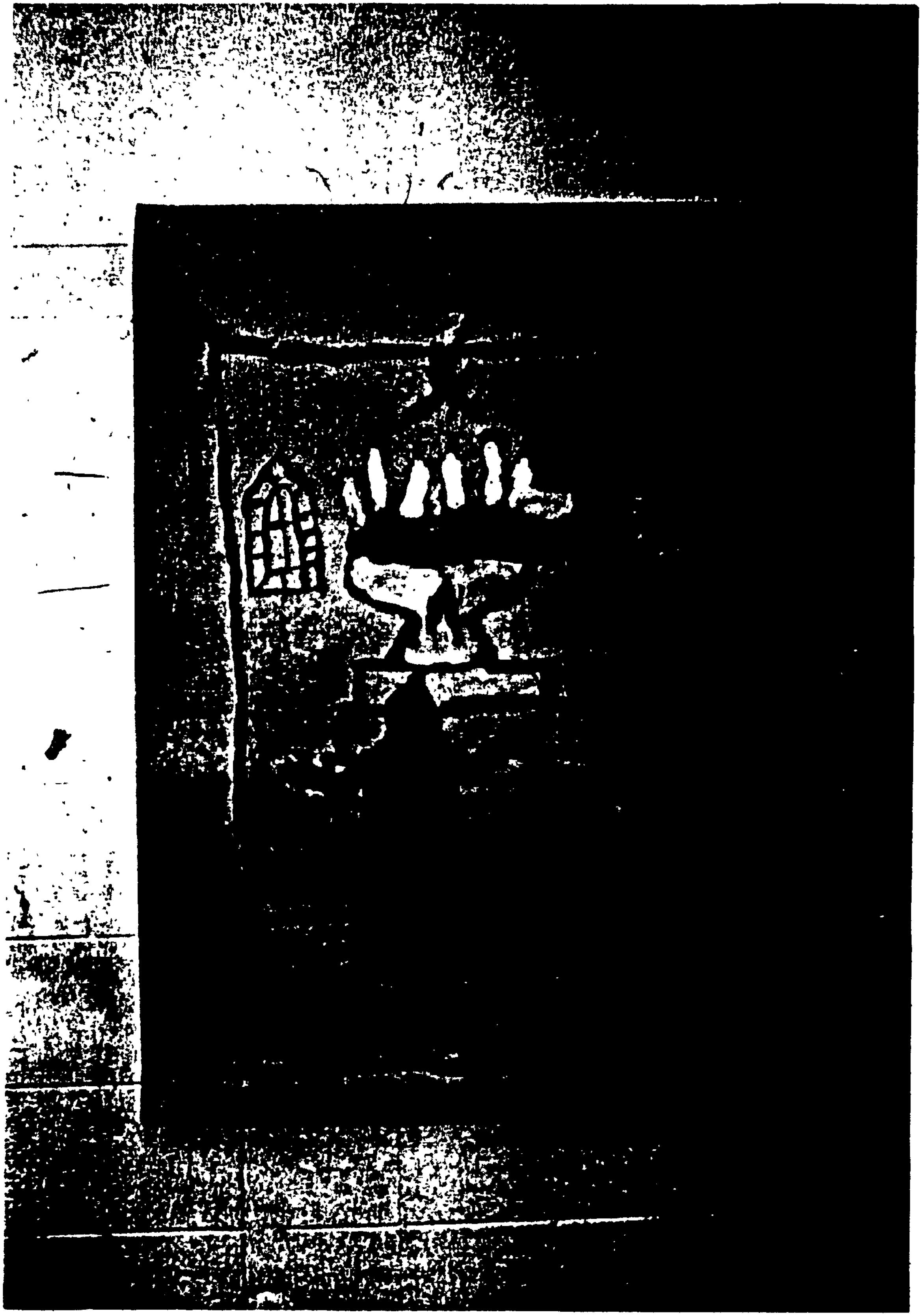

FIG. 16 "Patience."

FIG. 17 Philos

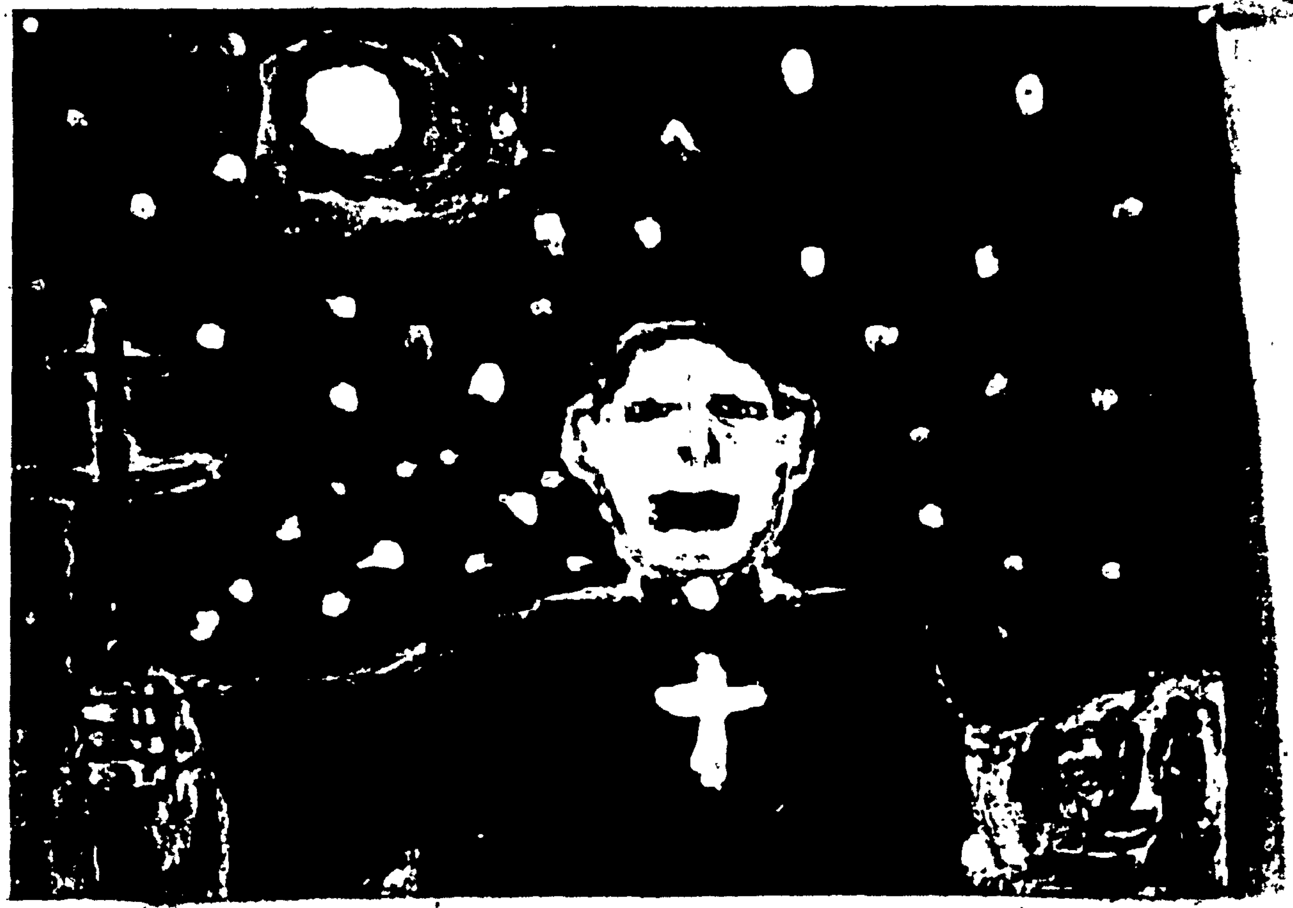

FIG. 18 The Priest

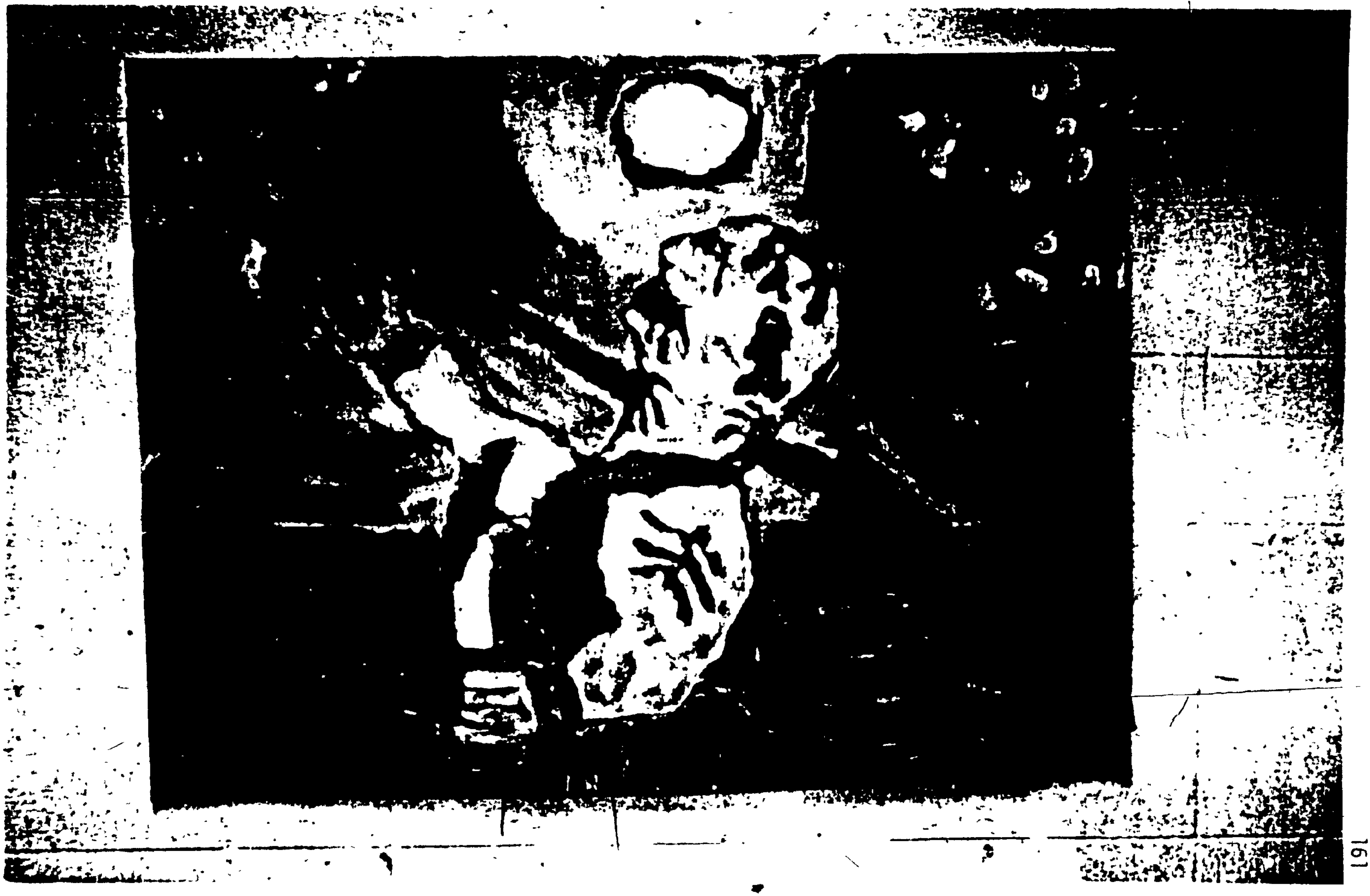

FIG. 19 Cletus

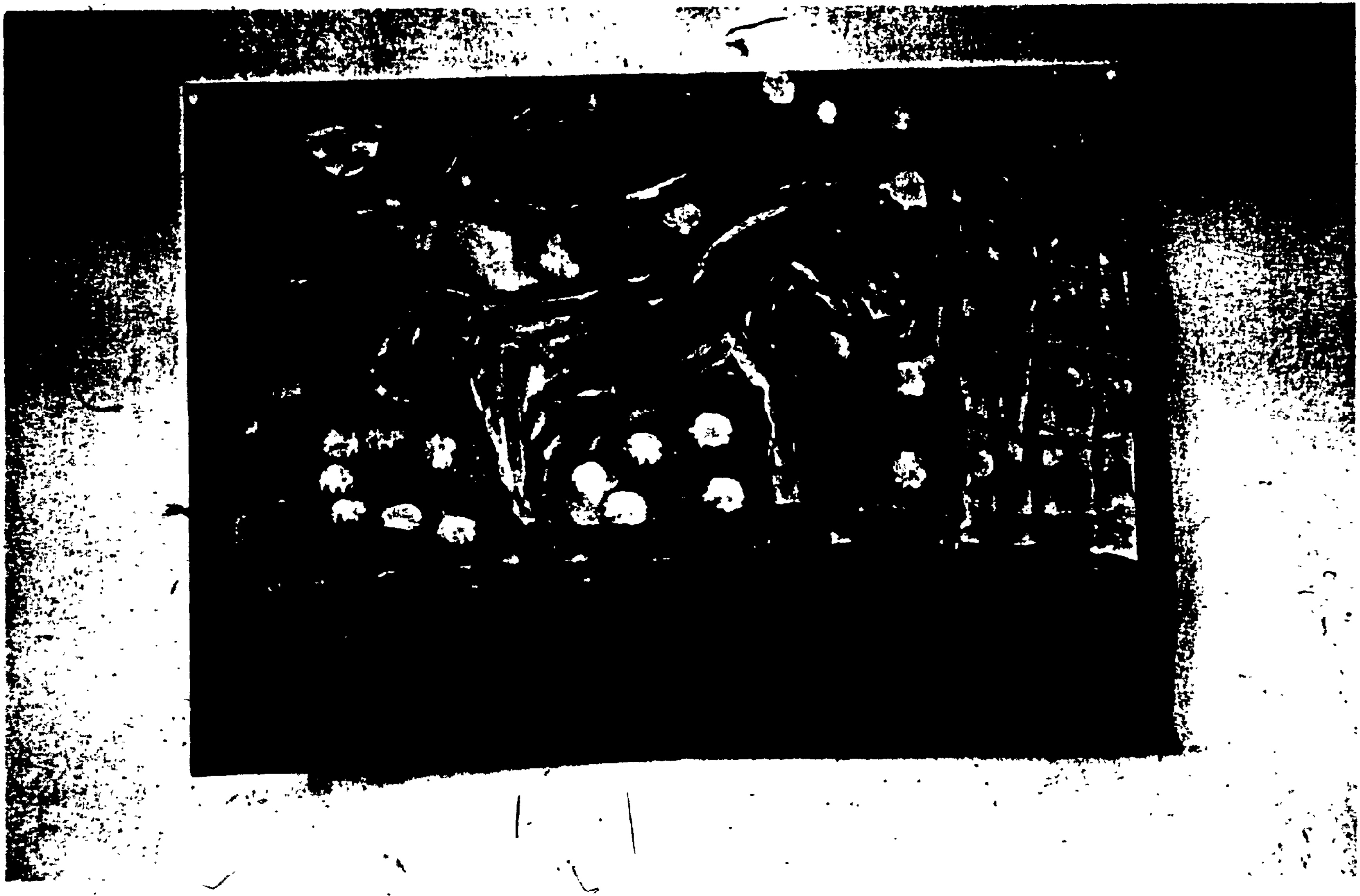

FIG. 20 The Trojan Horse

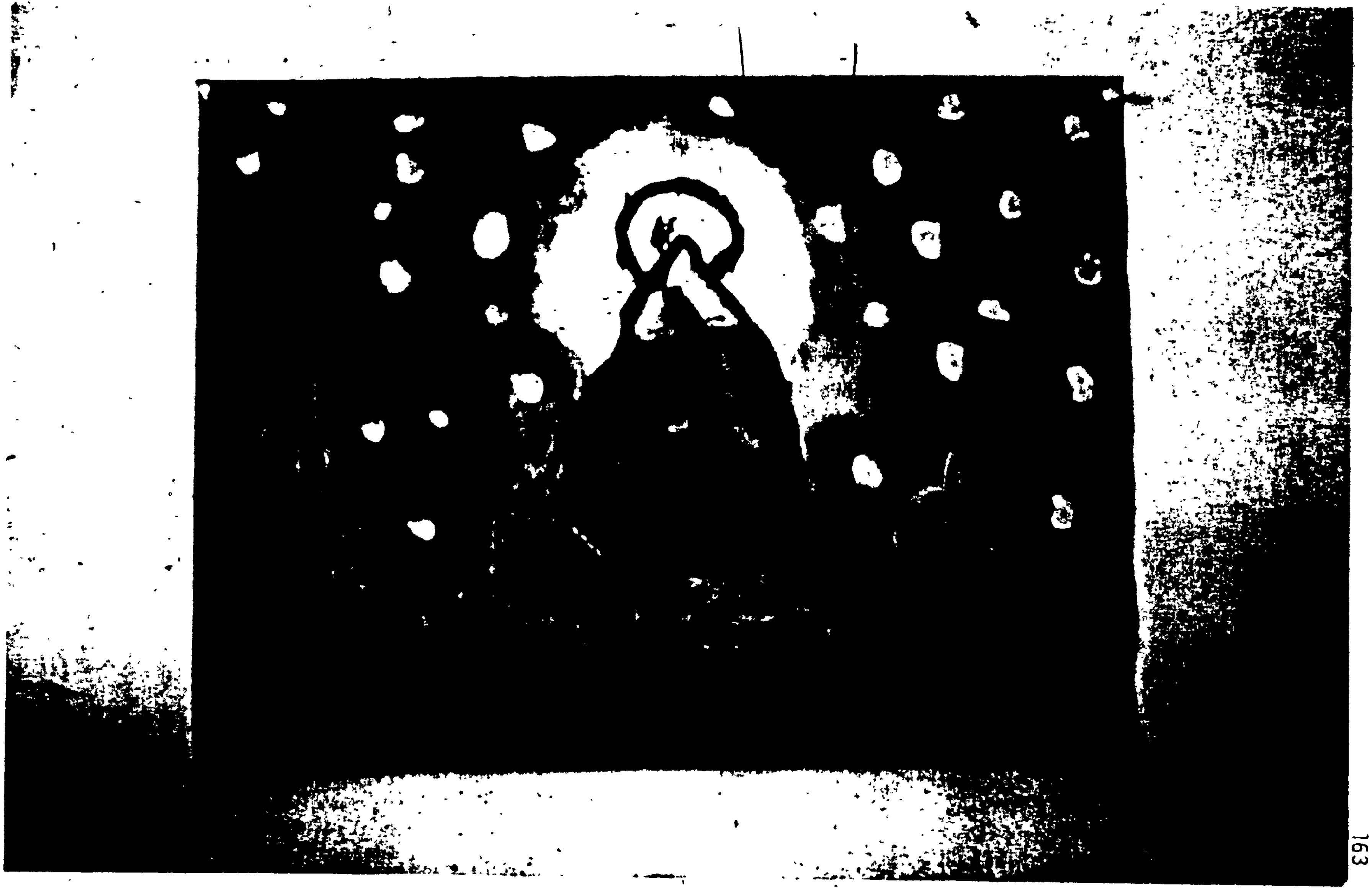

FIG. 21 The Journey

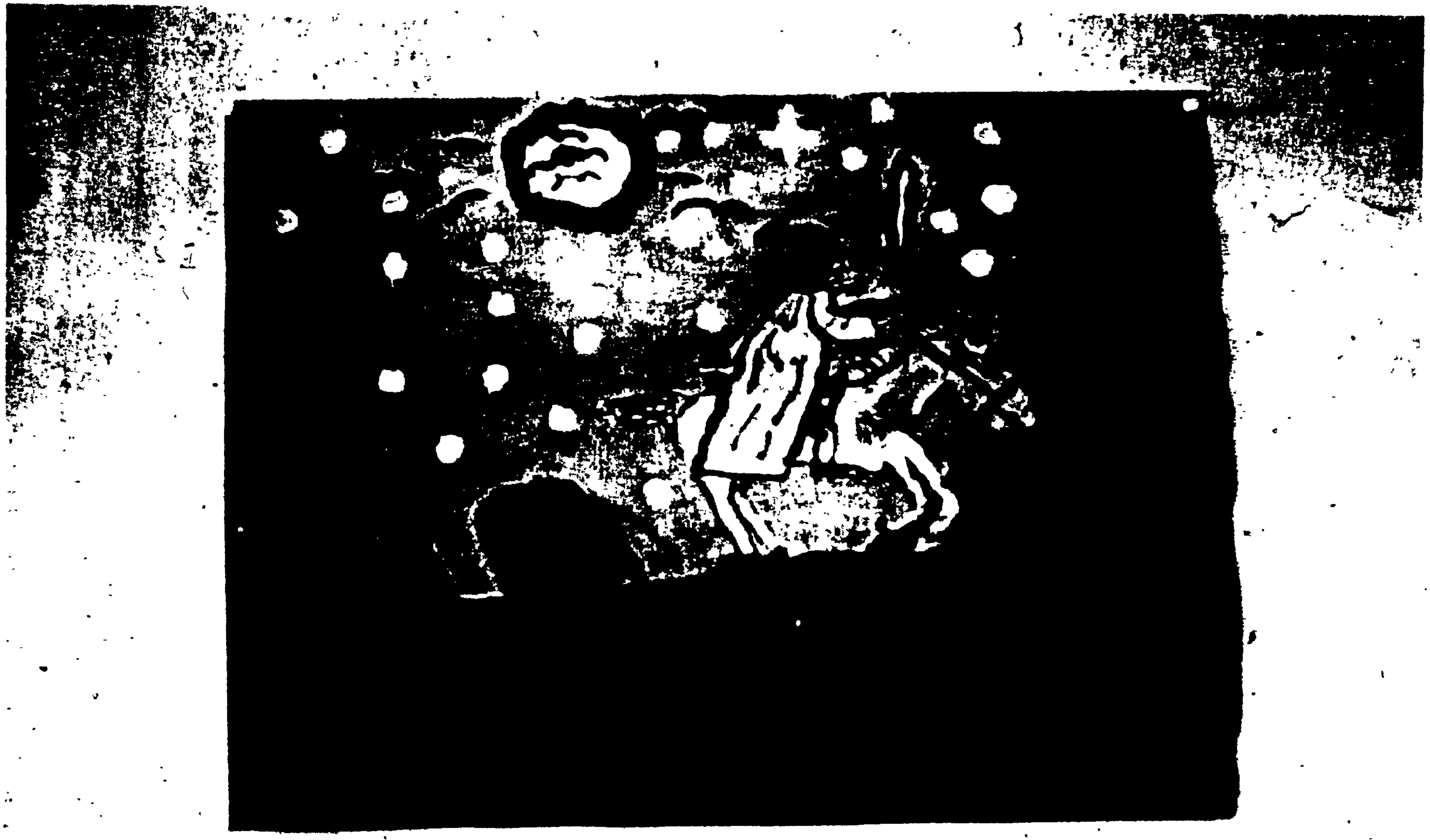

FIG. 22 Sal Riding Off In Glory

APPENDIX B

Jim was born in Ontario and put up for adoption when he was two years old. He was adopted by a family in a rural Quebec community. There were problems with Jim in the home. He seems to have been treated differently. He has a long history of placements in treatment centers, foster homes, and special schools. Jim had been back with his adoptive family two years when the parents were divorced. There were indications that Jim felt responsible for the break up.

Jim was eighteen when he was seen at a detention center for youth offenders. He had a history of delinquent offences such as petty theft, vandalism, assault, and car theft. There was some involvement with drugs and alcohol. Jim was a big boy, standing 6'1" and weighing 200 lbs. He acted very immaturely, and although threatening violence was usually malicious and mischievous. He was described by youth workers as "obnoxious" and "impossible". He was seen in art therapy two times a week for three months until discharge.

Jim's first productions in art therapy had to do with welcoming me to his world, which he described as "Hell". Jim presented himself as an evil person who was "on a pass from the Devil". He took a sadistic pleasure in telling me that I would be "seeing a lot of monsters" (Fig. 23). Jim denied any real ownership of these feelings, he said it was "a game" he was playing "to torment" me. Jim said he had "no hope".

Jim would begin to paint "a nice picture" but soon "the devils" would begin to destroy what he had produced. He would talk in different voices, and act out the two sides of his personality. Two weeks into therapy, Jim began to paint a sailboat. He mixed colour carefully, and had produced quite a fine representation of a sailboat. Then the devils began to appear on the boat and began to destroy the boat, and eventually it was completely obliterated and engulfed in flames (Fig. 24). Jim emmitted a hideous laugh. He appeared to have startled himself by this, and said "Anybody that would do a painting like this must be Wacko!" He then quickly denied responsibility for the work by saying he only did it because "I'm trying to drive you crazy."

Jim continued to paint "the devil pictures" (Fig. 25). They were associated with death and "The Grim Reaper". He would state that his life "has been a living death," and "Death owns my life." He on several occasions expressed concern for his sanity. I reassured Jim that he was not insane. A psychiatric consultation had confirmed that Jim was reaching out for help but was unable to admit it or accept it. He was not psychotic. I said to Jim that he seemed to think he was "bad" and seems to often be "angry and upset." I interpreted "the devils" to Jim as being feelings within him that he wanted "to get out." Jim would avoid this recognition by regressing and throwing paint around the art therapy room. I told Jim I could not permit him to behave that way in art therapy. If he wanted to splash paint, I would provide large sheets of paper.

Jim continued to arrive for his therapy sessions promptly, and seemed to take some pleasure in being able to express feelings in that environment that he was unable to ventilate elsewhere (Fig. 26). Arriving for his next session angry at the coordinator, he said "Kathy has her myths, I have mine!" I asked Jim what his myths were. He replied tangentially, "I hate Kathy." He then began the first of fifteen paintings he would do in the next two months, that superficially focused on expressing rage and destroying "Kathy" (Fig. 27). Most of these paintings featured great outpourings of emotion and very animated brushwork and impasto application of the paint (Fig. 28).

In this same session Jim looked at me intently and said, "I want to have a ceremony." He took a cardboard and painted it entirely blue. Perpendicular lines were drawn and where they intersected was the place "where the ceremony will begin" (Fig. 29). He called this "The Death and Grim Reaper Ceremony". As Jim placed the images on the paper he described the order of ceremonial events. "The mushroom cloud" and the "dancing devil" described the story that "Reagan destroyed the world." This kept the devil "so busy" that "a new world" could begin. The flaming cross that appeared in so many of Jim's paintings was, I believe, symbolic of Jim's suffering, self-destructiveness, and hope of rebirth. Jim left this therapy session saying, "I want to get rid of the devils."

As was previously stated, Jim continued to symbolically destroy "Kathy" in many of his paintings. This activity became increasingly playful and Jim was interested in the aesthetic effect of his finished product. This was, in part, a process of Jim's identification with his art work. They were his paintings, and even though they permitted him to express angry and destructive feelings, through the creative process this energy became transformed into a positive, and creative productivity.

A week later, Jim said he wanted to have another "ceremony". This time Jim lit two birthday candles and placed them on the painting that was laid on the ground (Fig. 30). Jim lit the candles, and turned out the lights. He said we should have "a minute's silence". After the ceremony was over, Jim said that "There should be a cult to bring back people from the dead and teach you why you fuck up your life."

Jim repeated this ceremony the next week (Fig. 31). Again there were two birthday candles placed on the painting, they were lit, and a minute of silence ensued. At the end of the ceremony, Jim said, "Kathy was my mother's name." Jim would not talk about this further. The authenticity of this revelation was revealed a week later, I believe, when Jim arrived for art therapy and verbally attacked me, repeatedly calling me "a Fag!" He said he hated art therapy and wants to quit because "Art therapy's done nothing for me." This outlandish defensive behavior was an exagerated effort at projection and denial.

Jim arrived three days later in a much different state of mind. He asked to see all of his paintings. I thought this was a very good idea, as termination was drawing near. Jim was surprised and pleased with the quantity and quality of his work. He said, "I really got a lot out of me, didn't I?" He asked me, "Do you think I'm getting my head together?" I replied that I thought he was "moving in the right direction" and that he "had got a lot out" and perhaps he felt better. He said that he did feel better and hoped that he would be free of "the devils".

In our last session, Jim said "No talk." This was perhaps a denial of his feelings and an attempt to keep control. He said he wanted to paint "an organized painting" (Fig. 32). This picture contains, what is to Jim, "a Fag colour", but that was alright because Jim says he likes "Fags", "after all I like you don't I?" Jim said it felt good to paint an organized painting. We closed off the session and the therapy by reviewing the feelings he was able to express in art therapy. We discussed that after all Jim was not "bad", but rather his pain and anger sometimes got the better of him.

Jim's therapy was terminated prematurely upon his release from the detention center. However during the relatively brief period of therapy, Jim was able to express very powerful and disturbing emotions in a safe environment. By so doing Jim was able to recognize that repressing these emotions, had turned them into "devils" that disrupted and undermined Jim's life. Jim was able to contact deeply repressed feelings of anger and loss regarding his natural mother. Jim spontaneously created ceremonies of mourning and commemoration. Many of his "Kathy" paintings featured outpouring of anger against his mother and himself. He expressed a desire for rebirth out of his "living death". Jim's respressed feelings were experienced by him as devils that constituted a form of foreign intrusion.

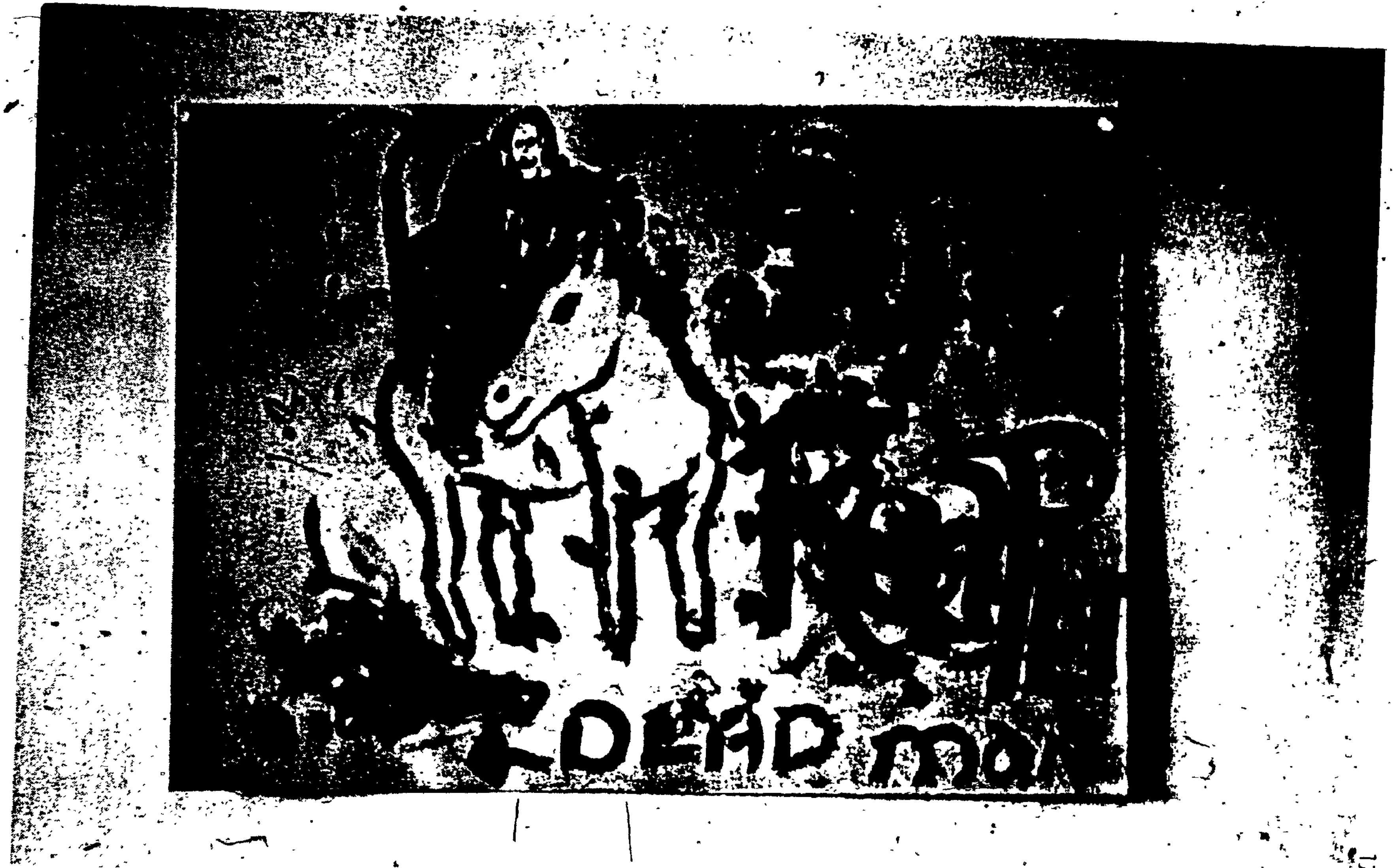

FIG. 23 Grim Reaper and Dead Man

FIG. 24 Sailboat destroyed by "The Devils"

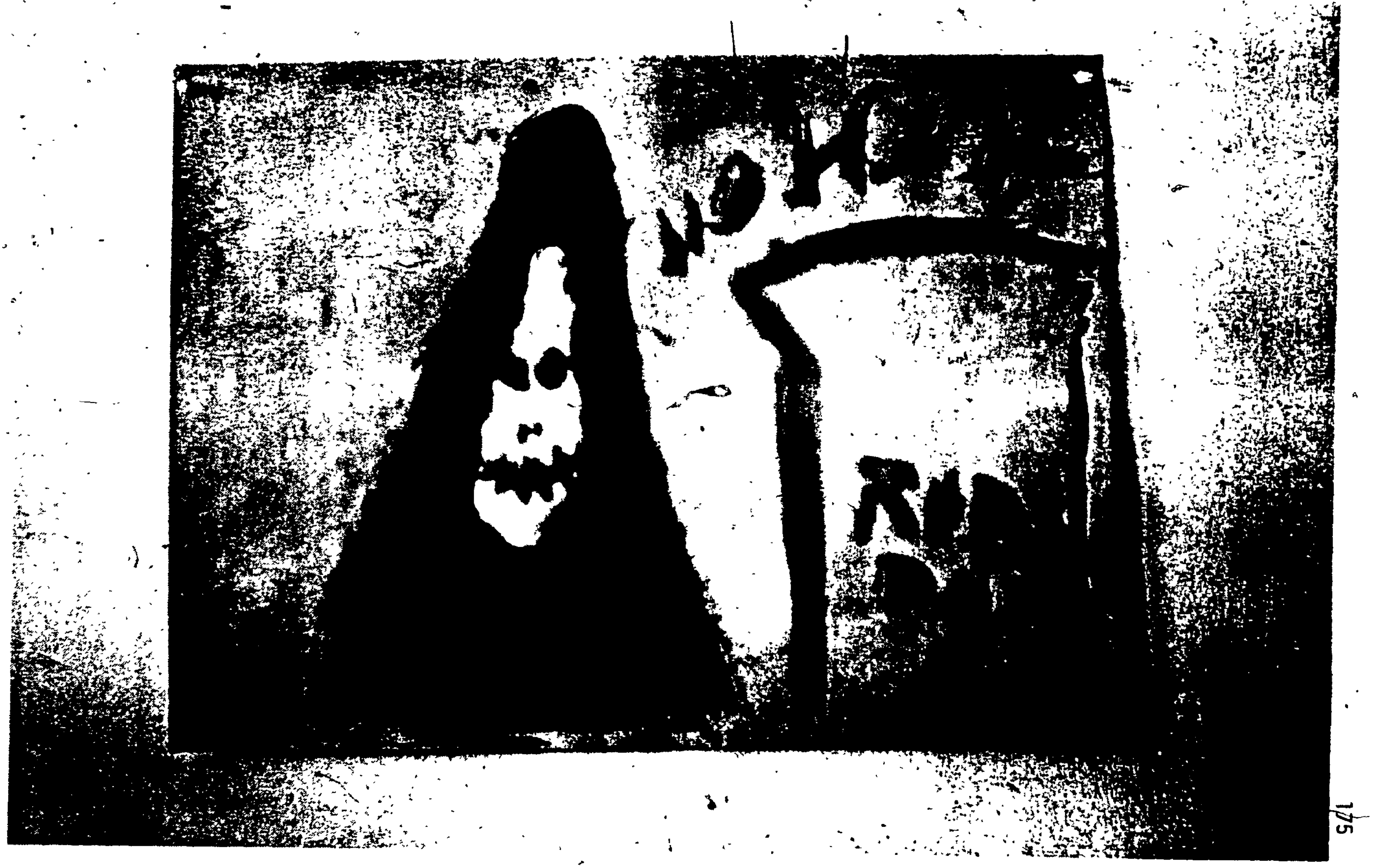

FIG. 25 The Laughing Reaper

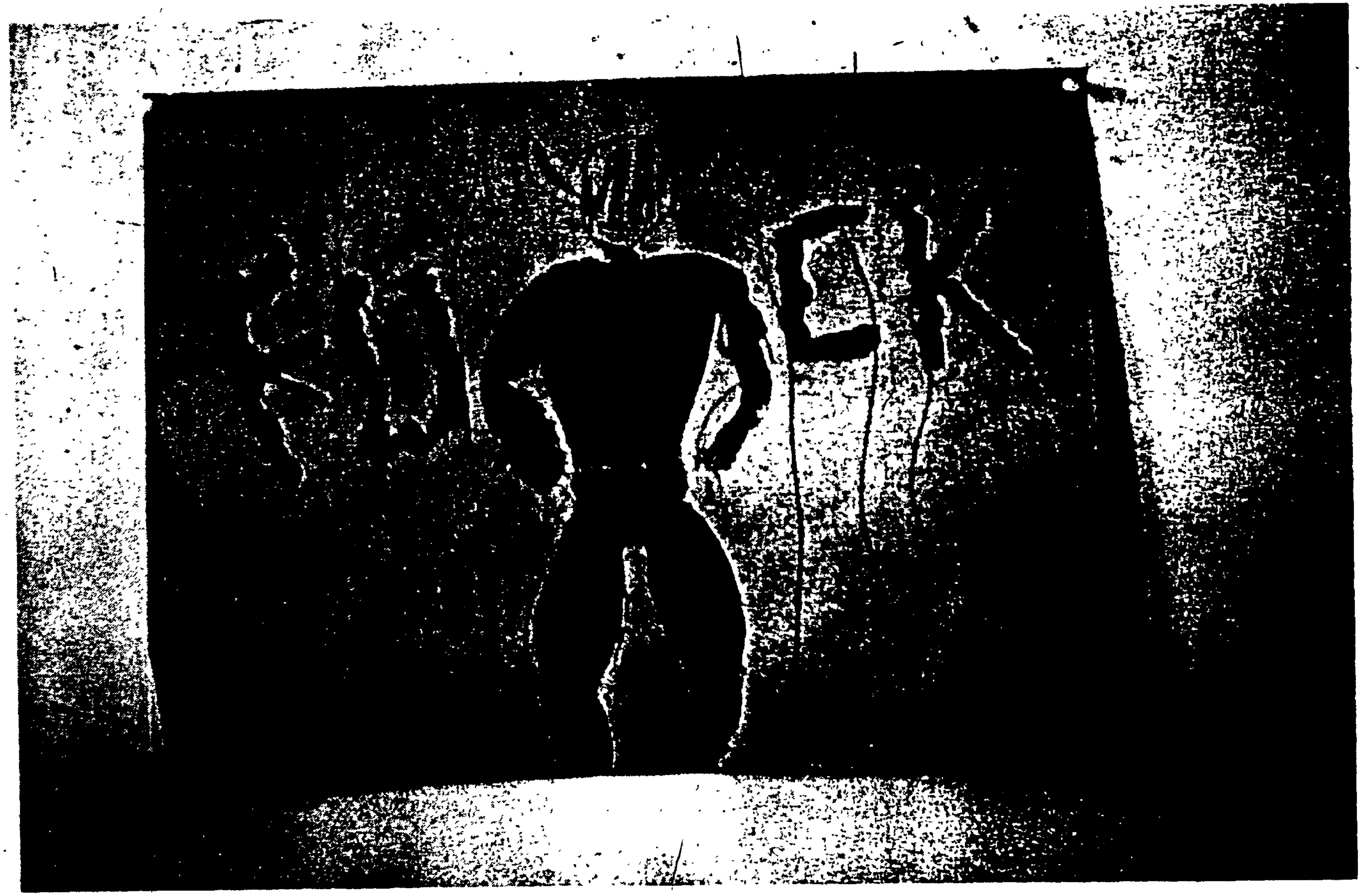

FIG. 26 "Fuck" , the Devil

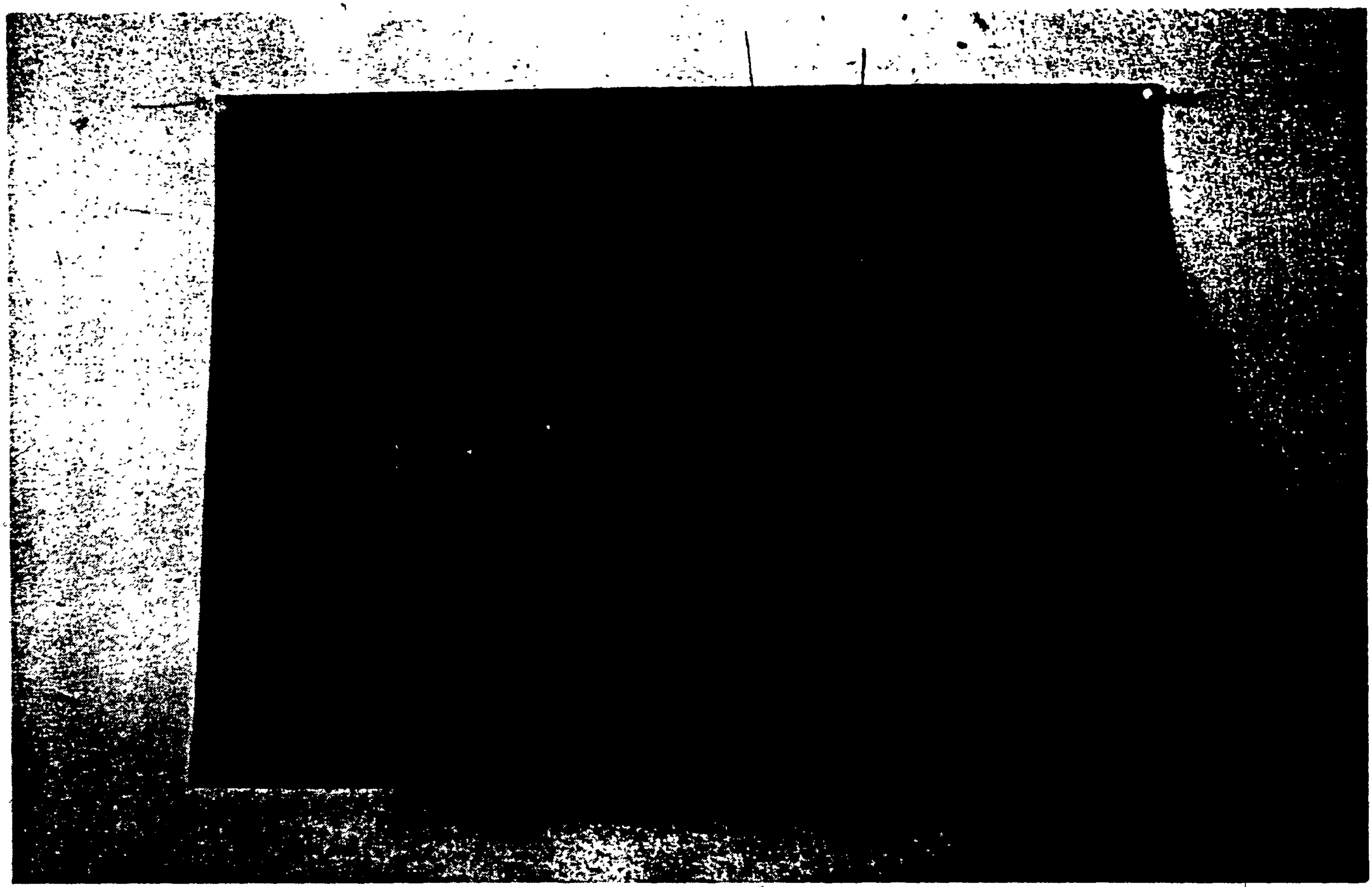

FIG. 27 Kathy Devil

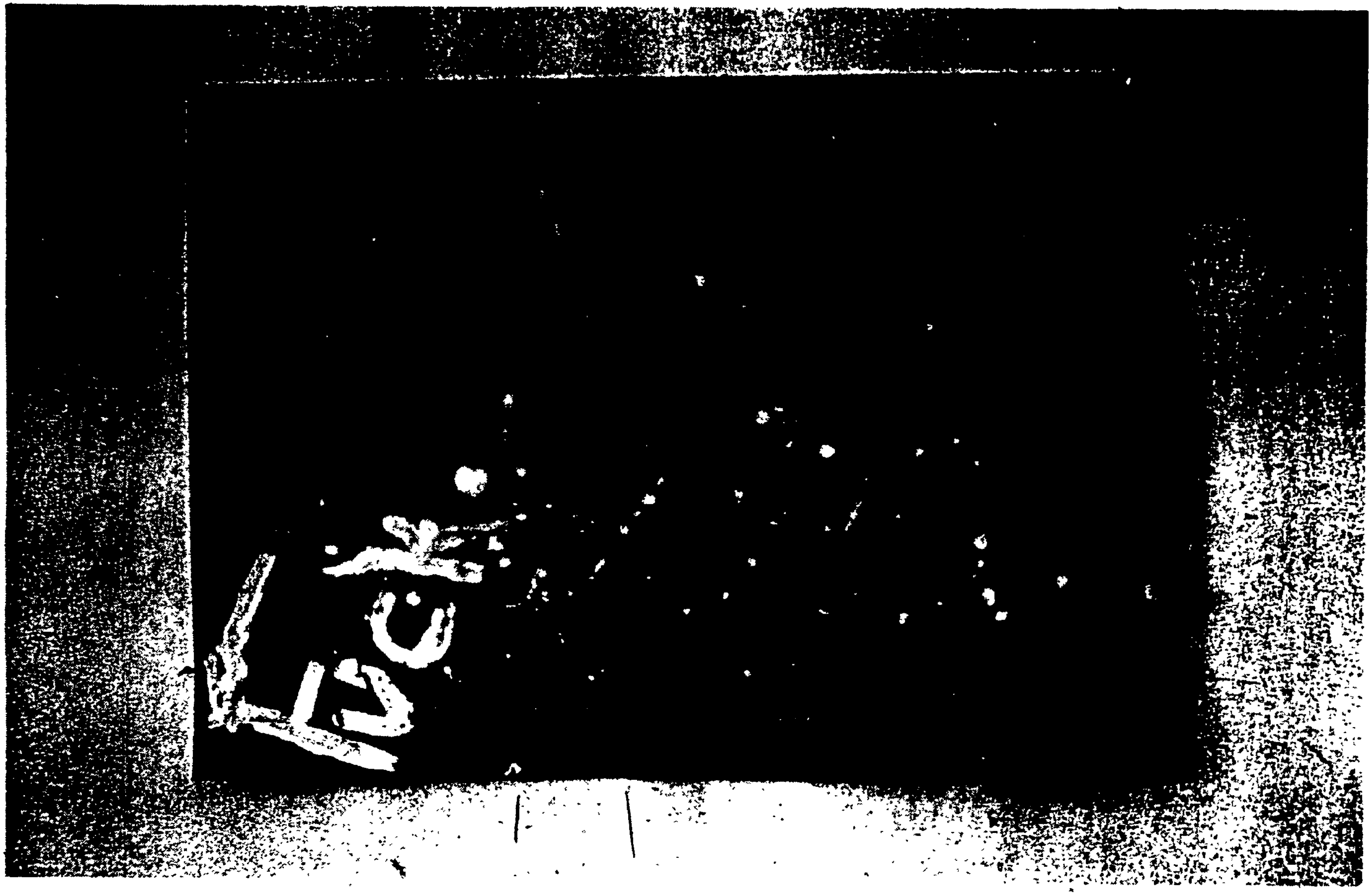

FIG. 28 Kathy Satin (sic)

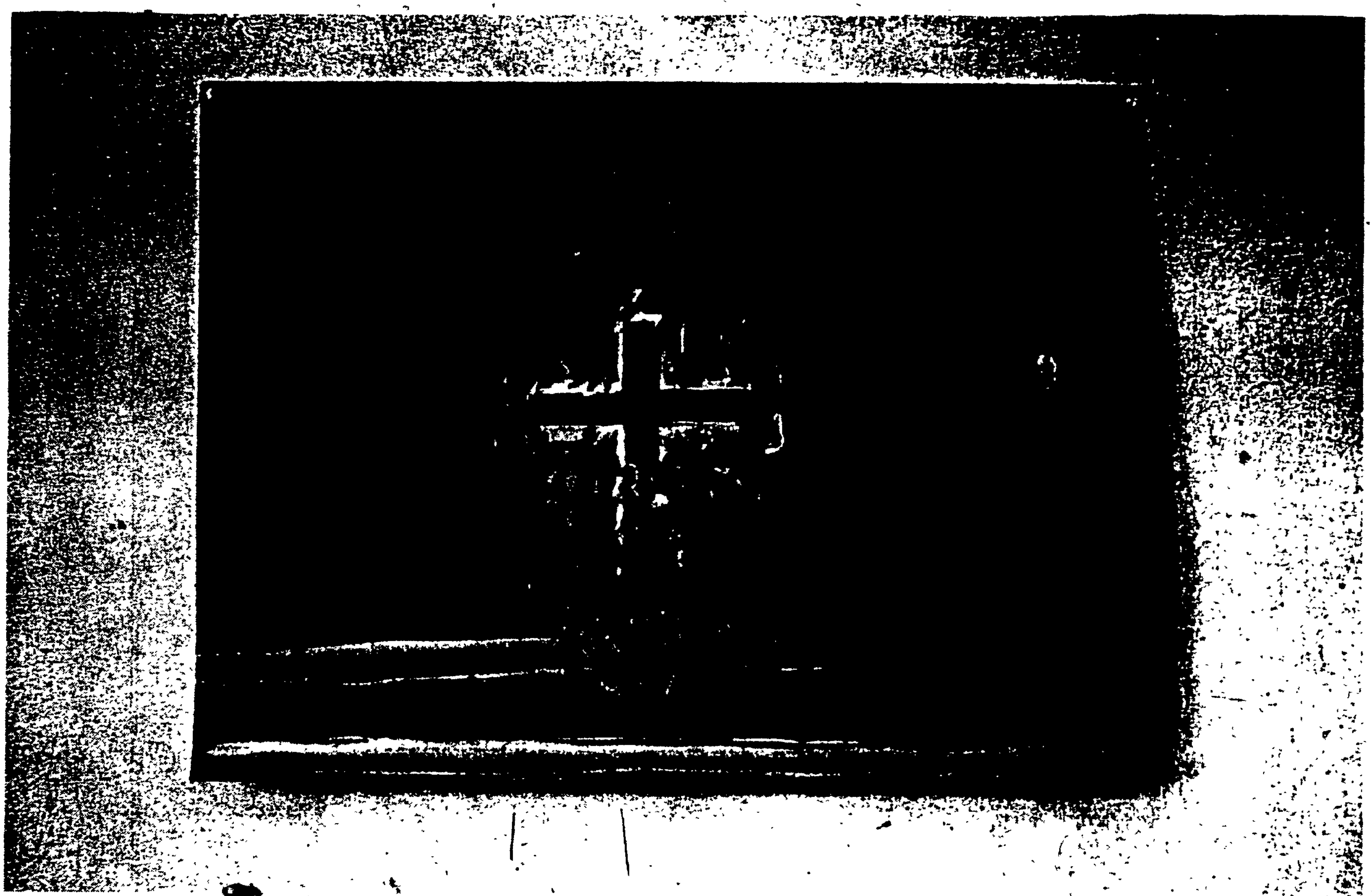

FIG. 29 The Death and Grim Reaper Ceremony

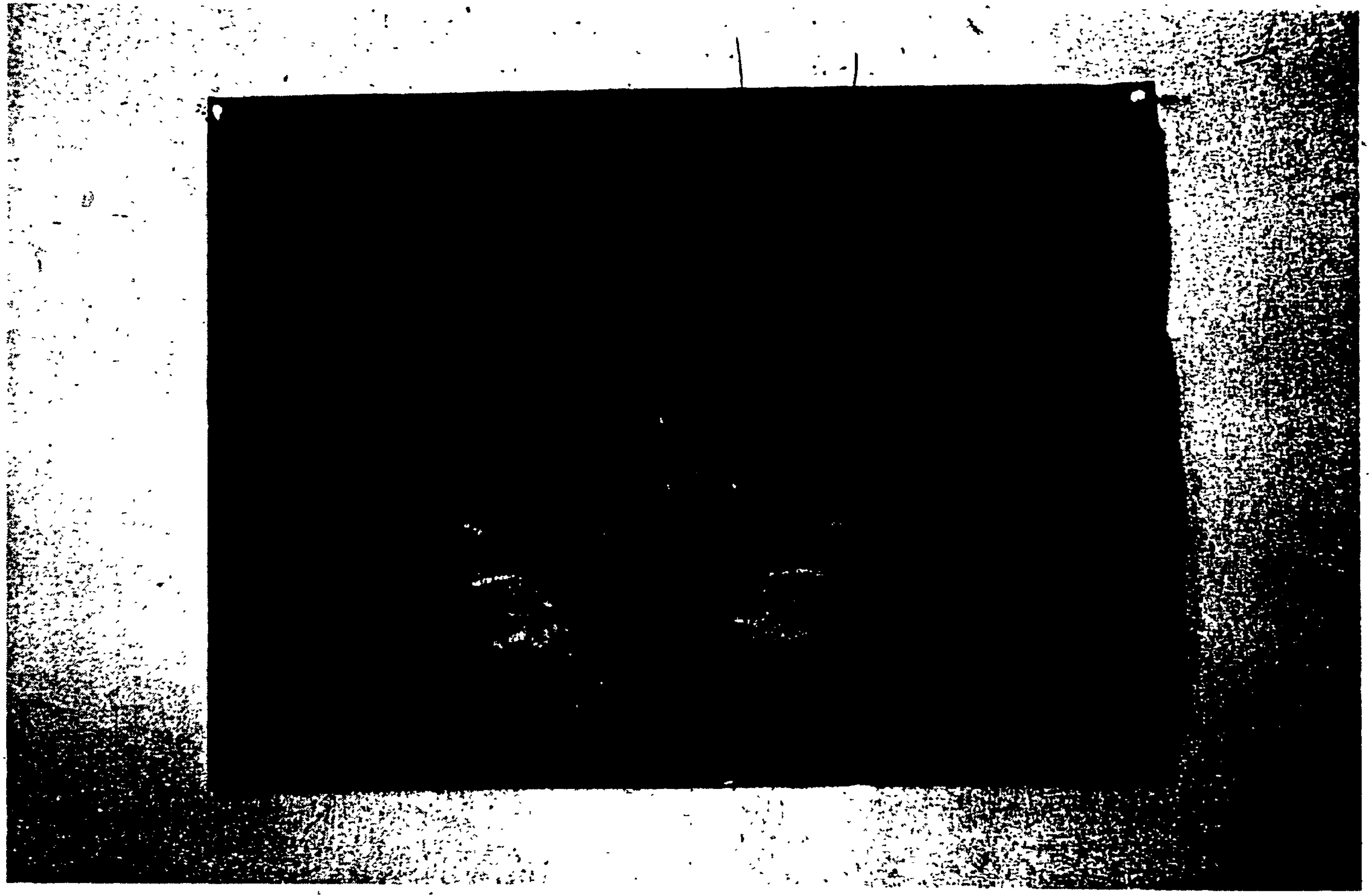

FIG. 30 Ceremony Number 2 with Candles

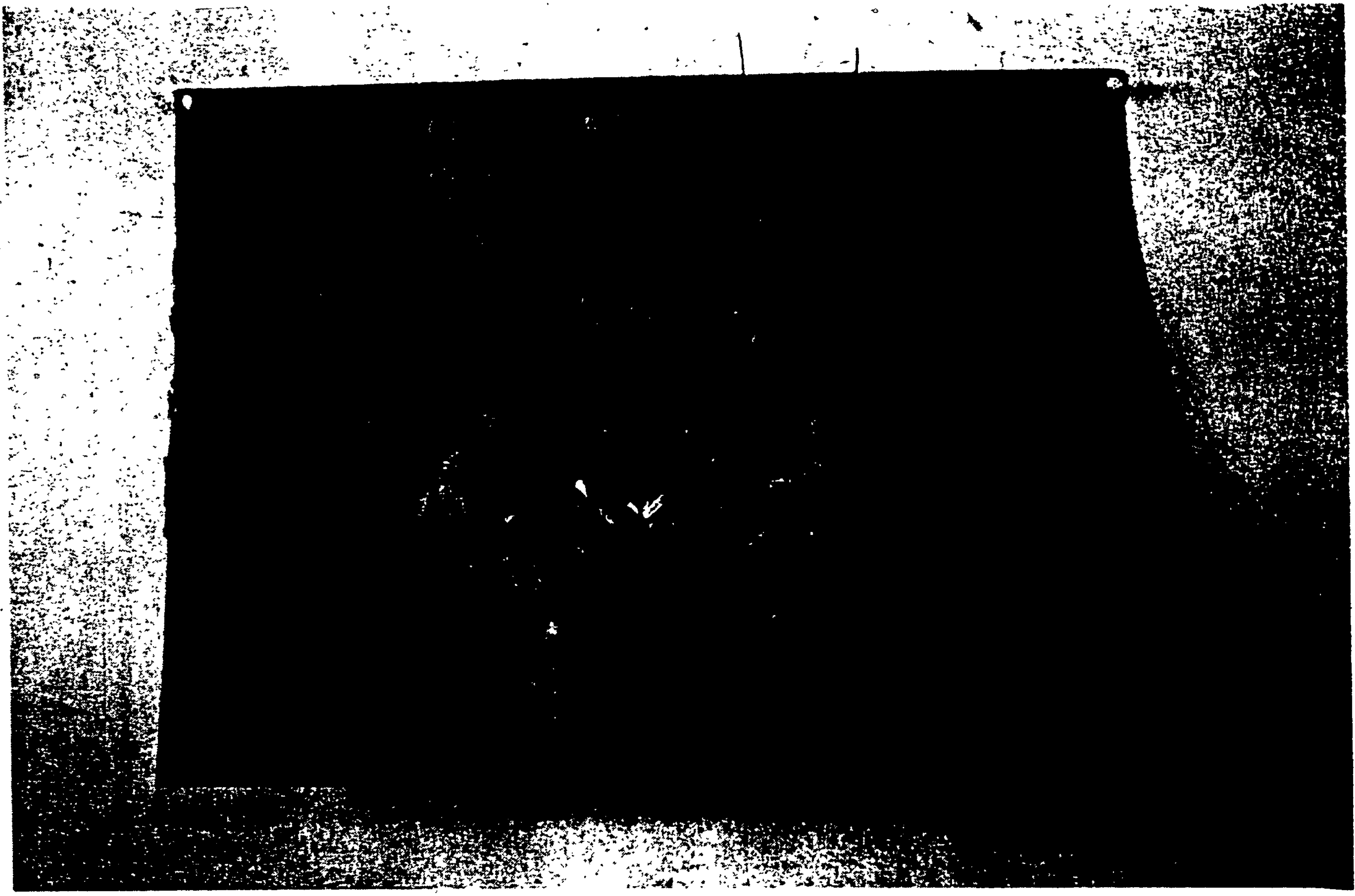

FIG. 31 Ceremony Number 3 , Kathy Memorial with Candles

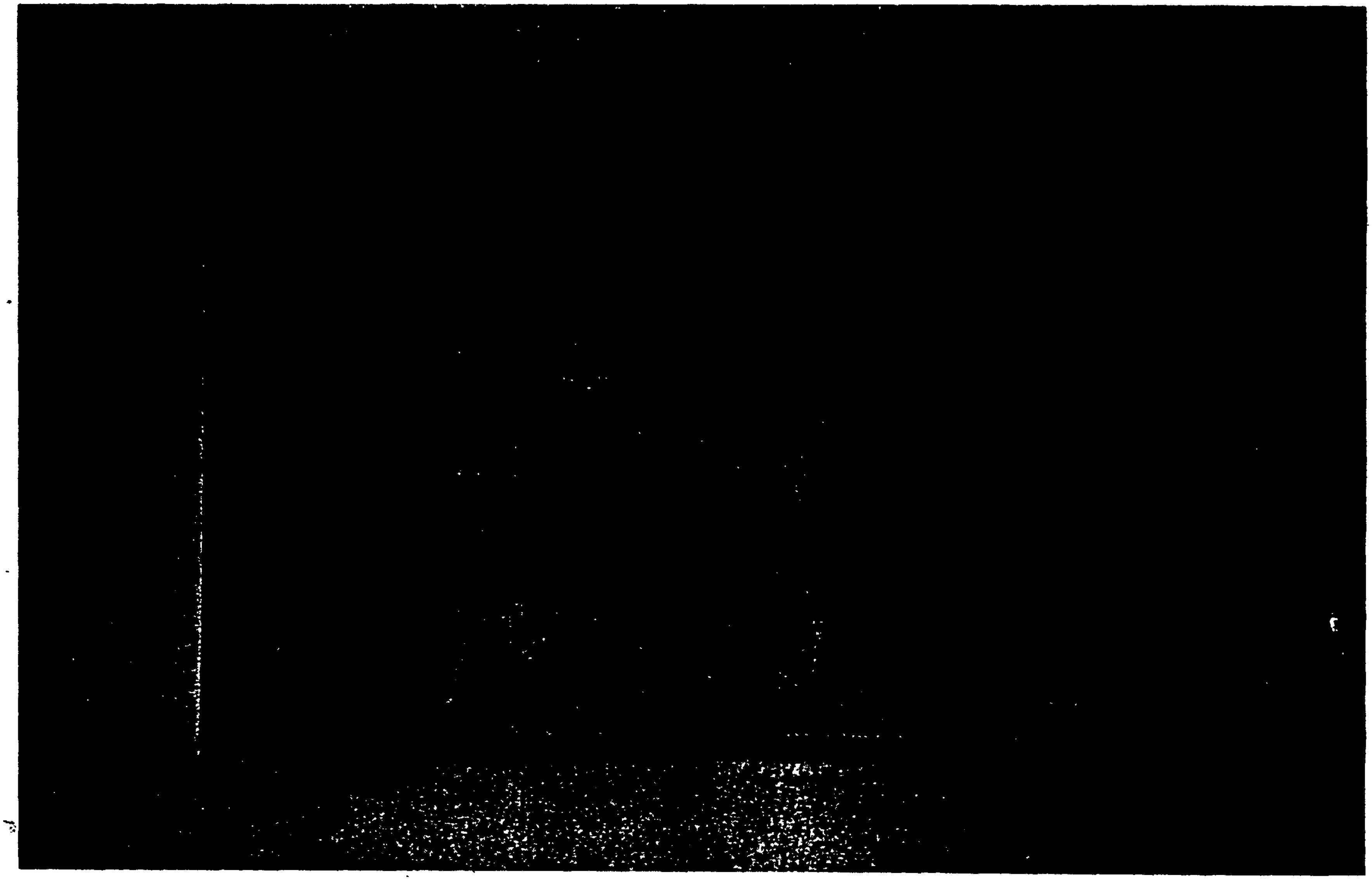

FIG. 32 An Organized Painting