

**INDIGENOUS MUSIC IN HEALING RITUALS**  
**A comparative study of the Twelve Apostles Church in Ghana and**  
**Shamanism in Finland**

Amos Darkwa Asare  
Master's Thesis  
Nordic Master of  
Global Music  
Sibelius Academy  
University of the Arts  
Helsinki  
2015



## ABSTRACT

Thesis

<b>Title</b>  <b>Indigenous Music in Healing Rituals: A Comparative study of the Twelve Apostles Church in Ghana and Shamanism in Finland.</b>	<b>Number of pages</b>  <b>106</b>
<b>Author</b>  <b>Amos Darkwa Asare</b>	<b>Semester</b>  <b>Autumn 2015</b>
<b>Degree programme</b>  GLOMAS (Nordic Master of Global Music)	
<b>Abstract</b>  <p>The study describes and analyzes the use of indigenous music in the healing rituals of the syncretic Twelve Apostles Church in Ghana and shamanism in Finland. In dealing with the main question of how indigenous music should be seen as an integral part of the healing processes of two geographically distant cultures, the thesis focuses on the cultural values, meanings and understandings of the participants. The basis of analysis lies beyond Western medical interpretations and extends to music- singing, drumming and dancing in indigenous or local healing rituals agreed upon by a definable set of people. This includes the people's beliefs, art, customs and norms. Thus, the thesis presents an ethnographic study of indigenous music in healing by comparing how the syncretic Twelve Apostles Church in Ghana and shamanism in Finland approach their healing rituals with music. The main methods employed are participant observations and interviews. The major finding is that indigenous healings are effective with musical phenomena making the ritual music, and music the ritual.</p>	
<b>Keywords</b> Indigenous music, healing rituals, Twelve Apostles Church, shamanism, ethnographic study, culture	



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This master's thesis would not have been successful without the assistance, support and encouragement from several people. I am very grateful to the leadership of the Twelve Apostles Church in Ghana who granted me access to witness their healing sessions at the national headquarters, Kormantse. Special thanks to the senior prophet, Rev. Michael George IV, Apostle Otoo and Rev. Sackey. I would like to express my profound gratitude to all the Prophets or healers whose healing rituals I was able to observe and who agreed to be interviewed. I want to say a big thank you to Prophet White and prophetesses Comfort Bekoe and Mary Amissah for the audience they gave me.

My sincere appreciation goes to the shamans for allowing me to witness their healing sessions and conduct interviews with them and their patients. I am indebted to Christiana Harle for sharing her experiences with me as a shamanic healer. I also want to thank her for inviting me to the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations of Shamaaniseura ry. Special thanks also goes to Susanna Aarnio and her students at the Center for Finno-Ugrian and Arctic Shamanism for the sessions I witnessed with them and the information they shared with me. Let me single out Kaarne Karjalainen for taking the time and effort to explain Finnish shamanic traditions and terminologies to me; I am grateful. I would also like to thank shaman Markku Backman for his support. I am also indebted to Tuomas Rounakari for his assistance and for informing me much more about Finnish folk healing.

I want to thank the two distinguished supervisors of the thesis, Dr. Mikko Vanhasalo from the University of Tampere and Sibelius Academy and Nathan Riki Thomson from Sibelius Academy for their immeasurable and insightful contributions towards the successful completion of this thesis. Dr. Vanhasalo thoroughly read through the manuscript, commented and offered valuable suggestions. He contributed greatly to the oddities that were identified and assisted in their corrections. Nathan Riki Thomson helped to shape my ideas during the initial stages of the thesis, which pushed me on the right track. I am indeed grateful to them.

I want to thank Professor Tarin Toletha Dumas Hampton for proof reading the manuscript and helping with the corrections. Her suggestions have been very helpful. I am also grateful to Aura Go for proof reading this thesis. I also want to thank Sanna Kurki-Suonio for linking me up with the right shaman to solicit information and witness her healing rituals. This singular act was the beginning of the success of this project.

I want to express my warmest gratitude to my teachers both in Ghana and in Finland for the diverse support and encouragement they have given me throughout this period. Special mention should be made of Dr. Mawuyram Quessie Adjahoe, Mr. Senyo Adzei and Prof. Isaac Richard Amuah, all from the University of Cape Coast, Ghana, for the diverse roles they have played for me to get this far. I want to thank Vilma Timonen, Tapani Lansio and all the teachers whose hands I have passed through during my studies at the Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki.

Many thanks to my Finnish family; Ilka Ranta-aho and Kirsi Riipinen, for the parental love they have given me. I want to say a big thank you also to my brother, Eetu Ranta-aho for his support.

I want to appreciate my fellow students, Laonikos Psimikakis - Chalkokondylis, Antonio Alemanno and Petra Poutanen-Hurme for the good friendship and support they have given during my stay in Finland.

Finally, I want to thank my friends and family for the love and support they have given me during this period. Mr. Akoto Yaw, Rachel Ofori, Kate Akoto, Nathaniel Bimpong and Thomas Atta-Boakye have all supported me in different ways. I want to appreciate my dad, Baffour Asare Bediako for his encouragement. Many thanks to Osei Kwame Ahenkora for his brotherly love. John Wesley Dankwah has encouraged me a lot during this process and I want to say a big thank you to him. I am grateful to you all for being there for me.

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to Prof. Tarin Toletha Dumas Hampton,  
Lecturer at Norfolk State University, United States of America.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>1</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1	BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY .....	1
1.2	PROBLEM FORMULATION AND AIM OF THE STUDY .....	3
1.3	LITERATURE REVIEW .....	4
1.4	STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS .....	6
<b>2</b>	<b>CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK .....</b>	<b>6</b>
2.1	PHENOMENOLOGY .....	9
2.2	PHENOMENOLOGY OF MUSICAL EXPERIENCE IN A CLINICAL REALITY .....	11
2.3	RESEARCH METHODS .....	15
2.3.1	<i>Methodological approach of the study.....</i>	<i>16</i>
2.3.2	<i>Data collection.....</i>	<i>17</i>
2.3.3	<i>Participant observations and interviews .....</i>	<i>18</i>
2.3.4	<i>Data analysis .....</i>	<i>21</i>
2.3.5	<i>Reflexivity .....</i>	<i>22</i>
<b>3</b>	<b>HISTORICAL OVERVIEW .....</b>	<b>24</b>
3.1	BRIEF HISTORY OF THE FANTES OF GHANA.....	25
3.1.1	<i>Akan folk beliefs and folk medicine .....</i>	<i>26</i>
3.1.2	<i>Colonization and Christianity.....</i>	<i>29</i>
3.1.3	<i>African Indigenous Churches (AICs) .....</i>	<i>31</i>
3.1.4	<i>History of the Twelve Apostles Church.....</i>	<i>33</i>
3.2	BRIEF PREHISTORY OF THE FINNISH PEOPLE.....	35
3.2.1	<i>Finnish folk beliefs and folk medicine .....</i>	<i>37</i>
3.2.2	<i>Finnish shamanism and folk healing.....</i>	<i>38</i>
3.2.3	<i>The effects of colonization and Christianity.....</i>	<i>41</i>
<b>4</b>	<b>CONTEXTUALIZING MUSIC IN HEALING RITUALS: A CASE OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES CHURCH ....</b>	<b>44</b>
4.1	HEALING IN THE TWELVE APOSTLES CHURCH .....	44
4.1.1	<i>Procedure in the healing ritual .....</i>	<i>45</i>
4.1.2	<i>Encounter with the healing ritual .....</i>	<i>49</i>
4.2	MUSICAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE HEALING RITUAL .....	54
4.3	MUSICAL HEALING INSTRUMENTS.....	59
4.3.1	<i>Mfaba (enmeshed gourd rattle) .....</i>	<i>60</i>
4.3.2	<i>Dondo (hourglass drum).....</i>	<i>62</i>



4.3.3	<i>Handclapping</i> .....	63
<b>5</b>	<b>CONTEXTUALIZING MUSIC IN HEALING RITUALS: A CASE OF FINNISH SHAMANISM</b> .....	<b>65</b>
5.1	SHAMANIC HEALING RITUALS IN FINLAND .....	65
5.1.1	<i>Procedure in the healing ritual</i> .....	66
5.2	SHAMANIC JOURNEY .....	71
5.2.1	<i>Encounter with shamanic healing rituals</i> .....	72
5.3	MUSICAL CONSTRUCTION OF SHAMANIC HEALING RITUALS .....	75
5.4	MUSICAL HEALING INSTRUMENTS .....	78
5.4.1	<i>The shaman drum</i> .....	79
5.4.2	<i>The rattle</i> .....	82
5.4.3	<i>Bells and other instruments</i> .....	84
<b>6</b>	<b>COMPARATIVE ANALYSES AND CONCLUSIONS</b> .....	<b>87</b>
6.1	THE TECHNOLOGY OF TRANSCENDENCE .....	88
6.2	THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSES .....	90
6.2.1	<i>Similarities</i> .....	90
6.2.2	<i>Differences</i> .....	94
6.3	CONCLUSIONS .....	97
6.4	RECOMMENDATIONS .....	97
<b>7</b>	<b>REFERENCES</b> .....	<b>99</b>

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Patients waiting to be bathed by a prophetess and her assistants .....	48
Figure 2: A prophetess doing the ritual bathing.....	48
Figure 3: Amos' condition before the indigenous healing .....	51
Figure 4: Amos's condition at the early stages of his healing at the church .....	52
Figure 5: Amos' condition now after receiving treatment at the church .....	53
Figure 6: Jachie's leg after receiving indigenous musical treatment .....	54
Figure 7: An erected wooden cross at the sacred garden where healing takes place.....	56
Figure 8: Various sizes of <i>mfaba</i> (gourd rattle with enmeshed nets of beads).....	60
Figure 9: A prophetess and her assistant playing <i>mfaba</i> during a healing session.....	61
Figure 10: A prophet playing the <i>dondo</i> during a healing session .....	62
Figure 11: A patient dancing in a possessed state .....	63
Figure 12: A congregation clapping their hands and singing during a healing ritual.....	64
Figure 13: A shamaness interacting with a patient before the healing ritual .....	68
Figure 14: A shamaness in her full regalia getting ready for a healing ritual .....	71
Figure 15: Shaman drums in different sizes and shapes .....	81
Figure 16: A shamaness shamanizing with her drum and beater .....	82
Figure 17: A shaman with the container gourd rattle .....	83
Figure 18: A drum beater used as a rattle .....	84
Figure 19: Various types of bells used by shamans.....	85
Figure 20: Shamanizing using the <i>shruti</i> with a patient .....	86

# **1 INTRODUCTION**

A major concern of every society is the health and survival of its people and research has shown (Nketia 1962; Mullings 1984; Eliade 1962; Davies et al. (1999) that music plays a major role in the healing process, and has been doing so for many centuries. Although the development of modern medicinal practices is unprecedented and has identified many benefits, traditional/indigenous medical healing practices continue to be effective, yet are seldom recognized for their successful and significant contributions throughout the health care profession.

Religious syncretism and shamanism are some of the indigenous practices whereby music is greatly used in healing rituals. Drumming, dancing and singing play an intrinsic part in these traditional/indigenous healing practices. The term indigenous as used in this thesis relates to the healing rituals of the people under study and their practices from earliest time. Healing in the context of this study refers to any form of therapeutic use or curing of illness which includes physical, mental or psychological forms of illnesses. The term traditional healing and/or indigenous healing have been used interchangeably to refer to the healing practices not based on Western biomedical concepts but rather the use of music and dance in local healing with cultural understandings.

## **1.1 Background of the study**

As a Ghanaian who has lived among the Akans (the biggest ethnic group) in Ghana, West Africa, I have witnessed and performed for indigenous healing rituals on countless occasions. It has been claimed by many patrons of indigenous healing practices that most illnesses have been cured via indigenous means saturated with musical phenomena. In the documentary “Echoes of the Ancestors”, which I made with Caroline Hopkins, an audio visual communication expert from Ireland, we briefly touched on these healing rituals of the Twelve Apostles Church in Ghana. I began looking more into scholarly contributions of indigenous healing rituals and their impact on the life of the indigenous people for whom music plays an important role. Consistent efforts to know more about the existence of such indigenous rituals in other cultures motivated me to research further into Finnish Shamanism.

Many scholars have recognized the use of music for healing purposes (Nketia 1974, Judge 2003), but give music, as used in traditional healing rituals, perfunctory treatment (Friedson 1996). For example, Victor Turner states in *The Drums of Affliction* (Turner 1968:14) that Ndembu healing rituals in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) are never carried out without music. Turner mentions again that each of the rites carried out in terms of the healing have their own special music-rhythms, dances and songs, yet he fails to elaborate more on how the drums, songs and dances have contributed to the healing process. Furthermore, books like, *The healing drum, African wisdom and teaching* (Diallo and Hall 1989), *Shamanism and Spirituality in therapeutic practice* (Mackinnon 2012), and *Shamanism as a spiritual practice for daily life* (Cowan 1996), are all scholarly works on indigenous healing rituals with music playing an integral role. The scope, however, does not extend to the music which is a core component of the healing rituals; music has always been mentioned only briefly. This reveals a lacuna, making my research important.

Conversely, scholars have researched and written about music for healing purposes in diverse traditional and indigenous cultures (Chopra 1998; Bruscia 1989; Pinto 1997; Larco 1997). For example David Otieno Akombo's *Music and Healing Across Cultures* (2006), Benjamin Koen's *Beyond The Roof of The World: Music, Prayer and Healing in the Pamir Mountains* (2011), Diallo and Hall's *The Healing Drum: African Wisdom Teachings* (1989), Penelope Goup's (ed) *Musical Healing in Cultural Contexts* (2000), Cowan's *Shamanism As a Spiritual Practice For Everyday Life* (1996), Deusen's *Singing Story, Healing Drum: Shamans and Storytellers of Turkic Siberia* (2004). Steven M. Friedson (1996) has written extensively on the musical experience in Tumbuka (Malawi) healing, where he describes the healers as dancing Prophets. Friedson's work gives a more detailed description of the music in the Tumbuka healing ritual.

Little focus is given to the use of indigenous music in the healing rituals of the syncretic Twelve Apostles Church in Ghana and Shamanism in Finland. However, throughout Africa and in shamanic rituals, traditional diagnostics and therapeutics are satiated with musical phenomena (Friedson 1996; Eliade 1962). Akombo posits that Africans approach to healing usually focuses on music and dance (Akombo 2006). In a likewise manner, Moreno opines that it is music and dance "that facilitates the shaman's travels to the spirit world to establish those connections that will be a benefit to the patient" (Moreno 1995:331). Greenfield and Droogers' *Reinventing Religion: Syncretism and Transformation in Africa and the Americas* (2001), highlight the religious syncretism

where traditional religious practices have been acculturated with Western Christianity.

## **1.2 Problem formulation and aim of the study**

This study focuses on the use of indigenous music in the healing rituals in two related yet distinct fields: religious syncretism and Shamanism. Syncretism is understood to be the combination or fusion of different forms of beliefs. Greefield and Droogers (2001:24-26) explain syncretism “as the study of acculturation, contact between carriers of different cultures...or a mixing into new forms of the culture traits and patterns of the several diverse people...” while shamanism can be defined as a system of practice whose practitioners enter into altered states of consciousness by encountering their spirits and wilfully travelling to other realms through interactions to serve their communities (Walsh 1990:11).

The aim of this thesis is to describe how two cultures use indigenous music in their healing rituals. In other words, it is the analysis of musical construction in healing that espouses “the beliefs, expectations, norms, behaviors and communicative transactions associated with sickness and health care seeking...” (Kleiman 1980:42). The analytical focus is, thus, beyond Western medical interpretations. In this regard, a more detailed comparative study of the musical approaches to these two healing rituals becomes a central focus using ethnographic approaches.

This thesis further seeks answers to questions such as: How does drumming, dancing and singing contribute to the healing rituals of the Twelve Apostles Church in Ghana and Shamanism in Finland? How does the indigenous music performed by the Twelve Apostles Church and Shamans affect healers and patients? What does it mean to drum and journey? What understandings and meanings are attached to the causes and conditions of illnesses and the clinical environments in which the sicknesses are addressed? More generally the problem that the study seeks to address is how indigenous music should be seen as an integral part of the healing processes of two geographically distant cultures.

It should be noted however that all these issues are raised and will be addressed within a cultural context. By cultural context, I am not limiting myself to the music itself but trying to approach it in a manner sensitive to the cultural values of the people under

study (Nettl 1983:131). Bruno Nettl opines that “this would amount mainly to the details of ethnography regarding the production, performance, and experience of music” (Nettl 1983:132). I define culture in this context as the way of living and understanding that exists within a group of people. This is culture based on “human knowledge agreed upon by some definable group of people” (Nettl 1983:133) “which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capacities or habits acquired by man as a member of a society” (Tylor 1871:1:1 quoted from Nettl 1983:132). It should be stressed that by this I am not placing the work under cultural anthropological paradigms.

### **1.3 Literature review**

There have been a significant number of contributions from scholars towards the study in Ghanaian music but there is scanty data on music of the Twelve Apostles Church of Ghana. Having said that, there are couple of articles in academic journals written on African Indigenous Churches (AICs) in general, of which the Twelve Apostles Church is highly recognized. All these works make references to the music but do not address it as an integral part of the healing rituals. Breidenbach P. (1978), stated that the Twelve Apostles Church “...used traditional herbal medicines and dancing in order to invoke *sunsum* (spirit) for healing purposes”. From the Journal of African Instituted Churches Theology, vol. II, number 1 (2006), almost all the contributors (Clarke C. R, Akogyeram H. etc.), made mention of the use of music in the rituals of African Indigenous Churches, of which the Twelve Apostles Church in Ghana cannot be left out. Much of what these contributors have said will be quoted to support the arguments that will be raised later.

There are a lot of written works on shamanism in general. Literature on Finnish Shamanism is also quite plentiful in the Finnish language. That notwithstanding, there are equally a number of publications in English on Finnish shamanism. The literature on Finnish shamanism also peripherally addresses shamanic music. It must be emphasised that possession or soulflight as far as shamanism is concerned is culturally bound and for that matter varies, but the technique of communication, the termination in ecstasy or altered state of consciousness is common to all manifestations of shamanism (Siikala 1987, Alho 1999). In the same way, the music performed for shamanic rituals might not be the same but again the concept is virtually the same in all shamanistic manifestations.

Talve (1997:222), for example, writes much about Finnish folk belief and folk medicine, though he fails to elaborate on the role of music in the practices of this folk medicine. He writes briefly about how shamans have been healers for their various communities. According to Talve “the origin and reason for a disease had to be explained by aetiological means...which was done by means of incantations...and of the magic power of chants”. He goes on to say that “the healing of a sick person was a shamanistic rite”. Haggman (1992) and Kuusi (1964:40) mention Väinämöinen, one of the Häme (province) gods, hero and the central character in Finnish folklore, as a singer and a shaman and also a seer. Siikala (1987) elaborates more on the duties of the shaman and states that “the central task of the shaman remains above all the handling of crises threatening the normal life of the tribe, i.e. the shaman is the healer and remover of danger threatening the life of the individual and the community. In describing the “performance technique” of the Shaman, Siikala states that “through the technique of ecstasy the shaman makes contact with his spirit-helpers, the representative of the Beyond...” She elaborates more on the songs of the Chukchi shaman and the tradition. Siikala’s book presents a complete frame for understanding shamanic rituals.

According to Anuchin (1914), shamans have the “task of curing, prophesying, making birth easier...” Pentikäinen (2001:24) writes about what happens when a shaman dies and states that “the noise-making metal parts of the drum with amulet figurines of their spirits have been better preserved in shamanic graves than the drum itself”. He gives this account based upon the finding of a “shaman’s grave in Kuusamo from the 16<sup>th</sup> century when it still was a Lapp territory.” Again Pentikäinen’s account in *Kalevala Mythology* (1999), argues that Finnish shamanism is best traced and understood through Finnish epics and runes. Leisio (2001) elaborates on the octosyllabic metric pattern and shamanism in Eurasia and states that “it was the shaman who had maintained this metric pattern so closely connected to the most holy texts.” According to Helinski (1990), “the octosyllabic meter is closely connected to shamanic traditions both in Samoyedic and Baltic Finnic cultures.” In Jarkko Niemi’s analysis of the Dream Songs of the Nenets, he states that shamanistic songs “may be calls for gods or for the spirit-helpers of the tadyebya or they may tell about his journeys” (Niemi 2001). Once again in Pentikäinen’s description of the bear hunt celebration in Sámi-Finnish myth, he states that “At the bear’s wake, celebrated with many rites, music was played, poems were sung and beer was drunk...” and “Under a shaman’s leadership, the bear is moved from the circles of men to his cosmic place of origin.” The point here is not about the bear but how it is seen as a helping god in Sámi-Finnish shamanic traditions and healing rituals saturated with music.

## **1.4 Structure of the thesis**

The thesis is composed of six chapters. Chapter one is the introduction including the background of the study, the research problem around the insignificant recognition of indigenous music in healing rituals, the aim of the study, the research approach and a literature review on the music and healing rituals of the Twelve Apostles Church in Ghana and Shamanism in Finland. Chapter two presents phenomenology as a conceptual framework and phenomenology of musical experience in a clinical reality. The research method is also presented in this chapter including data collection and data analysis. In chapter three the historical overview of the Fantes and Finnish people including their folk believes and medicine are presented. The influences of colonization and Christianity on these indigenous people are highlighted. In chapter four, the contextualization of music in the healing rituals of the Twelve Apostles Church is presented highlighting particularly the healing procedure, the musical construction of the healing ritual and the musical instruments used in the ritual. Chapter five focuses on the contextualization of music in shamanic healing rituals, focusing on the shamanic journey. This chapter looks at the musical construction of shamanic healing rituals and the musical instruments used in the rituals. Chapters four and five also focus more on the concepts of revelation and divination, invocation, spirit possession, sacred objects and places, and the role of Drums and rhythms in general. Chapter six includes comparative analyses of these two healing rituals. Both the similarities and the differences existing between these two cultures in terms of their approach to music and healing are presented. This chapter presents the conclusions of the study and highlights the technology of music.

## **2 Conceptual framework**

This thesis is about indigenous healing rituals completely filled with musical



phenomena. It is imperative to understand that music in its totality - singing, drumming and dancing are important fundamental elements in these health care experiences. During divinations through trance and spirit possessions “music gives form to a sacred clinical reality” (Friedson 1996). These indigenous musical healings in clinical reality are best understood in their cultural context. The sound of the shamans’ drum, the sound of the ‘*mfaba*’ shakers (gourd rattle) invoking ‘good spirits’ and making ‘bad spirits’ vulnerable through their rhythms, the trance dancing and the singing are very important ritual activities in these clinical realities. This facet of the shaman and the Ghanaian prophets/prophetesses life, full of musical phenomena in a clinical context, is the nexus that runs through this work. But how is this musical healing experience possible? Finding answers to this question and many other related questions paves the way for this phenomenological ethnographic study, which is in itself ethnomusicological.

What is it to drum and journey and in doing so to encounter the spirits? How does singing, drumming and dancing help in diagnosis? Due to the different social and cultural backgrounds and experiences, “what kinds of understandings can we have of such modes of existence?” (Friedson 1996). Singing, drumming and dancing are not ancillary to the healing processes. In the healing rituals of the Twelve Apostles Church and in shamanic rituals like Ndembu and Tumbuka healing rituals accounted for by Victor Turner and Steven Friedson respectively, “the phenomenal surface of things-that which is given first and foremost-is musical experience” (Friedson 1996). In describing the phenomenological assumptions of indigenous healing rituals, such as the ones carried out by the Twelve Apostles Church in Ghana and the ones witnessed in Finland by shamans, is necessary to look more deeply into the musical performances of such rituals. In the same vein, understanding the ontological insight into such experiences by delving into the musical performances of such rituals becomes very important. From the Fantes of Ghana and Shamans in Finland (throughout Africa and in shamanic rituals in general), it is the musical experiences that generate the contact between healers, patients and spirits. The etiological understanding from practitioners who engage in indigenous healing rituals is that “any illness is...ascribed to a disturbance of the balance between man and spiritual or mystical forces, and the aim of health seekers is to restore the equilibrium” (Oosthuizen 1989:30, quoted from Koen 2011:4). To these indigenous healers, that which is physically seen and things that happen spiritually are largely achieved through music and dance. But

“the physical and spiritual dimensions are often viewed not as separate dimensions that must be connected but, rather, as aspects of one reality, where music functions as a balancer of these aspects, facilitating and contextualizing the

ritual performance of healing that occurs through the interaction of physical, spiritual, and musical forces” (Koen 2011:4).

Understanding this “sacred clinical reality” demands working within the framework of phenomenology, where patient, healer and spirit experiences are understood, and understanding the concepts in a cultural context “whose experiential core is musical (Friedson 1996).” This thesis is therefore within the conceptual framework of “a reflexive and phenomenological ethnography...which conveys indigenous and cross cultural epistemologies of healing” (Koen 2011). “It is phenomenology that must serve the purpose, a phenomenology that seeks its ground in specific life words: thus, ethnography. And if ethnography, then the lived experience of research is essential to understanding” (Friedson 1996:xvi).

Based on the epistemological and ontological position of this work, phenomenology is conceptualized as a philosophy in the ideas of Husserl and Heidegger (Goulding 2005:301-302). It is worth noting that in the Tumbuka Ndembu healing, the rituals take place in the church. Friedson therefore argues that, the most important question that needs to be understood is the possibility of this musical experience. Importantly, such musical experience requires doing phenomenology through “participation and openness, not manipulation and control”. Siikala (1989:25) also states that the phenomenological approach has been most widely represented in the shamanic research tradition, besides the historical approach. In Friedson’s phenomenological study on Tumbuka healing, he also posits that in doing ethnography, it becomes essential to touch on the history of the phenomenon or the lived experience under study. Siikala argues that shamanism should be examined as a culturally-bound altered state of consciousness phenomenon and “to try to analyse shamanism and the forms of activity carried out by the shaman on the basis of observations and factual material collected...” (1989:29). But

“...how do we translate the ethnographic field into a phenomenological writing that is not merely the reflection of our projections masquerading as ethnographic truths?...Doing phenomenology as opposed to merely claiming, one-goes beyond a naive subjectivism; it requires a reflexive engagement with the things themselves” (Husserl 1960:12 quoted from Friedson 1996:2).

Research on music and healing in a cultural context has seen a recent critical involvement in the discourse of indigenous healing experiences. This brings about dynamism: diverse places and rituals in indigenous practices where music and the related arts are “empowered with cultural and personal meaning to promote health and facilitate healing” (Koen 2009:5). In dealing with indigenous rituals, the emphasis on

the physical and spiritual realms in both the cause and healing of sicknesses, has been described as a “sacred clinical reality” (Kleinman 1980:241) “which builds on the socially and culturally informed concept of ‘clinical reality” (Koen 2009:5) and its interrelated influences, including “the beliefs, expectations, norms, behaviour, and communicative transactions associated with sickness, health care seeking, practitioner-patient relationships, therapeutic activities, and evaluation of outcomes” (Kleinman 1980:42). Indigenous healing rituals take into serious consideration the spiritual, religious and metaphysical epistemologies and place emphasis on “sacred reality, illness orientation, symbolic intervention, interrogative structure, family-centred locus of control...and substantial expectation of change, even cure” (Kleinman 1988: 120 quoted from Koen 2009:6). James G. Hart states in his article “The Study of Religion in Husserl’s Writings”, that Husserl proposes that mythic culture has to do “with the way a people establishes a practical relation to, deals with, placates, etc. the cosmic powers which pervade the world” (Hart 1994:266). These are culturally informed.

The current work includes an in-depth description of such sacred clinical reality from the Twelve Apostles Church in Ghana and shamanism in Finland and further diverse experiences outside these two geographical areas. I call this phenomenology because it attempts to describe perceived human experiences in a clinical reality. Such attempts are the benchmarks of phenomenological studies.

## **2.1 Phenomenology**

Phenomenology is the philosophical study of the structures of experience and consciousness. In explaining phenomenology, Creswell (1998:51), defines phenomenological study as that which “describes the meaning of the lived experiences for several individuals about a concept or the phenomenon.” Polkinghore (1989), states that phenomenologists carefully learn and analyze the structures of consciousness in human experiences. These human experiences are not fictional or mere abstracts but actual existing entities (Scanlon 2004). In other words, phenomenology is an understanding about how humans view themselves and their environment and their interpretations about their experiences (Willis 2007:53). According to Willis, “Phenomenologists distinguish phenomena (the perceptions or appearances from the point of view of a human) from noumena (what things really are)”. The focus of phenomenology is on understanding from the perspectives of the people under study.

Phenomenologists therefore investigate, describe and interpret phenomena as consciously experienced void of theories about their objective reality.

Phenomenology was founded in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the philosophical perspectives of Edmund Husserl (1895-1938) Creswell but earlier philosophers like Kant and Hegel had already used the term (Moran and Mooney 2002). Phenomenology developed as an alternate approach to scientific methods employed within researches of the social sciences. Husserl's work has been utilised in the study of social and human sciences. Phenomenology attempts to study consciousness through systematic reflection to determine the essential properties and structures of experience. Husserl broke away from the positivist orientation of the science and philosophy which was prevalent in his day and believed that experience is the source of all knowledge. Husserl's emphasis according to Creswell (1998:52), was that researchers ascertain the "essential, invariant structure (or essence) or the intentionality of consciousness" where experience appeal to our outward and inward consciousness centred on memory, image and meaning. David Clarke explains Husserl's intentionality as "meaning that we are conscious because we are conscious of something; that consciousness is a result of our intentions towards the world-including ourselves" (Clarke 1999:1). Husserl's idea about phenomenology was that prejudgement of the researcher in his research was to be set aside (bracketing). He posited that knowledge of essence exists only by 'bracketing' all assumptions about the existence of an external world. This Creswell explains as "a return to natural science" (1998:52) and Pascal (2010:3) describes it as "keeping a distance from one's own subjectivity" and "assumed that the researcher can, and should, separate knowledge from experience". This idea of Husserl was criticised as a spectre of the Cartesian method of analysis which sees the world as objects, sets of objects and objects acting and reacting upon one another.

Martin Heidegger, a contemporary and student of Husserl questioned, criticised and challenged this assumption. Heidegger argued that a person 'Being-in-the-World' is inseparable from the world and that bracketing our experiences of the world is impossible rather, one can understand and become aware of one's assumptions about the world through reflection. This was Heidegger's difference and the beginning of his hermeneutic turn (Cohn 2002, Heidegger 1996, 2001, Guignon 1999 quoted from Pascal 2010). Heidegger's claim on the study of Being (Dasein) is importantly and basically temporal (Heidegger 2000, Watts 2001). In other words, the existence of human beings is based on personal and social historical context. "Temporality can be understood as the past, present and the future and how these shape human existence.

Thus, temporality illustrates being-in-time as developmental and historical, as well as highlighting the impermanence of our existence” (Pascal 2010:4). Researchers approach their research by bringing their own temporal and interpretation of past-present-future to events. For Friedson, “It is there that the ethnographic enterprise unfolds, for this temporal unfolding into experience is where meaning emerges” (1996:3). Understanding such an ethnographic encounter goes beyond the awareness of the world on the part of the ethnographer, but rather requires with putting oneself in a tradition and its events that transfuse and permeates tradition. Phenomenologically, it is a way of getting into contact with a world that exists already. I should state here that a lot of branches or tendencies have developed in phenomenology: Existential (experience of existence), Hermeneutical (experience through interpretation), transcendental (beyond the limits of experience) and Realistic (understanding what is real). This thesis does not focus on these differences but like Lester Embree, I attempt to present a ‘generic view point’ (Embree 1994:29), a view point that attempts to have a balanced mixture in understanding these indigenous musical healing rituals in a clinical reality. Embree argues that phenomenologists with cultural disciplines consider this seriously.

In the book, *Musical Healing in Cultural Contexts*, edited by Penelope Gouk, a pertinent issue is raised as to whether the power in musical healing should be seen as universal or should be based on the cultural understanding of the people involved. He states that “to treat patients, and those whose job it is to reflect on such processes and place them in cultural context” becomes important (Gouk 2000:1). Therefore their concern (Penelope and the other contributors) of musical healing is emphasized based on cultural contexts (p.5) and identifies three over-arching themes: 1. ‘Identities’ which deal with the role of participants during musical healing, 2. ‘sites and technologies of performance’ which focuses on locating particular settings and finding out instruments, musical or otherwise, used, 3. ‘conceptualizing the non-verbal’ which touches on people’s views about music and its healing power and other uses which cannot be verbalized (p.7-9). *Music and Healing in Cultural Context* edited by Penelope Gouk provides a great lens for this current work as well.

## **2.2 Phenomenology of musical experience in a clinical reality**

This study postulates that being-in-the-world in a musical sense can be a strong mode

of lived experience (Friedson 1996:5). The ritual setting and the musical performances which are external, induce (altered) states of consciousness. The internal aspects like bodily movements (dance) and dreams are experienced in different forms other than in normal consciousness. Lived experience, therefore, is a process which has a beginning and ending. In other words, it is structured. Friedson argues that “structured experiences are never isolated affairs but are interconnected to previous experiences of the same nature.” Lived experience in music goes beyond the limits of what happens within the spell of a movement but rather builds on sediments of previous existing experiences. Dilthey (1985:227) metaphorically uses music to make a claim: “Lived experiences are related to each other like motifs in the andante of a symphony: they are unfolded (explication) and what has been unfolded is then recapitulated or taken together (implication). Here music expresses the form of a rich lived experience (quoted from Friedson 1996:6).” Friedson goes on to argue that reflection, representation and indeed a conscious synthesis of past experiences are not part of this lived experience but are “a reality that manifests itself immediately, that we are reflexively aware of in its entirety” (ibid: 224).

In the healing of the Twelve Apostles Church of Ghana and shamanic healing in Finland, numerous encounters with songs, drumming and dancing come together to form one entity and give a beautiful example of lived experience. Music in these healing rituals goes beyond reflection; musical experience is reflexive due to its immediacy. Just like the Tumbuka in a temple, going through healing rituals, the Twelve Apostles Church gathering together in the ‘garden’ (church), playing the ‘mfaba’ (gourd rattle), singing, drumming and dancing “is an intense, intersubjective experience that brings healer, patient, and spirit into an existential immediacy unparalleled in quotidian or ritual life” (Friedson 1996:7). This is the clinical reality saturated with musical phenomena. The shaman’s vehicle for his journey in encountering the spirits is through his drum and the songs he sings. It is no coincidence when one of my informants, Tuomas Rounankari, tells me that “in Finnish mythology the drum is said to be a boat which is a vessel for movement. The drummer (shaman) is therefore consciously using the drum as a transportation device in his travelling of consciousness” (Rounankari T. 2014, field informant). Awareness of this immediacy in its entirety is precisely what forms the musical tradition of trance dancing in the healing rituals of the Twelve Apostles church and shamans respectively.

Friedson’s phenomenological ethnography on Tumbuka musical (indigenous) healing in a clinical reality and cultural context provides a complete frame for the current work

on the Twelve Apostles healing rituals. These two healing rituals (Tumbuka and Twelve Apostles) take place in a church setting. There are of course elements in Friedson's book that indeed highlight other indigenous healing rituals outside the context of the church. In Arthur Kleinman's *Patients and Healers in the Context of Culture*, his first chapter introduces a phenomenological fragment of the Tapei indigenous healing rituals. Kleinman argues that in order to "understand patients and healers, we must study them in a particular cultural environment and then make cross-cultural comparisons to seek generalizations about these fundamental human experiences" (Kleinman 1980:1). In describing the phenomenological experience of Tapei indigenous rituals from Taiwan, which serves as a frame" of his work, Kleinman states that in the healing process "Cult members did not merely trance: they danced, jumped around, sang, exhibited glossolalia, gave voice to strong sexual overtones" (p.315). Carolyn Kenny (2002) in her article, "Keeping the World in Balance- Music Therapy in a Ritual Context", gives an account of David Abrams' (1996) use of phenomenology as a framework to state in a rather strong way that phenomenology led Abrams to the conclusion that the human mind was dependent on our past experiences. Since Abrams was working with sorcerers, healers and magicians, he came to the conclusion that phenomenology is the key to understanding the lived experiences of these people. Kenny states that

"in tribal cultures that which we call 'magic' takes its meaning from that humans, in an indigenous and oral context, experience their own consciousness as simply one form of awareness among many others. It is this, we might say, that defines a shaman: the ability to readily slip out of the perceptual boundaries that demarcate his or her particular culture... His magic is precisely this heightened receptivity to the meaningful solicitations -songs, cries, gestures- of the larger, more-than human field" (Abrams 1996:9 quoted from Kenny (2002)).

The argument put forth by Abrams suggests that lived experiences in these primordial practices exist in multiple intelligences. Kenny continues to give accounts of Salish Guardian Spirit Dance ceremonies and opines that, in these shamanic ceremonies the "experience that all things are connected and interrelated" is paramount (Kenny 2002). She explains further her experience and those of the local people with the Salish Guardian Spirit Dance ceremonies and writes

"This time we could all hear the men singing the Spirit Song from a room in the back. The song came to us sounding like the singing of our ancestors who had moved along. Everyone in the hall became very quiet. We stood. This was new to me. I had never seen or heard the spirit song performed in this way" (Kenny 2002).

This, according to Kenny, informs us about the healing ritual of indigenous ceremonies. On a more general level, Kenny states that music therapy is systematically aligned to

our experiences in life- past, present and future. Healing ritual “relates to the realities which are built around it and which continue in their processes after the completion of a ritual performance” (Kenny 1982:81). Kleinman writes that for the clinician to understand the patient, he must put “himself in the lived experience of the patient’s illness” (Kleinman 1980: 1988:16). Richard M. Zaner seems to agree with Kleinman when he states that it is ‘mutuality’ that comes into play when sick people narrate their experiences and talk about their sickness to clinicians and clinicians work, shaped by the patient’s narration, comes into play to help such patients who cannot help themselves (Zaner 1994:49). Musical phenomena in indigenous healing are very important hence Kenny argues that “Repetition of musical expressions in safe space is critical for efficacy of our work” (Kenny 1989). In a more critical sense, music itself becomes the ritual form of “travelling coded in brains of both patient and the music therapist...and being perceived as cultural rituals in music therapy” (Kenny 2002).

In Mihali Hoppal’s “Music in Shamanic Healing”, she writes that among the several functions and social roles performed by the shaman/shamaness, acting as a healer assumes the most prominence. Hoppal gives an account of Vimos Dioszegi’s encounter from a Karagas (Tofa) shaman:

“...While I slept, my tongue was chanting. It chanted like the shamans do...I was twenty-seven years old when the little spirit used to come to me. He had flown into my mouth and then I used to recite shaman songs. When I had no more strength left to suffer, finally I agreed to become a shaman” (Dioszegi 1968:142-143, quoted from Hoppal 1993:141).

In his other field experiences, Hoppal gives an account of shamans in Tuva. She writes that until shamans in Tuva are given their first drum, they are only given a stick with small rattles for making a sound. According to Hoppal, such was the case also for Kirgizan shamanesses (Hoppal 2003:139). Again in Kenny’s descriptive narrative about the Guarani Society, an indigenous group that has lived in South America for almost 3,000 years, she writes that music takes an important position in the practices of this indigenous group. There is a strong connection between music and health and music becomes an essential element in the healing rituals within the Guarani shamanistic rituals (Carolyn Kenny: interview between Gustavo Gattino and Deise Montardo). In this account she writes, “the experiences and conceptions of the Guarani can aid the music therapist to understand more about music, health and the healing process in the clinical context.”

It is no accident when Benjamin Koen states that his work on *Music, Prayer, and Healing in the Pamir Mountains*, “can be seen as a reflexive and phenomenological



ethnography...which conveys indigenous and cross-cultural epistemologies of healing...” (Koen 2009:11). On her accounts based on field experience, Anna-Leena Siikala affirms that “One form of séance technique common to shamanism throughout Siberia and Central Asia is rhythmic drumming, singing and dancing” (Siikala 1987:44).

Phenomenology as a conceptual framework employed in this work goes with the assumption that the phenomenon as lived experience shows an important relationship (spirits, healers and patients) of meaning and understanding that is embedded in the indigenous healing rituals of the Twelve Apostles Church and Shamanism in Finland. Through this lived experience we may also understand how these healing rituals function. The work illuminates how known and unknown meanings and understandings of the phenomenon embraces itself in experience. How is music treated and what meanings are perceived in the musical healing in a clinical reality of the Twelve Apostles Church and the selected shamanistic practices in Finland? I will investigate these issues in a cultural context.

## **2.3 Research methods**

Current ethnomusicological research must take into consideration musical traditions and musicians that are part of a vast system of interconnected contexts (Dankwah J. W. 2001). An older ethnographic approach that involved travelling to distant locations and studying people who presumably live in cultural isolation has gradually fallen out of vogue (Madden 2013; Nettl 1964; Gupta & Fergusson 1992; Appadurai 1986, 1991 & 1996; Marcus 1995; Marcus & Fischer 1999). In recent times, most ethnographic research takes place within a much shorter period of time and may be multi-sited (Madden 2013:17). In addition, “anthropologists, folklorists (and ethnomusicologists) are typically distinguished by their belief that a (musical) culture can best be understood through intensive work with a relatively small number of its representatives” (Nettl 1964:255).

Indigenous musical experience in healing has been an area that has not received prominent acknowledgement in the research of ethnographers. Evans Pritchard (1937) and Elizabeth Colson (1969) use functionalist approaches; I. M. Lewis’s (1971) proposition of peripheral cults; Janice Boddy (1989) dissected the same cults as

women's discourse; Victor Turner (1968) wrote of Ndembu cults of affliction; yet music has not been treated as an integral element of these indigenous healing systems (cited from Friedson 1996). Friedson rightly states that, "ethnographers have not given musical experience a corresponding prominent place in their research. Music is usually treated as an epiphenomenon, something that accompanies other, more important ritual activities" (Friedson 1996).

The indigenous music used in the healing rituals of the Twelve Apostles Church in Ghana and shamanism in Finland has been no exception to this treatment. But what methods and/or methodological approaches should be employed in doing ethnographic research on indigenous music and healing? Brewer states that methods "are merely technical rules which lay down the procedure for how reliable and objective knowledge can be obtained..." (2002:2). He goes on to say that methods are not just the means of getting information but are also the mechanisms and tools the researcher employs in the entire research planning, analysis and interpretation. Madden re-echoes Brewers point by distinguishing between methods and methodology. He states that "methods are what tools you use; and methodology is an explanation of why you use those tools." (Madden 2013:25). The purpose of this chapter is to present methodological approaches and assumptions underpinning this research. The chapter places the research amongst existing research traditions in musical healing within cultural contexts. Reflexivity as a tool for ethnographic analysis has been employed as the analytical tool for my data collection.

### 2.3.1 Methodological approach of the study

This study has been conducted with an ethnographic approach, with which the musical healing rituals of the Twelve Apostles Church in Ghana and the Shamans in Finland have been systematically studied. The cultural phenomena including their healing rituals, in which music plays a vital part, have been explored. Although ethnography has broadly been defined as 'writing about people,' it also has a narrower meaning of ethnically, culturally or socially writing about specific groups of people (Madden 2013:16). Using this research approach, fieldwork has been conducted within two cultures: Ghanaian and Finnish. I have been observing the lives of the Ghanaian people who belong to the Twelve Apostles Church for more than six years. However, the foundation of shamanic healing rituals in Finland has been described in the course of my two and half years studies in Sibelius Academy, Finland. The observations and the

contacts with healers and patients both in Ghana and in Finland have been aggrandized through a thorough examination of some of the literature on Ghanaian and Finnish culture respectively. The ethnography presented is a study which takes into accounts a brief history and in-depth analysis of a specific group of people and their healing rituals. The text therefore is a descriptive, interpretive and explanatory story about the culture and behavior of the people observed. Finding out about the musical experience in these indigenous healing rituals requires field work - an ethnography that investigates possibilities and involves participation and openness. Essentially, it requires doing phenomenology (Friedson 1996; Palmer 1969:215). The methodological emphasis therefore has been on exploring social phenomena of the healing rituals of these traditions and the intrinsic component of music.

Objective epistemology and ontological belief that reality is socially constructed has been prudent for the study (Ybema et al. 2010). According to Walsham (1993), the epistemological view based on interpretive analysis stems from the fact that knowledge of reality is gained only through social constructions such as language, shared meanings, tools, documents etc. In a likewise manner, Kaplan and Maxwell (1994), state that interpretive research projects focus on deep human sense making. In other words, advocates for the interpretive analytical approach posit that social phenomena must be understood based on the social contexts in which they are constructed through their activities. But most researchers have argued about the objectivity of ethnographic (qualitative) studies, raising issues on how to achieve knowledge and generalization and also on subjectivity as a building block for ethnographic research and writing. I would therefore want to touch a little bit on reflexivity later as a means of validating the objectivity of this research and indeed most qualitative research.

### 2.3.2 Data collection

Two major approaches have been used for the data collection of this work. Both primary and secondary approaches to data collection have been utilized because both are appropriate and complimentary in achieving the objectives of the study. They also contribute to the quality of the data (Kumar 2005: 118). The primary data approach has been used in ascertaining first-hand information from informants through interviews and observations, whereas the secondary data collection approach, which provides second-hand data, was obtained from sources such as books, articles, journals, magazines and periodicals to obtain historical and other types of information.

Ethnographer Jihad Racy also resorted to these combined approaches. Even though his work centered on the history of the record industry in Egypt, about which information was mostly from printed and archival sources, he still interviewed record collectors (Racy 1976). Literature on indigenous music and healing rituals globally has been consulted, making the ethnographic-studies resources presented here multi-sited (Marcus 1995).

The field research has been conducted in Ghana and in Finland for the Twelve Apostles Church and Shamanism respectively. In Ghana, data was collected in villages in the central region such as Anomabu, Brofoyedur, Kormantse and Pedu. In Finland, data was taken in Helsinki, Lahti and Tampere. The research also includes data produced from other places such as Estonia and Borneo (Malaysia), where shamanic healing rituals were witnessed and an interview granted. Eight months have been spent collecting data though initial interviews and information was solicited in the year 2011 in Ghana when working on the documentary 'Echoes of the Ancestors' with Caroline Hopkins, a cinematographer from Ireland. This project helped me to observe and audio-visually document healing rituals of the Pedu branch of the Twelve Apostles Church in Cape Coast. Information on shamanic healing rituals with indigenous music was also investigated beginning in 2013 when I commenced my studies in the Sibelius Academy, Finland.

### 2.3.3 Participant observations and interviews

Data on music has been collected in diverse ways with varying approaches for different reasons. Some missionaries and ethnographers have collected songs based on cultural context without analysis or interpretations (1890-1930). From the 20<sup>th</sup> century, fieldwork also took the form of collecting artefacts with the sole aim of 'preserving and recording a total musical corpus'. In recent years, data has been acquired by recording musical artefacts where researchers have extended their stay within a community. Such research focuses on cultural context, studies the local music and attempts to comprehend a whole musical system from a particular small tribal or folk culture. All these approaches place the fieldworker in the role of observer (Nettl 1964:252-253).

One of the ways of collecting primary data has been through observation, which Kumar (2005:119) defines as "a purposeful, systematic and selective way of watching and listening to an interaction or phenomenon as it takes place." LeCompte and Schensul

(1999) emphasize that the ethnographer is both an observer and a participant. For Nettl (1964), “emphasis on participation is characteristic of” ethnographic studies. In other words, the ethnographer lives, does, eats, works and experiences the daily practices of the people he or she under-studies. Two types of observations have been identified, that of participant and non-participant, and this study has involved both, even though the participant aspect of the observations has been utilized more. I chose both types so I am explicitly aware of the small details of the events and cultural life I am studying (Spradley 1980). At some point I had to perform with the musicians during some of the rituals and at other times I had to drink and dine with the group. All the observations of the research were recorded audio-visually so that I could review and listen several times to analyze the data well, before drawing any conclusions.

As I observed proceedings in the field, a lot of questions came to mind and quite a number of people were spotted, with whom arrangements were made for interactions. Kumar (2005:123) has defined interview as the “interaction between two or more individuals with a specific purpose in mind.” I have approached my interviews in a more flexible way by using semi-structured and sometimes unstructured interview approaches. I have used the unstructured interview approach to get my informants “to open up and let them express themselves in their own terms, and at their own pace” (Bernard 2006:211). Some elite or bureaucratic members (so to speak) of the group under study have been interviewed, so building an interview guide was prudent for me, though it was not followed rigidly. In all, the lived experience of the people in relation to their cultural life and healing processes has been the central focus, but in getting revealing answers to my interview questions, it was necessary to use unstructured interview approaches in building and guiding my semi structured interviews.

Between June and July 2014, another field trip was organized to the central region of Ghana where four congregations of the Twelve Apostles church were visited. The church and healing services were recorded in both audio and video formats. During this period healers known as prophets/prophetesses and patients were spotted and an interview session was later arranged. I was able to visit the National Headquarters of the church on three occasions. In the first visit, I was a non-participant observer but in the subsequent visits I participated in the service and the rituals. Interview sessions were arranged where three national leaders of the church were interviewed. They told me the history of the church and the rationale behind their musical approach to healing. I observed different healing services/rituals for a period of three weeks, from different congregations or ‘gardens’ as called by those who belong to this church and

interviewed musicians, patients and healers. I was privileged to interview one of the renowned leaders of the church who resides in Cape Coast. It was not surprising when one of the healers referred to him as ‘one with the church history and doctrines written on his heart.’ Other members of the congregations were also interviewed.

In Finland, shamanic rituals were witnessed in Lautsia near Tampere during the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations of Shamaaniseura ry. I observed these rituals and arranged interview sessions with some key members and other personalities. Three shamans were interviewed. I was privileged to interview two Finnish scholars who have dedicated much time on shamanic rituals, Ilpo Saastamoinen who has specialized in the analysis of shamanic music and folklorist Juha Pentikäinen. My principal informant, shamaness Chirstiana Harle, a well known Finnish shaman (from North Karelia) had been organizing healing sessions also in different parts of the world and I was fortunate to be invited to witness five days of shamanic healing rituals she organized in Estonia. Five patients willingly allowed me to interview them after the rituals. Most of the healing sessions were audio-visually recorded. With Christiana, we became so close that I could question her at any time and she was always willing to give answers to my questions. Furthermore, an interview was also granted to me by a renowned Finnish musician, Tuomas Rounakari, artistically known as a “shaman violinist”, who writes and performs music using shamanic musical resources. A workshop organized by the University of Helsinki on Nganasan shamanistic rituals was also attended giving me more insight. In Lahti, shamanic rituals were witnessed from shaman Markku and an interview was also arranged.

In Ghana, all the interviews were conducted in the Akan dialects, Twi and Fante, which are very similar to each other due to the fact that most of the informants were semi-literate. Some of the informants could speak English but I opted for the local dialect to find the real vocabulary and terminology they use during these healing rituals. In Finland, only two speakers at the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration gave their presentations in the Finnish language. The recordings were translated to me by a native speaker who also helped me in the transcription. Coming from a Ghanaian traditional background has also facilitated my epistemological understanding of the use of indigenous music for such healing rituals, as I have witnessed similar rituals in my village shrine and have participated in the ritual drumming, singing and dancing. This has really helped my understanding of the healing processes of these two religious bodies that use indigenous music and dance and has also heightened my structural analysis of such ritualistic music and dance.

### 2.3.4 Data analysis

I have analyzed this data based on the common features most qualitative and/or ethnographic research follows: organisation of the data, note-taking and making sense of the data, and more characteristically describing and interpreting the data (Creswell 1998:148). In my descriptions and interpretations of the data collected, I have not removed myself, but rather assumed that my ethnography will provide a reflective element. However, focusing on subjectivity (intersubjectivity) and objectivity with emphasis on validity, especially in reflexivity, issues arise in ethnographic studies like this. Positivists for example have questioned the objectivity in ethnographic research and often claim that “reality can be approached (approximately) only through the utilization of methods that prevent human contamination of its apprehension” (Guba & Lincoln 2005). Guba and Lincoln go on to say that for foundationalists, “the foundations of scientific truth and knowledge about reality reside in the rigorous application of testing phenomena against a template as much devoid of human bias, misperception, and other idols as instrumentally possible.” Polkinghorne also writes that

“The idea that the objective realm is independent of the knowers subjective experiences of it can be found in Descartes’s dual substance theory, with its distinction between the objective and subjective realms...In the splitting of reality into subject and object realms, what can be known objectively is only the objective realm. True knowledge is limited to the objects and the relationships between that exist in the realm of time and space. Human consciousness, which is subjective, is not accessible to science, and thus not truly knowable” (1989:23).

In a rebuttal, Guba and Lincoln state that “templates of truth and knowledge can be defined in a variety of ways: as the end product of rational processes, as the result of experiential sensing, as the result of empirical observation, and others. In all cases however, the referent is the physical or empirical world: rational engagement with it, experience of it, and empirical observation of it.” Madden (2013:20), claims that “if the ethnographer is both a method (tool) and methodological assessor, we need to assess validity in ethnography with an eye on the ethnographer’s influence on the research process”. Koen similarly complicates the issue of transparency and accuracy by saying that if researchers

“are deeply involved in the experiences about which we write, especially if our presence and engagement in the field is welcomed, and our participation encouraged and at times requested, even demanded by local associates and informants, there is a double-edged sword that we must confront and balance-to artificially lessen one’s role for the sake of disciplinary conventions and so-called “objectivity” in an ethnography where one is clearly engaged, not only as a way of knowing or being, but as a response to local community members, can be just as unethical as exaggerating one’s role in an experience in which one is a peripheral observer” (2011:12).

I therefore want to touch on reflexivity as the main approach to the analysis of this data. Like Koen, “Reflexivity then, becomes a vehicle of ethics in ethnography, a way to balance one’s writing with the actual experiences from which the ethnography emerges” (2011:12).

### 2.3.5 Reflexivity

Like Madden who began his doctoral research in his home town with the assumption that a reflexive element would be evident in his ethnography (Madden 2013), and Bakan, who assumes the “central character of the story” about his ethnography on Balinese Gamelan (Bakan 199:17), I began this research with the ethnography paradigm in a more familiar social and geographical environment (my country Ghana and in Cape Coast where I have lived for more than a decade) with a reflexive approach in mind. I am an Akan and have lived, witnessed and performed for such healing rituals all my life, so very typically I already have subjective attachments to this group. My subjective engagement, however, gives rise to a strong reflexive element in my research (Madden 2013:20-21). This is also reflected in my approach to shamanic healing rituals in Finland, since they have similar approaches (this will be discussed later). Reflexivity therefore is the process of reflecting critically on the self as a researcher, the “human as instrument” (Guba & Lincoln 1981).

Four forms of reflexivity running through the social sciences have been identified by Marcus: “the basic or null form, sociological reflexivity, anthropological reflexivity and feminist reflexivity” (Marcus 1998 cited from Madden 2013:21-22). According to Marcus (1998: 193), ‘the null form of reflexivity is the self critique, the personal quest, playing on the subjective, the experimental, and the idea of empathy’. He goes on to say that this approach presents the ‘introspective voice’ and doesn’t ‘challenge the paradigm of ethnographic research’. Marcus sees this approach as problematic because it “does not tell us anything about the people who are the subjects of the research” (Marcus 1998:193). Marcus calls the second Bourdieu’s ‘sociological reflexivity’ and describes it as “tied to the commitment to sustain objectivity, the distance and abstraction of theoretical discourse, and empiricism as distinct historical contributions of sociology (and a related social theory) as a discipline. With such a commitment, ethnography retains its identity as a method and reflexivity becomes valuable only in methodological terms as a research tool” (1998: 194, cited from Madden 2013). Anthropological and feminist reflexivity are the other two forms Marcus explains as



knowing the meaning of politics of positionality. We “forgo nostalgic ideas of discovery” and appreciate “the complex ways that diverse representations have constituted anthropology’s subject matter” says Marcus in defining anthropological reflexivity (Marcus 1998:197 cited from Madden 2013). Feminist reflexivity “argues for partial truths that help to more faithfully represent the real world than totalising representations, and as such create a reflexive form of objectivity” (Madden 2013). Marcus also sees this as a direct reflection of Bourdieu’s sociological reflexivity.

Madden, however, describes Marcus’s anthropological and feminist reflexivities as “personal-political reflexivity”, an approach I have used in my data analysis. Like Madden, “in my case a critical appreciation of positionality is a tool with which to check my ethnographic baggage for presumption and prejudice; to remind myself I bring just one perspective to ethnography and that perspective is informed by my own upbringing, education and history” (2013:22).

My overall analysis of the data collected, which is dealt with in the subsequent chapters, focuses on sociological reflexivity and a personal-political reflexivity (from anthropology and feminism) -(Madden 2013:22). Personal reflections on my subjective and objective approach has helped better shape my understanding of these healing rituals. I critically consider the location of the research and on the influences my identity has on the creation of the text. I have used reflexivity as the basis of my analysis because of the understanding that ‘reflexivity is not really about ‘you, the ethnographer’; it’s still about ‘them, the participants’ (Madden 2013:23). It is a way of knowing myself better, and being aware of my influence on the research so I can present a more reliable picture about the people I’m writing about, the participants (Madden 2013). It is worth stating at this point also, that the analysis of Finnish shamanic healing rituals has been explained with the help of literature on Siberian shamanic practices. The reason is that Finnish shamanism mirrors Siberian shamanic traditions. In the book ‘Finland a Cultural encyclopaedia’ published by the Finnish Literature Society, it states emphatically that “Finnish folklore coincides with Siberian traditions in that shamanic competence is said to be inherited, both physically and mentally” (Finnish Literature Society Editions 684:288).

In conclusion, the analysis of data focused on the description of the healing phenomena and especially on the significance of indigenous music on these healing rituals via my interaction, participation and interviews informed through my reflexive thinking. The use of the visual data (videos and pictures), have created enormous possibilities for the

analysis. Ball and Smith (2001) state that there are intrinsic aspects of culture that are visual and their understanding can be grasped only via their visual representations. However, the analyses of these healing rituals which are in themselves social phenomena are not separated from the social settings in which they are generated (Atkinson & Delamont 2005). Consequently, analysis was done utilizing similar and different approaches of the healing rituals from the various locations where they were witnessed, not only with regard to shamanic healing and the healing of the Twelve Apostles Church, but also the different congregations.

### **3 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW**

In this chapter, I present an historical overview of the Fantes, one of the dominant groups in Ghana where the Twelve Apostles Church was born. In understanding the healing rituals of the Twelve Apostles Church, it becomes necessary to delve into the Akan folk beliefs alongside their folk medicine. The Akans are the biggest ethnic group in Ghana and made up of several tribes including the Ashantis and the Fantes. Colonization and Christianity has affected the Twelve Apostles Church to a great extent;

this chapter therefore highlights these influences. African Indigenous Churches sprang up as a way of Africanizing Christianity and bringing back the African identity in Christian worship. But how did the AICs influence the Twelve Apostles Church in their practices? This chapter discusses the possible answers to this as well as outlining the formation of the Twelve Apostles Church. This chapter also presents a brief prehistory of the Finnish people in order to understand the background of Finnish folk beliefs, folk medicine and shamanism. I have also explored the prehistoric aspect due to the fact that shamanism was common by then and easily understood from that time period. It must be stated that even though shamanism is practiced in Finland today, it is not as common as other folk healings. How has colonization and Christianity influenced Finnish shamanic practices? The chapter presents answers to this question.

### **3.1 Brief history of the Fantes of Ghana**

Ghana, formerly Gold Coast, is located on the West Coast of Africa, sharing borders on the West by Ivory Coast, East by Togo, North by Burkina Faso and with the Atlantic Ocean by the Southern shores in the Gulf of Guinea. The land area is estimated to be 238,533 square kilometres. In K. Nkansa-Kyeremateng's *Akan Heritage*, he argues that investigating the history of Africa and for that matter West Africa, is a difficult task because the history "tends to be buried in the darkness of the past" (K. N. Kyeremateng 1999:20). In Eugene L. Mendonsa's *West Africa, An Introduction to its History, Civilization and Contemporary Situation*, however, he argues that even though it is assumed and often said that Africa has no history, linguistic studies and some archaeological findings prove that there was a Bantu migration which took place before 7,000 BP (Before Present) (Mendonsa 2002:208). Those who migrated and settled in the Savannah area eventually formed the Sudanic Kingdoms that included Tekrur, Kanem-Bornu, Ghana, Mali and Songhai.

It is said that modern Ghana is named after the medieval West African Ghana Empire (c. 300-c.1235). In the Ghana Kingdom before its fall in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, a sub-group called the Akans moved southward and founded several nation-states. The other sub-groups were the Mole/Dagbani, the Ewes and the Ga-Adangme. These groups, being the major ethnic groups (people or tribes), are linguistically and culturally homogeneous (Kyeremateng 1999; Warren 1986). In the *Akan of Ghana, An Ethnographic Literature*, Dennis M. Warren writes that the Akans are made up of the

Asante, Fante, Brong/Bono, Twi (Twifo), Wasa, Denkyira, Sehwi, Assin, Adansi, Akyem (Akim), Akwapim and Akwamu (Warren 1986:7). The Akans are also said to form about 50% of the Ghanaian population, with the Asante people being the most popular, followed by the Fante people (Warren 1986). Fantes are believed to be the first of the Akans to migrate and settle along the coastal belt of Ghana (Kyeremateng 1999:46). They settled around Mankesim, Saltpond, Ekumfi, Gomoaman and Anomabo (Kyeremateng 1999:46-48; Buah 1980:14-15). In Buah's *A History of Ghana*, he states that the factors that contributed to the founding of settlements outside Mankesim were due to the increase in population around the area, the outbreak of civil war and most importantly trade connections with the Europeans (Buah 1980:15; Mendonsa2002:350). For the purposes of this study, it is worth stating that currently, Ghana is administratively divided into ten (10) regions. Emphasis however is on the Central region where the Fante people migrated to and where the data collection of the study took place.

<b>Region</b>	<b>Capital City</b>
Asante	Kumasi
Bono/Ahafo	Sunyani
Central	Cape Coast
Eastern	Koforidua
Greater Accra	Accra
Northern	Tamale
Upper East	Bolgatanga
Upper West	Wa
Volta	Ho
Western	Takoradi

It must be noted that some people of the Western region are also Fantes, but the current study takes into consideration only the Fantes found in the central region that belong to the Twelve Apostles Church. This is also to say that even though other ethnic groups have migrated to the Fante land (central region), geographically, the Fantes are believed to be the custodians of this religious group.

### 3.1.1 Akan folk beliefs and folk medicine

Some people are dependent on their physical senses in appreciating the world and the things around them. There are others, however, whose livelihoods are centred around

superstitious beliefs based on supernatural influences. The cultural cosmology of the Akan people highly displays such superstitious belief systems. Kyeremateng, therefore defines a belief system as “what any people’s religion has fashioned as constituting the sum total of the people’s experience, which they are expected to observe in order to preserve the community” (Kyeremateng 1999:92).

The Akan culture believes and worships created things rather than the Creator, who is only imagined. Researchers (Kyeremateng 1999; Warren 1986; Buah 1980; Mbiti 1977) argue that geographic location is a factor in determining which item is to be worshipped. Kyeremateng, for example, states that those who find themselves in the jungle might worship beasts, rivers, mountains etc. whereas those around the deserts might worship spatial bodies like the sun, moon and stars (Kyeremateng 1999:93). In this regard, man related to and even depended on powers emanating from nature as far as his environment is concerned.

For the Akan, the family (Kinship or kindred group) is made up of the living, the dead and even the unborn. Religion itself and religious activities therefore become communal, involving all family members. Kyeremateng summarizes by saying that the life cycle of man (birth through to death) and his well-being, including that of the community, are all important aspects of the Akan’s religious interests (Kyeremateng 1999:94-95). Akans believe in spirits. This is twofold: the supreme spirit (Supreme God) and the lesser spirits (Lesser gods). As far as worshipping spirits is concerned, Kyeremateng writes that the Akans believe in the Supreme God but never worship him. The reason was that he was too great and remote to receive the people’s worship. Instead the supreme spirit (God) was worshipped through the lesser (spirits) gods. These lesser gods were seen in inanimate natural objects like rivers, tress, rocks etc. and served as intermediaries between the Supreme God and man (Kyeremateng 1999:95-96). This mythical orientation has guided the Akans belief system even in contemporary times (Mendonsa 2002). Through their agents (priests and priestesses) they receive information from the Supreme God to man when they are possessed by the lesser spirits (Warren 1986:25; Kyeremateng 1999:95-96).

Akans also believe in the spirit of Mother Earth which is referred to as Asaase Yaa. The belief is that the spirit of Mother Earth supports life. Therefore, before preparing land for farming, building and even digging the graveyard, sacrifices are made and libation is poured to seek permission from the Earth spirit. With the concept of Asamando (next world), the Akans believe in life after death. Kyeremateng gives accounts of the way

Akans make provisions for the dead before burial. Kyeremateng goes on to say that this belief explains why prominent people in the Akan communities like chiefs were buried along with human sacrifices with the understanding that the dead chief would need the services of his servants (Kyeremateng 1999:97). This practice is no more.

Akans also believe in ghosts and assert that when a man passes from this physical life to the spiritual life, he manifests into a ghost. The Akans belief in ancestors is actually very common. Kyeremateng defines ancestors as “people who mattered in tribal and national affairs while they lived” (Kyeremateng 1999:98). It is believed that the living sees ancestors as continuing their life in another world known as *Asamando*. They are also believed to be keeping an eye on their relations who are living on earth. They therefore punish the living that break taboos but protect those who observe them. Ancestors according to the Akan culture are always offered a drink in the form of libation.

There is a strong belief in witchcraft. Jealousy, hatred, envy and other negative feelings are believed to cause harm. The root of such behavior is said to be in witchcraft. Kyeremateng states that in the view of the Akan, accidents like crop failure, the death of children, illnesses and others are attributed to witchcraft operated by an enemy or opponent (Kyeremateng 1999:100; Mendonsa 2002:350). Practitioners of witchcraft are believed to be malicious, and in order to prevent them from harming someone, one has to seek protection from the lesser gods (*abosom*) from the shrines. It is claimed that the gods are able to restrain, deter and punish these witchcraft practitioners. The belief in witchcraft and malicious spirits paves the way to understanding folk medicine in the Akan culture.

The Akan believes in medicine men that protect people against illnesses and also stop danger from befalling the people. Some even prevent death. In most cases, the medicine men have been both the priests and priestesses, who serve the lesser gods at the shrines. Warren (1986:29) states that “traditional medical treatment is of a religious nature”. They believe that bad spirits can cause illnesses just as offending the ancestors can also cause diseases. Folk healers (medicine men) who are normally priests and priestesses of the lesser gods consult their gods before they administer healing. It is believed that the gods direct them as to what to do and communicate to them which herbs or medicine(s) are to be used to cure the illnesses. It is also claimed that there are instances in which the lesser gods have refused to help in a diagnosis, due to the gravity of an offense by a patient or his family to the ancestors or the gods, and

the result has been death. However, if such wrongs are corrected by confessing and doing the right thing, health is restored. Some magic practitioners, considered to be “folk healers,” are also believed to be able to heal by manipulating the natural or supernatural forces (Kyeremateng 1999:95-98; Warren 1986:29-31). Warren classifies folk healers into three groups: the herbalist (*dunsini*), who deals with charms for witchcraft (*abirifo*; *bayie*) and the priest/priestess (*bosomfo komfo*). The priest and/or priestess however, are believed to possess the qualities of the medicine men (Warren 1986:31).

From the above discussions it can be deduced that the Akan's, and indeed most Africans' as stated by Munyaradzi Mawere, belief systems are based on these three worlds- “the human world, the spiritual world and the natural world...the spirit mediums act as intermediaries between mortal beings and the “living dead” or ancestral spirits” (Mawere 2011:58). It is worth stating here that “The Akan world is metaphysical, not scientific,” (Warren 1986:23) based upon what has been discussed so far with their belief system, which has been an integral part of their lives.

The issue of worship should be reemphasized because it is very important as far as the Akan indigenous religion is concerned. Music is the nexus between the supernatural, the gods and the community. The musical performance itself is religious in nature as stated by Alexander Akorlie Agordoh in his *Studies in African Music* (Agordoh 2010:38). Agordoh states emphatically that in such indigenous worships, that which charges the atmosphere and helps in the manifestation of the gods and spirits, is music, drumming, singing and dancing (Agordoh 2010:39). Therefore, Warren stresses the fact that for the Akan, it is difficult to separate music from dancing and drama (Warren 1986:57). Through these mediums, the gods communicate what to do, in terms of healing or calamities for individuals and the community at large. Akan music to a larger extent reveals a great deal about their sentiments and most importantly their beliefs.

### 3.1.2 Colonization and Christianity

Africans had a unique way of worship until they had contact with Islam and Christian missionaries. This section discusses how colonization and Christianity affected the African and Ghanaian concept of worship.

West Africa served as the central commercial-way through which goods, services,

people and information flowed (Mendonsa 2002:207). With West Africa's wealth in terms of gold and other precious minerals and Timbuktu serving as a commercial centre, traders from other parts of the world were attracted to the region. Kyeremateng writes that "by the 11<sup>th</sup> century, interest in West Africa had developed religious wings" (Kyeremateng 1999:22). Historically, Islam made its way into Africa through trade some thousand years ago, even before Christianity. It gradually made its way into the circles of West African traders and the Sudanic states, including Ghana (Mendonsa 2002:217).

It is believed that the Portuguese were the first Europeans to visit Ghana in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. It is also said that due to the abundance of gold found primarily in this region, they named the country "Gold Coast" (Kyeremateng 1999:1; Mendonsa 2002:241-242; 271). The Dutch, the Danes and the Swedes also came to Ghana and the British were the last. The country was controlled by the British, Portuguese and Scandinavian powers. Forts (fortresses) and castles were built: Sao Jorge da Mina (Elmina castle) by the Portuguese, Komenda and Kormantsi forts by the Dutch. When the Danes left the Gold Coast, the British took over all the coastal forts making them the dominant European power and subsequently made the Gold Coast a British Crown Colony in 1873 (Mendonsa 2002:271).

With the coming of the Europeans, Christianity was established in Ghana, which took place primarily during the colonial era (Mendonsa 2002:97; 351). Mendonsa (2002:351) states that "the Fante beliefs have changed somewhat due to their contact with Europeans". Historically, the Roman Catholic and Anglican missionaries were the first to come to the Gold Coast in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. A number of protestant churches also grew out of the 19<sup>th</sup> century missionary works by the Europeans. It is worth mentioning that Western Christianity came with its characteristically western practices, thereby branding African forms of religious expression pagan, as stated by Humphrey Akogyeram in his article, "African Indigenous Churches and the Ministry of the Holy Spirit". Akogyeram states that European "missionaries suppressed the real spirit of the Africans and they even taught that for a person to be a true Christian, he/she must speak and act like a European". Drumming and dancing in worship was made illegal because for the Europeans they were associated with paganism (Mendonsa 2002:97). Through this and other forms of suppression, Africans saw the need to fight for an African sense of identity in the new Christian faith and a possible African way of worship (Akogyeram 2006:1-2). This brought about the formation of what we call the African Independent Churches, or African Indigenous /Instituted Churches (AICs) or



separatist/syncretic churches as used by John Mbiti (Mendonsa 2002; Humphrey 2006; Mbiti 1977; Ayegboyin & Ishola 1997).

### 3.1.3 African Indigenous Churches (AICs)

The formation of AICs and their practices present a framework for understanding the practices of the Twelve Apostles Church. Here, I discuss the factors that led to the formation of AICs alongside the African's understanding of Christianity.

M. L. Daneel describes the AICs "as protest movements in relation to oppressive colonial government, as reactionary groups that resent the paternalistic approach of missionaries or as deliberate attempts to adapt Christian belief and worship to their specific ethno-religious background" (Daneel 1974:17 quoted from Humphrey 2006). The establishment of these churches was in itself a way for Africans to worship God using African idioms and modes of understanding. The main aim of the AICs was to Africanize or Indigenize Christianity from/with an African perspective, and fight for their freedom from missionary domination (Mbiti 1977:233). David Barrett argued that "independency reflects a rebellion against a Christianity that had become over Europeanized" (Barrett 1968 quoted from Ayegboyin & Ishola 1997:23). For the Africans, worshipping in the mission churches was terribly dull. Mbiti wrote that the mission churches foreign tunes have less rhythm and the music goes with no bodily movements, no clapping of hands and no "twisting the loins as a religious expression". For Mbiti, the formation of the AICs was a way to bring back the disintegrating traditional religious unity and togetherness (Mbiti 1977:234). Independence was a major reason for breaking away from mission churches. The Africans wanted to organize, control, govern, support and take leadership roles (Humphrey 2006; Mbiti 1977; Ayegboyin & Ishola 1997).

In Africa, the most important part of worship is the answer to the individual's spiritual problems and needs, including health. Mendonsa remarks that the African Christian is not particular about salvation, but observed rather that "West Africans seemed to be more interested in healing and dealing with misfortune or uncertainty in the present" (Mendonsa 2002:97; Mbiti 1977). In African traditional belief, misfortunes, diseases and bad luck in general are believed to be caused by evil spirits, witches and wizards. People are therefore afraid of such spiritual forces and the Western (missionary) churches could not provide answers for such spiritual concerns raised by Africans. AICs therefore became a means by which to answer such spiritual problems. Their practices

were believed to counteract such spiritual powers and address spiritual concerns by giving solutions during outbreaks of plague, famine, economic depression and most importantly, health restoration (Mendonsa 2002:97).

Characteristically, the syncretic understanding of Christianity seemed to be working. It comes as no surprise when these churches are also referred to as spiritual churches. In Ghana, the Akans, and especially the Fantes, call it “sunsum sore,” meaning spiritual church (Ayegboyin & Ishola 1997:15). Ayegboyin and Ishola give a vivid explanation to the main characteristics of Indigenous Churches which is worth touching on. One characteristic feature is the emphasis these churches place on prayer. They believe that through prayers all their problems will be solved and they will be successful in all their dealings. Another characteristic feature is the emphasis on the Spiritual. As stated earlier, failures in life, misfortunes, illnesses, poverty, barrenness and all negative things are given spiritual meaning and interpretation. They encounter the Holy Spirit through dreams, visions and prophetic pronouncements. The interest in divine healing is another characteristic of the AICs. “Indeed sickness is by far the most common reason which people give for attending AICs” (Ayegboyin & Ishola 1997:29). In most cases it was claimed that where western medicine had failed in the treatment of certain illnesses, those who resorted to such churches received their healing accordingly. In addition, women were given prominent positions in these churches. In most of these churches in Ghana for example, the leaders are women (prophetesses). Ayegboyin and Ishola opine that women who belong to these churches are very vibrant because they initiate songs, dancing and clapping of hands, get more possessed and share testimonies more than men do (Ayegboyin & Ishola 1997:30).

Most importantly these churches place emphasis on African world-view. Their practices, though based on Christian principles so to speak, highlight more the African world-view; in effect Christianity was indigenized or Africanized. This gave the Ghanaian people more room to exercise a freer form of worship. Each and every member is fully involved in the worship with shouting, clapping, singing and dancing. Most of the songs are based on their traditions. They were free to wear their traditional clothes and sandals to church (Ayegboyin & Ishola 1997:27-33). Among such indigenous churches in Ghana is the Twelve Apostles Church, which is the central focus for this thesis.

### 3.1.4 History of the Twelve Apostles Church

In this section, I outline the history of the Twelve Apostles Church and the factors that influence their practices. How did the name Twelve Apostles come about? Why is the church referred to by different names? These are two of the questions this section addresses.

The Twelve Apostles Church is believed to be the first African Indigenous Church in Ghana (Ayegboyin & Ishola 1997:107). The church is 'nicknamed: Nackabah. It is also known as the church of William Harris, Awoyo and probably many other names. My informants claim the various names have come about as a result of the historical transformations the church has passed through. Ayegboyin & Ishola posit that the name "The Church of William Harris' came about due to the fact that the church was established based on the evangelistic works of the Liberian Grebo (Kru) preacher and Prophet, William (Wade/Waddy) Harris" (Ayegboyin & Ishola 1997:107). According to one of my informants, Harris entered Ghana in 1914 from the western province to Axim and Appollonia Districts, where the church began. Even though it is on record that William Harris did not form a church (Ayegboyin & Ishola 1997:49), the Twelve Apostles Church believes that it was his converts who came together to form the church based on his teachings and baptism. Two important converts of Harris, Grace Tani and John Nackabar, were the ones who actually started the church (Ayegboyin & Ishola 1997:107) in late 1917 and early 1918 through their mobilization after Harris had left Ghana. Article 41 of the Twelve Apostles Church bye-laws and constitution states:

"The doctrine of the Twelve Apostles Church of Ghana shall be proclaimed upon the same pattern procured by the direction of the Holy Spirit (John 15:13-14) through Prophetess Grace Thane I and Prophet John Nackabah I, both of Blessed Memory, who through the Teaching of Waddy Harris brought the Church into existence" (quoted from the bye-laws and constitution of the Twelve Apostles Church).

Prophet White, one of my informants, claims that Grace Tani (also spelt Thane) and John Nackabar were even pagan worshippers who got converted by Harris. In fact, this does not come as a surprise since most of Harris's converts were described as 'traditionalists', superstitious, pagan and fetish worshippers (Ayegboyin & Ishola 1997:21-25).

The name 'Nackabar' is obviously based on the name of the co-founder John Nackabar, who was seen as the main administrator and de-facto leader of the church (Ayegboyin & Ishola 1997:108). Tani was more interested in the healing and divination aspect of the service. Until now, the name Nackabar is still very vibrant and well known, even

more so than the current name, Twelve Apostles.

The name 'Awoyo', according to the national secretary of the church, Apostle Otoo, came as a result of a regular greeting from the Grebo language in Liberia. According to Apostle Otoo, Harris used to greet the people he met in the course of his evangelism "ayo-ayo" and taught them to respond "ayo-keh. The Ghanaians who could not decipher the pronunciations and the correct use of the term (greeting) started referring to Harris's converts as the "awoyo" people or the people who follow the "awoyo" man. This name became entrenched, and people still refer to the church by this name today. However, according to Prophet White, the church was officially registered in Ghana in 1962 after independence in 1957. It first started with four districts which came as a result of training received from Grace Tani and John Nackabar. These four districts were Essuwah, Kormantse, Kagyebir and Dominase. According to White, those who received the grace (adom) to work within the church as prophets/prophetesses had to undergo tutelage from Grace Tani (for females) and John Nackabar (for males) due to the fact that the church had no bible school or seminary. These would-be prophets/prophetesses had to learn through observation and imitation and practice what they see their teachers/leaders do. The reason given to this form of training is associated with the bible's account on Elijah training Elisha, and Samuel also training under Prophet Eli. Baeta even states that the educational levels in the church "are the lowest of any non-pagan religious body in Ghana" (Baeta 1962:62 quoted from Ayegboyin & Ishola 1997:108). Today the situation in terms of training is a bit different in the sense that all pastors have to go through the bible school. However, those who want to be prophets still have to undergo a period of training from a senior prophet. In the year 1966, the church came out with its first by-laws and constitution. It was, however, reviewed in the 1990s. It is worth quoting the preamble of the by-laws and constitution of the church to better understand its approach to worship:

"In the name of the Almighty God from whom all authority is derived and to whom all actions must be referred and who has commanded that His word must be propagated to all parts of the world and we members of the Twelve Apostles Church of Ghana, who have decided to propagate the word of God by the African means have laid down these rules to guide the conduct and behaviour of the members, prophets, prophetess and the general administration of the church" (quoted from the by-laws and constitution of the Twelve Apostles Church).

The phrase "the African means" is worthy of note. The church, based on the practices of Harris, exploits African or Ghanaian indigenous values and structures in worshipping God and respects traditional systems: family and health related issues (causes of diseases). As far as the church is concerned, that which is most important is the work of

the Holy Spirit. Emphasis therefore is placed on the use of the Holy Spirit in casting out evil spirits, speaking in tongues and most importantly healing the sick. Hence the issue of dogma is not given much attention. Again based on Prophet Harris's use of the Holy Bible, a wooden cross, a cup and most importantly the musical calabash, the by-laws and constitution of the church states in article 35, section 3 (e) captioned apparatus that:

“A Prophet or a Prophetess when ordained shall be given a Holy Bible, A wooden Cross to travel with (Mark 6:7-8), An Enamel Cup (Jeremial 25:15-17), Calabash (Exodus 15:20) and a staff (Exodus 14:16) as well as a Certificate, Identity Card designed and approved by the Twelve Apostles Church of Ghana”.

The place of worship is normally referred to as the Garden, and it is at the Garden that most of the churches religious activities including healing take place. Ayegboyin & Ishola describes the Garden as “a kind of enclosed church-yard surrounded by flower beds” (Ayegboyin & Ishola 1997:111). The church is well known for her healing rituals all over Ghana. During the healing sessions, there is the use of ‘holy water’. Most healing sessions are held on Fridays, however during the normal Sunday services, healing could be administered by the prophets as instructed by the Holy Spirit. In the next chapter I will elaborate more on the healing rituals.

### **3.2 Brief prehistory of the Finnish people**

It is believed that not until about 12000 years ago, what has come to be known as Finland, was covered under a continental ice sheet. As the ice sheet melted, the hard surface of the earth started showing along the Gulf of Bothnia. According to Eino Jutikkala and Kauko Pirinen in their book, *A History of Finland*, this phenomenon has been a helping tool for geologists to have been able to trace the origins of Finland (Jutikkala and Pirinen 2003:11). Jutikkala and Pirinen state that there are traces of ancient people, the Komsa Culture, dating back to around 8000 B.C that lived by fishing along the Arctic coast which shares its border with Norway (p.12). In the accounts given by Tim Lambert, in the article, “A short History of Finland”, he seems to suggest that the first inhabitants to Finland arrived around 7000 B.C towards the end of the last ice age (Lambert 2015).

In their attempt in explaining the origin of the Finns and their arrival in Finland, Jutikkala and Pirinen states that, “Finnish belongs to the Finno-Ugric sub-family of the

Uralic languages of eastern Europe and western Siberia” (Jutikkala and Pirinen 2003:22). It is believed that in the past, “there must have lived a people who spoke the common Finno-Ugrian parent tongue...” (Jutikkala and Pirinen 2003:23). The language is believed to be spoken by about 23 million people including the Finns, Estonians and Hungarians. In 3000 B.C, it is said that the ancestors of the Finns and Hungarians broke apart, each going their separate ways. Through this separation, the Volgan Finnish group was established and they were more involved in agriculture. According to the accounts given by Jutikkala and Pirinen based on philological assumptions, the Volgan Finnish group was also divided into three around 1500 B.C. of which the early proto-Finns moved and settled on the southern and southeastern part of the Gulf of Finland (Jutikkala and Pirinen 2003:23). Due to the contact with the Germans and the Balts notably Latvians and Lithuanians, agriculture became a major occupation for these people. The Sámi people are said to be the first to break with the proto-Finns in the early parts of c. 1000 B.C. Again philologists suggest that the name Sami comes from a very old ‘Baltic appellation’, Sämä (Jutikkala and Pirinen 2003:24).

Jutikkala and Pirinen posit that, the roots for the name Soome (Suomi) transmitted through Sámi, first referred to one of the Finnish tribes, but was used later as the name of their country by the Finnish people (Jutikkala and Pirinen 2003:24-25). Pentikäinen suggests that “Ancient Häme may indeed have been the region where the Finns and Sámi most frequently encountered one another,” therefore in the very old Finnish poetry, the name “Lappalainen” is mostly used by the Finns for the Sámi (Pentikäinen 1999:184). The Roman Iron Age (to c.400 B.C.) was the start of the establishment of the culture based on metal in Finland, which to a greater extent helped in the settlement of the coastal region. “The lush mouths of rivers were especially favoured sites” (Jutikkala and Pirinen 2003:27). At this point agriculture and animal rearing was gradually becoming important. Jutikkala and Pirinen again state that “The basic unit of settlement was a peasant’s farm; the burial grounds, too, evidently belonged to families or clans” (p.27). Ilmar Talve’s Finnish Folk Culture suggests that there were three major groups during this period: “the southwest coastal zone, the Kokemäenjoki-Päijänne region, and South Ostrobothnian” (Talve 1997:20). In Lapland, Finnish settlement grew larger and spread during the reign of King Charles XI of Sweden in the 17<sup>th</sup> century as accounted for by Talve (p.22).

### 3.2.1 Finnish folk beliefs and folk medicine

In order to understand Finnish folk medicine, it is better to place it alongside Finnish folk beliefs. This section attempts to present Finnish folk beliefs for a better understanding of its folk medicine.

Talve states that two mythical descriptions explain the etiology of the world as far as the Finnish beliefs are concerned- the diver myth and the egg myth among the Baltic Finnish people. The diver myth is said to be found in most parts of Europe and North America and stayed among the Orthodox population of Karelia. Talve claims “It tells of a bird that dived into the primeval or world sea and carried earth to the surface”. The second myth is traced back to the Iron Age and suggests that the “earth was made from an egg...also spread over large parts of Europe, Asia and Central America” (Talve 1997:222).

Finnish folk belief acknowledges the existence of spirits and death. The *kalma*, found among the Finno-Ugrian people, for example, was considered to mean “death, the body or grave, sometimes a harmful force, the cause of death” (Talve 1997:223). In Finnish folk belief, death occurs when a force that is harmful or destructive has taken charge of the body. The living therefore had to protect themselves from such harmful forces. According to Talve, it is believed that the spirit typically left man in an animal form as a “butterfly, fly or even a bird (*siehlintu*= soul bird)” (Talve 1997:223). Aside a person’s spirit was also his guardian spirit or keeper, known as *haltija*.

Life after death has also been one of the oldest beliefs in Finland. Due to this, dead bodies were specially prepared before they were buried in the graveyard or the farm. Sacrifices were therefore made in honour of the dead by giving them their share of the farm’s produce. This also explains the belief in the spirit of mother Earth. Again there is the belief in ancestors. The graveyard subsequently became a cult place called ‘*hiisi*’ in Western Finland according to Talve (1997:223). There was also the *Karhunpeijaiset* bear feast, especially present in the hunting cultures in Eastern Finland (Talve 1997:226). The bones of the bear are said to have been returned back to the forest and the skull placed on a tree. Talve states that before embarking on hunting and other jobs, the omens were consulted and certain taboos observed in order to avoid accidents and bad outcomes (Talve 1997:226-227). The guardian spirits were responsible for man and his health. The guardian spirits therefore protected man so that *vaki*, an evil magic force, becomes harmless to man.

Finnish folk-medicine is best understood through the understanding of folk belief systems on the causes of illnesses and “the cultural and historical background of these phenomena” (Alho 1999:109). In Talve’s account on Finnish folk health and healing, it is stated “evil might attack a human in many ways, eg. by striking, biting or blowing” (1997:230) and that humans might be infected especially when they go against the spirit of some places by offending and exciting them. Besides these causes of diseases, Talve writes that “Diseases could also be brought on by an evil eye”, that which Alho refers to as “malicious people”. Alho (1999:110) states that diseases were actually believed to have been caused by the supernatural realm, thus, “the dead, the spirits of land, forest or water”. People are diagnosed for healing to be effected based on a “rational empirical knowledge” (Talve 1997:231). In the absence of the so called ‘rational empirical knowledge’, the cause for an illness is explained through etiological means or incantations. Talve argues that these etiological means were effective and therapy could be started in the form of “exorcisms, magic rites and spells, and substances in order to overcome the cause of the disease and to restore the old order, i.e. health” (Talve 1997:231).

It is believed that the healer was also a seer whose help was sought only in special cases. Usually in ecstatic states the seer/healer consults his/her helping spirits in order to find out the causes of diseases (such as loss of the soul, an example given by Talve). “Folk healers have continued operating until the present century. ...Among the most common forms of treatment were massage (usually done by women), an age-old method, cupping and blood-letting, which were probably medieval cures. Folk healers also knew how to stop bleeding, to set bones, to treat fractures and to administer medicines (made from medicinal plants, etc., but also containing magic agents). Folk healers were widely resorted to in towns and among the workers, too, and there are still some today” (Talve 1997:231-232).

### 3.2.2 Finnish shamanism and folk healing

This section emplaces Finnish shamanism on folk healing. This section also differentiates between shaman healers and folk healers and discusses their general practices.

The earliest data on Finnish shamanism was recorded before A. D. 1200 from Sámi shamanism (Alho 1999:287). Going back to ancient times in Finland, Leppa Harold



Alden, states in his blog, “Spirit Boat: Exploring Finnish shamanism and its relevance for today”, that the Finns and the Sámi had rich shamanic traditions. Shamanism is therefore seen as a phenomenon. In a personal interview with Pentikäinen, he argues that shamanism isn’t really a religion but rather a way of life and culture in which the chosen spiritual leader of the community, the shaman, occupies a central role. Talve seems to suggest that, content and linguistic based analysis of very old poems and incantations connected with shamanism of the Eurasian peoples are best kept and maintained by the Lapps (Talve 1997:237). Juha Pentikäinen also supports this claim in his explanation of a shamanistic epic in *Kalevala Mythology*. He states that “folk poetry had been interpreted primarily from the viewpoint of folk religion” and that “the epic served the Finnish people as an explanation of their historical past” (Pentikäinen 1999:177). Pentikäinen’s account on *Ganander’s Mythologia Fennica* (1785), throws more light on the sources of incantations used by sages (shamans) to put them into trance. According to Ganander, concepts like “*loveen langeta*” meaning to be in a trance state and “*vaipua ekstaasiin ja vaeltaa ruumiin ulkopuolella Walhallaan*” meaning an ecstatic state outside one’s body to *Valhalla*, suggested and proved that the ancient linguistic expressions of the Finns were fundamental facets of shamanistic practices (Ganander’s account quoted from Pentikäinen 1999:178-179). Pentikäinen agrees with Talve on the score that Finnish shamanism is best understood when it lies in the understanding of northern Eurasian shamanism.

In Pentikäinen’s writing on the Northern Eurasian roots of the shamanistic Epic, he states that “The ancient religion of the Finns is inseparable from Arctic shamanism” (Pentikäinen 1999:179). Siikala (Siikala and Hoppal 1992:60) also comes to the same argument stating that “religions of the north Eurasian hunting cultures provide a natural basis for comparison in reconstructing the form of religion of Finland”. This is evident in the linguistic usage of most Finno-Ugric peoples. A typical example is “*noita*” which is understood to mean a shaman or witch (Alho 1999:288; Pentikäinen 1999:179) as far as the vocabulary of the Finno-Ugric people is concerned. “*Noita*” is also used by the Baltic Finns to refer to the shaman. Pentikäinen argues that the Sámi and the Vogul have a word that belongs to the same group as “*noita*” just as the Ob-Ugric people have a similar common word for the shaman’s drum. It is evident that they have also used the drum. He further argues that to dig deep into the basics of shamanistic practices (epical) in Finland is to go into “the rich shamanistic tradition of northern Eurasia, which has continued to exist into this century” (Pentikäinen 1999:179). In Finnish, the shaman who is referred to as the ‘*noita*’ (witch) is also ‘*tietäjä*’ meaning “the one who knows” (Alho 1999:288), or “man of knowledge, sage”.

One of the most important aspects of Finnish shamanism is the trance technique, preferably referred to as the altered state of consciousness that is used by the shaman. In the shamanic trance, (*'lovi'* or *'Tuoni'*, and *'Jabmeaivo'*, the Finnish and Sámi words for the world of the dead respectively), there is the movement or journey of the shaman from this world to another "where there exists another experiential reality" (Pentikäinen 1999:179; Ganander 1789). The shaman therefore becomes a very important person in the community as he was called upon when there was illness or adversity (Pentikäinen 1999:180). As far as Finnish folklore is concerned, the Sámi people are said to be knowledgeable and skilful in shamanistic activities. According to Pentikäinen, this is evident in both runic poetry and the *kalevala*. Pentikäinen states that the earliest information recorded about Sámi shamanistic practices is found in the book *Historia Norwegiae* from the 13<sup>th</sup> century. According to Pentikäinen, this book describes how the Sámi shaman known as the "noaidde" (sage) enters into a trance journey with the use of the drum and the chanting of joiku (Pentikäinen 1999:182). He goes on to say that in the healing practices in eastern Finland, "trance techniques" have been employed. Elsewhere in Karelia and North Ostrobothnia, shamans have used and still use the "*seula*" (grain sieve) to do divine "*arpa*" (fortune) (Pentikäinen 1999:183). Siikala argues that in trance, the Finnish shaman enters the supranormal with the help of a helping spirit, usually in the form of an animal. This she says is evident in the ancient rock paintings which normally display pairs of a human with animals such as a fish, snake, bird or a lizard. She writes that these paintings suggest "the shaman's zoomorphic helping spirits, for the species in question are the most common manifestations of the shaman's spirit helpers in northern areas" (Siikala and Hoppal 1999:65; Siikala 1987).

The land of the Finns has also been considered as the land of witchcraft. This is something common in the southern and central parts of Europe. Pentikäinen writes that "the Scotch word 'finn' has the meanings Finn, Sámi, and powerful sage. Norwegian Lappmark or Finnmark has been characterized as the "land of witches" (Pentikäinen 1999:182-183). For that matter, Finnish shamans have been associated with witchcraft. Pentikäinen argues that the Finnish tietäjä (sage) has a direct link to shamanic practices. Alho (1999:288) also seems to support this statement. It was also a ritual for the Finnish sage, shaman or tietäjä "to raise up advice from the dead" at the graveyard (Pentikäinen 1999:183). Pentikäinen argues that the existence of the shaman's drum is enough proof that shamanism was and is practiced in Finland. He argues that the trial of witches during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries that were sentenced to

death serves as further proof. He writes that “Abundant information exists in trial documents about Finnish shamans who were sentenced to death as witches during this period” (Pentikäinen 1999:183). It must be stated here that in dealing with Finnish shamanism and perhaps shamanism in general, it would be “accurate to speak of different belief complexities” as the word religion in this regard may be “somewhat misleading” (Siikala and Hoppal 1992:60). Pentikäinen also suggests that shamanism should be understood to be “an integral part of a particular world view” and that “shamanism in itself is not a religion” (Pentikäinen 1999:180). In Siikala’s analysis of the interpretations of Finnish rock pictures, she argues that the meanings of the rock pictures from ancient times suggests that shamanistic practices existed especially with links to man and his primitive hunting practices which to a large extent was controlled via the supranormal through a person responsible for communicating with them (supranormal), and the shaman (Siikala and Hoppal 1992:64).

### 3.2.3 The effects of colonization and Christianity

Foreign countries moved into Finland to live and subsequently took control of the area and established colonies. These foreign powers introduced other practices including Christianity, to the local people. Here, the effect of colonization and Christianity on shamanism shall be elucidated.

In the early stages of the Iron Age, Finnish settlements were around the western coast, a situation that changed when Finland began engaging in international trade on the fairway of the Gulf of Finland. From the latter part of the 8th century, the Vikings of Denmark and Norway had already started trade in the western coast whereas the Swedish moved along the east. It is claimed that trade was rather in a state of plunder as far as these three Vikings were concerned. Those traders who took to the east were referred to as the Varangians, a part of the current Russia. The Varangians established colonies and became the aristocrats among the Slavic and the Finno-Ugrian peoples. In A. D. 862, a Russian state was founded accordingly based on the Varangian established colonies (Jutikkala and Pirinen 2003:33; Talve 1997:114). Jutikkala and Pirinen go on to say that Karelia became an important place since they were located closer to the Varangian colonies by the east, and by the west had trade contacts along the Gulf of Finland. Conflict was on the ascent between the East and the West, especially with the “Slavification of the Varangian” colonies, as stated by Jutikkala and Piirinen (2003:40).

Lambert states that during the 1120s, Christian missionaries had started operating in Finland (Lambert 2013). Jutikkala and Pirinen claim that the Finns were rather influenced by the Christians from the East who were prepared to use force to convert the Finnish people (Jutikkala and Pirinen 2003:41). Talve (1999:23) states that in 1155 the first crusade took place and the second followed in 1293 establishing the Catholic faith in Finland. Nonetheless, there are archaeological materials that prove that the Christian faith had a great influence on the Finnish people. Burial grounds and their customs were changed. The so called 'pagan village graveyards' were all neglected and Christian cemeteries came into place. Other accounts say that; Christian churches were built at pagan burial places as a way of showing supremacy over pagan worship. It is claimed that the change which was forced on the people was only in the physical. In the hearts and minds of the people, pagan practices continued (Jutikkala and Pirinen 2003:41-42). It is said that upon advice from the pope, the Swedes permanently built fortresses in Finland.

The Danes also entered Finland in 1191 and in 1202 they served as great rivals to the Swedes. On another level was the Novgorodians who were also interested in controlling and converting the Finnish people to the Orthodox Church. A series of wars were fought between the Novgorodians and the Swedes, but after 1323 Finland became a province of Sweden. From 1713-121, the Russians had fought and defeated the Swedish-Finnish army and had occupied Finland. Even though Finland joined forces with Germany to fight Russia in 1941, the Russians fought back and recaptured Finland in 1944. The colonial masters, notably the Swedes and Russians, brought Christianity (Roman Catholicism and Orthodox Church) to Finland. Talve states that the word '*pyhä*' (sacred) "acquired its present meaning of holy with the advent of Christianity" (Talve 1997:226). Talve's account of Mikael Agricola's (Bishop of Turku in 1554) list of deities and subsequent folk tradition claims that the Finnish people believed in gods-eleven from Häme and twelve from Karelia. In this account even Agricola sees Väinämöinen, the hero of Finnish epic poetry, as a shaman. In Agricola's work, Talve states that the Finnish word *jumala* (god) has an etymological link with heaven as far as the Finno-Ugrian languages are concerned. This same word *jumala*, known in the Karelia language as *jumolanuoli*, in a "birchbark letter" was found in Novgorod around the 13<sup>th</sup> century "probably used as a protective amulet". When Christianity finally gained roots in Finland, the *jumala*, "came to mean the Christian God in the Baltic-Finnish languages" (Talve 1997:227-228). During the Orthodox era in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, there were lots of witch trials in Finland and all over the Nordic countries (Alho 1999:287; Talve 1997:231). Pentikäinen states that "Finnish shamans who

doubled as sages were sentenced to death as “witches” during this period” (Pentikäinen 1999:183). It is claimed that most shamanic drums, a symbol of the shaman’s power, were seized and burned by the missionaries. Sacrifices to gods and ancestors were also forbidden. My principal informant, Christiana Harle (a shamanic practitioner from North Karelia) tells me in an interview that “The church was really strong here. Because of control and power, Christianity brought a lot of oppression, repression and depression so that at least the major religion (Christianity) takes over. The shamans closer to the earth, got more oppressed and repressed”.

I want to conclude by saying that phenomenologically, Finnish shamanism and perhaps shamanism in general is based on the following criteria:

1. Ecstasy techniques to find the way into other worlds or dimensions of reality
2. The hypothesis of souls more than one: the free soul leaves the body in trance to make trips to the other world in the shape of various animals
3. The belief in three levels of universe, and the role of the shaman mediating between these three levels
4. The belief that the shaman is helped by spirits

Shamanism as a term was first coined by Christian priests and other writers in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Pentikäinen writes that it is misleading, since the Christian Priests misunderstood shamanism as a religion. Shamans were seen as religious specialists, the rivals of the Christian faith and its missionaries and priests (Pentikäinen 2006:61). Given this misunderstanding of shamanism, it could be more appropriate to talk instead about “shamanhood” as being the basic concept of shamanic culture – its mythology, way of life and philosophy (Pentikäinen 1998b:36). While I feel that Pentikäinen has a valid point and shamanhood is indeed a more appropriate term to describe this phenomenon, I use the term shamanism throughout this text for the sake of clarity.

## 4 CONTEXTUALIZING MUSIC IN HEALING RITUALS: A CASE OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES CHURCH

In this chapter, I describe the overall approach to the music and healing rituals of the Twelve Apostles Church in Ghana. I demonstrate how phenomenology informed my findings. The musical construction and spiritual meanings and understandings were manifested in everyday Being-in-the-World. The healing ritual as such can be understood as a lived experience. The concepts of revelation and divination, invocation, spirit possessions, sacred objects and places are discussed. A few examples shall be taken from the fieldwork to illustrate the procedure and concepts of the healing ritual. The chapter discusses the role of drums, rhythms and music in general in the healing rituals.

### 4.1 Healing in the Twelve Apostles Church

The general belief of the church is that illnesses are caused by evil *sunsum* (spirits) or malicious people, witches and wizards. Such malicious people could cause illnesses due to envy, jealousy or hatred. In effect they classify illnesses into two groups; *ayaresabea yare* (hospital illness) and *sunsum yare* (spiritual illness). It is therefore believed that spiritual illnesses cannot be healed at the hospitals or with Western medicine. This is the cultural construction of illness among the adherents of the church and as such explains the behaviour and experiences of its members (Goulding 2005). The members also believe that there is a greater spirit (that of God) that is able to restore the health of those afflicted with illnesses by the evil spirits. As stated earlier, the Akans believe that God is too great to be approached and worshipped directly so this must occur through his messengers. In view of this, the members of the church also believe that with the help of the prophets/prophetesses serving as intermediaries between them and God, their problems including their health can be restored. In effect, two types of spirits are believed to exist, the Holy Spirit from God and evil spirit. The church believes that *abosom* (deities) are also evil. For the adherents of the church, the most important thing is to seek protection from the supreme God through his prophets and prophetesses. To the Twelve Apostles church as Stephen Ezeanya states “the world of spirits is a real world...the world is a spiritual arena in which the various categories of spiritual beings display their powers” (Ezeanya 1969:36). Music is performed to

exorcise evil spirits and also to invite the Holy Spirit to effect healing. This is the only true way of healing as claimed by the church.

#### 4.1.1 Procedure in the healing ritual

The church normally has their healing sessions on Fridays even though healing may take place during the service on Sundays. The healing is known as *edwuma* (the work). The *edwuma* is not just any work but that of the *sunsum* (spirit). Therefore, adherents of the church refer to the entire healing process as *Sunsum Edwuma* (spiritual work). *Y[reb[y] Ne ho Edwuma* (working on a person) is a general terminology used to refer to the healing ritual. It is during the *Y[reb[y] Ne ho Edwuma* that the ideological understanding of the healing ritual is manifested and expressed. It is here that we get to understand the perspective of healers alongside those of the patient and his family. This is a lifeworld of subjective experiences in Husserl's philosophy - a world in which human beings "experience culture and society, take a stand with regard to their objects, are influenced and act on them" (Goulding 2005:302; Pascal 2010). In Kleiman's approach to Chinese experience of illness, he juxtaposes "the healers' perspectives with those of the patient and family" and shares both healers and patients' experiences (Kleiman 1980:120).

The following stages of the healing ritual were identified during the fieldwork though not rigidly followed in order. The first stage is the preparatory stage where patients are prepared for the healing session. The family and the audience (mostly church members though open to everybody) are also present either as participants in singing, clapping or dancing, or just as spectators. This stage commences with music, prayer and water carrying. In the practices of the church, they refer to this stage as the 'first aid stage'. Article 55 section 2 of the by-laws and constitution of the church states:

"The first aid given to any person who reports of sickness or brought in on any affliction shall be prayers, after which the patient shall be washed by a new towel, sponge and soap provided by the patient or his relative(s), then the patient shall be rubbed fully a perfume with candle lit by, and with the smoke of incense to expel the powers of the devil"

Normally patients would have to carry their own water for bathing except in situations where by the illness would not allow a patient to do so. In such cases, a family member of the patient would have to do the carrying on behalf of the patient.

The second stage is the diagnosis stage. This takes the form of interrogations and

communicative transactions. Through ritual interrogation or communicative transaction (Breidenbach 1978:97-98; Kleiman 1980:42), causes of illnesses are determined. It is through the interrogative structure that the meaning and understanding of the metaphysical epistemology of such indigenous healing ritual is manifested. The communicative transaction or ritual interrogation here is to “convey information and describe reality” (Goulding 2005:302); a reality that is culturally constructed based on experiences that interrelate meaningfully. “There is a degree of commonality in that others experience the world in fundamentally the same way, intersubjectively sharing the same meaning” especially patients and healers (Goulding 2005). Heidegger states that “Questioning builds a way” (1977:3) of “being-in-the-world” which is a mode of experience which facilitates understanding. In the interrogative ritual there are series of questions and answers from a prophet/prophetess and a patient respectively that builds a way of understanding. During the interrogation, the two types of *sunsum* manifest themselves here: the *sunsum kronkron* (Holy Spirit) and the other *sunsum* (often claimed to be evil spirit) responsible for the illness. With the help of the *sunsum kronkron*, the prophet/prophetess is able to identify and have contact with the *sunsum* responsible for the illness. Upon a series of interrogations, the *sunsum* responsible for the illness then states the reason for attacking the patient.

Breidenbach calls this stage the “identification and the Statement of Message” (1978: 98). In other words, the claimed spirit (evil) of affliction is identified and it is after the identification that the spirit states its reason for afflicting the patient. In some interrogations, the prophets/prophetesses have to force the evil *sunsum* before they speak out about the cause and reason for a particular illness. In other interrogations the prophets/prophetesses have to beg on behalf of the patient so that healing can be effected. It should be noted that spirits manifest themselves through possession in which revelations are made. It is through the revelations that the proper identification of an illness or problem in general is made known. It should also be noted that in a musical healing such as that of the Twelve Apostles church “where therapeutic intervention is based on etiology, these prophetic diagnoses are crucial to clinical efficacy” (Friedson 1996:9; Akombo 2006:40).

In Africa, religious practices are based on the belief that knowledge about spiritual truth is gained through revelations, spirit possessions and divination. Through these we come to understand the supernatural, making the unknown known through mystical means. In the Twelve Apostles Church these forms of knowing and understanding the



supernatural are witnessed and highly based on faith, thus a strong belief. Possession here is understood to be a situation whereby a spirit or spirits take control of someone. Healers or prophets are normally possessed by the *sunsum Kronkron* (Holy Spirit) during healing sessions whereas the evil *sunsum* possesses the patient. These two forms of possession all take place during the healing ritual.

Revelation becomes the third stage of the healing ritual. Mawere defines revelation as a supernatural knowledge capable of making the unknown known through dreams or visions from supernatural sources (Mawere 2011:108). Normally it is “private and unobservable to others” as they are in the form of dreams, though some happen in public via visions during the healing session. The unknown problems and solutions are made known through revelations where there is an interaction with the supernatural. Through dreams, prophets have had encounters with diverse spirits through which they provided healing to their patients as they claim.

In a likewise manner, divination is exploring the unknown to solicit answers to questions beyond human comprehension (Mawere 2011:106). Divination is directly related to revelation in that it has mostly been through dreams. For the prophets of the church it is a way of gaining insight into a spiritual problem. Prophets ascertain interpretations of dreams and visions through contact with the *sunsum kronkron*. Through divinations, prophets are told how to treat an illness whether to make some sacrifices in the form of reparation, or are shown in a dream a particular herb for the treatment of a disease. In the diagnosis of illnesses, divination is very crucial since it is believed to be the potential way of knowing the spiritual causes of the illness and also the way of determining its treatment.

The fourth stage is the bathing stage. Here, patients are bathed with the *nhyira nsuo* (blessed water), which signifies purification and cleansing. The church believes God has commanded them to bless water for patients to use, especially in bathing and as drinking water to cure their sicknesses. This account is recorded in Exodus chapter 23 verses 25 of the Christian Holy Bible:

“And ye shall serve the Lord your God, and he shall bless thy bread, and thy water; and I will take sickness away from the midst of it” (King James Version).

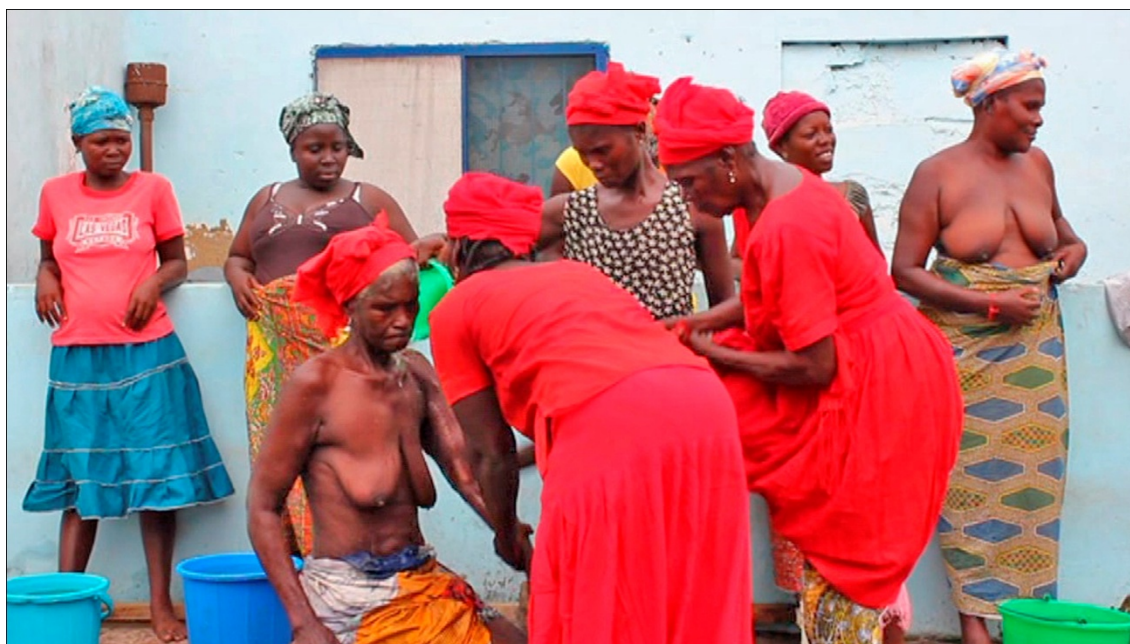


Figure 1: Patients waiting to be bathed by a prophetess and her assistants



Figure 2: A prophetess doing the ritual bathing

For the purpose of this study, I shall add one more stage: the stage and process where patients have to remain under a prophet/prophetess for a period of time until they are fully healed to leave. This stage also demonstrates that some of the illnesses are treated for a very long period of time- months or even years. This period is filled with constant prayers and bathing. The prayers and bathing are successful in combination with musical experiences. According to the patients I interviewed, they had to wake up every morning for devotion and bathing. This would begin with constant music- singing and

playing of the *mfaba* (rattle). One significant thing about this stage is also the use of *ebibi duru* (African herbs) on patients to facilitate the healing. Patients are also treated with herbs collected and prepared by the prophets and the prophetesses. With the treatments at this stage, the patient is supposed to be free from the bondage of the evil spirit and their health restored. Should this stage fail in terms of healing, then the patient may exhibit “irremediable schism” (Friedson 1998:272), a therapeutic default which may result in death (Akombo 2006:42).

#### 4.1.2 Encounter with the healing ritual

In this section a description from the fieldwork is presented to show how the abovementioned concepts work. The following account involves a prophetess, a girl (patient) and *bosom* (deity). The family had brought the girl for healing in a small village called Anomabo Taedo near Cape Coast. Her parents claim the girl has been afflicted by an illness for about two years. They added that they had been moving to so many different places for her health to be restored, but to no avail. There were a few church members around and a crowd of onlookers gathered. Prayers were said amidst singing. The girl was able to go through the water-carrying successfully and was bathed by the prophetess. The interrogative ritual started afterwards with lots of singing, clapping and playing of an enmeshed gourd rattle (*mfaba*). The prophetess seemed to have been possessed by the *sumsum kronkron*, so as the music went on she started speaking in tongues, a language no one understood but is believed to be a direct communication with God. She then grabbed the patient and started rubbing her forehead against the patients’. The prophetess then picked up a bible and hit the patient with it on the stomach for a couple of times. This took about 45 minutes until the girl got possessed by an *obosom* (a deity). This is what transpired during the interrogation:

Possessed Girl- (*obosom*): Ah... ah... ah... ah... followed by loud/an outburst of laughter  
 Prophetess: I am here as a woman of God, state your mission and God will help you. Who are you? Where are you coming from?  
 Possessed Girl: Hmm... hmm... hmm... Hey leave me alone, leave me alone (weeping).  
 Prophetess: Speak! Where are you coming from?  
 Poss. Girl: I come from the roadside  
 Prophetess: Which road side? I am talking to you. We don’t want lies? Say the truth; are you *motia* (dwarf)?  
 Poss. Girl: I come from Biriwa (a nearby village).  
 Prophetess: Why can’t you mention your name?  
 Poss. Girl: I am *bosom* and she has to serve the deity.  
 Prophetess: Why?  
 Poss. Girl: Because she has been chosen... yes she has been chosen  
 Prophetess: So what do you want from her?

Poss. Girl: I want her to come and serve  
 Prophetess: And what happens if she refuses?  
 Poss. Girl: She will remain sick and no one can cure her. We are coming for her. But you won't allow me.  
 Prophetess: So because she has refused to serve you that is why you are causing her all these pains?  
 Poss. Girl: She is my child. She says I should tell her parents that she is my child. I help her spiritually.  
 Prophetess: Ah... if you claim she is your child why should you cause her to be sick for two years?  
 Poss. Girl: Because they refused to bring her to me and decided to bring her here.  
 Prophetess: So because they have brought this girl to the Lord you don't like it. Well she is the Lord's so you can't do anything to her.

From this moment there was more singing and playing of the *mfaba*. The girl was dispossessed and the cause of her illness/affliction is known now. It is not within the scope of this work to give full details of the interrogation that goes on in the entire healing ritual, but the example above gives an insight into the process. There are series of revelations in the form of dreams and visions in the course of the treatment after this phase of interrogation. There are situations where prophets/prophetesses claim that in dreams, they have encountered spirits responsible for the illnesses of patients. In such situations, they claim that the spirits have demanded to be compensated in the form of reparation before health could be restored. Revelations could occur to prophets/prophetesses, patients or family members of patients. Sometimes it occurs through a third party who could be a church member. Madina, the patient who went through the interrogation described above said:

"I had a dream one day and I was asked by the spirit of the bosom who wants me to serve the deity to choose from death, schizophrenia or suicide if I refuse to serve them" (field interview 2014)

The prophetess Comfort explained:

"In the course of the *sunsum edwuma*, the bosom spirit demanded the following items for reparation; sorghum, rice, cola, red cloth, money (coins), and oil. They demanded for these because the patient spiritually accepted to serve them so they need to be compensated" (field interview 2014).

Adwoa, a patient of prophetess Comfort also explained that:

"In my sleep I saw that a spirit has taken a frog from my throat. It looked like I was being operated without cuts. That was the beginning of my healing" (field interview 2014).

Apostle Otoo remarks:

"Sometimes it's a spiritual warfare. We really have to battle with the evil spirits before health is restored. They are powerful but God has given us the *Mfaba* which when we play and sing they (evil spirits) cannot stand it and have to flee" (field interview 2014).

There are other illnesses that are very physical. You really see where and what the patient is suffering from. That notwithstanding, it is still given spiritual meanings, especially when western medicine has not been able to treat it for a long time. Most of the patients I met who were suffering from physical illnesses also confirmed that they would have died, had they not sought such indigenous musical healing from the Twelve Apostles Church.

Amos, a patient, tells me:

“I came here when I had this eye problem. My family and I have gone to different hospitals but it kept getting worse. We got here and by the grace of God my condition is improving” (field interview 2014).



Figure 3: Amos' condition before the indigenous healing

Amos continued and showed me the above picture. He then shows me the picture below and tells me:



Figure 4: Amos's condition at the early stages of his healing at the church

“This is how I looked during my early days here. But look at me now, I’m completely healed” (field interview 2014).

I then asked him how he was healed. This is what he told me:

“I marvel at the treatment, it’s just prayers, singing, clapping and taking the water blessed by the prophetess for bathing and drinking. She also applied some herbs on my eye” (field interview 2014).





Figure 5: Amos' condition now after receiving treatment at the church

In a similar conversation with Jackie, a patient of prophetess Mary at Brofoyedru, she relates:

“I woke up one day just to realize that my left leg was getting swollen. I went to the hospital for treatment but the condition was not getting better. A friend then visited me at the hospital and told me the doctors in the hospital cannot heal me and that it is a spiritual problem. I could not walk for about almost a year but now by the grace of God and through prophetess Mary, I can walk. The condition was very bad that the doctors advised me that they would have to amputate my leg. We came here and through songs and prayers together with herbs I am fine now. I can walk now. I spent almost a year at the hospital and I could not walk but just five months here there is drastic change and I can walk very well too” (field interview).



Figure 6: Jachie's leg after receiving indigenous musical treatment

## 4.2 Musical construction of the healing ritual

The use of music in the healing rituals of the Twelve Apostles Church cannot be overemphasized. In the phenomenological context of the Twelve Apostles Church, music and dance are meant for the purposes of healing and not for entertainment despite the fact that they may entertain at certain points in time. Likewise, Kapferer states that Sinhalese exorcisms are artistic in nature but its practical use is to address the problems that affect the lives of the people (Kapferer 1983:178). In the same way, music and dance as used by the Twelve Apostles Church are essential parts of an



indigenous healing praxis. Friedson states that “music makes translucent the boundary between human and spirits” (Friedson 1996:100). The interrogative ritual or communicative transaction between healers, patients and spirits is made possible with music. It is within this musical construction that spirits are encountered, enjoined and divination enacted. Healers and patients of the Twelve Apostles Church create a different lifeworld in terms of their healing rituals, a healing ritual that is not only sacred in its nature “but also a reality that can be experienced and expressed directly and actively through music” (Friedson 1996:101). In the healing ritual, musical experience is the first and foremost. How does singing, drumming and dancing contribute to the healing rituals? How does music affect healers and patients? The musical construction presents the essence of the entire healing ritual.

In the healing process, the prophet/prophetess is a music healer. He/she virtually approaches every aspect of the healing process with songs and dance. In the preparatory stage described above, the healer, the patient(s), family of patient(s), church members and audience/onlookers are ushered into the healing process with slow rhythms and soft singing together with hand clapping. Musical experience is the means through which the preparatory process takes place. The entire ritual takes place at the residence of the healer, which is also known as the garden (church). It is a church because a big space is prepared to be used for Christian religious services. A wooden cross is erected at the garden and this serves as a sacred place where the entire ritual is carried out. Around the erected cross, in the form of a circle, the prophet/prophetess begins the ritual with singing and clapping of hands to a rather slow rhythm. There is the lighting of incense, claimed to expel evil. The lyrics to the songs at this stage of the ritual are centred on giving thanks to God and inviting Him into their midst to steer the affairs of the ritual. The slow 6/8 rhythms with the call and response or cantor chorus singing, the clapping of the hands and the sound of the *dondo* (hourglass drum) and *mfata* consummates this lived experience. Even though the prophet/prophetess assumes the role of the lead singer and the congregation as the chorus, any of the members present can take up the role of lead singer as well. At this point of the ritual the music is not yet as intensive as later on. Patients also come carrying their water while the singing is going on and the water is later placed under the erected wooden cross. Patients join the rest of the people in the singing and clapping of hands. It is worth stating that musical performance in the entire ritual is not seen only as an accompaniment to the events but rather music and dance is the ritual itself. While the singing, clapping of hands and bodily movements take place, the prophet/prophetess raises a full white cup of water up to the sky and offers a prayer to God to bless the

water for effective use in healing. The water in the white cup is then poured gradually into the bucket of water belonging to patients for them to use.



Figure 7: An erected wooden cross at the sacred garden where healing takes place

Music and movement continues through to the diagnosis stage. The music at this point of the healing is designed to invite the *sunsum kronkron* (Holy Spirit) for the *edwuma*, therefore the singing, clapping and playing of *mfaba* and the *dondo* drum is heightened. The lyrics express an invitation to the angels and the Holy Spirit's manifestation, so that all the secrets for the cause of an illness will be revealed. With the heightened music, spirit possessions take place. The structure of the songs still remains call and response or cantor and chorus with the tempo increasing. From the preparatory stage, patients are normally calm and seem not to question prophets, but at the diagnosis stage, when the music becomes heightened and spirit possessions take place, patients are now believed to be controlled by the evil spirits that possess them. Whatever behaviour exhibited by the possessed patient is claimed to be influenced by the spirit that has taken charge of the patient. Patients tremble upon the hearing of the *mfaba* sound. The trembling generates a possessed dance which sometimes becomes so intensive that the patients are held for a while due to the demon that has possessed them. According to Friedson "the resultant spirit-possession dance is in the first instance often a therapy for those afflicted" (Friedson 1996:xii). It is the same sound of

the *mfaba* and singing that causes prophets/prophetesses also to be possessed. In a possessed or trance state, prophets/prophetesses speak in strange languages believed to be the Christian concept of ‘tongues’ only understood by the Holy Spirit. I was told by an informant, prophetess Comfort, that her helping *sunsum* called ‘*Awudu*’ only comes and possesses her when the sound of the *mfaba* and singing is heightened. She then dances and gets into a trance. In fact, I witnessed one healing session when she got possessed by her spirit helper, ‘*Awudu*’. ‘*Awudu*’ even spoke through her asking me if she treated me well.

It is the musical performance that charges the atmosphere for possessions to take place. The interrogation or communication transaction is made possible only when there is possession. Spirit possessions that populate the healing rituals of the Twelve Apostles Church exist in the world of exorcism as musical sounds – “not sounds as a symbol of these beings, but these beings literally manifested as music” (Friedson 1996:xv). In some situations some of the musicians, especially the singers, even get possessed in the course of singing. In the healing ritual, the spirit of God that restores health is “made coexistent in the single and continuous flowing motion of music and dance...both deities and demons are constituted of the same fundamental units of sound and gesture” (Kapferer 1986:199).

After possessions of both prophets/prophetesses and patients, the music ends in order for the interrogation or communicative transaction to take place. When the cause of an illness has been identified, music and dance resumes. The evil spirit quickly flees from the patient whose trance ends, but the prophets/prophetesses continue to be possessed by the *sunsum Kronkron*. At this point there is change in rhythm and time of the music. The 4/4 rhythm puts audience/onlookers and church members in a joyous mood. The lyrics of the songs here offer thanks to God for revealing the secrets of the evil spirit’s affliction on patients.

The music and dance ushers the attendants into the third stage. The stage of bathing is where the possessed prophet/prophetess does the bathing of the patients. It is the music that holds the entire bathing ritual together. A prophet told me that without the music, *adom* (grace) will not come down and the *edwuma* (work) cannot be successful. I think the phenomenological understanding of working on a patient is well understood since it is actually the prophet/prophetess who bathes the patient. After this there is continuous singing and dancing for some time. The ritual ends with the recitation of the Lord’s Prayer.

The fourth stage is a consistent ritual on its own. It is very common to see more than two patients in the compound of a prophet/prophetess undergoing daily treatment after going through the above stages. The process here is a bit different from the ones described above. There is devotion every day, morning and evening. This devotion is very significant in the healing process. It is not just any devotion but devotion full of music. I witnessed a couple of such devotions. At about 4 o'clock in the morning the devotion begins with the prophet/prophetess playing the *mfaba* and singing. Patients and church members join the playing and singing. Candles and incense are lit to expel evil spirits. The structure of the music is just like the ones described in the previous stages. The call and response singing and the playing of the *mfaba* begins in a very slow 6/8 rhythm. Hand clapping is also used here as a rhythmic accompaniment to the singing. The musical performance takes about 80% of the devotion. The prophet/prophetess blesses water which is shared to all present including patients who also actively take part in the musical performance. For the adepts of the church, the *nhyira nsuo* also known as *abura* (blessed water) is one of the curative medicines. Though ordinary water, they believe that once it is blessed by a prophet/prophetess like the prophet Harris, it goes a long way to facilitate healing. The buckets of water placed under the cross are also blessed for patients to use for bathing. At this point patients do the bathing themselves. The same process occurs in the daily evening devotions. This routine is repeated everyday for a couple of months, sometimes years, until a patient is fully healed to leave.

The phenomenology of *ebidi duru* is also important to the healing. *Ebibi duru* is the use of herbs as a supplementary treatment of an illness. Though not done all the time, it is one of the effective ways of treating patients. It is beyond the scope of this work to go through the entire process of administering *ebidi duru* to patients but it is worth briefly touching on its efficacy. Through dreams prophets and prophetesses claim God reveals to them particular herbs to be used in the treatment of certain illnesses. My interest lies with what goes on when herbs are being collected in the bush and prepared for treatment. The prophets and prophetesses I interviewed told me that upon receiving a revelation in a dream about some herbs to be used for treatment, they wake up from the dream very happy and sing songs of praise to God. On their way to the bush to get the herbs, they engage in singing. They also sing in the bush when they are collecting the herbs. Rev Sackyi tells me "it's all joy when I finally get the herb that was revealed to me. I walk back home with songs of praise, thanking God for giving me the herbs". In the preparation of the herbs for treatment, songs are sung and prayers are said.

### 4.3 Musical healing instruments

There are two main instruments used in the healing ritual aside from the use of the human voice, which is very vital in the entire healing process. The voice is uniquely used during the healing ritual especially in the interrogations and most importantly in singing. As stated in the previous chapter, the women in the church used their voice especially in initiating songs. Aside from using the voice to communicate plainly to the people gathered during the ritual, the song lyrics are also used as a communication tool. Through the lyrics, one gets to know what the ritual is about, the kind of situation the prophet/prophetess is dealing with as far as the healing is concerned and what the illness is about. Clifton Clarke remarks that

“singing and dancing is the language of the transcendent; the conduit line through which the presence of the supernatural may be invoked. The essence of music as ‘orality’ is seen its ability to project the worshipper into the spirit-world. In the ‘trance’ of song ‘all is spirit’...the worshipper becomes transcendent into the realm of the spirit-world” (Clarke 2004:255).

The songs are sung in the vernacular making understanding very simple. This gives the worshippers the chance to fully express themselves and their culture throughout the entire ritual. As used in the ritual, the human voice also depicts the tonal possibilities of the songs. The Akan and Ghanaian languages in general are very tonal. The pitch levels of the voice therefore determine the meaning of songs. The intonation, contour and rhythms of song texts generally follow the voice or speech.

Ululation is also practiced in the style of singing and in the general healing ritual. Ululation is the production of a high-pitched vocal sound with a trilling quality. With the high-pitched voice and the rapid movement of the tongue and the uvula, ululation is used by the adets of the church as a way of making a joyful noise unto the Lord. A strong emotion of joy is expressed by ululating amidst the singing creating a beautiful sonic experience. This is normally done by any of the attendants during the ritual. It is especially utilized when the cause of an illness is found out during the healing ritual.

The other main instruments used in the ritual are the *mfaba* (enmeshed gourd rattle) and the *dondo* (hourglass drum). Article 55 section 1 of the church’s by-laws and constitution on instruments states that:

“The instruments usually played in the Twelve Apostles Church, Ghana, shall be: - (a) Calabash and ‘Dondo’, but apart from these two instruments, which are strictly recommended for healing purposes on Fridays, general rules of Christian doctrine are applicable together with clapping of hands”.

Handclapping also serves as an idiophonic device in the entire musical set up. Few

gardens also use congas in addition to the other instruments mentioned.

#### 4.3.1 Mfaba (enmeshed gourd rattle)



Figure 8: Various sizes of *mfaba* (gourd rattle with enmeshed nets of beads)

This is a gourd rattle surrounded by nets of beads which is played by shaking. In the church it is preferably known as *calabas* (calabash). It is seen as sacred and always kept at sacred places like under the erected wooden cross after use. For adepts, it is the most important instrument in the healing ritual, hence they are often heard saying “*eyi na ]dze fr[ sunsum*” (This is what is used to invoke the Holy Spirit). It is claimed that when the instrument is played, evil spirits become vulnerable and have to flee. The church believes that it was the calabash that Prophet William Harris used to cast out demons so as followers of Harris it is incumbent on them to follow his steps. They also attribute the usage of the instrument to the accounts recorded in the bible in Exodus chapter 15 verses 20 stated in the previous chapter. The argument they give is that this kind of instrument has even been used by the Israelites when they were moving from Egypt to the Promised Land. The *mfaba* therefore becomes a prominent instrument in the rituals of the church.





Figure 9: A prophetess and her assistant playing *mfaba* during a healing session

#### 4.3.2 Dondo (hourglass drum)



Figure 10: A prophet playing the *dondo* during a healing session

This is the hourglass drum mostly found in West Africa. Both ends are covered with an animal skin and the instrument is normally played with a curved stick. It always has strings woven into the tip of the animal skin to fit into the wooden frame. It is used as a rhythmic accompaniment to the singing. Generally, it is believed that the sound from the *dondo* helps people enter into a trance when it is played continuously over a long period of time. It is placed at the armpit when played so sometimes it is referred as the armpit drum. Depending on how the player squeezes it at the armpit when playing, the sound is either low or high pitched. These two pitches add to the overall sound quality of the drum and the music. Dancing is an important part of the healing ritual, so both



patients and healers dance to the rhythm of the *dondo* drum in a possessed state.



Figure 11: A patient dancing in a possessed state

#### 4.3.3 Handclapping

Handclapping is treated here as an accompanying instrument based on its use as a non-melodic idiophone in Ghanaian and African music in general. Its place of prominence here also reflects the emphasis placed on it in the musical composition utilized by the Twelve Apostles Church. Nketia defines idiophones as “any instrument upon which a sound may be produced without the addition of a stretched membrane or a vibrating string or reed” (1974:69). To use Agordoh’s term, handclapping serves as a ‘point of reference’ throughout the ceremonial music (2010:72). The different rhythmic patterns clapped by the women and indeed all the people taking part in the healing rituals as participants or onlookers not only accompany, but also guide the structure of the songs. The rhythmic patterns schematize the pulse structure of the music. Normally the structure comes in a combined form of double and triple time, creating what Nketia refers to as hemiola (Nketia 1974:129). Hand clapping also helps in the healing process because patients are also involved in it and it makes them active participants as well.



Figure 12: A congregation clapping their hands and singing during a healing ritual

Thus, the healing ritual is an ‘all encompassing’ ritualistic experience for each participant. Even the environmental sounds become a sensed part of the ritual.

## **5 CONTEXTUALIZING MUSIC IN HEALING RITUALS: A CASE OF FINNISH SHAMANISM**

This chapter describes the situation in which shamanic music is used in the healing ritual. I demonstrate the phenomenological understanding of the shamanic journey. How is music constructed in the healing ritual and what spiritual meanings and understandings are derived from Being-in-the-World? What is the essence of the shaman drum in the healing process? This chapter seeks answers to the above questions. It discusses the emphasis Finnish shamanic healing places on the human soul. In demonstrating the concepts of revelation, divination, invocation, getting connected to helping spirits and sacred objects, several examples shall be highlighted from the field encounter with shamans.

### **5.1 Shamanic healing rituals in Finland**

Elias Lonnrot has been credited as the founder of the study of Finnish folk medicine and according to Alho (1997:110), Lonnrot stated in his doctoral thesis about the Finnish magical medicine (1832) that “all healing activity should take into account both psyche and soma, soul and body”. This underpins the understanding that many illnesses are seen as psychosomatic in its essence. Many of the illnesses addressed in shamanistic healing have to do with the burdens of modern life – anxiety, stress and addictions. It is therefore worth viewing shamanistic healing as something that deals with those parts of modern human existence where modern/western medicine is not really present, that is, the boundaries between humans and the rest of nature. Healing is therefore seen as restoring the balance between human, soul and nature (Alén 2015:22). As stated in the historical perspective, Finnish shamans believe in spirits, hence their healing is primarily a spiritual one. From a shamanic view point, every living thing has a spirit as do many natural phenomena like fire, water and the earth (Taksami 1998:17). Mostly ancestral spirits have been recognised as looking after and guiding their descendants here in this reality. Emphasis however is placed on the spirit or the soul as far as healing is concerned, which is based on supernatural ideas. In shamanic view, the human soul is dualistic. There is the spirit within (vital force of man) and the free spirit outside the body (alter ego, self or shadow).

However, Risto Pulkkinen argues that the Finno-Ugric conception of the soul has three parts. The first is the *löyly*, the body-soul, which is intimately tied with the human body. The second is the *henki*, or “spirit” which represents our ancestors in us and is always connected to the universe and the very moment of creation. The third part of the soul is the *itse*, or “self”, which represents the social aspect of the soul (2014:236). It is believed that the guardian spirit of a man, that is the soul (the *henki*), watches over his health (Talve 1997:230). Pentikäinen therefore states that the loss of the guardian spirit caused a critical condition in which a person was like a living dead without his or her self (Pentikäinen 1999:178). Walsh too argues that human life is surrounded with lots of taboos and any form of violation may lead to sickness, pains and suffering and even death. From the perspective of shamans “it is spiritual problems such as spirit intrusion or therapeutic techniques such as soul retrieval that primarily account for sickness and healing” (Walsh 1990:194). Illness therefore is understood as a weakening or loss of soul as far as shamanistic understanding is concerned. Healing is effected by returning or reviving those parts of the soul that were lost. The loss of the *löyly*, the body-soul, can manifest itself as poor physical health, various addictions, downright narcissism and other such problems. The loss of the *itse* can manifest in different ways: it can mean having a low self-esteem (*itsetunto*, literally “self-feel” in Finnish), feelings of loneliness, separation or loss of connection. For this reason, the shamans contact with helping spirits through journeying is claimed to bring back stolen souls by malicious spirits. Shamans consider most spirits helpful, only if approached in an appropriately respectful way. Shamans serve as intermediaries between their people and supernatural forces by making sure the community is healthy including its people.

According to Kaarne Karjalainen, an informant from the Centre for Finno-Ugric shamanism in Finland, addressing illnesses from shamanistic perspective is mostly a case of finding out what sort of problems the person has and then determining what part(s) of the soul are missing. It is claimed that one can lose his/her soul in such situations as stress, accidents, and sometimes acts of violence. In returning of the lost or stolen souls, which is healing, Deussen argues that musical sounds are employed.

### 5.1.1 Procedure in the healing ritual

As the healing ritual is sacred in nature, the shaman approaches it with all seriousness. Shaman Markku Backman explains this seriousness to mean that shamanic healing requires honesty, humility and ethics from the shaman. The shaman’s job, therefore,

should be to help the patient with his problems. It is worth noting that both the patient and the shaman need to understand that the process is slow and requires both time and patience, especially in more serious cases in which the healing process might take several months or even years.

Due to its sacred nature, Walsh argues that, “the healing ritual must be preceded by careful preparation of both the shaman and the location” (Walsh 1990:185). During the preparation, sacred objects like the drum, costumes and other needed articles are gathered. Shaman Christiana Harle tells me she spends time alone in nature, fasting and praying and communing with her helping spirits and ancestors. Johannes Setälä opines that the shaman must maintain his own strength and capacity to act, otherwise the only form of healing he can offer is listening (Setälä 2005:61). The process also requires the patient to possess a willingness to be healed. Christiana again tells me that you “cannot heal someone who does not want to be healed, that in its nature is violence”. Usually, the patient is the one who approaches the healer, as this fulfills the only real requirement for this ritual- that the patient truly wants to be healed.

Diagnosis begins with long discussions with the patient. It has been the practice that the shaman interacts with the patient to find out the nature of the illness. In a personal interview with Pentikäinen, he opines that the shaman’s interaction with a patient is investigative in nature - trying to find out the facts about the patient’s illness from a human perspective (field interview 2014). I say in human perspective because it has been a claim from the point of view of modern medical practices that shamanistic diagnosis can seem absurd. This is because causes of illnesses are often diagnosed to be spiritual in nature. Shaman Miika Vanhapiha elaborates on the difference between modern medicine and shamanistic healing. Vanhapiha argues that modern medicine deals with the physical and external injuries mostly visible, whereas shamanistic healing is more holistic in nature. In other words, shamanistic healing practices focus on the true well-being and vitality of the patient as a physical, psychic, social, cultural and spiritual being (Alén 2015:22.). The ritual begins after this form of diagnosis.





Figure 13: A shamaness interacting with a patient before the healing ritual

The shaman begins the ritual by lighting up fire. Most of the healing rituals I witnessed took place indoors so mostly candles were used. Incense was also lit. Shamaness Christiana tells me that fire cleanses and purifies energy. In other words, fire brings transformation and change. “In the shamanistic perspective, without fire there is no life” says Christiana. Shaman Markku explains the use of incense as something that cleanses the aura of one’s energy and serves as a way of releasing bad energy as well. After the lighting of fire, the shaman now puts on his/her costume. For the purposes of this study, I will only describe how Christiana dresses for the healing ritual. I should say that all the other shamans whose healing sessions I witnessed, dressed in a similar way.

Shamaness Christiana has two white gowns (a long skirt and a blouse), a red waist belt and a black vest. The black vest has a lot of metallic objects attached to it in the form of bells, like the reindeer, star, sun, trees bear etc. For Christiana, all these are very symbolic and actually help her get in contact with her helping spirits. Siikala refers to these objects as the “supranormal assistants” to the shaman (1987:332) and they facilitate the shaman’s thoughts. She also has a necklace made of the claws of a wild bird. Before putting any part of the costume on, she purifies it with the lighted fire (candle). She whispers some sounds to herself after putting her costumes on. This is

where the shaman begins to journey into the netherworld through trance to bring back the lost soul of a patient. But how does the shaman get into trance and journey to the netherworld?





Figure 14: A shamaness in her full regalia getting ready for a healing ritual

## 5.2 Shamanic journey

A unique aspect of shamanism lies in the understanding of the shamanic journey also known as soulflight (Walsh 1990:41; Cowan 1996:40; Siikala 1987). It is believed that the shaman is able to travel from this physical world into the spirit world. Eliade posits that the shamans “soul leaves his body and ascends to the sky or descends to the underworld” (Eliade 1964). Researchers (Eliade 1964; Cowan 1996; Walsh 1990; Siikala 1987) argue that the shamanic cosmic journey is that which differentiates them from other ecstasies, healers and mystics. For Eliade, the shaman:

“Commands the techniques of ecstasy – that is, because his soul can safely abandon his body and roam at vast distances, can penetrate the underworld and rise to the sky. Through his own ecstatic experience, he knows the roads of the extra-terrestrial regions. He can go below and above because he has already been there” (Eliade 1964 quoted from Walsh 1990:141).

For Pentikäinen the purpose for the shaman’s journey is to “inquire after the sick person’s soul and also request to take it back with him” (Pentikäinen 1999:182). Siikala argues that this is the way to make contact with the beyond. With the ecstatic technique of the shaman, he/she makes contact with his/her ‘spirit helpers’, the shaman’s representatives in the supra-normal world (Siikala 1978:16). It is believed that during the journey the shaman encounters his helping spirits, but it has always been misunderstood whether this is possession or soulflight. I therefore agree with Siikala when she argues that this is a culturally bound experience. Depending on the background of the tradition, this phenomenon could be understood as possession or soulflight (Siikala 1978:17). From a Finnish shamanistic perspective, shamaness Susanna Aarnio tells me that shamans do not get possessed; rather they get connected to the spirits. From a Finnish perspective, shamanic traditions are based on a co-operative, reciprocal relationship with the spirit world. The shaman therefore does not allow himself to be possessed by the spirits in the healing ritual or in any other situation. There is some form of possession but this only happens to the patient, and even that is limited to just a few rituals.

On the part of the patient, possession could mean a situation where an unwanted spirit or some other hostile energy has entered the patient and needs to be removed. This in itself is an illness of the soul which is dealt with by exorcising the possessing spirit and

energies from the soul of the patient (Siikala 1999:78). The Finnish word for exorcism, *manaus*, is a significant revelation in that the origin of the word *mana* is connected to the ancestors: *mana* represents their deepest power. In the Finnish tradition, exorcism essentially means reaching to the depths of the ancestral connection and asking the ancestors to help the patient with their strength and wisdom. Again Siikala argues that as far as the shamanic journey is concerned, anthropological literature employs the terms trance, ecstasy and possession, but more often than not researchers have wrongly used possession synonymously with trance and ecstasy (Siikala & Hoppal 1992:26). In a more recent development, researchers have resorted to the term Altered State of Consciousness (ASC) instead. In effect, to embark on the shamanic journey, the shaman has to be in a trance where he/she attains an altered state of consciousness. In Finnish shamanistic practices, and perhaps in all shamanistic practices, this is where the shaman calls upon or gathers his/her helping spirits.

How is the shamanic journey possible? How do shamans get connected to their helping spirits? How do they get into trance and attain this altered state of consciousness? Pentikäinen and Siikala argue that the shaman gets into an altered state of consciousness by drumming and joiking (singing). They continue to say that through the drumming and joiku chanting, the soul of the shaman travels to the supranormal world (Pentikäinen 1999:182, Siikala 1987). Walsh argues that the use of drugs (psychedelics) and rhythmic stimulation are sometimes used to induce altered states of consciousness, however the shamans I have observed definitely expressed that Finnish shamanism depends greatly on the use of music-drumming, dancing, singing and sounds from nature to induce altered states of consciousness and not drugs. Shamaness Jaana tells me that the purpose of music in the healing ritual is to guide the shaman and the patient to the trance state.

### 5.2.1 Encounter with shamanic healing rituals

In this section, I turn my attention to what I witnessed in my field encounter with the healing rituals. I will give examples of how the healing ritual takes place.

After the shaman is dressed in his/her full regalia, they pick their drum, which in most cases has been tuned already, and they also cleanse it with the fire. I shall again use an example from shamaness Christiana's healing rituals for a patient who was suffering from prostate cancer. During all the preparation of adornment, the patient (and all the

patients of whose healing sessions I witnessed) was placed on a bed and covered with a cloth with only the face showing. She began the ritual by shaking and beating of the drum and making noise with her voice. The beater has bells attached to the wooden part. She sometimes whistles and also sings. The lyrics of the songs at first didn't make sense to me because I couldn't relate the situation to it in any way. With this particular patient, Christiana at a point began to sound like an animal, in this case a bird. She began to dance and move her body a lot. The metallic objects attached to her costume and the bells attached to the drum and its beater all contributed to the rhythmic part of the music. This went on for over an hour with the music and dance intensifying. She drummed and sang towards the affected area of the patient. At this point I could tell from her face and her being that her entire system had changed; she smiled and laughed in between the séance, nodded the head as if she heard something (perhaps), and even began to answer by saying "ok". I could only say she was in trance after over an hour of drumming, singing and dancing. At this point, she moved towards the patient and began to use the drum and the beater to touch the body of the patient at the pelvic and waist area. She began to act as if she was drawing something from the body of the patient into the drum. After about an hour and a half, the drumming, dancing and singing ceased with Christiana looking very exhausted. She put the drum down and then sat by the patient. From this point she began to tell the patient what went on when she was in trance, what she saw and what the spirits want the patient to do to avoid future problems.

For me this last part of the ritual is very important. It is at this stage where the shaman begins to reveal whatever she saw and encountered during the journey. I would define revelation here to mean the understanding of what needs to be done in order for the patient to be healed. This has been in the form of the visions and clues gathered during the séance. These visions that come during the shamanistic séance are also seen as a form of divination. They are actually messages to the patient or to the healer as to how to successfully heal the patient. In the case of this prostate cancer patient, after the journey, Christiana tells him her visions during the séance. She says:

"In the journey, I felt there was somebody or something behind me all the time. I later realised a female figure was following me and I asked her why she was following. She said she was pissed with you".

The shamaness claims this was what the female figure following her said: "you fucking bastard, I'm going to deal with you". At this point the shaman asked the patient if he had offended any girl. But she told him he is not expected to answer. Christiana continued by saying:

“The spirit helper asked me to put this (stone) in the place where you are suffering so it can draw out the energy that doesn’t belong there. The spirit helpers asked me to pull those things, the energy, from where you are suffering into the drum. I then saw a malicious spirit which was angry at a young boy urinating around where the spirit resides”.

Then she pulsed and said to the patient; “I don’t know if you have been peeing at places of nature but you don’t have to answer me”. At this point the patient was laughing but he didn’t give an answer. The shamaness continued and said that “an old man appeared as a spirit helper, more or less like your ancestor but he said he’s from Lapland”.

Shamans claim that helping spirits make the prescriptions through the shamans. In the case of this prostate cancer patient, this is what the shamaness claimed was prescribed by the helping spirit in the form of the old woman. Christiana claimed that the old man brought with him a bear’s testicle together with some apples and handed them over to the patient. For Christiana that is proof that the spirits will restore the patients’ health (cure the prostate cancer). Christiana tells the patient: “The old man says that there are a lot of plants that will be good for you to keep this area of your body (points to the patient’s private area) strong; nettle seed, vegetables, fruits and more water”. She continues to tell the patient that the old man says he should have a prostate massage. The patient then makes an affirmative statement that he even had a prostate massage a week ago before coming to see the shamaness. Christiana then tells the patient that before the old man left, she saw him dancing with his wife so she recommends the patient dances at least thirty minutes a week to exercise the pelvic area.

In an interview with another patient, Ingrid, after having received a treatment from a shaman, she tells me that “I came here very sad because I thought I had no solution to my psychological illness, but after the shaman’s journey, I feel good”. I then asked Ingrid why she felt good and this was her response:

“You know the music, the drum and singing calmed me down so I am ok. I’m not thinking any longer, I feel the burden is gone. I am healed now, stronger than before. You know she (referring to the shamaness) told me something she saw when journeying, that was exactly what I wanted to hear. Had I not heard that, then I know I couldn’t have been healed” (field interview).

The above response given by Ingrid is very important. It is a way of understanding that some of the illnesses presented to shamans are psychosomatic in nature. Psychosomatic illnesses are emotional and mental rather than physical. More importantly, it portrays the shaman not only as an indigenous healer who heals the physical injuries but also places the shaman as a psychotherapist. Walsh therefore states that “shamans have often been called humankind’s first psychotherapists”

(Walsh 1990:184). Jerome Frank defines psychotherapy as a

“planned, emotionally charged, confiding interaction between a trained, socially sanctioned healer and a sufferer. During this interaction the healer seeks to relieve the sufferer’s distress and disability through symbolic communications, primarily words but also sometimes bodily activities” (Frank 1985:49 quoted from Walsh 1990:184).

It must be noted however that, Finnish shamans see themselves and their healing rituals primarily as spiritual.

Ingrid’s case is a clear example of how the shaman is seen as a spiritual healer and psychotherapist. This case becomes important in two areas. First the patient testified herself that it was the music, the drum and singing that calmed her down- a clear testimony about the healing power of shamanic music. Second she claims she heard exactly what she wanted to hear and that contributed to her healing. This is very psychological, but for the shaman to be able to tell her exactly what she wanted to hear after journeying also places the situation in a spiritual context.

### **5.3 Musical construction of shamanic healing rituals**

The healing sessions I witnessed were conducted on a case-by-case basis. The approach to the healing ritual was almost the same with each case, with very few changes. Music, singing, drumming and dancing was part of every single healing ritual. Music has been and still is one of the earliest and most profound human cultural innovations. Michael Drake states that “the first drums and musical instruments were put to shamanic use, as were many of the early singing traditions” (Drake 2012:94). Shamaness Susanna tells me “it is a meaningful way to attune ourselves to the rhythm of nature and of life itself”. For this reason, some kind of music, be it bells, drums, singing and/or dancing has been a natural and organic part of the healing ritual. Through the music, the energetic and spiritual aspect of the ritual is manifested. Again Drake argues that “dance and song propel the ritual process forward by providing a vehicle for self expression within the sacred space” (Drake 2012:97). However, the healing ritual is not a musical performance but is musical healing, as argued by Drake (2012:97). The shaman’s music is highly improvised and directed towards having an encounter with the spirits.

Siikala described singing as the gateway to the ecstatic state of the shaman (Siikala 1999:236). This kind of singing has always been primarily an improvisation on the part

of the shaman. The singing is also based on the knowledge of the mythology of people and on the reason for the singing, i.e. the reason for conducting the ritual. Each shaman has his/her own songs (Drake 2012:95), but they also make some up as stated by Christiana. In their singing practices, Finnish shamans combine actual verbalizations with non-verbal singing. The verbalizations can best be understood as appeals to the spirits invoked in the ritual. The verbalizations are usually a line or two repeated over and over again. Christiana tells me that:

“In our verbalizations we tell the spirits what the situation is, even though they know why they are being called and why their help is needed. We do all this in a suitably respectful way. The words are communication and not coercion”.

The non-verbal aspects which usually constitute the majority of the singing in the Finnish shamanistic rituals serve to put the shamans into the correct mind set and to bring them closer to other stages of reality, explains Susanna. The Finnish shaman's singing is therefore not understood as spell-casting. The Finnish shamans I interacted with rather make a strong claim that shamans (Finnish) do not practice magic neither do they cast spells.

Other instruments are sometimes also played to accompany the singing. From my observations, there have been various types of bells, rattles and most importantly, the drum that is often used in the healing ritual. It is usual to hear shamans say that we drum and journey. This means the journey is not possible without the sound of the drum and music in general. Ilpo Saastamoinen opines that “in shamanism, it is music that facilitates the contact with the spirits” (field interview 2014). In the ritual, the Shaman's music making by-and-large corresponds to the rhythms of nature. The monotonous and predictable drumming, unintelligible singing with no actual words, ecstatic and intensive dancing by the shaman enrich the ritual and help the shaman to connect to the supernatural world. The music guides the shaman to the trance state, the route for the soul to other dimensions of reality and to the spirits who help in the healing process. A more scientific explanation of the trance state could be described as a state in which all these external activities and situations- the music, the drama and the dance- activate the shamanistic world-view of the shaman, allowing him/her to see images and visions that have meaning from the viewpoint of the traditions of his/her people (Pulkkinen 2014:240-241).

In the Finnish shamanistic tradition, the music serves as the structure of the ritual and reflects some part of reality at the same time. The slow beginning of the rituals, their gradual build up and the wind-down (endings) are depicted through the music. One

striking aspect of the music is that it serves as an identity. Through the music, the spirits are able to identify with the shaman. In other words, the music unifies the shaman and the helping spirits. In Christiana's séances or journeys, I realized that at one point she had sounded like a bird. I asked her about that transformation in voice after the ritual and she told me she was calling on one of her helping spirits, a bird, to come and carry her to a different level of the world. The Finnish word nature, *luonto*, is closely related to words like *luonne* (character), *luoja* (creator) and *luovuus* (creativity), meaning that the Finnish shaman is required to live out his creativity in a meaningful way and thus create art and culture, including music. These are both forms of self-expression and as a means for reviving the social aspect of the souls, the *itse* explains shamaness Susanna.

Shaman Markku and other shamans have also told me that dancing as part of any shamanistic ritual is the most intense form of shamanizing. Markku, for example, argues that tiring the body helps with entering the trance state. Dancing can be a useful tool especially in situations where the shaman needs to turn off his personal autopilot and really focus on the task at hand, the healing ritual. In Finnish shamanistic practices, it is usually the shaman who dances, whereas the patient is seated or lies down. Physically, acting out the healing process in this manner would focus the healing process on the *löyly*, the body-soul of the patient. The form of the dance by the shaman has often been moving from a simple swaying of the body from left to right and shaking (shivering) the body to a more elaborate energetic jumping and overall body movements. Shamans claim to be either flying, struggling with a malicious spirit, crouching, running, jumping or stalking in their journeys to the netherworld. These movements are manifested for all to see in the shamanistic séances in the form of dance.

In summary, it is music- singing, drumming and dancing- that puts the shaman into an altered state of consciousness (trance). Music is the means of getting into contact with helping spirits in the healing process. Walsh (1990) and Siikala & Hoppal (1992) argue that the use of drugs (psychedelics) and rhythmic stimulation are sometimes used to induce altered states of consciousness. The shamans I have observed definitely expressed that Finnish shamanism depends greatly on the use of music and sounds from nature, not on drugs, to induce altered states of consciousness. In the altered state of consciousness, the shamans, with the help of the spirits, are able to find remedies to the illnesses of their patients. Shamaness Jaana tells me that the purpose of music in the healing ritual is to guide the shaman and the patient to the trance state.

## 5.4 Musical healing instruments

From the above discussion, it is clear that the main instruments used in the shamanic séance are the human voice, the shaman drum, bells and the rattle. In the healing ritual, one of these instruments or a combination of them is used. For example, in the healing rituals I witnessed from shamanesses Christiana and Susanna, they have used their voices, the shaman drum and bells, whereas shaman Markku used the shaman drum, his voice and a rattle.

The shaman's voice is used in different ways during the shamanic séance. The voice is used in chanting, mumbling, singing in both soft and very loud voices, whispering and perhaps even more for which I cannot find words to describe. Each shaman has a unique way of using his/her voice, but traces of these characteristics are evident in almost every healing ritual I witnessed. Shamaness Christiana, for example mumbles a lot during the healing ritual, making it very difficult to know what she is saying because. Shaman Markku employs a lot of whispering that is equally indecipherable. In these cases, Christiana tells me the words are mostly in a spirit language. Shamaness Susanna uses her voice in different ways. There are times when she sings so softly and other times so loudly that one can never get to hear what she is saying or decipher any definite pitches. The shaman's voice is also used for incantations described as rattling in the mouth. Some argue that the shaman's incantation is sung while others argue it is spoken. Porthan writes that:

“They are known in Finnish by the name of *lugut*. They were uttered not by singing and not in a loud voice, but in a subdued mutter, with great piety and with heads bared, especially incantations...” (Porthan 1982:100, quoted from Siikala & Hoppal 1992:69).

It was never clear for me how to differentiate which incantation was sung or spoken. Leea Virtanen seems to share the same experience and observed that it is difficult “to draw any distinction between the spoken and the sung incantations” (Virtanen 1968:27, quoted from Siikala and Hoppal 1992:74). The most important observation for me is that the shaman uses his/her voice for incantation which helps in the séance, whether sung or spoken. Siikala makes a noteworthy observation and writes that

“Originally rune singing thus literally meant the singing of incantations. It appears that, like epic poems, incantations, were sung with an assistant. Thus the delivery of both the epic and the incantation would have common roots that ultimately lead back to the shamanic séance” (1992:77).

Obviously the shaman made use of his/her voice in diverse ways.



#### 5.4.1 The shaman drum

The old Finnish term for the drum is *kannus*, yet another word in the Finnish tradition that is closely related to the equivalent Sámi word, as the Sámi word for the drum is *govvadas*, meaning ‘an instrument to create pictures’. This is actually very expressive, since one description for the whole act of shamanizing in the Sámi tradition is that “the *noaidi* sees pictures developed by the instrument” (Kallio 2007:300). Setälä (2005:143) also states that *Kannus* also explains words like *kannellinen* (something with a lid) and *kalvollinen* (something with a membrane). And from the word *kannus* we also get the verb *kannustaa*: to spur on, to encourage; originally to support someone with the drum. It is interesting how the Finnish language is literally rife with Shamanistic expression.

Siikala writes that “The drum may be claimed to be the central symbol of Shamanism, and without it a shaman is not a shaman” (Siikala 1978:45). In a similar statement, Lauri Honko also writes that “from Altai to Lapland the drum is the liturgical handbook of Shamanism” (Honko 1964:169 quoted from Ake Hultkrantz’s *The Drum in Shamanism: Some Reflections*, 1991). In Pentikäinen’s description of Sámi drums widely known for their beautiful and informative figures, he writes that the shaman’s drum has been characterized as the “cognitive map in the shamanistic séance” (Pentikäinen 2006:39). Pentikäinen consider the figures on the shaman’s drum as a map for the journey of the shaman’s *henki*-soul between the various stages of the universe. However, research has shown that no known Finnish drums have been found (Talve 1997). It is therefore beyond the scope of this study to argue whether the drum is the most important symbol in Finnish shamanism. Kaarne, again, tells me “we (shamans) are left with having to work things out ourselves to ask the spirits to guide us”. That notwithstanding, some Finnish shamans have figures on their drums, while others do not. Shaman Setälä sees the drawing of figures on the drum as a useful practice. He argues that the figures do not only help to clarify the mission of the shaman and create a certain empowering culture around the drum, but also serve to bolster the spirits of the drum (Setälä 2005:36-37). This implies that the drums themselves are spirits that help in the healing ritual and the general shamanic ritual at large. No wonder Eliade argues that the shaman’s drum assumes the most importance and that it is indispensable in shamanistic rituals (Eliade 1964:168). Eliade’s stand on the shaman’s drum, especially with its indispensability, has been criticized by many scholars (Nioradze 1925; Findeisen 1957). However, it is beyond the scope of this work to go into detail about this argument, but as far as Finnish shamanistic practices are

concerned, the drum's role in shamanic séances is as important as the bells, rattles, sounds of nature and the human voice. That notwithstanding, the drum is widely used in Finnish shamanic practices.

The instrument is a “membrane drum in the form of a tambourine...” (Hultkrantz 1991:11). It comes in various shapes and sizes. Some are oval and others round. The Shaman drum is known to be an instrument of excitation that when played puts the shaman into a trance. It is played with the beater, hammer or the drumstick. Some of the beaters are considered instruments themselves since they have bells attached to them. When they hit the membrane of the drum, the bells also make noise, adding to the overall sounds emanating from the drum. It should be mentioned that timbre, rhythm, volume and tempo of the music during the ritual are all very important and contribute to the shaman's contact with different spirit helpers. The shaman begins with a very soft song and drumming in front of his/her altar, but when the shaman moves away from the altar and begins to dance, the sound changes to loud and hard. The beater is also used on different parts of the drum to produce different timbres. The different rhythms empower the shaman to have contact with different spirits. Drake writes that

“The drumming is not restricted to a regular tempo, but may pause, speed up or slow down with irregular accents. The Shaman may stop playing altogether, or suddenly hoist the drum skyward and bang it violently, throwing the disease into heavens; returning it to the spirit world” (Drake 2012:99).

Most of the drums also have attachments to them. For example, Christiana's drum has some bells attached to it. These are jingling ornaments. During rituals they are shaken to make sounds for the shaman to dance. For Christiana, her spirits can identify with those bells and quickly come to her when she uses them in rituals.



Figure 15: Shaman drums in different sizes and shapes

The shaman's drum is often made by the shaman him/herself. The drums are born from reindeer skin and split-pine frames, fire, water, and salt. The spirits of the reindeer and the pine tree are believed to assist the shaman during rituals. It is believed that the reindeer skin used for the drum links the shaman to the powers or soul of the reindeer and helps during healing rituals. Water is believed to be life and salt cleanses the drum and everyone the user works on. After the drum is made, a special ceremony is organized to initiate the drum. This ceremony is termed differently by different shamans. Christiana for example calls the ceremony "Birthing of a shaman's drum" while Susanna calls it "Rite of passage". In any case, the drum is initiated. Christiana explains that through this initiation the shaman is intimately connected with the helping spirits for healing works. In a similar explanation, Susanna claims that through the initiation of the drum, "The shaman gets married to the drum". In this sense a more personal relationship is developed with the drum. Since the drum is believed to be a spirit, during initiations shamans are taught how to honour their drums.



Figure 16: A shamaness shamanizing with her drum and beater

#### 5.4.2 The rattle

Not much has been written about the use of rattles in Finnish shamanism but it still remains an important instrument in their healing rituals. As stated, not all Finnish shamans use the rattle. Shaman Markku claims that the use of the rattle is very important as it is calls on ‘power animals’ to assist in the ritual. Drake draws a striking difference between the work of the drum and the rattle. He states that “The shaman’s rattle draws the spirit world and its inhabitants into the material world, whereas the drum carries the shaman into the spirit world” (Drake 2012: 99). Most Finnish shamans instead use their beaters as a form of rattle. Christiana for example, uses the beater in a way that functions as a rattle. Her beater is made in such a way that the metallic rings attached to it produce a similar sound to the rattle. Drake argues that when the beater or the drumstick is used as a rattle, the sound is not just interesting but also brings out an offbeat, which contributes a new dimension to the overall sonic



phenomenon (Drake 2012: 99-100). Like the drum, the constant repetitive sound of the rattle helps in putting the shaman into an altered state of consciousness. In his description of the gourd rattle, Drake states that “The seeds of the gourd rattle embody the voice of the Creator, since they are the source of newly created life. The seeds within the rattle scatter the illusions of the conscious mind, planting seeds of pure and clear mind” (Drake 2012: 100). Markku believes that when the rattle is used in the correct context, the existence of the human spirit is sustained.



Figure 17: A shaman with the container gourd rattle



Figure 18: A drum beater used as a rattle

#### 5.4.3 Bells and other instruments

Finnish shamans employ the use of different bells when shamanizing. Little has been written about bells but in every shamanic ritual I witnessed, the presence of bells was heard and felt. The bells are either attached to the shaman's drum or dress. High-pitched twittering sounds emerge from the bells when the drum is beaten and moved by the shaman. In a likewise manner when the shaman dances, the bells attached to his/her costume also produce sound that contributes to the overall sonic experience of the ritual. In most of the séances, bells accompany the shaman when he/she is singing. Shamaness Christiana, for example, uses her drumstick or beater which has bells on it to provide some rhythmic accompaniment when she is singing. Shamaness Susanna

and shaman Setälä have also used bells in diverse ways. Bells have also been used in the calling of spirit helpers. One often sees a shaman in front of the altar using bells. Christiana tells me the spirits then know that they are needed and quickly come to administer healing.



Figure 19: Various types of bells used by shamans

The bells contribute to the overall sonic experience of the healing ritual.

In most Finno-Ugric traditions and other northern peoples in shamanistic rituals, kantele-like instruments have also been used (Siikala 1999:236-238), though I didn't witness any shaman with the kantele-like instrument. However, I witnessed Christiana using the shruti with her voice in some of her healing rituals. It is a drone-like instrument found in Indian musical traditions. This is not to say that Finnish shamanistic practices represent more of a New Age type of postmodern religious practice and thus fall out of indigenous healing praxis. Only a few shamans employ modern instruments and they explicitly explain this as something they have adopted themselves. Christiana, for example, claims that she uses it on the premise that sometimes it becomes necessary due to the gravity of the disease, malicious spirits or the general approach to the ritual. In one of her healing sessions, she began drumming for some time and later picked up the shruti. She did not however give any reason for using it, but in another instance she explained that the drum felt so heavy after pulling the unwanted energy from a patient into the drum, hence she resorted to the use of the shruti. She also admits that it is not every shaman who uses it and it's not part of the Finnish shamanic tradition, but she feels her spirit is connected to it and enjoys working with it.





Figure 20: Shamanizing using the *shruti* with a patient



## 6 COMPARATIVE ANALYSES AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter the comparative perspectives of the indigenous musical healing rituals of the Twelve Apostles Church in Ghana and shamanism in Finland are presented. By juxtaposing the two musical healing rituals, both their similarities and differences are elucidated. This chapter also presents the conclusions and recommendations of the study. In the conclusion I use the term ‘technology of transcendence’ to mean how music is used as a technological means of understanding the invisible.

This study employed the use of phenomenological ethnography, which is ethnomusicological in finding answers to the research question and the many other related questions. In other words, the study demanded working within the conceptual framework of phenomenology where the experiences of patients and healers in relation to spirits are understood in a cultural context. Therefore, the focus of inquiry of the study was on what the subjects experience with regards to the use of indigenous music in indigenous rituals. The study attempted to understand the perceptions, perspectives, understandings of patients and healers, as well as the meanings of the healing phenomenon. The study has attempted to understand what it is like and how it feels like to experience such modes of musical healing based on observations and interactions with patients and healers. Doing phenomenology requires a reflexive engagement (Husserl 1960:12) building on socially and culturally informed concepts of such clinical reality (Koen 2009:5). Hence the study has been approached with a reflexive mind, while keeping the focus on the subjects. Despite the different branches that have developed in phenomenology, this study has presented a generic view point of phenomenology. This generic view point is a balanced mixture of these branches, bringing out the understanding of these indigenous musical healing rituals.

In this study I have described for the most part a clinical reality which is expressively a healing art of “the transcendent motional patterns of music and dance” (Friedson 1996:163). To understand this healing art, is to understand the existence of spirits as a constituent of the everyday lifeworlds of these indigenous musical healing rituals. As Friedson claims, “within the acoustical and motional properties of singing, clapping, drumming and dancing, people experience profound modes of being-in-the-world” (Friedson 1996:164). This experience of being-in-the-world musically is not an abstract construction but a lived experience or process understood in its ontological sense.

## 6.1 The technology of transcendence

Understanding the concept of transcendence was used in reference to God. It was based on Aristotle's ideas and views on the understanding that God is/was beyond the world (Menn 1992). Transcendence in its philosophical sense has subsequently come to mean that which is beyond. A transcendental experience therefore goes beyond the ordinary, yet its reality is understood when it is predicated on an existing experience (Schwartz 2004:viii).

Friedson employs the term "technology of trance" in explaining Tumbuka divination. He argues from the point of view of how modern technology serves as a threat to other forms of revealing. He claims that modern technology utilizes and transforms the world as a standing energy waiting to be tapped in the production of goods. He writes that "even the arts become transformed into products waiting to be produced solely for their commercial potential to be used up" (1996:35). However, in Tumbuka healing, the call of vimbuza (spirits) as used by Friedson, is about energy technology. The vimbuza produces energy through music and dance for the purposes of healing. Friedson talks about another form of technology, thus, communication technology, during the healing ritual. The transmission of information about the causes of an illness or how it should be treated is through divination. According to Friedson, "these communication technologies give 'voice' to the invisible" (1996:34). In effect, during the divination trance, through music and dance, the energy technology and the communication technology come together so that the beyond is understood.

Similarly, Walsh uses the term "technology of transcendence" as a way of explaining the induced altered state of consciousness of a shaman. Walsh argues that though it has been a major problem in accepting altered state of consciousness in Western history, the situation is changing radically. He states that "this technology can now be partly understood in psychological terms" (1990:161). Walsh describes Charles Tart's three stages of induction, which are useful in the understanding of shamanic altered states as a technology of transcendence. The three stages are destabilization of initial state, re-patterning stage of transition to a new state and finalization of the new state. In the destabilization stage, the idea is to disrupt the usual functioning of the brain-mind and normally "intense music or drumming" (Walsh 1990:162) works better. In the second stage, due to the disturbance of the usual state, there is transition which is moulded by such forces as beliefs and the environment operating on the brain-mind. In the third

stage, Walsh states that “when this movement towards a new pattern or state has occurred, consciousness restabilizes into the new” (1990:162). Walsh also refers to this as “techniques for altering consciousness” and states that “these techniques constitute a technology of transcendence or the so-called technology of the sacred” (1990:159). In effect he is using technology and techniques interchangeably, that is, how the shaman connects to the spiritual realm.

This is also the case in the healing arts of the Twelve Apostles Church and shamanism. As a way of understanding the beyond, the manifestation of spirits or gods, music and dance is used technologically. Singing, dancing, clapping and drumming are more than an aesthetic experience. This is not to say that aesthetic experiences are not part of the experiences of healers and their patients, but rather fashioned to “call forth and shape spiritual energy” (Friedson 1996:35). Friedson therefore writes that “musical experience, as a technological mode of being-in-the-world, takes on ontological significance as an authentic mode of existence” (1996:37). When shamans and prophets/prophetesses from the Twelve Apostles Church explicitly talk about the healing rituals, they indirectly approach it technologically. The communication transactions between the healer and the patient in the ritual of the Twelve Apostles Church are ways of understanding the invisible or the beyond.

The shaman’s drum is technologically seen as a vehicle that transports the shaman to the spiritual world or as the shaman’s cognitive map. Finnish shamans see their drums as spiritual boats that carry them to the netherworld. Walsh states that “to travel the cosmos the shaman must be able to enter specific states of consciousness” (1990:159). The sound of the Finnish shaman’s drum puts him/her in this altered state of consciousness. In an altered state of consciousness, the Finnish shaman makes contact with the spirit helpers who represent the beyond (Siikala & Hoppal 1999:65).

With the sound of the *mfaba*, possessed patients tremble and when the evil spirit is finally driven away by the sound of the instrument, the patient calms down just as a mentally derailed patient behaves after receiving an injection in western medicine. The prophets and prophetesses of the Twelve Apostles Church therefore admit that, it is the sound of the *mfaba* that is used to call on spirits. When prophets/prophetesses are in trance they receive power from the beyond (God for the adherents of the church) and are able to question demons from the beyond that have taken possession of a patient.

The various techniques of trance, like the Finnish shaman drumming and dancing in

order to reach altered state of consciousness and prophets of the Twelve Apostles Church singing and playing *mfaba*, suggest that these indigenous rituals have devoted massive energy towards reaching the trance state. For Friedson, “this kind of musical technology seems, in fact, to be a widespread and perhaps delimiting feature of indigenous health care systems...”(Friedson 1996:166). The Twelve Apostles Church and Finnish shamanism experience spirits who manifests themselves sonically in a musical sense. Trance and altered states of consciousness are important aspects of the indigenous medical technology of the Twelve Apostles Church and Finnish shamanism respectively. The oration of music as an important aspect of a “medical technology, frames its phenomenological presence” (Friedson 1996:35) in these indigenous healing rituals.

## **6.2 The comparative analyses**

Based on the findings of this study, the following salient similarities and differences are recognized. Aside from the similarities and differences found in the musical presentations, this section also highlights equally important similarities and differences that are non-musical. These non-musical comparative analyses are very important in understanding healing rituals.

### **6.2.1 Similarities**

Music has been by far the strongest factor in these healing rituals. Through the music one can understand the structure of the entire healing ritual. These indigenous healing practitioners believe that they cannot approach the healing ritual without music. Music therefore has been the major component in the relationship of the healers and patients with the supernatural. Both healing rituals are not only seen as sacred in nature but also as a reality, deeply expressed and actively experienced through singing, dancing and drumming. Both rituals begin with slow rhythms and soft singing, which become heightened as the ritual progresses.

Belief in spirits is a common feature in these two healing rituals. Both believe that with music they can call on spirits to come and heal the sick, thereby making the entire ritual spiritual. The Twelve Apostles Church approaches the healing ritual with singing songs through which the Holy Spirit is invited to come and take charge of the ritual. The lyrics

centre on this calling of the Holy Spirit. Similarly, Shamans call on their spirit helpers using music-they sing and drum to summon the helping spirits. The helping spirits are claimed to identify with shamans based on their musical renditions. It is therefore a common thing to hear shamans say “I have to call on my spirit helpers”. This calling of the spirit helpers is done primarily through singing, drumming and dancing.

Exorcism is another common part of these healing rituals. Music is an important element used in exorcising bad or malicious spirits. In the healing ritual of the Twelve Apostles Church, the intensified playing of the *mfaba* is believed to expel the evil spirits who brought pain, harm and illness to the patient. With the sound of the *mfaba*, these evil spirits that tremble and often must flee, for it is claimed that they cannot stand the sound of the *mfaba*. Finnish shamans also exorcise malicious spirits with music. Through drumming, the unwanted unhealthy state of the patient, often an illness of the soul, is dealt with by exorcising the spirit that has taken possession. With the music and by exorcising, bad energies are expelled from the soul of patient.

As far as the practices of the Twelve Apostles Church and Shamanism is concerned, the most effective means through which healers communicate with the supernatural are trance or an altered state of consciousness. With drumming, singing, dancing and diverse sounds emanating from the healer and nature, the healer is put into a trance in order to effect the healing. Prophets and prophetesses enter into a trance before interrogating their patients. The sound of the *mfaba* and *dondo* amidst singing, dancing and clapping of the hands puts the prophet/prophetess into a trance. In trance, the prophet has the power to question and interrogate malicious or evil spirits that cause pain to the healer. Through this, the cause of an illness is made known. Finnish shamans employ a similar approach in their healing rituals. The shaman enters into an altered state of consciousness when he/she begins to drum and journey. With songs, the sounds of the drum and dancing, the shaman becomes connected to the supranormal world and can return the lost soul of a patient. If the healers of both rituals can connect to spirits while in trance and it is music that actually puts them into trance or altered state of consciousness for them to be able to heal, then the efficacy of music in these rituals cannot be epiphenomenal. This explains why the ritual is music and music is the ritual. Moreover, in trance or altered states of consciousness healers have used their voices in diverse ways in communicating with spirits. Prophets of the Twelve Apostles church use strange languages known as tongues in communicating with the Holy Spirit, whereas the shaman employs incantations when calling on spirit helpers. The use of the ‘tongues’ and incantations both contribute uniquely to the

soundscapes during the healing ritual of the Twelve Apostles Church and shamans respectively.

Both healing rituals employ the use of drums and sometimes of rattles. Research has shown that drums and rattles are very effective when they are used in healing rituals (Drake 2012; Akombo 2006; Ahlbäck & Bergman 1991). The shamanic journey is embarked upon with the shaman drum. In fact, the drum is the transportation device that carries the shaman to the netherworld. It is the sound of the rattle that draws spirits into this reality or this world. Therefore, in both healing rituals these instruments are used to bridge the physical world to the spiritual world. For the Twelve Apostles Church, they believe that it is only when the sound of the *mfaba* and *dondo* is heard that *adom* (grace) comes for healing to be effected. *Adom* here is seen as some sort of spirit that only comes when the sound of the *mfaba* and *dondo* is heard during the healing ritual.

Another striking similarity is the position of the musical performance itself within the ritual. Music performed in both healing rituals may entertain, but its main purpose is for healing. This could explain why shamans have to do the singing and playing of instruments themselves during the healing ritual. The shaman drums and journeys all by him or herself during the ritual. In the same way, the prophet of the Twelve Apostles Church is mostly the lead singer during the healing ritual. Even though prophets may not lead the music throughout the ritual, he is at liberty to change the song at any point in time. In some situations, you may see prophets and prophetesses playing the *mfaba* and *dondo* themselves at some. This is also to say that, both the prophet of the church and a shaman have the power to dictate the pace of the music and the kind of rhythm that should accompany a particular ritual. In other words, healers from both healing rituals dictate the kind of music that best suits the situation and that will help best in the healing.

Aside from these musical similarities, there are also some non-musical similarities that cannot be overlooked. There are some social and political factors that have contributed to the sustenance of both rituals. Socially, the Twelve Apostles Church sees itself as a movement that has promoted and still promotes Christianity based on African idioms. They have Africanized Christianity in a way that makes it expressive for the African. One can go to church, sing, dance and clap one's hands without restrictions. It is a way of allowing Ghanaians to express themselves in Christian worship exactly as would have been allowed in a purely traditional worship. There are no restrictions on the kind

of dress one needs to wear for church service. Most importantly, they approach worship in a way that their members' spiritual needs are met. For the African and for that matter the Ghanaian, going to church has traditionally not been only to serve God but for protection from evil, witches and wizards. The Twelve Apostles Church fulfills all these needs for its members and all who seek their help.

Finnish shamans see their practices as a way of reconnecting to their ancestral lineage. These ancestors help in restoring the health of their family members and protecting them. It is therefore the social responsibility of the shaman to restore health to his/her people. Politically, the Twelve Apostles Church fought for the Ghanaian identity during the colonial era. Christianity was imposed on Ghanaians by the Europeans who colonized the Ghana. Rejecting the European missionaries way of worship was in a way a rejection of colonial rule. In a similar way, shamans have been oppressed by the colonialists who brought the church to Finland. They seized shamanic drums, killed shamans who were seen as witches and wizards and built churches on sacred shamanic places. They even changed some indigenous shamanic terminologies to fit into Christian ideologies so they could change the people that follow them. Despite the oppression, shamanism is still remembered and practiced in Finland. It should be mentioned that even though shamanism is practiced in Finland, it is not so common.

Moreover, the world of these two indigenous healing groups is mostly understood as metaphysical. For example, the aetiology of diseases is understood from their metaphysical perspectives; a perspective that is used to "denote reality transcending the world of science and common sense" (Mawere 2011:2). For this reason, knowledge about spiritual truth is gained through revelations and divinations. Revelations and divinations are employed by these two healing rituals as a way of knowing in a spiritual sense.

In addition, the concept of purification is evident in both healing rituals. The two rituals employ the use of water, fire and incense, for example, during the healing sessions. These are believed to expel evil and purify the atmosphere for the healing ritual to be effective. Incense is lit during the ritual by the Twelve Apostles Church, the same way as the Shamans do.

Finally, healers of both rituals differentiate themselves from other folk healers. In as much as magic and spell casting has been associated with some folk healings, prophets of the Twelve Apostles Church and Finnish shamans differentiate themselves from

these practices. The healers of the Twelve Apostles Church and Finnish shaman healers claim rather strongly that they do not use or practice magic when they are healing. The healing ritual is entirely spiritual and musical; music is the connection between healers, patients and the supernatural. There are no spell castings at all in the healing rituals.

### 6.2.2 Differences

Despite the numerous similarities between these two indigenous healing rituals, there are also a number of differences.

The two healing rituals employ music, but the music used is “diverse in its idiomatic expression” (Akombo 2006:85). The music of the Twelve Apostles Church displays a great sense of periodicity and employs more decorative melodies. The music has a form, namely the cantor and chorus or call and response form. The decorated melodies are often harmonized in thirds and sixths. With the simple melodies, everybody is able to participate in the singing. With any participant of the healing ritual being able to become involved in the music, and with the counter melodies being introduced by different singers at different points, the music takes on a unique and also contrapuntal texture distinguished interlocking patterns. Shamanic singing, however, is usually not melodic and done by the shaman alone except in situations where the shaman has assistants who may contribute to the singing in a different way. At some point during the singing one might identify clear melodies but the majority of the singing is monotonic with no clear melodies. One unique aspect of the shaman is the use of his/her voice to depict sounds of nature-this is very absent in the way the Twelve Apostles Church sings.

In terms of song lyrics, the Twelve Apostles Church uses intelligible lyrics understood by all taking part in the ritual, at least those who understand the Akan dialect. Of course there are times when the shaman sings about the disease and in this case he/she might use intelligible words, but in most situations the songs are understood by the shaman and his/her spirit helpers alone. This is a special way of communicating with them so in such instances one can hardly decipher what the shaman is singing. In some situations, even the shamans themselves do not really know where they stand in terms of the song renditions. Christiana for example tells me, “in most cases I don’t know if I



am singing the song or the song is singing me” (field interview 2014). I witnessed a community shamanic ritual, after which I asked the other shamans who were present what the songs sung by the shaman were about and they said they did not understand. Their reason was that the shaman might have used the song as a special way of communicating to the spirits. All they could do was to contribute by humming.

Moreover, in the healing ritual of the Twelve Apostles church, patients are more or less involved in the entire ritual. This means they contribute to the singing, clapping of hands and even dancing. It is believed that when patients are involved in the singing, they do so by singing their illnesses away. They clap by making themselves active participants. When patients are possessed during the ritual, they shout and this contributes to the general aesthetics of the music. Patients in a possessed state also exhibit dramatic movements through dance. The offbeat dancing by possessed patients is also seen as therapeutic. The case is different in shamanic healing rituals where the patient is less involved in the ritual. Here I am referring to the patient’s physical involvement. In most cases they are mentally active participants. The patient is either seated or lies down for the shaman to do all the work. Patients do not contribute to the ritual or to the music - singing, playing or dancing is done only by the shaman.

The sound of the instruments as part of the healing is very crucial in both types of ritual, but a lot of contrast exists in the choice of instruments. The principal instrument associated with the healing ritual of the Twelve Apostles Church is the *mfaba*, whereas shamanic healing principally uses the shaman drum. It is very normal to witness most healing rituals with only the *mfaba* and the shamanic drum been used for the Twelve Apostles Church and shamans respectively. That is not to say that the other instruments are less important. Again the Twelve Apostles Church uses an hourglass drum with both ends covered with a membrane in the ritual where as shamans use the frame drum. The drumstick or beater for the hourglass drum is not seen as important in the healing ritual, but the drumstick or beater for the shaman drum is itself an instrument of equal importance for the ritual.

The two rituals employ the use of rattles but these too are different. The Twelve Apostles Church uses the gourd rattle with enmeshed nets made out of beads whereas shamans usually use the container gourd rattle or better still some bells instead.

Aside from these musical differences, there are also some differences in other important aspects of both rituals.

Even though both the Twelve Apostles Church and shamans believe in spirits, for the Twelve Apostles Church there are evil or bad spirits that are directly responsible for illnesses. In shamanism the case is different. Shamans believe that illnesses are caused by bad energy and that no spirit causes illness until one offends it. That notwithstanding, shamans believe that there are some spirits or even people that are malicious and who might also cause pain and harm to man. The Twelve Apostles Church also believes that in the healing ritual prophets/prophetess get possessed by the Holy Spirit and patients are normally possessed by evil spirits. In shamanism it is believed that the shaman is never possessed in any way, rather he/she becomes connected via an altered state of consciousness. Any form of possession happens to the patient, but this seldom occurs.

The emphasis on spirit helpers, for example, differs in these two healing rituals. The Twelve Apostles Church believes that it is the spirit of God or the Holy Spirit that helps them in the healing. The spirit of God comes to them in the form of *adom* (grace) when the playing of *mfaba* amidst singing and drumming is heightened. The spirit of God (Holy Spirit) possesses the prophet/prophetess and empowers him/her to interrogate, diagnose and prescribe to the patient. Every success of the healing ritual is therefore ascribed to the Holy Spirit or the spirit of God that empowers the messengers; the prophets/prophetesses.

For Finnish shamans, their helping spirits have mostly been ancestors and spirits believed to be residing in natural objects and beings including power animals. The ancestors are believed to provide answers to difficult situations and mostly warn against the breaking of taboos. It is therefore necessary for shamans to honour the dead by offering sacrifices to them. Rivers, mountains, trees, animals and almost everything is believed to have a spirit and these spirits help the shaman during the shamanic séance by either giving information or helping the shaman in the spirit world. Power animals are believed to be very helpful in the shamanic journey. They are often regarded as guiding spirits. In one healing ritual with Markku, he said that after he returned from his journey to the spiritual world, it was his power animal- the bear that at one time guided and carried him. Christiana in a similar way once said after a healing ritual that she was taken to a very high mountain by a bird and it was the mountain that actually gave her what the patient needed to do to get healed. Also from the healing ritual described in the previous chapter about the patient with the prostate cancer, the old man that the shamaness claimed she saw during her journey was said to

be the ancestor of the patient. It was actually the old man (ancestor) who gave the prescription to be given to the patient.

### **6.3 Conclusions**

The central focus of this study was on the use of indigenous music in the healing rituals of the syncretic Twelve Apostles Church in Ghana and Shamanism in Finland. The question at the heart of the study was how two cultures use indigenous music in their healing rituals. In this regard, a comparative study between these indigenous healing rituals was prudent. The issues raised have been approached with a basis of cultural understanding of beliefs, norms, and communication transactions associated with health care seeking. The term indigenous/traditional healing was operationalized to mean healing practices not based on Western biomedical concepts but rather on the use of music and dance in a local healing with cultural meanings and understandings. In the review of literature to the study, it was clear that there have been vast contributions from scholars towards the study of indigenous healing rituals. These scholars, however, mention music only peripherally in their research. There is therefore scanty data focusing on the musical nature of such indigenous healing rituals. This is the lacuna this study has tried to fill, by analyzing how music is used in two healing rituals, those of the Twelve Apostles Church in Ghana and Shamanism in Finland.

In conclusion, music in these indigenous healing rituals is not epiphenomenal but rather an intrinsic part of a lived experience. Playing the *mfaba* and the shaman's drum to become possessed and connected to the helping spirits for the prophet of the Twelve Apostles Church and a shaman respectively makes the ritual very musical in nature. The healing rituals are effective but its efficacy is possible with musical phenomena making the ritual itself music, and music the ritual.

### **6.4 Recommendations**

Interest in research in the field of indigenous musical healing rituals has increased in academic discourse. I consider Western medicine as important but these indigenous musical healing rituals reveal insights into other modes of healing informed by cultural modes or contexts. More research is needed, for instance, on the musical healing of the

Twelve Apostles Church in Ghana and shamanism in Finland to be placed as complimentary medical modules. Overall, research on indigenous healing rituals as complimentary medical modules is needs to be undertaken.

## 7 REFERENCES

- Aarnio, S. (2014). Hiljentyminen, keskittyminen, haltiyhteys ja samanistinen istunto 1. *An internal memo in the Ikiaika training program*, 11.11.2014.
- Abrams, D. (1996). *The Spell of the Senuous*. New York: Random House Inc.
- Agordoh, A. A. (2010). *Studies in African Music (Revised Edition)*. Ghana: New Age Publications.
- Akwambo, D. O. (2006). *Music and Healing Across Cultures*. Ames, Gainesville, Berlin: Culicidae Press.
- Akogyeram, H. (2006). African Indigenous Churches and the Ministry of the Holy Spirit. *Journal for African Instituted Church Theology*, Vol. II, Number 1.
- Alén, M. (2015). Samanistinen parantaminen. *Seita* 2/2015, 20-24.
- Alho, O. (Ed.) (1999). *Finland, A Cultural Encyclopedia*. Finnish Literature Society. Helsinki: Vammalan Kirjapaino Oy, Vammala.
- Anuchin, V. I. (1914). *Ocerk samanstva u Enisekskih ostjakov*. Sbornik Muzeja antropologii i etnografii, T. II, Vyp. 2. SPb.
- Appadurai, A. (1986). *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . (1986). Theory in Anthropology: Center and Periphery. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 28(1): 356-361.
- . (1986). Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology. In Richard Fox (Ed.), *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present (191-210)*. Santa Fe: School of America Press.
- . (1996). *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Atkinson, P. and Delamont, S. (2005): Analytic Perspectives. In Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 821-840), 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. USA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Ayegboyin, D. & Ishola, A. S. (1997). *African Indigenous Churches; An Historical Perspective*. Lagos, Nigeria: Greater Heights Publications.
- Baeta, C. G. (1962). *Prophetism in Ghana: A Study of some 'Spiritual' Churches*. London: SCM Press.
- Bakan, M. B. (1999). *Music of Death and New Creation: Experiences in the World of Balinese Gamelan Beleganjur*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ball, M. & Smith, G. (2001). Technologies of realism? Ethnographic uses of photography and film. In Atkinson P., Coffey A., Delamont S., Lofland J., & Lofland L.

- (Eds.), *Handbook of ethnography* (pp.302-319). London: Sage.
- Barret, D. (1968). *Schism and Renewal in Africa*. London: OUP.
- Bernard, H. R. (2006). *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (4<sup>th</sup> Edition). Lanham, UK: Altamira Press, A Division of Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Boddy, J. (1989). *Wombs and Alien Spirits: Women, Men and the Zar Cult in Northern Sudan*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Breidenbach P. (1978). Ritual Interrogation and the Communication of Belief in a West African Religious Movement. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 9, Fasc. 2, pp. 95-108.
- Brewer, J. (2000). *Ethnography*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Bruscia, K. (1989). *Defining Music Therapy*. Spring City: Spring House Books.
- Buah, F. K. (1980). *A History of Ghana*. Oxford: Macmillan Publishers Ltd.
- Chopra, D. (1989). *Quantum Healing: Exploring the Frontiers of Mind/Body Medicine*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Clarke, D. & Clarke, E. (Eds.) (2011). Music and Consciousness; Philosophical, psychological, and cultural perspectives. Oxford University.
- Clark, R. C: (2004). Towards a Post-missionary Oral Christology Among African Indigenous Churches in Ghana. *Journal of Asian Mission*, 6.
- . (2006). African Indigenous Churches in Ghana-Past, Present and Future. *Journal for African Instituted Church Theology*, Vol. II, Number 1.
- Cohn, H. W. (2002). *Heidegger and the roots of Existential Therapy*. London: Continuum.
- Colson, E. (1969). Spirit Possession among the Tonga of Zambia. In John Beattie and John Middleton (Eds.), *Spirit Mediumship and Society in Africa*, pp. 69-103. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Cowan, T. (1996). *Shamanism as a Spiritual Practice for Daily Life*. Berkeley: Crossing Press.
- Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design; Choosing Among Five Traditions*. Thousand Oaks, London: Sage Publications.
- Dankwah, J. W. (2011). *What Makes A Gɔbaa? A Study of Musicianship and Aesthetics in Dagaaba Xylophone Music*. Ghana: A master's thesis; University of Cape Coast.
- Daneel, M. L. (1974). *The Background and Rise of Southern Shona Independent Churches*. The Hague: Mouton & Co. N. Y.
- Davies, W. B. (1999). *An Introduction to Music Therapy: Theory and Practice*. Boston: McGraw-Hill (2<sup>nd</sup>. Ed).
- Dilthey, W. (1985). Poetry and Experience. In Rudolf A. Makkreel and frithjof Rodi (Eds.), *Selected Works*, vol 5. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

- Drake, M. (2012). *Shamanic Drumming: Calling the Spirits*. Salem, Oregon, USA: Talking Drum Publications.
- Deusen K. V. (2004). *Singing Story, Healing Drum: Shamans and Storytellers of Turkic Siberia*. London, Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston.
- Diallo, Y. And Hall, M. (1989). *The Healing Drum: African Wisdom Teachings*. Rochester, Vermont: Destiny Books.
- Dioszegi, V. (1968). *Tracing Shamans in Siberia: The Story of an Ethnographic Research Expedition*. Oosterhout: Anthropological Publications
- Eliade, M. (1962). *The Forge And The Crucible*. Translated by Stephen Corrin. New York: Harper & Row.
- . (1964). *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*. Princeton University Press. Princeton, N. J.
- Embree, L. (1994). Reflection on the Cultural Disciplines. In Embree Lester and Mano Daniel (Eds.), *Phenomenology of the Cultural Disciplines* (pp. 1-37). Contributions to Phenomenology in Collaboration with The Center for Advanced Research in Phenomenology, vol.16. Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Evans Pritchard, E. E. (1937). *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ezeanya, S. N. (1969). God, Spirits and the Spirit World. In Kwesi A. Dickson and Paul Ellingworth(Eds.), *Biblical Revelation and African Beliefs*, pp. 30-46. London: Lutterworth.
- Frank J. (1982). *Sanity and Survival in the Nuclear Age: Psychological Aspects of War and Peace*. New York: Random House.
- Friedson, S. M. (1996). *Dancing Prophets; Musical Experience in Tumbuka Healing*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Findeisen, H. (1957). *Schamanentum*. (Urbanbucher 28.) Stuttgart.
- Ganander, C. (1789). *Mythologia Fennica*. Turku 1960.
- Gouk, P. (2000). Introduction. In Penelope Gouk (Ed.), *Musical Healing in Cultural Contexts* (pp. 1-25). England: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
- Goulding, C. (2005). Grounded Theory, Ethnography and Phenomenology: A comparative analysis of three qualitative strategies for marketing research. *European Journal of Marketing* (pp. 294-308), vol.39 no. ¾. Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Greefield, S. M. & Droogers, A. (2001). *Reinventing Religions: Syncretism and Transformation in Africa and the America*. USA: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc.
- Guba, E. G. and Lincoln, S. Y. (2005): Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions and Emerging Confluences. In Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage*

- Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 821-840), 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. USA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Guignon, C. (Ed.), (1999). *The Cambridge Companion to Heidegger*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gupta, A., & Fergusson, J. (1992). Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference. *Cultural Anthropology*, 7(1): 6-23
- Haggman, A. M. (1992). Ballad Singing in an Ostrobothnian village. *Arv* 48, pp. 215-223.
- Hart, G. J. (1994). The Study of Religion in Husserl's Writings. In Embree Lester and Mano Daniel (Eds.), *Phenomenology of the Cultural Disciplines* (pp. 265-296). Contributions to Phenomenology in Collaboration with The Center for Advanced Research in Phenomenology, vol.16. Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Heidegger, M. (1977). *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*. Translated by William Lovitt. New York: Harper Colophon Books.
- . (1996). *Being and Time: A translation of Sein und Zeit*. Translated by J. Stambaugh. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Helinski, E. A. (1990). Octosyllabic and hexasyllabic verse in Northern Samoyed. *Congressus septimus internationalis fenno-ugristarum 2 A, Linguistica*. Debrecen.
- Helsingin yliopiston kulttuurien tutkimuksen laitos 2001. *Perinteentutkimuksen terminologia*. Helsinki University.
- Honko L. (1964). Review of glaubenswelt und Folklore der sibirischen Volker. Hrsg. von V. Dioszegi. *Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen 35. Helsinki*
- Hoppal, M. (1993). Studies in Eurasian Shamanism. In: M. Hoppal and K. D. Howard (Eds.), *Shamans and Cultures* (pp.258-288). Budapest: Akademiai Kiado.
- . (2002). *Das Buch der Schamanen*. Europa und Asien. Munchen: Ullstein.
- . (2003). Tracing Shamans in Tuva. In Gabor Barna (Ed.), *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica*, 48 (3-4), pp. 465-481. Budapest: Akademiai Kiado.
- Hultkrantz, A. (1991). The Drum in Shamanism: Some Reflections. In Tore Ahlback and Jan Bergman (Eds.), *The Saami Shaman Drum (1988)*. Scripa Instituti Donneriani Aboensis XIV. Abo, Finland: The Donner Institute for Research in Religious and Cultural History.
- Husserl, E. (1960). *Cartesian Meditations: An Introduction to Phenomenology*. Translated by Dorion Cairns. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Judge, B. The Effect of Sound Vibration on the Human Body. An Undergraduate Research Project. University of Puget Sound. 7.28.03
- Jutikkala, E. & Pirinen, K. (2003). *A History of Finland*. Translated by Paul Sjoblom. Helsinki: Werner Soderstrom Osakeyhtio.



- Kallio, B. M. (2007). Noaidi – näkijä. In Irma Heiskanen & Kaarina Kailo (Eds.), *Ekopsykologia ja perinnetieto* (pp. 299-309). Helsinki: Green Spot.
- Kapferer, B. (1983). *A Celebration of Demons: Exorcism and the Aesthetics of Healing in Sri Lanka*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- . (1986). Performance and the Structuring of Meaning and Experience. In Victor W. Turner and Edward M. Bruner (Eds.), *The Anthropology of Experience*, pp. 188-220. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Kaplan, B. and Maxwell, J. A. (1994). Qualitative Research Methods for Evaluating Computer Systems, in *Evaluating Health Care Information Systems: Methods and Applications*, J.G. Anderson, C. E. Aydin and S. J. Jay (eds.). CA: Sage, Thousand Oaks, , (pp 45-68).
- Kenny, C. (2002). Keeping the World in Balance- Music Therapy in Ritual Context. In *Voices, A world Forum for Music Therapy*, vol.2, No. 2.
- . (1982). *The Mythic Artery: The Magic of Music Therapy*. CA: Ridgeview Publishing Co.
- . (1989). *The Field of Play: A Guide for the Theory and Practice of Music Therapy*. CA: Ridgeview Publishing Co. Atascadero.
- Kleiman, A. (1980). *Patients and Healers in the Context of Culture; An Exploration of the Borderland between Anthropology, Medicine, and Psychiatry*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- . (1988). *Rethinking Psychiatry*. New York: Free Press.
- Koen, B. D. (2009). *Beyond the Roof of the World: Music, Prayer, and Healing in the Pamir Mountains*. United States of America: Oxford University Press.
- Kumar, R. (2005). *Research Methodology: A Step- by- Step Guide for Beginners*. New Delhi, London: Sage Publications.
- Kuusi, M. (1964). Fatalistic Traits in Finnish Proverbs. In H. Ringgren (Ed.), *Fatalistic Beliefs in Religion, Folklore, and Literature*, pp. 89-96.
- Kyeremateng K. N. (1999). *Akan Heritage*. Accra: Optimum Design & Publishing Services.
- Lambert, T. (2015). A Short History of Finland. Retrieved from <http://localhistories.org/finland.html>
- Larco, L. (1997). Encounters with the Huacas: Ritual Dialogue, Music and Healing in Northern Peru. In *The World of Music* 39(1) pp. 35-60. Berlin: Verlag Fur Wissenschaft und Bildung Press.
- Lecompte, M. and Schensul, J. (1999). *Designing and Conducting Ethnographic Research*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Leisio, T. (2001). On the Octosyllabic Metric Pattern and Shamanism in Eurasia. In

- Juha Pentikäinen, Hanna Saressalo and Chuner M. Taksami (Eds.), *Shamanhood: Symbolism and Epic* (pp. 89-134). Budapest, Hungary: Akademiai Kiado.
- Leppa H. A. (2014). Spirit Boat (Blog). Retrieved from <http://spiritboat.blogspot.fi/p/about-spirit-boat.html>
- Lewis, I. M. (1971). *Ecstatic Religion: An Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism*. Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- Mackinnon, C. (2012). *Shamanism and Spirituality in Therapeutic Practice*. London, U. K: Singing Dragon, Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Madden, R. (2013). *Being Ethnographic: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Ethnography*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Marcus, G. (1995). Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Cited Ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24 (95-117).
- . (1998). *Ethnography Through Thick and Thin*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Marcus, G. & Fischer, M. (1999). *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Mawere, M. (2011). *African Belief and Knowledge Systems, A Critical Perspective*. Bamenda, Cameroun: Langaa Research and Publishing CIG.
- Mbiti, J. S. (1977). *African Religions and Philosophy*. London and Edinburgh: Morrison & Gibb Ltd.
- . (1991). *Introduction to African Religion*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Bungay, Suffolk: Clay Ltd.
- Mendonsa, E. (2002). *West Africa: An Introduction to its History, Civilization and Contemporary Situation*. Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press,
- Moran D. & Mooney T. (Eds.) (2002). *The phenomenology reader*. Routledge: London.
- Menn, S. (1992). Aristotle and Plato on God as Nous and as the Good. The review of Metaphysics, Vol. 45, No. 3, pp. 543-573.
- Moreno, J. (1995). Ethnomusic Therapy: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Music and Healing. In *The Arts in Psychotherapy* 22(4), pp. 329-338.
- Mullings L, (1984). *Therapy, Ideology, and Social Change: Mental Healing in Urban Ghana*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Niemi, J. (2001). Dream Songs of the Forest Nenets. In Juha Pentikäinen, Hanna Saressalo and Chuner M. Taksami (Eds.), *Shamanhood: Symbolism and Epic* (pp. 135-154). Budapest, Hungary: Akademiai Kiado.
- Nioradze, G. (1925). *Der Schamanismus bei den sibirischen Völkern*. Stuttgart.
- Nketia, J. H. K. (1974). *The Music of Africa*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc.
- . (1962). *African Music in Ghana: A Survey of Traditional Forms*. Accra: William Clowes & Sons Limited.

- Nettle, B. (1983). *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Twenty-nine Issues and Concepts*. Urbana and Chicago :University of Illinois Press.
- . (1964). *Theory and Methods in Ethnomusicology*. New York: The Free Press.
- Oosthuizen, G. C. (1989). *Afro-Christian Religion and Healing in Southern Africa*. Lewiston, N. Y.: E. Mellen Press.
- Palmer, R. E. (1969). *Hermeneutics: Interpretation Theory in Schleiermacher, Dilthey, Heidegger, and Gadamer*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Pascal, J. (2010). Phenomenology as a Research Method for Social Work Contexts: Understanding the Lived Experience of Cancer Survival. *New Scholarship in the Human Services* Vol. 9, Number 2, 2010.
- Pentikäinen, J. (1999). *Kalevala Mythology* (Expanded Edition). Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- . (1998a). *Samaanit – pohjoisten kansojen elämäntaistelu*. Helsinki: Etnika.
- . (1998b). The shamans and shamanism. In Juha Pentikäinen, Toimi Jaatinen, Ildikó Lehtinen & Marjo-Riitta Saloniemi (Eds.) *Shamans* (pp. 29-45). Tampere: Tampere Museums' Publications 45.
- . (2006). *Shamanism and Culture*. 3<sup>rd</sup>, Revised Edition. Helsinki Etnika Co.
- . (2007). *Golden King of the Forest: The Lore of the Northern Bear*. Translated by Clive Tolley. Helsinki Etnika Oy.
- . (2001). When a Shaman Dies. Nanay Voices on Death and Immortality. In Juha Pentikäinen, Hanna Saressalo and Chuner M. Taksami (Eds.), *Shamanhood Symbolism and Epic* (pp. 19-40). Budapest, Hungary: Akademiai Kiado.
- Polkinghorne, D.E. (1989). Changing conversations about human science. In S. Kvale (Ed.), *Issues of validity in qualitative research* (pp. 13-46). Lund, Sweden: Studentlitteratur.
- Porthan, H. G. (1982). *Valitut Teokset*. Jyväskylä: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 373.
- Pulkkinen, R. (2014). *Suomalainen kansanusko – samaaneista saunatonnttuihin*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus Helsinki University Press.
- Racy, A. J. (1976). *Record Industry and Egyptian Traditional Music, 1904-1932*. EM 20:23-48.
- Schwartz, R. (Ed.), (2004). Transcendence Beyond. In *Transcendence Philosophy, Literature, and Theology: Approach the Beyond*, pp. vii-xii. New York: Routledge.
- Setälä, J. (2012). *Shamaanin matka*. Helsinki: Delfini Kirjat.
- . (2005). *Shamaanin rumpu*. Helsinki :Suomalaisen Mytologian Seura ry.
- Scanlon, J. (2004). Phenomenological Psychology. In Moran D. and Embree L. E. (Eds.), *Phenomenology, Critical Concepts in Philosophy* (pp. 82-98).vol. III, , London

and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis group.

Siikala, A. (1999). *Suomalainen shamanismi mielikuvien historiaa*. Helsinki :Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 565. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

—. (1987). The Rite Technique of the Siberian Shaman. In Seamus O Duilearge, Lauri Honko, Matti Kuusi, Kurt Ranke and Dag Stromback (Eds.), Vol. XCIII No. 220. Helsinki :Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Siikala, A. & Hoppal, M. (1992). Studies on Shamanism. In Mihaly Hoppal and Juha Pentikäinen (Eds.), *Ethnologica Uralica*. Helsinki and Budapest: Finnish Anthropological Society, Helsinki and Akademiai Kiado, Budapest, Akaprint Ltd. Budapest.

Spradley, J. P. (1980). *Participant Observation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Taksami, C. (1998). Siberian shamans. In Juha Pentikäinen, Toimi Jaatinen, Ildikó Lehtinen & Marjo-Riitta Saloniemi (Eds.), *Shamans* (11-26). Tampere: Museums' Publications 45.

Talve, I. (1997). *Finnish Folk Culture*. Translated by Susan Sinisalo. Helsinki: Studia Fennica ethnologica 4, Finnish Literature Society.

Turner V. W. (1968). *The Drums of Affliction: A Study of Religious Processes among the Ndembu of Zambia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Virtanen L. (1968). Kalevalainen Laulutapa Karjalassa. In *Suomi 113 (1)*. Helsinki.

Walsham, G. (1993). *Interpreting Information Systems in Organisations*. Chichester: Wiley.

Walsh, R. N. (1990). *The Spirit of Shamanism*. Los Angeles: Jeremy P. Tarcher, Inc.

Warren, D. M. (1986). *The Akan of Ghana: An Overview of the Ethnographic Literature*. Accra: Pointer Limited.

Willis, J. (2007). *Foundations of Qualitative Research: Interpretive and Critical Approaches*. California: Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.

Ybema, S., Yanow, D., Wels, H., & Kamsteg, F. (2010). Ethnography: In A. Mills, G. Durepos, & E. Wiebe (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research*. (pp. 348-352). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Zaner, M. R. (1994). Phenomenology and the Clinical Event. In Embree Lester and Mano Daniel (Eds.), *Phenomenology of the Cultural Disciplines*. Contributions to Phenomenology in Collaboration with The Center for Advanced Research in Phenomenology, vol.16, (pp 1-37). New York: Kluwer Academic Publishers, Netherlands Press Inc.