

Crooked Spirits and Spiritual Identity Theft: A Keener Response to Crooks?

Craig S. Keener

Asbury Theological Seminary

Mark Crooks' article offers a new paradigm for exploration: namely, that many instances in the transcultural phenomenon of spirit possession reflect the activity of genuine and harmful spirits. Although subsequent research may refine a number of points, the activity of genuine spirits reflects the most common indigenous explanation and makes sense of a significant part of the data that is more difficult to explain on some other academic paradigms. Indigenous explanations do not always view all spirits as harmful, but they usually treat many spirits as harmful, and a case can be made that this is true of much other spirit activity as well. Crooks' explanatory model brings coherence to many points of data less well served by some competing models, and thus merits continuing exploration.

Keywords: spirits, spirit possession, demons, demonology

Anthropologists, sociologists, missiologists, psychologists and so forth approach spirit possession with competing interpretations derived from their varied disciplines, so that it is genuinely impossible to speak at present of any cross-disciplinary consensus. Such differences should leave room for another approach on the table, one ably proposed by Mark Crooks.

Crooks is brave to challenge a number of competing academic paradigms (such as psychoanalytic and deprivation hypotheses), and his challenges merit serious attention even from those who do not follow his alternative. Crooks is braver still to advance a thesis too often dismissed a priori, despite its fuller and simpler explanatory power on some of the matters in question.

In this response, I hope to highlight sympathetically some strengths of his argument and to probe respectfully what I view as some of its weaknesses. In so doing, I hope to take his model seriously enough to contribute to its refinement. Likewise, his critique may require revision in the models of some of the secondary sources I follow here, and thus ultimately of my own.

At the outset, I should note that I defer to conventional usage in speaking of “possession,” an imprecise label too often encompassing a diverse range of experiences and degrees (cf. Carter, 2000; Gildea, 1974; Johnson and Keller, 2006). (“Demonization” is closer to the typical New Testament designation, and spans a range of conditions. Arguing for degrees of demonization, see, e.g., Davies, 2008, pp. 25–28; Warner, 1988, pp. 84–86.) Although this may be largely a semantic issue, my usage in this response may differ somewhat from Crooks. By wider definitions, both voluntary and involuntary possession states may coexist, sometimes in the same culture (e.g., voluntary for the shaman and “hysterical” for the patient; Peters, 1981, pp. 147–148; see also Basso, 2006) or even the same person (Berenbaum, Kerns, and Raghavan, 2000, p. 30).

Crooks’ Challenge to A Priori Assumptions

Enlightenment prejudice against the “supernatural” may be irrelevant to the question of actual spirits if the alleged entities in question are part of nature the way that humans as intelligent actors are. Although the intermediate category of “preternatural” declined in the West after Hume (Daston, 1991, pp. 100–113; cf. Hiebert, 1982, p. 43), it might prove helpful.

Semantics aside, how may spirit possession be explored academically? Replicability is an appropriate epistemic demand only in disciplines amenable to it (not, for example, in historiography or journalism). Nevertheless, and while I do not recommend the exercise, some participant–learner anthropologists have replicated spirit possession experiences with what some participants consider genuine spirits (cf. Goodman, 1988b; Turner, 1993, p. 9; 2006c, p. 203; Wilkie, 1994, pp. 137–140; Winkelman and Carr, 2006, pp. 177–178).

The Phenomenology of Spirit Possession

As Crooks notes, studies overwhelmingly confirm the existence of experiences indigenously interpreted as spirit possession by a vast range of cultures around the world.¹ Strikingly, these observations obtain even though a majority of Western scholars who study these experiences demur from the indigenous interpretation. (More recent studies tend to be more open to the indigenous interpretations; see Boddy, 1994, pp. 408, 410–414, 427; Bradnick, 2017; Keller, 2002, pp. 39–40.) One finds such observations even in nineteenth-century critics of indigenous interpretations of other paranormal activity, such as David Friedrich Strauss (Fabisiak, 2015). Nevertheless, while spirit possession shares some common transcultural

¹ See Boddy, 1994, p. 409; Bourguignon, 1965; 1973b, pp. 17–19; 1976b, pp. 18–21; Chandra shekar, 1989, p. 80; Firth, 1969, p. ix; Morsy, 1991, p. 189; Ward, 1989d, p. 126. For samples, see e.g., Boddy, 1994, pp. 428–434; Crapanzano and Garrison, 1977; Goodman, 1988a, pp. 1–24, 126; Lewis, 1971.

traits, many of its features are expressed differently in different cultures (see Binsbergen, 1981, pp. 90–91; Bourguignon, 1976a, pp. 42–49; Keener, 2011, pp. 793–796). In at least some cases, people are socialized into the role of possession, structuring their behavior according to culturally prescribed expectations (see, e.g., some examples in Bourguignon, 1965, p. 48; Lee, 1989, pp. 251–252, 257; Spanos, 1989, pp. 103–108; Wikstrom, 1989, pp. 32–33).

Whether due to spirits or not, possession trance, though often culturally patterned, typically displays particular neurological patterns.² Neurophysiological studies do not demonstrate a particular cause, but they are clear as to some physiological effects (Goodman, 1988a, pp. 1–24, 126).³ The presence of physiological elements in anomalous experience, as well as its frequency in a range of unrelated cultures, clearly shows that exclusively cultural explanations are often inadequate (McClenon and Nooney, 2002, p. 47).

Although Western observers have usually explained the behavior differently, Crooks' observations about spirits' self-claims are hardly idiosyncratic. Across many unrelated cultures, behavior and voice change drastically during possession, so that "sometimes it has been hard for the anthropologist to persuade himself [or herself] that it is really the same person as before whom he is watching or confronting" (Firth, 1969, p. x, also noting his own shock when he first witnessed spirit mediumship).⁴ Possession normally displaces the previous personality (Mbiti, 1970, p. 106; Montilus, 2006, pp. 3–4; cf. Verger, 1969, pp. 50–51, 53). Often the possessed cannot recall the behavior they exhibited during possession trance.⁵ The instances surrounding Jesus, noted by Crooks, do have both ancient and modern parallels (see Keener, 2010b; cf. 2010a; for views about spirits in Mediterranean antiquity, see Ferguson, 1984; Keener, 2011, pp. 769–787).

Most cases of possession do not produce superhuman strength, but, as Crooks notes, in some cases it does appear (see e.g., Chandra shekar, 1989, p. 89; Shoko,

² See e.g., Benson, 1982; Benson and Stark, 1996, pp. 163–164; Bourguignon, 1973a, p. 337; Davies, 1995, pp. 141–142; Prince, 1968a, pp. 127–129; discussion in McClenon and Nooney, 2002, p. 48.

³ For common features in altered states of consciousness through history and in diverse societies, see McClenon, 1994, pp. 36–56; 2002, p. 60; McClenon and Nooney, 2002, pp. 47–48; even animals can be susceptible to hypnotic experiences (McClenon and Nooney, 2002, p. 48).

⁴ Emmons, 1982, p. 193; Evans–Pritchard, 1937, p. 165; Gelfand, 1962, p. 169; Greenfield, 2008, pp. 40, 83; Grof, 2010, p. 144; Instone–Brewer, 1996, p. 140; Ising, 2009, pp. 104–105, 168, 169, 171–172, 174–175, 178, 183; Mbiti, 1970, pp. 225–226; McClenon, 1994, pp. 134–135, 226; Midelfort, 1992, p. 127; Oesterreich, 1966, pp. 19–22, 97, 208; Scherberger, 2005, p. 62; Shorter, 1985, p. 177; Tippett, 1978, p. 162; Turner, 2006a, p. 50; Wilson, 2008, p. 275.

⁵ E.g., Bellamy, 2008, p. 40; Betty, 2005, p. 14; Bourguignon, 1965, pp. 53, 56; Chandra shekar, 1989, p. 87; Field, 1969, pp. 3, 6; Gelfand, 1962, pp. 166, 169; Grof, 2010, p. 145; Horton, 1969, p. 23; Rosny, 1985, pp. 185–186; cf. Oesterreich, 1966, p. 13; Singleton, 1978, p. 477 ("posterior amnesia"); but contrast Shorter, 1970, p. 113. Some claim to know little about the spirits that possess them, claiming to be "powerless in their hands" (Shorter, 1980, p. 48). In some studies, hypnotic amnesia involves role playing rather than genuine neurological amnesia (see Spanos, 1989, pp. 101–102, persuasively; cf. 116–117).

2007, p. 125). Such strength can make it difficult or impossible to restrain the person (e.g., Betty, 2005, pp. 16, 20; Field, 1969, p. 5; Filson, 2006, p. 154; Kaplan and Johnson, 1964, p. 208; Murphy, 1964, p. 58; Oesterreich, 1966, pp. 22–23; cf. Edwards, 1989, p. 210; Ising, 2009, p. 174). It can lead to “violent thrashing” (Beauvoir, 2006, p. 129; Wilson, 2008, p. 275), destructiveness (Eliade, 1958, p. 71; Gelfand, 1962, pp. 165, 170; Kaplan and Johnson, 1964, p. 227; Obeyesekere, 1977, p. 251; Schmidt, 1964, p. 145) and self-harm (Katz, 1982, pp. 121–122; Lee, 1968, pp. 41–42, 47; Mbiti, 1970, p. 106), sometimes including, as in the account of the demonized man in Mark 5:5, self-laceration (Evans–Pritchard, 1937, p. 162; Fox, 1964, p. 185; Ising, 2009, pp. 174, 326–327; 1 Kings 18:28). In some settings possession trance yields immunity to pain (Jochim, 1986, p. 154; Mbiti, 1970, pp. 225–226) and even to burns (Beauvoir, 2006, p. 130; Bourguignon, 1976a, p. 12; Filson, 2006, p. 76), though not all cases are necessarily authentic or paranormal (Chapak and Broch, 2004, pp. 29–41); see discussion in McClenon, 1994, pp. 97–100, 115–126; 2002, pp. 71–76.

Benevolent Spirits or Spiritual Identity Theft?

Neutral or positive approaches to other cultures help guard observers against our own prejudices, though personal subjectivity renders elusive complete neutrality. Etic approaches provide crosscultural comparisons more easily than do emic ones, but our academic etic approaches are themselves shaped by particular cultural–philosophic frameworks.⁶ Goulet and Young (1994, p. 325) question whether “any scientific experiment” can resolve whether spirits exist.

Nevertheless, academic rigor may allow evaluations from various vantage points, provided the vantage points are clearly stated, such as the evaluator’s concern for social harmony, for longevity, for the honor of a particular deity, or the like. Various spiritual and religious traditions diversely evaluate other traditions, and a truly relativistic approach welcomes all these approaches to the table. From this pluralistic standpoint, Crooks’ model represents one position among many, but as Crooks observes, at many points his model proves especially consistent with the data that it interprets.

Although the ancient nontheistic view of spirit possession was negative, many cultures regard some spirits as neutral or beneficial.⁷ Some societies seek

⁶ Worldviews provide introductory grids by which to arrange data, but they must be used heuristically, open to transformation; see Silverman, 1972, pp. 204, 228; on presuppositions in social sciences, see also Murphy, 2006, pp. 33–37.)

⁷ See Beattie and Middleton, 1969a, pp. xxi–xxii, xxvii; Brand, 2002, p. 47; Field, 1969, p. 13; Lema, 1999, p. 47; Mbiti, 1970, p. 111; opposing traditional Christian approaches, see Grundmann, 2005, p. 66; Shorter, 1985, pp. 188–189; Stabell, 2010, pp. 462–463, 470. Krippner, 2002, surveys a variety of proposed models and data, including the traditional Christian model of shamans’ “demon possession” (pp. 963–964; noting on page 964 that shamans sometimes make these claims about rival shamans), which he rejects, and the various attentional states of different kinds of shamans (p. 967).

possession whereas others seek deliverance from it (Bourguignon, 1965, pp. 42–43). In some (though not all) cultures, shamans seek possession trance (cf. Eliade, 1964, p. 6; Peters, 1981, pp. 10–11); some who invite possession do so to accomplish healing (Fuchs, 1964, pp. 135–137; Hien, 2008, p. 307; Licauco, 1988, p. 95; Southall, 1969, pp. 237–238; cf. Obeyesekere, 1970, p. 108). Anthropological literature includes many studies of shamanic healing (see e.g., Goulet and Young, 1994, pp. 326–327; Scherberger, 2005, pp. 59–64; Turner, 2006a, pp. 56–61; 2006b, pp. 103–140; cf. McClenon and Nooney, 2002), although again, extrinsic interpretations vary (see e.g., Young and Goulet, 1994b, pp. 9–10). Although most cultures view witchcraft and curses negatively, not all shamans are considered witches; further, Wicca, a modern Western creation, differs in design from traditional witchcraft models (see, e.g., Hayes, 1995, pp. 340–342; Hutton, 2007; Magliocco, 2000).⁸

Demanding associations specifically understood as harmful reduces the cases available for study. One may still treat most cases of spirit possession as occult if one broadens the definition of “occult” to include any sort of possession in spiritual contexts, though in this case many would prefer other terminology. Although I agree with Crooks’ thesis that such spirit possession is negative, I do so especially based on my larger theological worldview.⁹

Still, studies may often overplay the social benefits that possession brings to the possessed while minimizing the problems it causes them (see Hayes, 2006); for at least some malevolent spirit activity, see e.g., Beattie, 1969, p. 169; Filson, 2006, p. 154; Lewis, 1969, p. 189; Peters, 1981, p. 61; Scherberger, 2005, pp. 57–59; further sources in Keener, 2011, pp. 804–808. Contesting the more relativistic approach thoroughly would require engagement with a vast literature, but Crooks’ thesis on this point belongs on the table no less than do other perspectives.

Moreover, Crooks reevaluates many previous case studies, frequently highlighting negative social and personal effects of spirit possession that the approaches of Western observers themselves did not take into account. His observations are crucial; his thesis exposes an obvious blind spot of many competing approaches. (I myself had previously read many of these same studies, often without noticing the points that he raised; the culturally neutral stance of modern anthropology is enormously valuable, but also has vulnerabilities, given the interpreter’s own assumptions.) His thesis about negative associations with possession offers a

⁸On traditional witchcraft and its intentions to harm, see e.g., Azenabor, 2006, pp. 30–31; Binsbergen, 1981, p. 243; Favret-Saada, 1988, pp. 123–127; Hair, 1998, p. 140; Hoare, 2004, pp. 127–128; Mayrargue, 2001, p. 286; McNaughton, 1988, p. 69; Obeyesekere, 1975; Reynolds, 1963, pp. 41–44; Scherberger, 2005, pp. 57–59; Shoko, 2007, p. 46; Shorter, 1985, p. 99; Wyk, 2004, pp. 1202–1204.

⁹Including, in addition to historic monotheistic considerations, what missiologists call power encounters (Keener, 2011, pp. 843–856). Some differences may be semantic matters of how different scholars use the designation “possession”; thus, e.g., Tibbs, 2016, uses language of possession for some New Testament Christian experience, qualifying and complementing my demurral.

prediction, which subsequent studies must follow up with further sifting of observations present in the anthropological, missiological, and historical literature in a way that Crooks' introductory study could not treat more fully (although some of the literature will miss correlations that the observers were not looking for).¹⁰

Despite diverse views regarding some spirits, most cultures regard at least some forms of spirit possession as hostile. Modern medical anthropology distinguishes between cultures that explain sickness exclusively due to material causes and those that often attribute illness to spirits or witchcraft; the latter may constitute a majority of societies.¹¹ (Murdock, 1980, p. 72, found it in more than 97 percent of the 139 societies studied.) Not only traditional Christian contexts¹² but also a wide variety of cultures use forms of exorcism, most often in various ritual contexts, to treat possession illness,¹³ leading to debates among mental health professionals regarding the ethics of approving exorcisms (whether as genuine cures or placebos).¹⁴ In some cultures, exorcists themselves experience trance and/or possession states to expel or manipulate other spirits (Beattie and Middleton, 1969a, p. xxv; Klutz, 2004, pp. 196–97; Peters, 1981, pp. 14–15).

A significant portion of Crooks' treatment of occultism comes from Christian sources, often popular ones, that are highly critical of occult experiences. Some do reflect genuine scholarly research (such as Kurt Koch; many essays in the volume edited by Montgomery; and Nevius); others appear more questionable, such as Hobart Freeman or Penn–Lewis. (I would include Freeman in those sources that Crooks earlier designated “kooky,” although Crooks is correct that

¹⁰He cites voodoo as an example; for possession in Haitian Vodun, see Bourguignon, 1976a, pp. 15–27 (esp. the ritual described in pp. 18–21); Douyon, 1968; Kiev, 1968; Perkinson 2001, pp. 574–575; Tippett, 1978, pp. 155–156. For voodoo deaths, see e.g., Cannon, 1942. For a different perspective, see Montilus, 2006.

¹¹Foster, 1976 (noting exceptions on pp. 775–776); esp. Murdock, 1980, pp. 8–27. Brooke, 1991, p. 36, notes that some today accept both spiritual and material causes as complementary. For spirit or witchcraft causes, see e.g., Bourguignon, 1968, p. 17; 1976b, pp. 20–21; Murdock, 1980, pp. 72–76; Neyrey, 1999, pp. 30–31; and the more than forty sources in Keener, 2011, p. 803n99.

¹²E.g., Geleta, 2002; Greenfield, 2008, pp. 141–142; Klutz, 2004, p. 142; McClenon, 1994, pp. 144–145; 2002, p. 59; Mchami, 2001; Oosthuizen, 1989, pp. 79–80, 89; 1992, pp. 117–148; Sharma, 2001, p. 304. Sometimes it competes with local practice; see e.g., Bergunder, 2001, pp. 103–105; 2008, pp. 125–126, 155–158.

¹³Betty, 2005, pp. 14, 16; Garbett, 1969, p. 105; Goodman, 1988a, p. 125; Gray, 1969, p. 171; Kaplan and Johnson, 1964, p. 211; Lewis, 1969, pp. 199, 201, 213; Mbiti, 1970, p. 106; Nevius, 1894, pp. 53–54; Shoko, 2007, p. 97; Tippett, 1967, p. 14; E. Turner 1992a, p. 149; V.W. Turner, 1968, p. 204; for the effectiveness of exorcism in particular kinds of cases, see also Lagerwerf, 1987, pp. 55–56; Shorter, 1980, p. 51.

¹⁴E.g., Allison, 2000, pp. 116, 119; Bull, Ellason, and Ross 1998, p. 195; Castro–Blanco, 2005; Hexham, 1977; Heinze, 1988a, p. 14 (as a helpful fiction allowing the experience of multiple personality disorder to be objectified); Krippner, 2002, p. 972; Martínez–Taboas, 2005a, p. 18; 2005b; Shorter, 1985, pp. 184–185; Singleton, 1978, p. 478. Ivey, 2002, regards his psychoanalytic language as itself no less a “mythical” construct than the older demonic terminology (pp. 58–59); Pattison, 1992, p. 217, treats “psychoanalytic psychotherapy” as a secular form of “exorcism.”

the observations in these sources may comport with and support more consistent ones.) Certainly much popular exorcism/deliverance today misdiagnoses and mistreats what are not demons (see Burgess, 2008, pp. 228–230; Collins, 2009).

Nevertheless, the connection does appear in some professional literature (some of it noted below). As Crooks observes, where genuine paranormal powers appear, the demonological approach provides a more parsimonious explanation than exclusively neurological approaches.

Various Western Academic Interpretations

The approaches of anthropologists, psychiatrists, psychologists, and indigenously interpreters vary considerably from one another, often leading to criticism of the others (e.g., Ward 1989b, p. 17; 1989c, p. 9; Wendl 1999, p. 120; for the range of interpretations, see also Keener 2010b, pp. 227–231). Certainly trance states, including some that are indigenously interpreted as possession, are not limited to the narrower sort of “possession” emphasized by Crooks, as Crooks recognizes (Lewis, 1971, pp. 39, 44–45, 64; Prince, 1968a, pp. 122–129). Thus even an induced collapse of an overloaded nervous system may sometimes relieve stresses and aid recovery (Prince, 1968a, pp. 129–130). Some exorcisms probably prove effective by correcting hysterical disorders, although this explanation proves inadequate for some of the phenomena recorded in the New Testament and other sources (see the analysis by Instone-Brewer, 1996, pp. 134–140).

Direct, genuine spirit possession seems unlikely in any cases where suggestion simulates exorcistic deliverance as a placebo; similarly, lack of suggestibility may render some versions of “possession” more difficult (cases in Last, 1991, pp. 52–53).¹⁵ In general, the most hypnotizable 10 percent of people (those most prone to dissociative states) are six times more prone to anomalous experiences than the least hypnotizable 10 percent (Pekala and Cardeña, 2000, p. 71). Possession is more common in cultures that believe in it (Kemp, 1989, p. 75), and explanatory systems can affect the behavior (Bourguignon, 1968, p. 12). Still, these observations need not contest Crooks’ view of demons supervening on some prior conditions or neurological states.

Not all explanations are mutually exclusive, and in some societies conditions of marginalization increase susceptibility. Even in societies that affirm spirit possession, stress can provide an obvious precipitating factor or trigger (Ward and Beaubrun, 1980, p. 206). Some anthropologists point out that incidents of possession (cf. Bourguignon, 1973a, p. 339; Nevius, 1894, p. 58; Prince, 1968b; Smith, 2001, pp. 452–453; Stoller, 1989; Wetering, 1983) and both witchcraft and

¹⁵ On the placebo effect, cf. e.g., Beaugard and O’Leary, 2007, pp. 144–150; Droege, 1991, pp. 15–33; Frank, 1961, pp. 65–74; Gaztambide, 2010; Matthews and Clark, 1998, pp. 179–181; Remus, 1997, pp. 110–113.

anti-witchcraft movements (Li, 1996) often increase during dramatic changes in society. Increasing societal stratification (Bourguignon, 1976b, p. 22; Greenbaum, 1973a, p. 84; 1973b, p. 54), or at least status ambiguity (Wilson, 1967, p. 377), seems to increase the likelihood of more trance states.

Possession thus often appears among those marginalized from other means of power in their society (Lewis, 1969, 189–190; Sharp, 1999, p. 4), often especially women (Behrend and Luig, 1999, pp. xvii–xviii; Berger, 1999, pp. 41, 55; Colson, 1969, pp. 90–92, 99–100; Kenyon, 1999; Kessler, 1977, pp. 301–302; Lee, 1969, pp. 143–144, 150–151, 154; Sousa, 1999; Southall, 1969, p. 244; Stirrat, 1977, pp. 138, 151, 154; Walker and Dickerman, 1992). Possession behavior sometimes allows marginalized persons access to desired objects or expression of feelings otherwise inappropriate to express (e.g., Abdalla, 1991, p. 39; Bourguignon, 1965, pp. 50, 53; Chandra shekar, 1989, pp. 88, 91; Lewis, 1992, pp. 315–318; Modarressi, 1968, pp. 154–155; Obeyesekere, 1970, pp. 104–105; Wilson 1967, p. 370). Some societies are also more sympathetic to possession than to acknowledged mental illness (Chandra shekar, 1989, p. 92). In such cases, possession behavior may provide socially sanctioned outlets for feelings.

Although trance states may often perform a cathartic function, this approach does not account for societies where the healer rather than the patient “becomes dissociated” (Prince, 1977, p. xiii). Trance states are more common among the uneducated (Field, 1969, p. 4; Oesterreich, 1966, pp. 99, 121, 165, 203, 205), but urbanization and western education do not always displace possession and exorcism (cf. Behrend and Luig, 1999, pp. xiii–xiv; Emmons, 1982, p. 191; Jacobs, 1976, pp. 186–187; Makris and Al-Safi, 1991, p. 118; Shorter, 1985, p. 179).

There are, however, limitations to these observations, since they predict averages rather than individual case outcomes. Some challenge the ideological underpinnings of deprivation hypotheses regarding possession (Binsbergen, 1981, pp. 86–87; cf. 24–25, 77–86), viewing them as reductionist (cf. Hunt, 2010, pp. 183–184; McClenon, 2002, pp. 59–60; Miller and Yamamori, 2007, p. 156). Treating the spiritual experience of “underprivileged people” as “hallucinations” demeans them (Turner, 1992a, p. 3).

The data do not all reduce to a single consistent model, and correlation may sometimes reflect common factors rather than causation; but they might also reveal some conditions most conducive to possession states. Susceptibility does not necessarily explain etiology, and cases of socially generated possession need not rule out genuine demonic activity that originally informed cultural models.

Various Indigenous Interpretations

Cultures themselves vary widely in their frameworks for interpreting possession experiences (see e.g., Bourguignon, 1968, pp. 4–12; Lewis, 1971, p. 44; Pattison, 1992, pp. 205–206; Peters, 1981, pp. 11–16, 46–47, 50). Still, various

cultures' similar experiences generate some similar beliefs even in a number of very different societies (McClenon and Nooney, 2002, p. 47).

While Crooks' negative view of spirit possession is not dominant outside monotheistic traditions, his view that spirits are real is easily the most common view among cultures globally, especially among cultures most directly familiar with such experiences. Even in the United States, a majority of people believe in the reality of spirits. This belief declines somewhat, though only somewhat, with income and education (Baker, 2008, pp. 211–213), the latter itself often reflecting a form of enculturation.

One of the most widespread interpretations is possession or affliction by ancestor spirits or other deceased relatives, though in most cultures ancestors do not possess (Hammond–Tooke, 1989, pp. 55–56).¹⁶ Some view these spirits favorably (see Garbett, 1969, p. 105; Last, 1991, p. 51; V.W. Turner, 1968, p. 14), but many deem them dangerous.¹⁷ Religious or cultic contexts for possession behavior are common (Gray, 1969, p. 171; Tippett, 1978, pp. 148–151), for example in Haitian Vodun (Bourguignon, 1976a, pp. 15–27; Douyon, 1968; Kiev, 1968; Perkinson, 2001, pp. 574–575), Taoist rituals (Nevius, 1894, p. 47), Brazilian spiritism (Tippett, 1978, pp. 157–158; Pressel, 1973; 1977, pp. 333–335), in the *zar* cult (Modarressi, 1968) and in Sinhalese and Indo–Tibetan Buddhism (Ames, 1964, pp. 33, 40–41; Wayman, 1968). Cultic contexts often produce social pressure on particular persons to enter possession trance (Firth, 1969, p. xiii; Horton, 1969, pp. 24, 25, 35; Verger, 1969, p. 52).

Western Scholars and Actual Spirits

Crooks is not alone among Western scholars in arguing that actual spirits exist (e.g., Betty, 2005, and sources cited there; Isaacs, 1987; Johnson, 1982; Sall, 1976). While usually rejecting the reality of spirits, postmodernists are more open than were modernists (Goulet and Young, 1994, pp. 323–325; Hoffman and Kurzenberger, 2008, p. 84), and anthropologists have grown increasingly open to indigenous understandings (see Keller, 2002, pp. 39–40; Wilson, 1994, pp. 198–206). An increasing number of Western scholars have also begun recounting their own unexpected experiences with spirits (e.g., Kimball, 1972,

¹⁶ See Chandra shekar, 1989, p. 81; cf. Barrington–Ward, 1978, p. 456; Beattie and Middleton, 1969a, p. xxvii; Bourguignon, 1976a, pp. 24–27; Eliade, 1964, pp. 365–366; Emmons, 1982, pp. 171–172, 175–176; Field, 1969, p. 9; Hien, 2008, pp. 312, 316; Keller, 2002, pp. 131–132, 155; Jules–Rosette, 1981, pp. 133, 142; Lee, 1969, pp. 131–132; Oesterreich, 1966, pp. 26–27, 186, 209; Zempleni, 1977, p. 92.

¹⁷ Beattie, 1969, p. 162; Colson, 1969, p. 71; Garbett, 1969, p. 123; Obeyesekere, 1977, p. 239; Reynolds, 1963, p. 62; Tenibemas, 1996, p. 23; Turner, 1992a, p. 182; W. Ma, 2002, p. 207; cf. Byaruhanga–Akiiki and Kealotswe, 1995, pp. 111–112; Horton, 1969, p. 15; Shoko, 2007, p. 45 (witches exploit spirits of the dead to steal for them); Southall, 1969, pp. 233 (spirits of deceased soldiers), 246–249, 255 (spirits of earlier chiefs); Welbourn, 1969, pp. 291–292 (on dangerous ghosts).

pp. 188–192; Steyne, 1990, pp. 14–19; Stoller, 1984, p. 110; Young, 1994, p. 174; earlier, Nevius, 1894, pp. ix, 9–13). Local scholars who have not embraced the dominant Western worldview speak even more freely (e.g., Mbiti, 1970, pp. 253–256; Mensah, 2008, p. 176).

Some scholars have experienced possession or the “paranormal” but explain their own experience as possibly merely subjective (McClenon, 1994, pp. 236–237; Peters, 1981, pp. 47, 50). Others go further and attribute their own experiences to actual spirits; most notable is Edith Turner, lecturer in anthropology at the University of Virginia and editor of *Anthropology and Humanism*. Now embracing a proshamanist perspective, she critiques her previous role as a skeptical, nonparticipating anthropological observer as cultural imperialism (Turner, 1992c, p. 28; 1997; cf. Swarz, 1994, p. 209), which she compares to the ethnocentrism of Christian missionaries (Turner, 1992c, p. 30). Turner’s own experiential research began with her “experience of seeing a spirit” during a ritual in Zambia (Turner, 1996, pp. xxii–xxiii; cf. Turner, 1992a, pp. 149, 159; 1992b, p. 2; 1993, p. 9; 1994; 2005, p. 403; 2006a, p. 43; 2006b, pp. 1–23). She dismisses as ethnocentric the assumption that anthropological training qualifies one to “understand aspects of a culture better than field subjects” with their generations of cumulative experience (Turner, 1992a, p. 4; cf. 1992c, p. 30). Turner subsequently participated in her traditional Eskimo hosts’ experiences with what she deems real spirits (Turner, 1992c, p. 29; 1996, p. 232). Some other anthropologists of religion respectfully include her voice (see Barnes, 2006, pp. 19–20).

Christian Experiences with Spirits

If a vocal minority of anthropologists have been concluding that real spirits exist, many monotheists have long accepted it because of evidence within their respective revelatory canons (especially the Gospels and the Qur’an) and traditions. Many others have also found it consistent with their cultures’ experience. Ancient power encounters, or conflicts between opposing spiritual entities, appear in Scripture in Exodus 7:10–12 (cf. 12:12; Tucker, 2005, p. 378); Acts 8:9–13; 13:8–12; and 19:11–20.

Ancient Christians accepted the reality of spirits besides God but believed that, in any confrontation, their God would readily overcome all other spirits not submitted to him. In the second century, the Christian movement often spread through exorcisms; it was considered common knowledge that Christians could cast out demons (Barrett–Lennard, 1994, pp. 228–229; Lampe, 1965, pp. 215–217; MacMullen, 1984, pp. 27–28, 40–41, 60–61; Martin, 1988, pp. 49–50, 58–59; Sears, 1988, pp. 103–104; Young, 1988, pp. 107–108).

Tertullian (c. 155–c. 225) even challenged the church’s persecutors to bring demonized people to Christian court hearings; the demon will always submit, he insisted, or if not, the court should feel free to execute the Christian as a fake

(*Apology* 23.4–6)! Tertullian lists prominent pagans whom Christians had cured from evil spirits (Tertullian *Ad Scapulam* 4, in Kelsey, 1973, pp. 136–137). In the fourth century, exorcisms and miracles are the most frequently listed reason for conversion to Christianity (MacMullen, 1984, pp. 61–62). Augustine reports affidavits attesting effective exorcisms (*City of God* 22.8; *Confessions* 9.7.16; Herum, 2009, pp. 63–65).

Still, a divide in cultural assumptions remains (see Acolatse, 2018; Mchami, 2001, p. 17). For example, residents of the Peruvian jungle, exposed for the first time to the Gospel of Mark, dismissed their Western translator's rejection of real demons, noting that it comported with their local reality (Escobar, 2002, p. 86).

Westerners have often changed their paradigms only after a struggle with significant cognitive dissonance (e.g., the doctor in Mullen, 1999, pp. 151–152). Many early Presbyterian missionaries to Korea had learned in seminary that spirits were not real, but most came to believe otherwise in the context of ministry alongside indigenous believers (Kim, 2011, pp. 270–273). My own experiences in Africa and those of my family (my wife is Congolese) have forced me to grapple with some hostile spiritual realities to which I would rather not have been exposed (Keener, 2011, pp. 852–856).

Psychiatric Evaluations

Some observers suggest that spirit possession will be more common in areas where people honor spirits (Berends, 1975, pp. 348–352, 364). This does not mean, however, that it is absent elsewhere. Unfashionable as the idea of real spirits is in Western intellectual discourse, some mental health professionals have become sufficiently convinced about the reality of harmful spirits that they have laid their reputations on the line and noted them openly. These include psychologists and psychiatrists noted in Isaacs 1987, pp. 265–266 (cf. also Johnson, 1982; McAll, 1975, 1976; White, 1988, p. 75). Cf. Grof, 2010, pp. 144–145, for a rare case that exceeded normal psychiatric (or human) bounds. William P. Wilson (1976, pp. 225–230; 2008), professor emeritus of psychiatry at Duke University Medical Center, provides some case studies. He views most popular cases of “demons” in the West as merely psychological problems, but claims to have encountered real cases, including a woman whose parents practiced the occult. Another psychiatrist, W. C. Johnson, explains most problems as emotional but notes that in his own psychiatric practice he has witnessed three clear cases of possession by a spirit, all of them in patients involved in the occult (Johnson, 1982, pp. 150–153).

David Van Gelder, then a professor of pastoral counseling at Erskine Theological Seminary, rejects most claims of possession (1987, p. 160), but encountered a case that he could explain no other way. When a young man involved with the occult began “snarling like an animal,” nails attaching a crucifix to the wall melted, dropping the hot crucifix to the floor. A minister invited the young man

to declare, “Jesus Christ, son of God,” but when he began to repeat this, the young man’s voice and facial expressions suddenly changed. “You fools,” he retorted, “he can’t say that.” Finally the group decided that he required exorcism, and calling on Jesus, managed to cast the spirit out (Van Gelder, 1987, pp. 151–154). Van Gelder observes that all the mental health professionals present agreed that the youth was not suffering from psychosis or other normal diagnoses (p. 158).

Perhaps the best-known spokesman for this view is psychiatrist Scott Peck, author of *People of the Lie*. He rejects as unfounded most claims of possession but reports that he has encountered rare cases for which he found this the only explanation (2005; see esp. pp. 237–238; cited also in e.g., Betty, 2005, p. 17; Borg, 2006, p. 322n9; Loewen, 1988, pp. 138–139). Peck nevertheless warns that, despite abundant empirical information, the entrenched explanatory models will not recognize demons’ reality without a significant paradigm shift (2005, p. 249; on the struggles accompanying larger paradigm shifts, cf. Kuhn, 1970).

McAll’s Accounts

Another psychiatrist, R. Kenneth McAll, offers many examples. He observes that only 4 percent of the cases he has treated have required exorcism, but mentions that about 280 of his cases did require exorcism. Consistent with Crooks’ expectations, most of these involved the patients’ or their families’ occult practices, such as ouija boards, witchcraft, horoscopes, etc. (1975, p. 296) He notes one case where a mother’s successful deliverance from spirits proved simultaneous, unknown to them, of her son’s instant healing from schizophrenia in a hospital 400 miles away, and the healing from tuberculosis of that son’s wife (1975, pp. 296–297). Other cases include:

1. A patient instantly freed from schizophrenia through an exorcism that removed an occult group’s curse.
2. The complete healing through an exorcism of a violent person in a padded cell who had previously not spoken for two years.
3. The instant healing of another person in a padded cell, when others far away and without her knowledge prayed for her; her aunt, a mental patient in another country, was cured simultaneously.
4. A six-year-old needed three adults to restrain him, but he was healed when his father repudiated Spiritualism.

McAll also offers a number of other examples of those healed when they or family members renounced occult connections.

Parasitic Demonomania?

Crooks suggests that demonomania is often parasitic on other conditions. This is an important observation, although it might also limit neurological or clinical

identification apart from occult connections (rendering the observed connection between the occult and “possession” circular to this degree). One pastoral/psychological concern for those who affirm genuine spirits in possession syndrome is that it not be used to the exclusion of more conventional modern diagnoses of disorders. Indeed, some earlier “possession” diagnoses may have contributed to the development of “secondary personality”; see Oesterreich, 1966, p. 127; 1974, pp. 111, 140. Some even suggest that, due to role-playing, psychiatric expectations may sometimes contribute to this disorder (Spanos, 1989, pp. 109–118).

It would appear quite difficult, given even healthy people’s ability to assume different roles in different settings, to attribute all cases of multiple personality disorder/dissociative identity disorder to actual demons. (For comparison with MPD/DID, cf., e.g., Bourguignon, 1989; Field, 1969, p. 3; Firth, 1969, pp. ix–x, also noting suggestibility on p. xiii.) Possession sometimes offers a religiously meaningful shared cultural idiom for sorts of mental illness that might be helpful to the possessed person (Obeyesekere, 1970).

Invasive spirits could presumably cause other disorders, but they would not account for all cases. Many psychiatrists who acknowledge genuine cases of demonic possession in the West also view them as extremely rare (e.g., Peck), though the cases might also appear so rare because the observers minimalistically accept as genuinely demonic only those instances that cannot be explained otherwise.

Many cases of apparent possession do have more direct psychological explanations (see e.g., Gildea, 1974, pp. 296–298; Smucker and Hostetler, 1988). John White, whose experience with putatively real demons has been noted, treats psychosis as the result of chemical imbalance rather than demons (Loewen, 1988, pp. 137–138). If psychiatric problems may stem from material, emotional and/or spiritual causes, one can never assume the latter as an exclusive or necessarily even a direct contributing cause without compelling evidence. Preternatural phenomena provide one sort of evidence, but these do not appear in most cases. Walsh (2007, pp. 147–148) notes that different paradigms explain the evidence differently and allows that different cases may have different explanations.

Sall (1976) contends that demonization, in contrast to treatable conditions such as psychosis and hallucinations, can be healed only by exorcism or prayer (Bach, 1979, p. 25, questions Sall’s criteria; Sall replies in Sall, 1979). An Ethiopian minister I interviewed reports that a hospital psychiatrist there treats psychiatric cases directly but refers genuine cases of possession to the minister and his colleagues (Keener 2011, p. 841). Isaacs (1987) notes cases referred by four Episcopal exorcists and screened for diagnosis by one psychiatrist and four psychologists; these are cases that do not fit other diagnoses. The article finds seven shared characteristics of possession cases, many of these overlapping with Crooks’ list. They include experiencing “dark figures” and “audible and coherent voices” that otherwise seem a part of the real world; revulsion toward religious objects (note also Ising, 2009, pp. 171, 183, 326, 337; Woodard, 1955, p. 25); and, most unusually,

“odd phenomena” affecting those *near* the patient, such as “poltergeist-type phenomena and the feeling of suffocation while praying” (Isaacs, 1987, p. 270). A priori assumptions about what factors identify possession may have reduced the possible sample size and thus other possible characteristics. Although superhuman knowledge, strength, and so forth are more obvious signs of possession, psychological criteria are not always adequate for distinguishing natural psychopathology and its sometimes demonic exploitation (Monden, 1966, p. 163).

Power Encounters: Spiritual Confrontations

Some possessing spirits have shown hostility toward Christian conversion or the Christian God (e.g., Field, 1969, p. 8; Lema, 1999, pp. 55–56; Maddox, 1999, p. 156; Michel, 2006, p. 35; Sandgren, 1999, p. 176; Straight, 2007, p. 171). In cultures that emphasize spiritual power, however, rival displays of spiritual power have often led to church growth (Alexander, 2009, pp. 110–114; Johnson, 1970, pp. 54–58; De Wet, 1981, *passim*).

Power encounters also between missionaries and local spiritual powers persisted through history, for example with Patrick in Ireland (De Wet, 1981, p. 87; Latourette, 1975, p. 348; Neill, 1964, p. 75; Skarsaune and Engelsen, 2002; Young, 1988, p. 112). Many Enlightenment figures discounted shifting voices as mere trickery (Schmidt, 1998, pp. 279–292), but Wesley treated them as real and cast out the spirits (Tomkins, 2003, p. 72), as did many of his followers (Rack, 1982, pp. 147–149).

An exorcism through nineteenth-century Lutheran pastor Johann Christian Blumhardt impacted the entire region (Ising, 2009, pp. 162–189; cf. Macchia, 1993, pp. 65–68). Christian theologian Karl Barth later used this exorcism as a model of Christ’s triumph over evil (Kauffman, 1988, pp. 7–8). Power encounters appear in early twentieth-century indigenous African Christian prophetic movements (Hanciles, 2004, p. 170; Koschorke, Ludwig, and Delgado, 2007, pp. 223–224). They continue today where indigenous Christian preachers confront traditional religions (Itioka, 2002; Khai, 2003, pp. 143–144; Lees and Fiddes, 1997, p. 25; Yung, 2002). Many converts from traditional African religions have burned fetishes and abandoned witchcraft practices due to power encounters (Burgess, 2008, p. 151; Mayrargue, 2001, p. 286; Merz, 2008, p. 203). By addressing perceived local needs, power encounters have expanded Christian movements in, e.g., Haiti (Johnson, 1970, pp. 54–58), Nigeria (Burgess, 2008, p. 153, before subsequent abuses in exorcism ministries), South Asia (Daniel, 1978, pp. 158–159; Pothen, 1990, pp. 305–308), the Philippines (Cole, 2003, p. 264; Ma, 2000), and Indonesia (Wiyono, 2001, pp. 278–279, 282; York, 2003, pp. 250–251).¹⁸

¹⁸I have acquired various additional accounts by interviewing associates in Africa, Asia, and elsewhere (e.g., Albert Bissouessou, interview, Dec. 17, 2009; Paul Mokake, interview, May 13, 2009; Rodney Ragwan, interview, Dec. 15, 2009).

Such displays of spiritual power have proved sufficiently compelling that even a number of shamans who previously claimed contact with spirits have switched allegiances to follow Christ, whom they decide is more powerful (Alexander, 2009, pp. 89, 110; De Wet, 1981, pp. 84–85, 91n2; Green, 2001, p. 108; Khai, 2005, p. 269; Pothen, 1990, p. 189). Thus, for example, a prominent Indonesian shaman had allegedly murdered a thousand people through curses (others also attesting her success); but she claims that she abandoned witchcraft to follow Jesus after experiencing a vision of him (Knapstad, 2005, pp. 83–85; cf. p. 89). An Indonesian doctoral graduate from my institution baptized 28 former witchcraft practitioners in 2011.¹⁹ As illustrated in the accounts of materialistic Westerners converted to belief in spirits, however, the perspectival influence does not go only in a single direction.

Crooks' proposal of genuine, harmful spirits is probably not the best explanation for all claims of spirit possession, but in a number of cases it explains the data better than alternative proposals. It coheres with indigenous explanations and also provides a more economical explanation for data arising from some case studies.

Conclusion

Although any work that breaks new ground will require nuance, often significantly, Crooks' bold statement of a new paradigm (by restating an old one) demands serious attention. While typical psychiatric problems encountered in the West may involve other explanations, for some sorts of phenomena, especially those connected with preternatural phenomena, the activity of genuine, extrahuman spirits remains the simplest, most economical solution.

References

- Abdalla, I. H. (1991). Neither friend nor foe: The *Malam* practitioner — *Yan Bori* relationship in Hausaland. In I. M. Lewis, A. Al-Safi, and S. Hurreiz (Eds.), *Women's medicine: The Zar-Bori cult in Africa and beyond* (pp. 37–48). Edinburgh: International African Institute, Edinburgh University Press.
- Acolatse, E. E. (2018). *Powers, principalities, and the spirit: Biblical realism in Africa and the West*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Alexander, P. (2009). *Signs and wonders: Why Pentecostalism is the world's fastest growing faith*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Allison, R. B. (2000). If in doubt, cast it out? The evolution of a belief system regarding possession and exorcism. *Journal of Psychology and Christianity* 19, 109–121.
- Ames, M. M. (1964). Magical-animism and Buddhism: A structural analysis of the Sinhalese religious system. In E.B. Harper (Ed.), *Religion in south Asia* (pp. 21–52). Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Azenabor, G. E. (2006). The idea of witchcraft and the challenge of modern science. In B. Nicolini (Ed.), *Studies in witchcraft, magic, war, and peace in Africa* (pp. 21–35). Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen.

¹⁹Tandi Randa, personal correspondence, May 26, 2012.

- Bach, P. J. (1979). Demon possession and psychopathology: A theological relationship. *Journal of Psychology and Theology*, 7, 22–26.
- Baker, B. (2008). Who believes in religious evil? An investigation of sociological patterns of belief in Satan, hell, and demons." *Review of Religious Research*, 50, 206–220.
- Barnes, L. L. (2006). Introduction. In L. L. Barnes and I. Talamantez (Eds.), *Teaching religion and healing* (pp. 3–26). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Barnes, L. L., and Talamantez, I. (Eds.). (2006). *Teaching religion and healing*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Barrett–Lennard, R. J. S. (1994). *Christian healing after the New Testament: Some approaches to illness in the second, third, and fourth centuries*. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America.
- Barrington–Ward, S. (1978). The centre cannot hold... Spirit possession as redefinition. In E. Fas-holé–Luke, R. Gray, A. Hastings, and G. Tasié (Eds.), *Christianity in independent Africa* (pp. 455–470). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Basso, R. (2006). Music, possession, and shamanism among Khond tribes. *Culture and Religion*, 7, 177–197.
- Beattie, J. (1969). Spirit mediumship in Bunyoro. In J. Beattie and J. Middleton (Eds.), *Spirit mediumship and society in Africa* (pp. 159–170). New York: Africana Publishing Corporation.
- Beattie, J., and Middleton, J. (1969a). Introduction. In J. Beattie and J. Middleton (Eds.), *Spirit mediumship and society in Africa* (pp. xvii–xxx). New York: Africana Publishing Corporation.
- Beattie, J., and Middleton, J., (Eds.). (1969b). *Spirit mediumship and society in Africa*. New York: Africana Publishing Corporation.
- Beauregard, M., and O’Leary, D. (2007). *The spiritual brain: A neuroscientist’s case for the existence of the soul*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Beauvoir, M-G. (2006). Herbs and energy: The holistic medical system of the Haitian people. In P. Bellegarde–Smith and C. Michel (Eds.), *Haitian vodou: Spirit, myth, and reality* (pp. 112–133). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Behrend, H., and Luig, U. (1999). Introduction. In H. Behrend and U. Luig (Eds.), *Spirit possession, modernity and power in Africa* (pp. xiii–xxii). Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Behrend, H., and Luig, U. (Eds.). (1999). *Spirit possession, modernity and power in Africa*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Bellegarde–Smith, P., and Michel, C. (2006). *Haitian vodou: Spirit, myth, and reality*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Bellamy, C. (2008). Person in place: Possession and power at an Islamic saint shrine. *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 24, 31–44.
- Benson, H. (1982). Body temperature changes during the practice of g Tum-mo Yoga. *Nature*, 298, 402.
- Benson, H., with Stark, M. (1996). *Timeless healing: The power and biology of belief*. New York: Scribner.
- Berenbaum, H., Kerns, J. and Raghavan, C. (2000). Anomalous experiences, peculiarity, and psychopathology. In E. Cardeña, S. J. Lynn, and S. Krippner (Eds.), *Varieties of anomalous experience: Examining the scientific evidence* (pp. 25–46). Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.
- Berends, W. (1975). The Biblical criteria for demon possession. *Westminster Theological Journal*, 37, 342–365.
- Berger, I. (1999). Women in east and southern Africa. In I. Berger and E. F. White (Eds.), *Women in sub-Saharan Africa* (pp. 5–62). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Bergunder, M. (2001). Miracle healing and exorcism: The south Indian Pentecostal movement in the context of popular Hinduism. *International Review of Mission*, 90, 103–112.
- Bergunder, M. (2008). *The south Indian Pentecostal movement in the twentieth century*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Betty, S. (2005). The growing evidence for “demonic possession”: What should psychiatry’s response be? *Journal of Religion and Health*, 44, 13–30.
- Binsbergen, W. M. J. van (1981). *Religious change in Zambia: Exploratory studies*. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Binsbergen, W. M. J. van. (2001). Witchcraft in modern Africa as virtualized boundary conditions of the kinship order. In G. C. Bond and D. M. Ciekawy (Eds.), *Witchcraft dialogues: Anthropological and philosophical exchanges* (pp. 212–263). Athens, Ohio: Center for International Studies, Ohio University.

- Boddy, J. (1994). Spirit possession revisited: Beyond instrumentality. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 23, 407–434.
- Borg, M. J. (2006). *Jesus: Uncovering the life, teachings, and relevance of a religious revolutionary*. New York: HarperOne.
- Bourguignon, E. (1965). The self, the behavioral environment, and the theory of spirit possession. In M. E. Spiro (Ed.), *Culture and meaning in cultural anthropology: In honor of A. Irving Hallowell* (pp. 39–60). New York: Free Press.
- Bourguignon, E. (1968). World distribution and patterns of possession states. In R. Prince (Ed.), *Trance and possession states* (pp. 3–34). Montreal: R. M. Bucke Memorial Society.
- Bourguignon, E. (1973a). An assessment of some comparisons and implications. In E. Bourguignon (Ed.), *Religion, altered states of consciousness, and social change* (pp. 321–339). Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- Bourguignon, E. (1973b). Introduction: A framework for the comparative study of altered states of consciousness. In E. Bourguignon (Ed.), *Religion, altered states of consciousness, and social change* (pp. 3–35). Columbus: Ohio State University.
- Bourguignon, E. (Ed.). (1973c). *Religion, altered states of consciousness, and social change*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- Bourguignon, E. (1976a). *Possession*. San Francisco: Chandler & Sharp.
- Bourguignon, E. (1976b). Spirit possession belief and social structure. In A. Bharati (Ed.), *The realm of the extra-human: Ideas and actions* (pp. 17–26). The Hague: Mouton.
- Bourguignon, E. (1989). Multiple personality, possession trance, and the psychic unity of mankind. *Ethos*, 17, 371–384.
- Bradnick, D. (2017). *Evil, spirits, and possession: An emergentist theology of the demonic*. Leiden: Brill.
- Brand, G. (2002). Witchcraft and spirit beliefs in African christian theology. *Exchange*, 31, 36–50.
- Brooke, J. H. (1991). *Science and religion: Some historical perspectives*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bull, D. L., Ellason, J. W. and Ross, C. A. (1998). Exorcism revisited: Positive outcomes with dissociative identity disorder. *Journal of Psychology and Theology*, 26, 188–196.
- Burgess, R. (2008). *Nigeria's Christian revolution: The civil war revival and its Pentecostal progeny (1967–2006)*. Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock.
- Byaruhanga–Akiiki, A. B. T., and Kealotswe, O. N. O. (1995). *African theology of healing: The infinite oneness*. Gaboroni: University of Botswana Press.
- Cannon, W. B. (1942). “Voodoo” death. *American Anthropologist*, 44, 169–181.
- Carter, S. S. (2000). Demon possession and the Christian. *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies*, 3, 19–31.
- Castro–Blanco, D. R. (2005). Cultural sensitivity in conventional psychotherapy: A comment on Martínez–Taboas (2005). *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training*, 42, 14–16.
- Chandra shekar, C. R. (1989). Possession syndrome in India. In C. A. Ward (Ed.), *Altered states of consciousness and mental health: A cross-cultural perspective* (pp. 79–95). Newbury Park, California: Sage.
- Charpak, G., and Broch, H. (2004). *Debunked! ESP, telekinesis, and other pseudoscience*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Cole, H. R. (2003). A model of contextualized deliverance ministry: A case study: The Cordillera Rehabilitation Center. *Journal of Asian Mission*, 5, 259–273.
- Collins, J. M. (2009). *Exorcism and deliverance ministry in the twentieth century: An analysis of the practice and theology of exorcism in modern western christianity*. Colorado Springs: Paternoster.
- Colson, E. (1969). Central and South Africa: Spirit possession among the Tonga of Zambia. In J. Beattie and J. Middleton (Eds.), *Spirit mediumship and society in Africa* (pp. 69–103). New York: Africana Publishing Corporation.
- Crapanzano, V., and Garrison, V. (Eds.). (1977). *Case studies in spirit possession*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Daniel, C. G. (1978). *Indentured labour and the Christian movement in Sri Lanka*. Doctoral of Ministry Dissertation. Fuller School of World Mission.
- Daston, L. (1991). Marvelous facts and miraculous evidence in early modern Europe. *Critical Inquiry*, 18, 93–124.
- Davies, J. (2008). *Exorcism: Understanding exorcism in scripture and practice*. London: Catholic Truth Society.

- Davies, S. L. (1995). *Jesus the healer: Possession, trance, and the origins of Christianity*. New York: Continuum.
- De Wet, C. R. (1981, December). *Signs and wonders in church growth*. Master of Theology Thesis. Fuller School of World Mission.
- Douyon, E. (1968). L'Examen au Rorschach des Vaudouissants Haitiens. In R. Prince (Ed.), *Trance and possession states* (pp. 97–119). Montreal: R. M. Bucke Memorial Society.
- Droege, T. A. (1991). *The faith factor in healing*. Philadelphia: Trinity Press International.
- Eastwell, H. D. (1982). Voodoo death and the mechanism for dispatch of the dying in East Arnhem, Australia. *American Anthropologist*, 84, 5–18.
- Edwards, F. S. (1989). Amafufunyana spirit possession: Treatment and interpretation. In G. C. Oosthuizen, S. D. Edwards, W. H. Wessels, and I. Hexham (Eds.), *Afro-Christian religion and healing in southern Africa* (pp. 207–225). Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen.
- Eliade, M. (1958). *Rites and symbols of initiation: The mysteries of birth and rebirth*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Eliade, M. (1964). *Shamanism: Archaic techniques of ecstasy*. New York: Pantheon.
- Emmons, C. F. (1982). *Chinese ghosts and ESP: A study of paranormal beliefs and experiences*. Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow.
- Escobar, S. (2002). *Changing tides: Latin America and world mission today*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1937). *Witchcraft, oracles, and magic among the Azande*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1956). *Nuer religion*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Fabisiak, T. (2015). *The "Nocturnal Side of Science" in David Friedrich Strauss's Life of Jesus Critically Examined*. Emory Studies in Early Christianity 17. Atlanta: SBL.
- Favret-Saada, J. (1980). *Deadly words: Witchcraft in the Bocage* [C. Cullen, Trans.]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ferguson, E. (1984). *Demonology of the early Christian world*. New York: Edwin Mellen.
- Field, M. J. (1969). Spirit possession in Ghana. In J. Beattie and J. Middleton (Eds.), *Spirit mediumship and society in Africa* (pp. 3–13). New York: Africana Publishing Corporation.
- Filson, W. R. (2006). *A comparative study of contextualized and Pentecostal approaches to nominal Muslims in Indonesia*. Doctoral of Ministry Dissertation. Asia Pacific Theological Seminary.
- Firth, R. (1969). Foreword. In J. Beattie and J. Middleton (Eds.), *Spirit mediumship and society in Africa* (pp. ix–xiv). New York: Africana Publishing Corporation.
- Foster, G. M. (1976). Disease etiologies in non-western medical systems. *American Anthropologist*, 78, 773–782.
- Fox, J. R. (1964). Witchcraft and clanship in Cochiti therapy. In A. Kiev (Ed.), *Magic, faith, and healing: Studies in primitive psychiatry today* (pp. 174–200). New York: Free Press.
- Frank, J. D. (1961). *Persuasion and healing: A comparative study of psychotherapy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.
- Fuchs, S. (1964). Magic healing techniques among the Balahis in central India. In A. Kiev (Ed.), *Magic, faith, and healing: Studies in primitive psychiatry today* (pp. 121–138). New York: Free Press.
- Garbett, G. K. (1969). Spirit mediums as mediators in Valley Korekore society. In J. Beattie and J. Middleton (Eds.), *Spirit mediumship and society in Africa* (pp. 104–127). New York: Africana Publishing Corporation.
- Gaztambide, D. J. (2010). The role of the placebo effect, individual psychology, and immune response in regulating the effects of religion on health. In J. Harold Ellens (Ed.), *The healing power of spirituality: How faith helps humans thrive* (Vol. 3, pp. 302–324). Santa Barbara, California: Praeger.
- Geleta, A. T. (2002). Demonization and exorcism in Ethiopian churches. In A. S. Moreau, T. Adeyemo, D. G. Burnett, B. L. Myers, and H. Yung (Eds.), *Deliver us from evil: An uneasy frontier in Christian mission* (pp. 91–103). Monrovia, California: Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization.
- Gelfand, M. (1962). *Shona religion: With special reference to the Makorekore*. Cape Town: Juta and Company.
- Gelfand, M. (1964). Psychiatric disorders as recognized by the Shona. In A. Kiev (Ed.), *Magic, faith, and healing: Studies in primitive psychiatry today* (pp. 156–173). New York: Free Press.
- Gildea, P. (1974). Demoniacal possession. *Irish Theological Quarterly*, 41, 289–311.
- Goodman, F. D. (1988a). *How about demons? Possession and exorcism in the modern world*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Goodman, F. D. (1988b). Experiential workshop. In R-I. Heinze (Ed.), *Proceedings of the fourth international conference on the study of Shamanism and alternate modes of healing* (pp. 112–115). Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions.

- Goulet, J.-G., and Young, D. (1994). Theoretical and methodological issues. In D. E. Young and J.-G. Goulet (Eds.), *Being changed: The anthropology of extraordinary experience* (pp. 298–335). Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview.
- Gray, R. F. (1969). The Shetani cult among the Segeju of Tanzania. In J. Beattie and J. Middleton (Eds.), *Spirit mediumship and society in Africa* (pp. 171–187). New York: Africana Publishing Corporation.
- Green, M. (2001). *Asian tigers for Christ: The dynamic growth of the church in south east Asia*. London: SPCK.
- Greenbaum, L. (1973a). Possession trance in Sub-Saharan Africa: A descriptive analysis of fourteen societies. In E. Bourguignon (Ed.), *Religion, altered states of consciousness, and social change* (pp. 58–87). Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- Greenbaum, L. (1973b). Societal correlates of possession trance in Sub-Saharan Africa. In E. Bourguignon (Ed.), *Religion, altered states of consciousness, and social change* (pp. 39–57). Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- Greenfield, S. M. (2008). *Spirits with scalpels: The culturalbiology of religious healing in Brazil*. Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press.
- Grof, S. (2010). Healing potential of spiritual experiences: Observations from modern consciousness research. In J. Harold Ellens (Ed.), *The healing power of spirituality: How faith helps humans thrive* (Vol. 3, pp. 126–146). Santa Barbara, California: Praeger.
- Grundmann, C. H. (2005). Inviting the spirit to fight the spirits? Pneumatological challenges for missions in healing and exorcism. *International Review of Mission*, 94, 51–73.
- Hair, P. E. H. (1998). Heretics, slaves, and witches — as seen by Guinea Jesuits c. 1610. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 28, 131–144.
- Hammond-Tooke, W. D. (1989). The aetiology of spirit in southern Africa. In G. C. Oosthuizen, S. D. Edwards, W. H. Wessels, and I. Hexham (Eds.), *Afro-Christian religion and healing in southern Africa* (pp. 43–65). Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen.
- Hancies, J. J. (2004). Conversion and social change: A review of the “unfinished task” in west Africa. In D. M. Lewis (Ed.), *Christianity reborn: The global expansion of evangelicalism in the twentieth century* (pp. 157–180). Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Hayes, K. E. (2006). Caught in the crossfire: Considering the limits of spirit possession. A Brazilian case study. *Culture and Religion*, 7, 155–175.
- Hayes, S. (1995). Christian responses to witchcraft and sorcery. *Missionalia: Southern African Journal of Missiology*, 23, 339–354.
- Heinze, R.-I. (1988a). Introduction. In R.-I. Heinze (Ed.), *Proceedings of the fourth international conference on the study of Shamanism and alternate modes of healing* (pp. 1–18). Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions.
- Heinze, R.-I. (Ed.). (1988b). *Proceedings of the fourth international conference on the study of Shamanism and alternate modes of healing*. Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions.
- Herum, N. M. (2009). *Augustine's theology of the miraculous* (Master's Thesis). Beeson Divinity School.
- Hexham, I. (1977). Theology, exorcism, and the amplification of deviancy. *Evangelical Quarterly*, 49, 111–116.
- Hiebert, P. G. (1982). The flaw of the excluded middle. *Missiology: An International Review*, 10, 35–47.
- Hien, N. T. (2008). Yin illness: Its diagnosis and healing within *lên dòng* (spirit possession) rituals of the Viêt. *Asian Ethnology*, 67, 305–321.
- Hoare, F. (2004). A pastoral approach to spirit possession and witchcraft manifestations among the Fijian people. *Mission Studies*, 21, 113–137.
- Hoffman, L., and Kurzenberger, M. (2008). The miraculous and mental illness. In J. Harold Ellens (Ed.), *Miracles: God, science, and psychology in the paranormal* (Vol. 3, pp. 65–93). London: Praeger.
- Horton, R. (1969). Types of spirit possession in Kalabari religion. In J. Beattie and J. Middleton (Eds.), *Spirit mediumship and society in Africa* (pp. 14–49). New York: Africana Publishing Corporation.
- Hunt, S. (2010). Sociology of religion. In A. Anderson, M. Bergunder, A. Droogers, and C. van der Laan (Eds.), *Studying global Pentecostalism: Theories and methods* (pp. 179–201). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hutton, R. (2007). The status of witchcraft in the modern world. *Pomegranate*, 9, 121–131.
- Instone-Brewer, D. (1996). Jesus and the psychiatrists. In A. N. S. Lane (Ed.), *The unseen world: Christian reflections on angels, demons, and the heavenly realm* (pp. 133–148). Grand Rapids: Baker.
- Isaacs, T. C. (1987). The possessive states disorder: The diagnosis of demonic possession. *Pastoral Psychology*, 35, 263–273.

- Ising, D. (2009). *Johann Christoph Blumhardt, life and work: A new biography* [M. Ledford, Trans.]. Eugene, Oregon: Cascade.
- Itioka, N. (2002). Umbanda in Brazil. In A. S. Moreau, T. Adeyemo, D. G. Burnett, B. L. Myers, and H. Yung (Eds.), *Deliver us from evil: An uneasy frontier in Christian mission* (pp. 104–106). Monrovia, California: Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization.
- Ivey, G. (2002). Diabolical discourses: Demonic possession and evil in modern psychopathology. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 32, 54–59.
- Jacobs, D. R. (1976). Possession, trance state, and exorcism in two east African communities. In J. W. Montgomery (Ed.), *Demon possession: A medical, historical, anthropological, and theological symposium* (pp. 175–187). Minneapolis: Bethany House.
- Jochim, C. (1986). *Chinese religions: A cultural perspective*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Johnson, H. A. (1970). *The growing church in Haiti*. Coral Gables, Florida: West Indies Mission.
- Johnson, W. C. (1982). Demon possession and mental illness. *Journal of the American Scientific Affiliation*, 34, 149–154.
- Johnson, P. C., and Keller, M. (2006). The word of possession(s). *Culture and Religion*, 7, 111–122.
- Jules-Rosette, B. (1981). Faith healers and folk healers: The symbolism and practice of indigenous therapy in urban Africa. *Religion*, 11, 127–149.
- Kaplan, B., and Johnson, D. (1964). The social meaning of Navajo psychopathology and psychotherapy. In A. Kiev (Ed.), *Magic, faith, and healing: Studies in primitive psychiatry today* (pp. 203–229). New York: Free Press.
- Katz, R. (1982). *Boiling energy: Community healing among the Kalahari Kung*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Kauffman, R. A. (1988). Introduction. In W. M. Swartley (Ed.), *Essays on spiritual bondage and deliverance* (pp. 6–9). Elkhart, Indiana: Institute of Mennonite Studies.
- Keener, C. S. (2010a). Cultural comparisons for healing and exorcism narratives in Matthew's Gospel. *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies*, 66(1), seven pages. doi:10.4102/hts.v66i1.808
- Keener, C. S. (2010b). Spirit possession as a cross-cultural experience. *Bulletin for Biblical Research*, 20, 215–236.
- Keener, C. S. (2011). *Miracles: The credibility of the New Testament accounts* (Vols. 1–2). Grand Rapids: Baker Academic.
- Keller, M. (2002). *The hammer and the flute: Women, power, and spirit possession*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Kelsey, M. T. (1973). *Healing and Christianity in ancient thought and modern times*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Kemp, S. (1989). "Ravished of a fiend": Demonology and medieval madness. In C. A. Ward (Ed.), *Altered states of consciousness and mental health: A cross-cultural perspective* (pp. 67–78). Newbury Park, California: Sage.
- Kenyon, S. M. (1999). The case of the butcher's wife: Illness, possession and power in central Sudan. In H. Behrend and U. Luig (Eds.), *Spirit possession, modernity and power in Africa* (pp. 89–108). Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Kessler, C. S. (1977). Conflict and sovereignty in Kelantanese Malay spirit seances. In V. Crapanzaro and V. Garrison (Eds.), *Case studies in spirit possession* (pp. 295–332). New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Khair, C. K. (2003). *The cross among Pagodas: A history of the Assemblies of God in Myanmar*. Baguio City: Asia Pacific Theological Seminary.
- Khair, C. K. (2005). The Assemblies of God and Pentecostalism in Myanmar. In A. Anderson and E. Tang (Eds.), *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic face of Christianity in Asia* (pp. 261–280). Oxford: Regnum.
- Kiev, A. (1968). The psychotherapeutic value of spirit-possession in Haiti. In R. Prince (Ed.), *Trance and possession states* (pp. 143–148). Montreal: R. M. Bucke Memorial Society.
- Kiev, A. (1964). *Magic, faith, and healing: Studies in primitive psychiatry today*. New York: Free Press.
- Kim, S. C. (2011). Reenchanted: Divine healing in Korean Protestantism. In C. G. Brown (Ed.), *Global Pentecostal and charismatic healing* (pp. 267–285). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kimball, S. T. (1972). Learning a new culture. In S. T. Kimball and J. B. Watson (Eds.), *Crossing cultural boundaries: The anthropological experience* (pp. 182–192). San Francisco: Chandler.
- Klutznick, T. (2004). *The exorcism stories in Luke-Acts: A sociostylistic reading*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Knapstad, B. L. (2005). *Show us the power! A study of the influence of miracles on the conversion process from Islam to Christianity in an Indonesian context*. Master of Theology Thesis. Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology.
- Koschorke, K., Ludwig, F., and Delgado, M. (Eds.). (2007). *History of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, 1450–1990: A documentary sourcebook*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Krippner, S. C. (2002). Conflicting perspectives on Shamans and Shamanism: Points and counterpoints. *American Psychologist*, 57, 962–977.
- Kuhn, T. S. (1970). *The structure of scientific revolutions* (second edition). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lagerwerf, L. (1987). *Witchcraft, sorcery and spirit possession: Pastoral responses in Africa*. Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.
- Lampe, G. W. H. (1965). Miracles in the early Christian apologetic. In C. F. D. Moule (Ed.), *Miracles: Cambridge studies in their philosophy and history* (pp. 203–218). New York: Morehouse-Barlow.
- Last, M. (1991). Spirit possession as therapy: Bori among non-Muslims in Nigeria. In I. M. Lewis, A. Al-Safi, and S. Hurreiz (Eds.), *Women's medicine: The Zar-Bori cult in Africa and beyond* (pp. 49–63). Edinburgh: International African Institute, Edinburgh University Press.
- Latourette, K. S. (1975). *A history of Christianity* (Vol. 1). San Francisco: Harper.
- Lee, R. B. (1968). The sociology of !Kung Bushman trance performances. In R. Prince (Ed.), *Trance and possession states* (pp. 35–54). Montreal: R. M. Bucke Memorial Society.
- Lee, R. L. M. (1989). Self-presentation in Malaysian spirit seances: A dramaturgical perspective on altered states of consciousness in healing ceremonies. In C. A. Ward (Ed.), *Altered states of consciousness and mental health: A cross-cultural perspective* (pp. 251–266). Newbury Park, California: Sage.
- Lee, S. G. (1969). Spirit possession among the Zulu. In J. Beattie and J. Middleton (Eds.), *Spirit mediumship and society in Africa* (pp. 128–156). New York: Africana Publishing Corporation.
- Lees, B., and Fiddes, P. (1997). How are people healed today? The relationship between the “medical” and the “spiritual” in healing. In E. Lucas (Ed.), *Christian healing: What can we believe?* (pp. 5–30). London: SPCK.
- Lema, A. A. (1999). Chaga religion and missionary Christianity on Kilimanjaro. The initial phase, 1893–1916. In T. Spear and I. N. Kimambo (Eds.), *East African expressions of Christianity* (pp. 39–62). Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- Levack, B. P. (Ed.). (1992). *Possession and exorcism* (Vol. 9). New York: Garland.
- Lewis, I. M. (1969). Spirit possession in northern Somaliland. In J. Beattie and J. Middleton (Eds.), *Spirit mediumship and society in Africa* (pp. 188–219). New York: Africana Publishing Corporation.
- Lewis, I. M. (1971). *Ecstatic religion: An anthropological study of spirit possession and Shamanism*. Middlesex: Penguin.
- Lewis, I. M. (1992). Spirit possession and deprivation cults. In B. P. Levack (Ed.), *Possession and exorcism* (Vol. 9, pp. 311–333). New York: Garland.
- Lewis, I. M., Al-Safi, A., and Hurreiz, S. (Eds.). (1991). *Women's medicine: The Zar-Bori cult in Africa and beyond*. Edinburgh: International African Institute, Edinburgh University Press.
- Li, A. (1996). Abirewa: A religious movement in the Gold Coast, 1906–8. *Journal of Religious History*, 20, 32–52.
- Licaucó, J. (1988). Psychic healing in the Philippines. In R-I. Heinze (Ed.), *Proceedings of the fourth international conference on the study of Shamanism and alternate modes of healing* (pp. 93–96). Madison, Wisconsin: A–R Editions.
- Loewen, J. A. (1988). Demon possession and exorcism in Africa, in the New Testament context, and in North America, or toward a western scientific model of demon possession and exorcism. In W. M. Swartley (Ed.), *Essays on spiritual bondage and deliverance* (pp. 118–145). Elkhart, Indiana: Institute of Mennonite Studies.
- Ma, J. C. (2000). *When the spirit meets the spirits: Pentecostal ministry among the Kankana-ey tribe in the Philippines*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Ma, W. (2002). Three types of ancestor veneration in Asia: An anthropological analysis. *Journal of Asian Mission*, 4, 201–215.
- Macchia, F. D. (1993). *Spirituality and social liberation: The message of the Blumhardts in the light of Wuerttemberg Pietism*. Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow.
- MacMullen, R. (1984). *Christianizing the Roman Empire*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press.

- Maddox, G. H. (1999). The church and Cigogo: Father Stephen Mlundi and Christianity in central Tanzania. In T. Spear and I. N. Kimambo (Eds.), *East African expressions of Christianity* (pp. 150–166). Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- Magliocco, S. (2000). Spells, saints, and Streghe: Witchcraft, folk magic, and healing in Italy. *Pomegranate*, 13, 4–22.
- Makris, G. P., and Al-Safi, A. (1991). The *Tumbura* spirit possession cult of the Sudan. In I. M. Lewis, A. Al-Safi, and S. Hurreiz (Eds.), *Women's medicine: The Zar-Bori cult in Africa and beyond* (pp. 118–136). Edinburgh: International African Institute, Edinburgh University Press.
- Martin, D. (1988). Resisting the Devil in the patristic, medieval, and reformation church. In W. M. Swartley (Ed.), *Essays on spiritual bondage and deliverance* (pp. 46–71). Elkhart, Indiana: Institute of Mennonite Studies.
- Martínez-Taboas, A. (2005a). The plural world of culturally sensitive psychotherapy: A response to Castro-Blanco's (2005) comments. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training*, 42, 17–19.
- Martínez-Taboas, A. (2005b). Psychogenic seizures in an Espiritismo context: The role of culturally sensitive psychotherapy. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training*, 42, 6–13.
- Mathews, D. A., and Clark, C. (1998). *The faith factor: Proof of the healing power of prayer*. New York: Viking Penguin.
- Mayrargue, C. (2001). The expansion of Pentecostalism in Benin: Individual rationales and transnational dynamics. In A. Corten and R. Marshall-Fratani (Eds.), *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America* (pp. 274–292). Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Mbiti, J. S. (1970). *African religions and philosophies*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday.
- McAll, R. K. (1975). The ministry of deliverance. *Expository Times*, 86, 296–298.
- McAll, R. K. (1976). Taste and see. In J. W. Montgomery (Ed.), *Demon possession: A medical, historical, anthropological, and theological symposium* (pp. 269–278). Minneapolis: Bethany House.
- McClenon, J. (1994). *Wondrous events: Foundations of religious belief*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- McClenon, J. (2002). *Wondrous healing: Shamanism, human evolution, and the origin of religion*. DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press.
- McClenon, J., and Nooney, J. (2002). Anomalous experiences reported by field anthropologists: Evaluating theories regarding religion. *Anthropology of Consciousness*, 13(2), 46–60.
- Mchami, R. E. K. (2001). Demon possession and exorcism in Mark 1:21–28. *Africa Theological Journal*, 24, 17–37.
- McNaughton, P. R. (1988). *The Mande Blacksmiths: Knowledge, power, and art in west Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Mensah, F. A. (2008). The spiritual basis of health and illness in Africa. In T. Falola and M. M. Heaton (Eds.), *Health knowledge and belief systems in Africa* (pp. 171–180). Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.
- Merz, J. (2008). "I am a witch in the Holy Spirit": Rupture and continuity of witchcraft beliefs in African Christianity. *Missiology: An International Review*, 36, 201–217.
- Michel, C. (2006). Of worlds seen and unseen: The educational character of Haitian Vodou. In P. Bellegarde-Smith and C. Michel (Eds.), *Haitian vodou: Spirit, myth, and reality* (pp. 32–45). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Midelfort, H. C. E. (1992). The Devil and the German people: Reflections on the popularity of demon possession in sixteenth-century Germany. In B. P. Levack (Ed.), *Possession and exorcism* (Vol. 9, pp. 113–133). New York: Garland.
- Miller, D. E., and Yamamori, T. (2007). *Global Pentecostalism: The new face of Christian social engagement*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Modarressi, T. (1968). The Zar cult in south Iran. In R. Prince (Ed.), *Trance and possession states* (pp. 149–155). Montreal: R. M. Bucke Memorial Society.
- Monden, L. (1966). *Signs and wonders: A study of the miraculous element in religion*. New York: Desclee.
- Montgomery, J. W. (Ed.). (1978). *Demon possession: A medical, historical, anthropological, and theological symposium*. Minneapolis: Bethany House.
- Montilus, G. C. (2006). Vodun and social transformation in the African diasporic experience: The concept of personhood in Haitian Vodun religion. In P. Bellegarde-Smith and C. Michel (Eds.), *Haitian vodou: Spirit, myth, and reality* (pp. 1–6). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

- Moreau, A. S., Adeyemo, T., Burnett, D. G., Myers, B. L., and Yung, H. (Eds.). (2002). *Deliver us from evil: An uneasy frontier in Christian mission*. Monrovia, California: Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization.
- Morsy, S. A. (1991). Spirit possession in Egyptian ethnomedicine: Origins, comparison, and historical specificity. In I. M. Lewis, A. Al-Safi, and S. Hurreiz (Eds.), *Women's medicine: The Zar-Bori cult in Africa and beyond* (pp. 189–208). Edinburgh: International African Institute, Edinburgh University Press.
- Mullen, G. W. (1999). *Why do I feel so down? When my faith should lift me up. How to break the three links in the chain of emotional bondage*. Tonbridge: Sovereign World.
- Murdock, G. P. (1980). *Theories of illness: A world survey*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Murphy, J. M. (1964). Psychotherapeutic aspects of Shamanism on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska. In A. Kiev (Ed.), *Magic, faith, and healing: Studies in primitive psychiatry today* (pp. 53–83). New York: Free Press.
- Murphy, N. (2006). Social science, ethics, and the powers. In R. Gingerich and T. Grimsrud (Eds.), *Transforming the powers: Peace, justice, and the domination system* (pp. 29–38). Minneapolis: Fortress.
- Neill, S. (1964). *A history of Christian missions*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Nevius, J. L. (1894). *Demon possession and allied themes*. Old Tappan, New Jersey: Revell.
- Neyrey, J. H. (1999). Miracles, in other words: Social science perspectives on healings. In J. C. Cavadini (Ed.), *Miracles in Jewish and Christian antiquity: Imagining truth* (pp. 19–56). Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Obeyesekere, G. (1970). The idiom of demonic possession: A case study. *Social Science and Medicine*, 4, 97–111.
- Obeyesekere, G. (1975). Sorcery, premeditated murder, and the canalization of aggression in Sri Lanka. *Ethnology*, 14, 1–24.
- Obeyesekere, G. (1977). Psychocultural exegesis of a case of spirit possession in Sri Lanka. In V. Crapanzano and V. Garrison (Eds.), *Case studies in spirit possession* (pp. 235–294). New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Oesterreich, T. K. (1966). *Possession: Demoniacal and other among primitive races, in antiquity, the middle ages, and modern times* [D. Ibberson, Trans.]. New Hyde Park, New York: University Books.
- Oesterreich, T. K. (1974). The genesis and extinction of possession. In St. E. Nauman (Ed.), *Exorcism through the ages* (pp. 111–141). New York: Philosophical Library.
- Oosthuizen, G. C. (1989). Indigenous healing within the context of African independent churches. In G. C. Oosthuizen, S. D. Edwards, W. H. Wessels, and I. Hexham (Eds.), *Afro-Christian religion and healing in southern Africa* (pp. 71–90). Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen.
- Oosthuizen, G. C. (1992). *The healer-prophet in Afro-Christian churches*. Leiden: Brill.
- Oosthuizen, G. C., Edwards, S. D., Wessels, W. H., and Hexham, I. (Eds.). (1989). *Afro-Christian religion and healing in southern Africa*. Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen.
- Pattison, E. M. (1992). Psychosocial interpretations of exorcism. In B. P. Levack (Ed.), *Possession and exorcism* (Vol. 9, pp. 203–217). New York: Garland.
- Peck, M. S. (2005). *Glimpses of the Devil: A psychiatrist's personal accounts of possession, exorcism, and redemption*. New York: Free Press.
- Pekala, R. J., and Cardena, E. (2000). Methodological issues in the study of altered states of consciousness and anomalous experiences. In E. Cardena, S. J. Lynn, and S. Krippner (Eds.), *Varieties of anomalous experience: Examining the scientific evidence* (pp. 47–82). Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.
- Perkinson, J. (2001). Ogo's iron or Jesus' irony: Who's zooming who in diasporic possession cult activity? *Journal of Religion*, 81, 566–594.
- Peters, L. (1981). *Ecstasy and healing in Nepal: An ethnopsychiatric study of Tamang Shamanism*. Malibu, California: Undena.
- Pothen, A. T. (1990). Indigenous cross-cultural missions in India and their contribution to church growth: With special emphasis on Pentecostal-Charismatic missions. Ph.D. Dissertation, intercultural studies. Fuller Theological Seminary, School of World Mission.
- Pressel, E. (1973). Umbanda in São Paulo: Religious innovation in a developing society. In E. Bourguignon (Ed.), *Religion, altered states of consciousness, and social change* (pp. 264–318). Columbus: Ohio State University.

- Pressel, E. (1977). Negative spirit possession in experienced Brazilian Umbanda spirit mediums. In V. Crapanzaro and V. Garrison (Eds.), *Case studies in spirit possession* (pp. 333–364). New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Prince, R. (1968a). Can the EEG be used in the study of possession states? In R. Prince (Ed.), *Trance and possession states* (pp. 121–137). Montreal: R. M. Bucke Memorial Society.
- Prince, R. (1968b). Possession cults and social cybernetics. In R. Prince (Ed.), *Trance and possession states* (pp. 157–165). Montreal: R. M. Bucke Memorial Society.
- Prince, R. (Ed.). (1968c). *Trance and possession states*. Montreal: R. M. Bucke Memorial Society.
- Prince, R. (1977). Foreword. In V. Crapanzaro and V. Garrison (Eds.), *Case studies in spirit possession* (pp. xi–xvi). New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Rack, H. D. (1982). Doctors, demons, and early Methodist healing. In W. J. Sheils (Ed.), *The church and healing: Papers read at the twentieth summer meeting and the twenty-first winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (pp. 137–152). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Remus, H. (1997). *Jesus as healer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Reynolds, B. (1963). *Magic, divination and witchcraft among the Barotse of northern Rhodesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rosny, E. de (1985). *Healers in the night* [R. R. Barr, Trans.]. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis.
- Sall, M. J. (1976). Demon possession or psychopathology?: A clinical differentiation. *Journal of Psychology and Theology*, 4, 286–290.
- Sall, M. J. (1979). A response to “Demon possession and psychopathology: A theological relationship.” *Journal of Psychology and Theology*, 7, 27–30.
- Sandgren, D. (1999). Kamba Christianity: From Africa inland mission to African Brotherhood church. In T. Spear and I. N. Kimambo (Eds.), *East African expressions of Christianity* (pp. 169–195). Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- Scherberger, L. (2005). The Janus-faced shaman: The role of laughter in sickness and healing among the Makushi. *Anthropology and Humanism*, 30, 55–69.
- Schmidt, K. E. (1964). Folk psychiatry in Sarawak: A tentative system of psychiatry of the Iban. In A. Kiev (Ed.), *Magic, faith, and healing: Studies in primitive psychiatry today* (pp. 139–155). New York: Free Press.
- Schmidt, L. E. (1998). From demon possession to magic show: Ventriloquism, religion, and the enlightenment. *Church History*, 67, 274–304.
- Sears, R. T. (1988). A Catholic view of exorcism and deliverance. In W. M. Swartley (Ed.), *Essays on spiritual bondage and deliverance* (pp. 100–114). Elkhart, Indiana: Institute of Mennonite Studies.
- Sharma, B. K. (2001). A history of the Pentecostal movement in Nepal. *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies*, 4, 295–305.
- Sharp, L. A. (1999). The power of possession in northwest Madagascar: Contesting colonial and national hegemonies. In H. Behrend and U. Luig (Eds.), *Spirit possession, modernity and power in Africa* (pp. 3–19). Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Shoko, T. (2007). *Karanga indigenous religion in Zimbabwe: Health and well-being*. Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate.
- Shorter, A. (1970). The *Migawo*: Peripheral spirit possession and Christian prejudice. *Anthropos*, 65, 110–126.
- Shorter, A. (1980). Spirit possession and Christian healing in Tanzania. *African Affairs*, 79, 45–53.
- Shorter, A. (1985). *Jesus and the witchdoctor: An approach to healing and wholeness*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis.
- Silverman, M. G. (1972). Ambiguation and disambiguation in field work. In S. T. Kimball and J. B. Watson (Eds.) *Crossing cultural boundaries: The anthropological experience* (pp. 204–229). San Francisco: Chandler.
- Singleton, M. (1978). Spirits and “Spiritual direction”: The pastoral counseling of the possessed. In E. Fasholé-Luke, R. Gray, A. Hastings, and G. Tasie (Eds.), *Christianity in independent Africa* (pp. 471–478). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Skarsaune, O., and Engelsen, T. (2002). Possession and exorcism in the history of the church. In A. S. Moreau, T. Adeyemo, D. G. Burnett, B. L. Myers, and H. Yung (Eds.), *Deliver us from evil: An uneasy frontier in Christian mission* (pp. 65–87). Monrovia, California: Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization.
- Smith, J. H. (2001). Of spirit possession and structural adjustment programs: Government downsizing, education and their enchantments in neo-liberal Kenya. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 31, 427–456.

- Smucker, M. R., and Hostetler, J. A. (1988). The case of Jane: Psychotherapy and deliverance. In W. M. Swartley (Ed.), *Essays on spiritual bondage and deliverance* (pp. 179–191). Elkhart, Indiana: Institute of Mennonite Studies.
- Sousa, A. O. de. (1999). Defunct women: Possession among the Bijagós Islanders. In H. Behrend and U. Luig (Eds.), *Spirit possession, modernity and power in Africa* (pp. 81–88). Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Southall, A. (1969). Spirit possession and mediumship among the Alur. In J. Beattie and J. Middleton (Eds.), *Spirit mediumship and society in Africa* (pp. 232–272). New York: Africana Publishing Corporation.
- Spanos, N. P. (1989). Hypnosis, demonic possession, and multiple personality: Strategic enactments and disavowals of responsibility for actions. In C. A. Ward (Ed.), *Altered states of consciousness and mental health: A cross-cultural perspective* (pp. 96–124). Newbury Park, California: Sage.
- Spear, T., and Kimambo, I. N. (Eds.). (1999). *East African expressions of Christianity*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- Stabell, T. D. (2010). “The modernity of witchcraft” and the Gospel in Africa. *Missiology: An International Review*, 38, 460–474.
- Steyne, P. M. (1990). *Gods of power: A study of the beliefs and practices of animists*. Houston: Touch Publications.
- Stirrat, R. L. (1977). Demonic possession in Roman Catholic Sri Lanka. *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 33, 122–157.
- Stoller, P. (1989). Stressing social change and Songhay possession. In C. A. Ward (Ed.), *Altered states of consciousness and mental health: A cross-cultural perspective* (pp. 267–284). Newbury Park, California: Sage.
- Stoller, P. (1984). Eye, mind, and word in anthropology. *L’Homme*, 24, 91–114.
- Straight, B. (2007). *Miracles and extraordinary experience in northern Kenya*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Swartley, W. M. (Ed.). (1988). *Essays on spiritual bondage and deliverance*. Elkhart, Indiana: Institute of Mennonite Studies.
- Swarz, L. (1994). Being changed by cross-cultural encounters. In D. E. Young and J-G. Goulet (Eds.), *Being changed: The anthropology of extraordinary experience* (pp. 209–236). Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview.
- Tenibemas, P. (1996). Folk Islam among the Sundanese people of Indonesia (Doctoral Dissertation). Fuller School of World Missions.
- Tibbs, C. (2016). Mediumistic divine possession among early Christians: A response to Craig S. Keener’s “Spirit Possession as a Cross-Cultural Experience” *Bulletin for Biblical Research*, 26, 17–38.
- Tippett, A. R. (1967). *Solomon Islands Christianity: A study in growth and obstruction*. London: Lutterworth.
- Tippett, A. R. (1978). Spirit possession as it relates to culture and religion: A survey of anthropological literature. In J. W. Montgomery (Ed.), *Demon possession: A medical, historical, anthropological, and theological symposium* (pp. 143–174). Minneapolis: Bethany House.
- Tomkins, S. (2003). *John Wesley: A biography*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Tucker, A. (2005). Miracles, historical testimonies, and probabilities. *History and Theory*, 44, 373–390.
- Turner, E. (1992a). *Experiencing ritual: A new interpretation of African healing*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Turner, E. (1992b). Psychology, metaphor, or actuality? A probe into Iñupiat Eskimo healing. *Anthropology of Consciousness*, 3, 1–8.
- Turner, E. (1992c). The reality of spirits. *Re-Vision*, 15, 28–32.
- Turner, E. (1993). The reality of spirits: A tabooed or permitted field of study? *Anthropology of Consciousness*, 4, 9–12.
- Turner, E. (1994). A visible spirit form in Zambia. In D. E. Young and J-G. Goulet (Eds.), *Being changed: The anthropology of extraordinary experience* (pp. 71–95). Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview.
- Turner, E. (1996). *The hands feel it: Healing and spirit presence among a northern Alaskan people*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press.
- Turner, E. (1997). The reality of spirits. *Shamanism*, 10(1). Retrieved from www.shamanism.org/articles/article_02.html
- Turner, E. (2005). Taking seriously the nature of religious healing in America. In L. L. Barnes and S. S. Sered (Eds.), *Religion and healing in America* (pp. 387–404). New York: Oxford University Press.

- Turner, E. (2006a). Advances in the study of spirit experience: Drawing together many threads. *Anthropology of Consciousness*, 17, 33–61.
- Turner, E. (2006b). *Among the healers: Stories of spiritual and ritual healing around the world*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger.
- Turner, E. (2006c). The anthropology of experience: The way to teach religion and healing. In L. L. Barnes and I. Talamantez (Eds.), *Teaching religion and healing* (pp. 193–205). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Turner, V. W. (1968). *The drums of affliction: A study of religious processes among the Ndembu of Zambia*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Van Gelder, D. W. (1987). A case of demon possession. *Journal of Pastoral Care*, 41, 151–161.
- Van Lwijk, R. (2016). *Children of Lucifer: The origins of modern religious Satanism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Verges, P. (1969). Trance and convention in Nago–Yoruba spirit mediumship. In J. Beattie and J. Middleton (Eds.), *Spirit mediumship and society in Africa* (pp. 50–66). New York: Africana Publishing Corporation.
- Walker, A. M., and Dickerman, E. H. (1992). “A woman under the influence”: A case of alleged possession in sixteenth-century France. In B. P. Levack (Ed.), *Possession and exorcism* (Vol. 9, pp. 183–202). New York: Garland.
- Walsh, R. (2007). *The world of Shamanism: New views of an ancient tradition*. Woodbury, Minnesota: Llewellyn.
- Ward, C. A. (Ed.). (1989a). *Altered states of consciousness and mental health: A cross-cultural perspective*. Newbury Park, California: Sage.
- Ward, C. A. (1989b). The cross-cultural study of altered states of consciousness and mental health. In C. A. Ward (Ed.), *Altered states of consciousness and mental health: A cross-cultural perspective* (pp. 15–35). Newbury Park, California: Sage.
- Ward, C. A. (1989c). Introduction. In C. A. Ward (Ed.), *Altered states of consciousness and mental health: A cross-cultural perspective* (pp. 8–10). Newbury Park, California: Sage.
- Ward, C. A. (1989d). Possession and exorcism: Psychopathology and psychotherapy in a magico-religious context. In C. A. Ward (Ed.), *Altered states of consciousness and mental health: A cross-cultural perspective* (pp. 125–144). Newbury Park, California: Sage.
- Ward, C., and Beaubrun, M. H. (1980). The psychodynamics of demon possession. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 19, 201–207.
- Warner, T. M. (1988). An evangelical position on bondage and exorcism. In W. M. Swartley (Ed.), *Essays on spiritual bondage and deliverance* (pp. 77–88). Elkhart, Indiana: Institute of Mennonite Studies.
- Wayman, A. (1968). The religious meaning of possession states (with Indo–Tibetan emphasis). In R. Prince (Ed.), *Trance and possession states* (pp. 167–179). Montreal: R. M. Bucke Memorial Society.
- Welbourn, F. B. (1969). Spirit initiation in Ankole and a Christian spirit movement in western Kenya. In J. Beattie and J. Middleton (Eds.), *Spirit mediumship and society in Africa* (pp. 290–306). New York: Africana Publishing Corporation.
- Wendl, T. (1999). Slavery, spirit possession and ritual consciousness: The *Tchamba* cult among the Mina of Togo. In H. Behrend and U. Luig (Eds.), *Spirit possession, modernity and power in Africa* (pp. 111–123). Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Wetering, W. van. (1983). The effectiveness of a rite: Exorcism of demons in an Afro–American religion. *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 37, 216–229.
- White, J. (1988). Young lady, old hag. In K. Springer (Ed.), *Power encounters among Christians in the western world* (pp. 69–86). San Francisco: Harper & Row.
- Wikstrom, O. (1989). Possession as role-taking. *Journal of Religion and Health*, 28, 26–35.
- Wilkie, R. (1994). Spirited imagination: Ways of approaching the shaman’s world. In D. E. Young and J-G. Goulet (Eds.), *Being changed: The anthropology of extraordinary experience* (pp. 135–164). Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview.
- Wilson, C. R. (1994). Seeing they see not. In D. E. Young and J-G. Goulet (Eds.), *Being changed: The anthropology of extraordinary experience* (pp. 197–208). Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview.
- Wilson, P. J. (1967). Status ambiguity and spirit possession.” *Man*, 2, 366–378.
- Wilson, W. P. (1976). Hysteria and demons, depression and oppression, good and evil. In J. W. Montgomery (Ed.), *Demon possession: A medical, historical, anthropological, and theological symposium* (pp. 223–231). Minneapolis: Bethany House.

- Wilson, W. P. (2008). How religious or spiritual miracle events happen today. In J. H. Ellens (Ed.), *Miracles: God, science, and psychology in the paranormal* (Vol. 1, pp. 264–279). London: Praeger.
- Winkelman, M., and Carr, C. (2006). Teaching about Shamanism and religious healing: A cross-cultural, biosocial–spiritual approach. In L. L. Barnes and I. Talamantez (Eds.), *Teaching religion and healing* (pp. 171–190). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wiyono, G. (2001). Timor revival: A historical study of the great twentieth-century revival in Indonesia. *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies*, 4, 269–293.
- Woodard, C. (1955). *A doctor's faith holds fast*. London: Max Parrish.
- Wyk, I. W. C. van. (2004). African witchcraft in theological perspective. *Hervormde Teologiese Studies*, 60, 1201–1228.
- York, T. E. (2003). Indigenous missionaries — a fruit of revival: Lessons from the Indonesian revival of 1965 to 1971. *Journal of Asian Mission*, 5, 243–258.
- Young, D. (1994). Visitors in the night: A creative energy model of spontaneous visions. In D. E. Young and J-G. Goulet (Eds.), *Being changed: The anthropology of extraordinary experience* (pp. 166–194). Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview.
- Young, W. (1988). Miracles in church history. *Churchman*, 102, 102–121.
- Young, D. E., and Goulet, J-G. (Eds.). (1994a). *Being changed: The anthropology of extraordinary experience*. Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview.
- Young, D. E., and Goulet, J-G. (1994b). Introduction. In D. E. Young and J-G. Goulet (Eds.), *Being changed: The anthropology of extraordinary experience* (pp. 7–13). Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview.
- Yung, H. (2002). Case studies in spiritual warfare from east Asia. In A. S. Moreau, T. Adeyemo, D. G. Burnett, B. L. Myers, and H. Yung (Eds.), *Deliver us from evil: An uneasy frontier in Christian mission* (pp. 138–145). Monrovia, California: Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization.
- Zempleni, A. (1977). From symptom to sacrifice: The story of Khady fall [K. Merveille, Trans.]. In V. Crapanzaro and V. Garrison (Eds.), *Case studies in spirit possession* (pp. 87–140). New York: John Wiley and Sons.