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Revisiting Descola's Ontological Schema among Northern Societies

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Preface

This monograph builds upon the considerable theoretical heuristic of Philippe Descola's four-field ontology schema. It takes a critical look at how anthropologists categorize domains of thought in cross-cultural perspectives. It investigates whether categorizing ontological reckoning in broad, ahistorical contexts is a fruitful analytical heuristic exercise, suggesting that cross-cultural studies of philosophical and epistemological phenomena carefully consider the contrasts and commensurability between the units of analysis under assessment. We question whether Descola's distinctions between animism and totemism in particular represent operationalizable and comparable units of analysis and offer findings that suggest animism is a foundational ontological phenomenon upon which other ways of understanding the natural world and one's place in it might be cognitively and culturally built upon. Thus, we suggest that animism is an independent variable in the contexts of cross-cultural comparisons of ontology, and that other forms of ontological reckoning within Descola's schema may be taxonomically subordinate, dependent variables.

This monograph originated out of the authors' collective interests in the anthropology of ontology. It emerged as a result of discussions and debates between the authors and diverse colleagues on the subject of ontology during the development of a research agenda on the subject of animism and the evolution of human value systems in relation to interfaces with nature. While funding failed to materialize for that research the many conversations that came out of brainstorming sessions, discussions, writing and focused exegesis on the range of related subjects was too fruitful to abandon. Hence, this volume seeks to explore just one aspect of interest in thinking with the ethnology of ontology, focusing on an engagement with Philippe Descola's considerable contributions to that topic, synthesized in his masterwork *Beyond Nature and Culture* (Descola, 2013). The topic of ontology in human societies is moreover interesting and deserves further exploration within anthropological theory. We believe that it is relevant to the point of being prescient in relation to the ways in which modern society chooses to interact with the world around us in the future. Indeed, as humanity attempts to navigate our effects on global climate change, shifting social and cultural understandings of individual and collective identities, and how those understandings affect our perspectives on and relationships with nature and each other, a re-turn to the 'ontological turn' is not only relevant but necessary.

Acknowledgements

Introduction

Anthropologist Philippe Descola (2006, 2013) has conceived of a four-field ontological system for understanding specific constellations of conceptualized worlds, with different ontologies foregrounded in different ethnographically recorded societies (e.g., Bird-David 1999; Descola 1996, 2013; Viveiros de Castro 1998; see Table 1). The four ontologies he put on a par with each other are animism, totemism, naturalism and analogism. Originally published in French as *Par-dela Nature et culture* (2005) and published in English as *Beyond Nature and Culture* (2013), this work has generated significant debate in anthropology. It is no exaggeration to state that Descola's work stands as a major contribution to theoretical and comparative ethnology and contributes profoundly to the ontological turn in anthropology. Collectively, his ethnographical works and his insightful forays into anthropological theory are profound. It is just such monumental works that invite – perhaps demand – critical and constructive assessments. Here we argue, using straightforward classificatory logic and empirical evidence from a literature survey of ethnographies describing a sample of traditional societies across North America and northern Eurasia ('Northern societies') that this schema is, at least in one critical way, flawed. We show that the chosen categories are not comparable in quite the way Descola presents them, with at least one of them, totemism, being a subordinate variable to animism. Heuristically, Indigenous ontologies are often discussed as if they are somehow unequivocal despite overlapping geographic distribution and with little concern for their historic genealogies. In untangling further these often-confusing relationships, we contend that there is a clear hierarchical relationship between the ontological categories, with animism as the foundational, independent and necessary variable present in the majority of (if not all) pre-Industrial societies. The existence of at least one other ontology – totemism – is wholly dependent upon this foundation in the sample we investigated. Furthermore, we have found that totemism is comparably present in our sample of Northern societies with what are usually considered to be other, more minor ontogical sub-phenonemena of animism such as rebirth eschatology, and perspectivism as described by Viveiros de Castro (1998). Therefore, we propose that a revised structure of classes as established by Descola is necessary. Overall, what is at stake here is our ability to gain a more focused and accurate understanding of the relationships between these constellations of conceptual ideas about what exists in the world and people's place in it.

To wit, we present an empirical investigation comprising a cross-cultural comparative study of the relative correlation between two of Descola's ontogical categories: animism and totemism. This work shows that within the sample of social groups discussed, animism is omnipresent while totemism is not. This suggests to us that animism is an independent variable, and totemism a dependent one. If this is the case, then they are not commensurable as respective categories, and totemism should be conceived of as a distinct sub-class of animism.

Animism has regularly been described as an early form of religious thought, if not the earliest (Tylor 1929). However, this study supports a further hypothesis that the

most basic tenets of animistic thought may have little to do with culturally transmitted and arbitrary belief systems *per se*, but may be considered as a pervasive human proclivity, not unlike other phenomena which anthropologist Donald Brown (1991) has labelled 'human universals' (triggered by different stimuli and structuring how we think and act in specific situations – see, e.g., Guthrie 1980, 1993, 2002). Thus, the human proclivity towards animism is an evolved cognitive foundation necessary for the support of one or more tiers of subclass 'ontologies', like totemism, that are culturally transmitted only.

Descola's Standing Model

Ontology is the branch of metaphysics concerned with the nature of being: basically – what 'is', or more specifically, what communities take to be *real*. Socially agreed points of view about what is real within human communities are important. They underpin the worldview that the community shares and adheres to, and these give form to normative thoughts, beliefs, ideologies and codes of behavior within groups. A concern with ontology is as applicable to first world post-industrial societies as it would have been for hunter-gatherer groups across the world well before the Anthropocene.

Renewed interest in studies of old conceptual categories such as animism (Tylor 1871) and totemism (e.g. Durkheim 1995 [1915]; Frazer 1887; Lévi-Strauss 1958) has emerged in anthropology over the last few decades (e.g. Århem and Sprenger 2016 and works therein; Bird-David 1999; Brightman, Grotti and Ulturgasheva [eds.] 2012 and works therein; Brightman 1993; Descola 1996; 2013; Guthrie 1993; Harvey 2005; 2013; Ingold 1998; Pedersen 2001; Praet 2014; Viveiros de Castro 1998; Willerslev 2007; 2011; among many others). Despite breathing new life back into some of the earliest tenets of Victorian anthropological scholarship, some uses of these terms have remained unclear and problematic for contemporary scholarship. Totemism remains a problem. Indeed, its vicissitudes and often paradoxical expressions (and absenteeism) often create more confusion than clarity in many contexts, as Lévi-Strauss himself points out, for example:

> …the Thompson River Indians have totems but no clans; the Iroquois have clans called after animals which are not totems; and the Yukhagir, who are divided into clans have religious beliefs in which animals play a large part, but through the mediation of shamans, not social groups. The supposed totemism eludes all effort at absolute definition. It consists, at most, in a contingent arrangement of nonspecific elements (Lévi-Strauss 1969b, 5).

Totemism's inscrutable nature, coupled with often difficult, uncritical, and sometimes even faulty units of analysis, muddles attempts to fairly compare the presence or absence of ontologies in comparative studies of the subject among many traditional societies. We should point out that Kehoe (2000) has adroitly treated with the concept of shamanism similarly, exploring its diverse expressions inside and outside of any conception that something so broad in scope and practice as 'shamanry' could be any singular, definable thing. As we also discuss shamanism throughout the current work, it is important to note that we recognize it, along with animism, totemism and many of

the phenomena discussed herein, as at best a theoretical abstraction of quite diverse aspects of human experience and should be approached with this understanding constantly in mind.

Philippe Descola (1996, 2006, 2013) proposed a model that distinguishes four basic ontological categories. These are based on the interplay between human perceptions of 'interiority' and 'physicality'. Of this, Descola writes that "their principles of identification define four major types of ontology, that is to say systems…of reference for contrasting forms of cosmologies, models of social links, and theories of identity and alterity" (Descola 2013, 121). Interiority is generally defined as the *being within*, pertaining to the inner identity, mind, soul or essence of something. Physicality is the exterior manifestation or outward physical appearance of the same thing in the world. In Descola's schema, the ontologies formed by the varying dynamism of these two forces are 'totemism', 'analogism', 'animism' and 'naturalism' (Table 1).

Table 1. Philippe Descola's (2013, 122) four-field model showing his ontological distinctions: animism, totemism, naturalism and analogism, as well as the pairwise relationships of conceptual interiorities and physicalities associated with each within his schema.

	Similar interiorities	Dissimilar interiorities
Similar physicalities	*Totemism*	Naturalism
Dissimilar physicalities	*Animism*	*Analogism*

Descola himself suggests that grouping animism on a par with the other three classes is precarious. Despite this, he offers no solution to this predicament and proceeds with the four-field comparative system of comparable peer categories regardless (Descola 2013, 122; see also Viveiros de Castro 1998, 473). He provides extensive anecdotal examples of different aspects of these various ontologies in no less than 166 specified societies from around the globe in a highly insightful masterwork of ethnology. However, the reader is left with no systematic, ordinal comparative data with which to critically assess his model. The present work seeks to at least problematize this discrepancy with a regional case study of two of the ontologies in Descola's schema: animism and totemism. We find, ultimately, that these are not in fact comparable units.

Presenting his ontologies, Descola describes animism's fundamental characteristic as in a functionalist mode, offering that:

> ...the attribution by humans to nonhumans of an interiority identical to their own… since the soul with which it endows them allows them not only to behave in conformity with the social norms and ethical precepts of humans but also to establish communicative relations both with humans and among themselves (Descola 2013, 129).

Later he refers to this defining feature of animism as "a combination of resemblance in interiorities and differences in physicalities" (Descola 2013, 144) bringing into play the notion that the application of animistic thinking hinges upon emphasizing "the physical differences between existing beings" that "have dissimiliar bodies" but "share an analogous interiority" (Descola 2013, 392). Each of these points are vital to understanding animism as an ontology, because it is the "communicative relations" that animism creates that allows humans to join in social interactions with the nonhuman (and even non-living) world. This is all well and good.

However, despite numerous examples in which Descola attempts to place totemic ontologies into his schema alongside the others, we find no operational basis for equal comparison between them. This is not really a flaw of Descola's logic but one of totemism's. He characterizes totemism along the lines of the classical discourses on the subject by Lévi-Strauss (1966, 1969a, 1969b), i.e., as "a mechanism for self-persuasion" – a system of categorization that stratifies societies in two, hypothetically very different, ways. As a complex hereditary system, totemism is characterized not only by an affinity towards a symbolic and ideational manifestation (the totem) that differentiates subgroups of individuals from other sub-groups of individuals, but it also represents a perceived, practical link – both psychological and physical – to the totemic 'emblem' – a link that is intimately tied to designations of both individual and social identity (Durkheim 1995; Frazer 1935; Lévi-Strauss 1969b). Thus, totemic ontologies are valuable ways of generalizing in order to make further insights and observations. Descola questions "if it is true that totemism belongs on a quite different level from animism in its classificatory version" (Descola 2013, 145), but nevertheless steps past this problem and allows his model to stand. Here, we pick up this question as to the relationship between animism and totemism, and attempt to rethink their relationship to each other as comparable ontological categories – because we believe that they are not. In doing so, this study attempts to bring further clarity to the issue overall, and eliminate the pitfalls of contradictory thinking. For example, in a broad sweeping statement that presumably is intended to cover all animist societies, Descola sees animism as excluding certain other social phenomena:

> By rejecting or marginalizing certain relations, animism provides a negative template of all that it rejects. Throughout its territory, there will be no sign of any exclusive livestock raisers, no castes of specialized craftsmen, no ancestor cults, no lineages that function as moral persons, no creative demiurges, no taste for material patrimonies, no obsession with heredity, no arrow of time, no excessively wide-ranging filiation, and no deliberative assemblies (Descola 2013, 395).

We find this to be a reductionist (and unnecessary) conjecture. It is also incorrect. Animistic thinking can be shown to be pervasive even in modern post-Industrial societies (Aupers 2002), and in fact appears to be triggered within diverse environments and social conditions so far removed from each other that the 'negative template' that Descola suggests is not applicable in any observed cases. Indeed, within clearly traditionally animistic societies we see numerous instances of livestock domestication, regardless of whether the souls of those animals managed are seen as equal to or even

exchangeable with humans or other nonhumans from a value perspective. The reality is that herds are in fact managed (e.g., among many northern Eurasia societies who practice reindeer pastoralism). Diverse animistic societies are comprised of a range of specialized crafts persons (regardless of whether their 'crafts' themselves are seen as transformed subjects or 'living' beings rather than simply fashioned objects); many actively practice ancestor cults, regardless of whether the souls of ancestors are believed to be reborn in their descendants or to transmigrate in some other way or if they are thought to enter some other cosmological realm (indeed, in many cases both mythic and remembered ancestors enter a cultic pantheon and both abstract and quite concrete otherworlds are imagined). Likewise, ethnographic examples abound of animistic societies with polytheistic and monotheistic cosmologies with clearly delimited demiurges, extensive personal knowledge of individual genealogical lineages and heredity including wide-ranging acknowledgement of filiation, both linear and non-linear concepts of time, and organization of various stakeholders into deliberative assemblies for community decision-making. An animistic worldview does not preclude any of these aspects of society. Two prime examples of such complex societies come from the early ethnographic literature that touch variably on each of the above points, such as L. H. Morgan's work on the societies making up the Iroqouis League (1904) in the North American east and S. M. Shirokogoroff's observations among the Tungus (1935, 1966) of Siberia and northeast Asia, both social groups referenced in *Beyond Nature and Culture*. In actuality, lack in any society of any of these properties is wholly a question of diverse historical contingencies, some perhaps involving the presence of animism or not; but it could be that such exclusionary thinking is what leads Descola himself to construe that totemism must be an essentially different phenomenon from animism. While we acknowledge that some degree of essentializing is implicitly necessary in any cross-cultural exploration, it is also this essentialized thinking that has so often clouded ethnological, cross-cultural comparative studies to this day.

Chapter 1. A Re-Assessment of Data on a Sample of Descola's Groups

A Hypothesis

In an attempt to replicate Descola's findings, we carefully reviewed a region-focused sub-sample of 32 groups drawn from the 166 ethographically-recorded societies he mentions in *Beyond Nature and Culture*. We accomplished this by systematically re-exploring and analyzing the known ethnographies covering each group, beginning with the references cited in *Beyond Nature and Culture* and where possible utilizing additional relevant ethnographic literature. Our sub-sample accounts for ethnographically-recorded traditional societies in the northern half of the Northern Hemisphere, primarily comprising traditional hunter-fisher-gatherers and reindeer-herders. The reasons we chose this particular sample are two-fold: firstly, to enable us the time and focus to drill-down with multiple ethnographic sources in confirming Descola's ontological designations within the literature, and secondly these groups are roughly coterminous with our own areas of interest and expertise overall. We attempted to confirm which of the 'ontologies' supposedly held sway – between animism, totemism, analogism or naturalism. We also attempted to establish the degree of presence or absence of all four ontologies together, in each specific society. None of the societies in our sample could rightly be categorized as falling under analogism or naturalism, which is why those ontological categories are not discussed here. For further definitions of these terms the reader is directed to Descola's own discussions of them (e.g., 2013, 201f and 172f, respectively).

   On a cursory basis, our review of the ethnographic literature shows that among Northern societies totemism is not present without animism but that animism is certainly present without totemism. This suggested the hypothesis that totemism is a dependent variable, with animism being the independent variable; in other words, that animism is *necessary* for the existence of totemism, and not merely a conditional phenomenon when the two co-exist in a given group, whether or not one *appears* to be dominating the other. If totemism is indeed a subset or sub-class of animism, we argue that it is a different categorical class for analysis, and should not be put on a par with animism as a comparable unit of analysis. If other related constellations of understanding – such as, e.g., perspectivism and rebirth eschatology as described below – are also subsets of animism, then we contend that not only should totemism be classed with these and not the three other major ontologies in Descola's schema, but also potentially a new model with at least two (or perhaps three) levels of classes should be established in lieu of Descola's standing model.

Rebirth Eschatology

Here we define rebirth eschatology following Obeyesekere's discussion on the subject (see also works in Mills and Slobodin 1994). It refers to a cyclical system of reincarnation in which at its most basic level it is believed that "the individual at death has to be reborn in the human world either immediately or after a temporary sojourn in some other world, and this cycle must go on repeating itself" (Obeyesekere 2002, 15). Such

concepts of reincarnation are particularly relevant to ontology as they manifest within societies whose rebirth notions enforce a recycling of souls and accompanying identities (often associated with names and naming practices [see, e.g., Walsh et al. 2019] from deceased individuals to members of the next generation), thus directly affecting notions of personhood, prescribed identities within communities and even determining aspects of pedagogy (e.g., Willerslev and Ulturgasheva 2012).

Perspectivism

Perspectivism, as outlined by Viveiros de Castro represents a system in which it is perceived that:

> …animals (predators) and spirits see humans as animals (as prey) to the same extent that animals (as prey) see humans as spirits or as animals (predators). By the same token, animals and spirits see themselves as humans: they perceive themselves as (or become) anthropomorphic beings when they are in their own houses or villages and they experience their own habits and characteristics in the form of culture (Viveiros de Castro 1998, 470).

'Spirit' perspectivism is this same logic applied to supernatural entities such as spirits or to the souls of the deceased.

Chapter 2. Sampling of Ontologies in Northern Societies

The sample of societies provided below traditionally occupy areas of the northern latitudes of the Northern Hemisphere from Siberia, across northern North America to Greenland. Group overview headings are given by the spellings as they are provided in Descola and/or the works cited therein. In some cases, within the overviews given here we have provided other ethnonyms and spellings as they appear in the various sources, in some cases defaulting to group names that will be more familiar to English-speaking readers (see Table 3). However, we must stress the need to recognize that for many traditional and Indigenous societies there exists a diverse synonymy attention to which is beyond the scope of this work. For a basic primer on the complexities of the various synonymies and ethnonyms of the various societies presented here we recommend the reader begin with respective entries in *The Peoples of Siberia* (Levin and Potapov [eds.] 1964) and references therein for the Siberian groups and Volumes 5 (Damas 1984), 6 (Helm 1981), 7 (Suttles 1990) and 15 (Trigger 1978) of *The Handbook of North American Indians* and sources therein for those groups described from North America. Additionally, some examples cited in *Beyond Nature and Culture* are ambiguous or overarching (e.g., 'Algonquins' or 'Tungus'). And, in many cases (e.g., between references to 'Samoyeds', 'Selkup' and 'Nenecs' or between 'Evenks' and 'Tungus', among others) in much of the literature some ethnonyms have been used interchangeably. In others, ethnonyms are used more-or-less synonymously in some sources (whether arguably appropriate or not) and/or reflect peoples whose traditional territories or cultural traditions overlap to such a degree that it is both difficult and problematic – and in some instances wholly inappropriate – to delimit them into abridgable cultural entities without recognizing such overlaps and connections. In some cases, groups referenced are sub-groups or off-shoots of others that are referenced in general elsewhere. As such, for clarity we have sought out and cross-referenced additional relevant ethnographic works for many of the groups discussed.

For example, we have investigated ethnographic materials on the Nganasan specifically in the section on the Samoyed, but supplement this where possible also with data on other Samoyedic groups (e.g., Nenets, Sel'kup, and Enets). Likewise, we use the Northern Tungus specifically to represent the generic references to the Tungus, recognizing that Tungusic peoples have inhabited a vast swathe of northeastern Eurasia, with the Evenks being one such Tungusic peoples inhabiting this extensive region. But, this gets even more problematic, because not only has the term 'Tungus' often in the past been used merely to refer to the 'Evenks', but the cultural designation of 'Tungus' actually reflects a spectrum of both shared and diverse cultural institutions and ecological adaptations spanning millions of square kilometers. For example, in discussing the 'Tungus' Descola (2013, 20) cites Perrin (1995) specifically in reference to the origin of the term 'shaman' in the Tungusic languages which Perrin certainly covers, although his primary focus is on the shamanic traditions of South America (reasonably, given this is his regional expertise, and one in which Descola is also exceptionally well-situated to inform upon). Then much later Descola (2013, 368) refers

to the 'Tunkusi' along with other tundra reindeer-herding peoples in a broader discussion of animal-master spirits in his discussion on the dynamics of human-animal relations, citing Anisimov's (1963a) treatment of shamanic ritual among the Evenks (which we should note draws its discussion specifically from studies among the Evenks of the Lower Tunguska River [a tributary of the Yenisey River] and its tributaries and the Evenks the Podkamennaya [Middle] Tunguska, respectively). While we may understand and pardon such generalizations for the purpose of parsimony, they are also quite important to acknowledge and think critically with when doing ethnology.

Similarly, for the ethnographic representation of 'Vancouver Island' we draw from ethnographic information collected among the Nootka (Nuu-chah-nulth) and Kwakiutl (Kwakwaka'wakw), recognizing that Descola references this area based on Leroi-Gourhan's (1946) work which in this particular case focused mainly on the prehistoric archaeology of the Pacific Rim region in relation to similarities between artifact forms spanning the North Pacific. As such, it does not provide adequate references from which to draw any ethnographic data on ontological reckoning from any single group occupying Vancouver Island itself. Nor does it take into account the diversity of Indigenous peoples occupying the island and the adjacent coasts along the Salish Sea. However, we recognize that this was not Descola's point in mentioning Vancouver Island, rather it was to point out the similarities observed by Leroi-Gourhan, presumably to illustrate that longstanding and wide-spread patterns of cultural continuity can be observed across the North Pacific Rim. We include these two societies from Vancouver Island in the present study because they provide an ethnographic record that reveals vibrant examples of animist cosmologies and worldviews, as well as highly-developed cases of Pacific Northwest Coast totemism and descent-reckoning (Rosman and Rubel 1971), which are both highly relevant to our discussion. In similar fashion, in order to at least partially cover Descola's use of the term 'Athapaskan group', we also include three northern Athapaskan-speaking peoples: the Koyukon, Kutchin, and Hare-Slavey (specifically those of the Great Bear Lake region) in order that we might see patterns of similarity and difference even within these culturally- and linguistically-related groups. Likewise, for the 'Iroquois League' we synthesized relevant data for the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca (Morgan 1904).

In all, we assess ontology amongst 32 cultural groupings (Tables 2 and 3). As already mentioned, none of these groups fall within the scope of Descola's 'naturalism' or 'analogism' as dominant ontologies. Thus, we have focused our analysis on the direct relationship between animism and totemism, observing the correlation between one single variable against the other. We have also expanded that analysis to instances of cyclical rebirth eschatology and perspectivism (as defined above), as these are ontological concepts to which Descola dedicates some considerable attention, albeit outside the framework of his four-field ontological schema because, he suggests, they are not considered to be comparable in terms of ontology. We argue that these categories of understanding are indeed quite comparable in scope at least to totemism as a concept, and are indeed – like totemism – also common features of animistic cosmologies and ways of knowing the world.

Designations of 'yes' indicate direct reference in the literature to the given phenomenon or significant aspects thereof. Designations of 'supported' indicate cases where the phenomenon is evident in the description of the society but is not literally noted by the ethnographer. In the present analysis these are considered the same as 'yes' present. Designations of 'no' indicate either that there is no evidence for the phenomenon in the literature, or that the phenomenon in question is directly refuted. These can also be found summarized by shaded blocks in Table 3. We have made every attempt to make clear which is which, but we acknowledge that absence of evidence is not evidence of absence.

Where especially useful for general clarification, specific statements taken from the literature are provided. We have attempted to be succinct where at all possible, and thus in some cases quotations from the literature are not given. This is reserved for cases in which the literature cited is so explicit as to state along the lines of '*so-and-so are animists*', or the like – in other words, in cases in which the phrasing is so direct in the source material cited as to require no further unpacking or qualification.

We should note upfront that this is our own review of the relevant literature and we do not pretend that it is a comprehensive one. However, we have made every attempt to make our review as thorough as possible. Just as in *Beyond Nature and Culture* or in any attempt at undertaking such a broad cross-cultural comparative ethnology, some relevant materials may have been overlooked. Importantly, our review takes as a starting point use of the specific ethnographic references cited by Descola in the English translation of *Beyond Nature and Culture* (2013). For example, where Descola observes "In the Far North, as in South America, nature is not opposed to culture but is an extension of it and enriches it in a cosmos in which everything is organized according to the criteria of human beings" (Descola 2013, 14), he makes reference to Algonquian- and Athapaskan-speaking groups citing works by Brightman (1993), Désveaux (1988), Feit (1973), Leacock (1954), Lips (1947), Speck (1935), Tanner (1979), Nelson (1983) and Osgood (1936), thus drawing support for this insightful statement from ethnographic sources on the Rock Cree, Ojibwa, Waswanipi Cree, Montagnais, Naskapi, Mistassini Cree, Koyukon, and Kutchin, respectively. Thus, these groups and their varied ethnographic literature are part of the study herein. As previously stated, spellings for entries are given in the form in which they appear throughout Descola's work, but sometimes change, e.g., in quotations from various sources, given diverse synonymy used in the varied ethnographic literature being cited.

Our literature review was expanded from sources cited by Descola (as already mentioned) to ethnographic materials and syntheses not cited in *Beyond Nature and Culture* but which relate directly to the societies in question and the subjects of animism and totemism in ontological perspective. This is in an attempt to confirm Descola's assertion of any given ontological perspective for each society. We do not suggest that simply because the anthropological or ethnographic literature reviewed has or has not documented a given concept among a population of informants that such findings reflect any paradigmatic reality. Indeed, we look forward to further developments and discussions regarding the ontological references reviewed here. Brief

descriptions of the 32 Northern societies that comprise our sample are given below in alphabetical order by the ethnonyms in which they appear in *Beyond Nature and Culture*. For each, we include references and citations referring to the presence or absence of animism, totemism, rebirth eschatology and perspectivism available in the ethnographic literature that we reviewed. Some basic information for each group is also provided in Table 2, including group names as they appear in *Beyond Nature and Culture* (English language synonymy for some groups is given in Table 3), region (by continent), general locale within the larger region, family of the traditional language spoken, descent reckoning, overall biome/ecological contexts of the society's traditional range, as well as their general subsistence strategy – all within the contexts of the ethnographic accounts investigated here. Ontological findings are summarized in Table 3.

Table 2. Some general information about the 32 Northern societies in our sample.

Group Name	Region	General Locale	Language (Top-level family)	Descent	Biome	General Subsistence
Buryat	Eurasia	Lake Baikal region/Buryatia	Mongolic-Khitan	patrilineal	forest-steppe	Pastoralist (varied)
Chukchee	Eurasia	Chukotka Peninsula	Chukotko-Kamchatkan	unilineal (patrilineal)	Arctic coastal-tundra	Hunter-fisher/Reindeer Pastoralist
Darxad	Eurasia	Northern & Inner Mongolia	Mongolic-Khitan	patrilineal	forest-steppe	Reindeer Pastoralist
Daur	Eurasia	Inner Mongolia/Northeastern China	Mongolic-Khitan	unilineal	steppe	Agrarian-Pastoralist
Evenks	Eurasia	Northeast Asia/Russian Far East	Tungusic	patrilineal	taiga-steppe	Hunter-gatherer/Pastoralist
Hare-Slavey	North America	Great Bear Lake, Northwest Territory, Canada	Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit	unilineal-bilateral	taiga-tundra-lacustrian	Hunter-fisher-gatherer

Iakoutes	Eurasia	Sakha region, Russian Far North/East	Turkic	patrilineal	taiga-tundra	Pastoralist (varied)
Iglulik	North America	Foxe Basin, Nunavut, Canada	Eskimo-Aleut	patrilateral trends	High Arctic coastal	Hunter-fisher
Iroquois League	North America	Northeastern United States	Algic	unilineal (matrilineal)	coastal-forest	Hunter-gatherer-fisher/Horti-culture
Koriak	Eurasia	North of Kamchatka Peninsula	Chukotko-Kamchat-kan	patrilineal	Arctic coastal-tundra	Hunter-fisher/Reindeer Pastoralist
Koyukon	North America	Brooks Range, Alaska	Atha-baskan-Eyak-Tlingit	matrilineal	taiga-riverine	Hunter-fisher-gatherer
Kutchin	North America	Greater North Alaska/Northern Yukon Territory	Atha-baskan-Eyak-Tlingit	matrilineal	taiga-riverine	Hunter-fisher-gatherer
Mansi	Eurasia	Ob Basin, West Siberian Plain	Uralic	patrilineal	taiga/sub-taiga forest-riverine	Hunter-fisher-gatherer
Menomini	North America	Great Lakes region	Algic	patrilineal	forest-lacustrian	Hunter-gatherer/Horti culture
Micmac	North America	Canadian Northeastern Woodlands	Algic	unilineal	coastal-forest	Fisher-hunter-gatherer
Mistassini Cree	North America	Lake Mistassini, Quebec	Algic	patrilineal	forest-lacustrian	Hunter-fisher-gatherer
Naskapi	North America	Labrador & Northern Quebec	Algic	patrilineal	coastal-forest	Hunter-fisher-gatherer

Nenec	Eurasia	Russian Far North	Uralic	patrilineal	Arctic tundra/taiga	Reindeer Pastoralist
Netsilik Eskimo	North America	Nunavut	Eskimo-Aleut	patrilateral trends	High Arctic coast/tundra	Hunter-fisher
Ojibwa	North America	Northern Great Lakes region	Algic	patrilineal	forest-lacustrian	Hunter-fisher-gatherer
Penobscot	North America	Northeastern Woodlands region	Algic	patrilineal	forest-riverine	Hunter-fisher-gatherer
Potawotomi	North America	Western Great Lakes region	Algic	patrilineal (strong matrilineal bonds)	lacustrian-forest	Hunter-fisher-gatherer
Rock Cree	North America	Northern Manitoba	Algic	unilineal-bilateral	forest-lacustrian	Hunter-gatherer
Samoyeds	Eurasia	Russian Far North	Uralic	patrilineal	Arctic tundra/taiga	Hunter-fisher/Reindeer Pastoralist
Selkup	Eurasia	Russian Far North	Uralic	patrilineal	Arctic tundra/taiga	Hunter-fisher/Reindeer Pastoralist
Tsimshian	North America	Pacific Northwest Coast	Tsimshian	matrilineal	coastal-forest	Fisher-hunter-gatherer
Tungus	Eurasia	Greater Amur River region	Tungusic	patrilineal	varied	Pastoralist/Hunter-gatherer
Vancouver Island	North America	Salish Sea, Pacific Northwest Coast	Wakashan	dynamic (Numaym)/ambilineal	coastal-forest	Fisher-hunter-gatherer
Woods Cree	North America	Central Canada & north central United States	Algic	unilineal-bilateral	forest-lacustrian	Hunter-gatherer

Xant	Eurasia	Ob Basin, West Siberian Plain	Uralic	Patrilineal	taiga/sub-taiga forest-riverine	Hunter-fisher-gatherer
Yukaghir	Eurasia	Kolyma River, Sakha region, Russian Far East	Yukaghir	Patrilineal	riverine taiga & tundra	Hunter-fisher-gatherer
Yup'ik	North America	Bering Strait region, western Alaska	Eskimo-Aleut	Patrilineal	coastal-taiga	Fisher-hunter

Chapter 3. Cultural Group Overviews

Buryat

The Buryat are one of the largest Indigenous groups of Siberian north-central Asia, with a recognized homeland to the east of Lake Baikal, known as Buryatia, or the Republic of Buryatia, comprising the Autonomous Okrugs of Ust-Orda Buryat in Irkutsk Oblast and Aga Buryat in Chita Oblast, Russia. Today, Buryat peoples are widespread throughout the larger region, with relatively large populations living in Buryatia as well as in Mongolia and parts of northern China. Traditionally, they have been highly-mobile nomadic pastoralists, practicing seasonal transhumance between lowland steppe-plains and alpine pasturelands. They practiced a traditional form of shamanism which is still in use among some communities today (see, e.g., Tkacz 2002), although Buddhism and, to a lesser-degree, Orthodox Christianity are also common religious beliefs and practices. In many modern Buryat communities, shamanic practice incorporates features of these other religions.

Animism (yes): Vyatkina writes that "Apart from common territory and material interests, the members of the clan held the same belief with regard to territorial deities – the owners (*edzhin*) of the mountains, forests, springs, and so on" (Vyatkina 1964, 224, see also 226). See also Jochelson (1908: 30) referenced below under the entry for the 'Iakoutes'.

Totemism (yes): Dolgikh concedes that:

> The ancestor of all Buryats was considered to be the mythical dark-gray bull *Bukha-noyon-baabay*. The ancestors of individual tribes which later formed the Buryat people were alleged to be the sons of this mythical ancestor, and the sons of the ancestors of the tribes were the founders of the clans.... The main thing that can be extracted from them is that the names of clans and tribes...are indications of the origin of, or of the greater or lesser interrelationship between, some of these clans, and give information on some mythologic and zoolatrous ideas that were peculiar to the ancestors of the Buryats (Dolgikh 1962, 73; see also Okladnikov 1970, 283; Krader 1954, 339).

Vyatkina suggests that communal relations were clan-based and divided into "'bones' – *yasu*" that were delineated by blood relatives and group exogamy (Vyatkina 1964, 224). In addition, in their discussion of the Evenki, Safonova and Sántha make mention of a 'Buryat totemistic epistemology' (Safonova & Sántha 2012, 93).

Rebirth Eschatology (no): Vyatkina describes that:

> ...associated with belief in deities was their belief in the spirits of ancestors. The spirits of deceased famous shamans, skillful archers, smiths and so on were supposed to turn into *khaty* after death and reside in the sky, while the souls of ordinary people became *bokholdoy* – spectres which wandered the earth.... [T]he word *ongon* meant both the image of a spirit and the spirit itself, which was supposed to dwell in the image, and also the souls of ancestors (Vyatkina (1964, 227).

Perspectivism (spirit) and *(animal)*: Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no reference to perspectival concepts as defined for our study.

Chukchee

The Chukchee (or Chukchi) inhabit the northeasternmost Russian Far East along the Chukchi Peninsula and the inland tundras of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. They comprise two basic groups, the 'Reindeer' Chukchee and the 'Maritime' Chukchee. This distinction plays out as one might guess, with the Reindeer Chukchee focusing their everyday subsistence and economy on mobile reindeer pastoralism on the tundra and the Maritime Chukchee maintaining small sedentary villages focused on coastal sea mammal hunting and fishing. While these distinctions do demarcate different lifeways and associated material culture, traditionally there was a fair amount of interactions between the 'Reindeer' and 'Maritime' groups, with intermarriage and trade between the two as a matter of course. Both groups practiced similar forms of shamanism, and also share a number of cosmological concepts and mythological themes with groups in northwest North America.

Animism (yes): Antropova and Kuznetsova state that:

> Chukchi beliefs, like those of other Siberian peoples, were characteristically animistic. The entire universe, they held, was inhabited by spirits (kelet). They believed that the spirits were invisible, extremely mobile and capable of changing their size and appearance. The life of the spirits was similar to human life. The Chukchi believed that the spirits owned reindeer, lived in encampments, married, quarreled among themselves, hunted, etc. The evil spirits hunted human souls, which they cut up and devoured (Antropova & Kuznetsova 1964, 821).

Bogoras also notes that "Generally speaking, the Chukchee believe that all nature is animated, and that every material object can act, speak, and walk by itself" (Bogoras 1904-9, 280).

Totemism (no): Bogoras makes brief reference to totems among the Chukchi, stating that "When the bridegroom is taken to the family of his father-in-law, his family totem marks and gods are discarded and he paints on his face the totem of the family to which he will henceforth belong" (Bogoras 1901, 105). In later works, however, Bogoras (1909) makes no mention of totemic systems among the Chukchi, suggesting that totemic marks on arrow and spear heads, and on the forehead of a boy at Ploever Bay attested to by Nelson, were instead "sketches of 'guardians'." However, it must be noted, that the Chukchi word for a male person is the same as that used to refer to a reindeer buck, suggesting strong human-animal ontological connections, whether totemic or not (Bogoras 1909, 537).

Rebirth Eschatology (yes): Bogoras notes the belief that "children that die here are born there, and vice versa" (Bogoras 1909, 333f), implying a cyclical rebirth system between worlds. Willerslev (2013a) discusses cyclical rebirth among Indigenous Siberian peoples with particular focus on name-soul associations and children's identities, relating a powerful anecdote from his own fieldwork among the Chukchi in which a three-year-old boy was provided cigarettes by his grandfather because the boy was believed to be the man's late brother (Image 1). Willerslev (2009, 696) also alludes to this as well in his discussion of reindeer gifting to new-born children: "when a child is born, a close relative of the deceased person who is believed to have returned in the

child normally – but without being obliged to do so – gives the child a reindeer doe" (Willerslev 2009, 696).

Image 1. A three-year-old Chukchi boy from the village of Achaiwajam. The boy was given cigarettes due to the fact that he was perceived as the incarnation of his grandfather's late brother who had been a chain smoker. Photograph from 2007 by Rane Willerslev, used with permission.

Perpectivism (spirit) (yes): Bogoras writes that the dead were believed to exist in 'upper' and 'lower' worlds. Their existence in the afterworld(s) was similar to the that of the world of the living, but abounding in prey and was a sort of strange, mirrored reality (animals killed in the afterworlds were reborn in the living world and vice versa, as were people). Amongst the Chukchi, all things lived in a perspectival state: "All that exists lives. The lamp walks around. The walls of the house have voices of their own. Even the chamber vessel has a separate land and house.... Skins ready for sale have a 'master' of their own. In the night-time they turn into reindeer and walk to and fro" (Bogoras 1909, 281). Bogoras offers three stages of Chukchi perspectivism, the third of which clearly illustrates the conceptual inclusiveness of the concept in which literally all things (animate and inanimate) were conceived of as having an anthropo-morphized existence:

…objects are supposed to have two shapes, – their ordinary form and their anthropomor-phous form, in which they are susceptible. Thus, the wooden amulets that lie motionless in leather bags suddenly transform themselves into herdsmen and go out in the night-time to protect the herd from the wolves. Early in the morning they return to their former places and again become pieces of wood (Bogoras 1909, 282).

Perspectivism (animal) (yes): As previously cited, to the Chukchi, all things lived in a perspectival state. Bogoras writes that "All kinds of wild animals are supposed to have a country and to keep households of their own.... Sea-mammals have a large country of their own far away in the open sea.... Animals, when personating human beings, can change their shape and size quite as easily as spirits do" (Bogoras 1909, 283). Antropova and Kuznetsova indicate this as well in their observation given above under 'animism' regarding perceptions of reindeer as living human lives (Antropova & Kuznetsova 1964, 821).

Darxad

The Darxad (or Darhad or Darkhad) are a Mongolic people inhabiting the remote districts of Bayanzürkh, Ulaan-Uul, Renchinlkhümbe, and Tsagaannuur in Khövsgöl Province of northwest Mongolia. Some claim the Darxad to be the direct descendents of the funerary guards and soul-guardians of Genghis Khan. Traditionally, they were (and are) primarily pastoralists, mobile reindeer-herders and hunters navigating the mountain forest-steppe and larch forests of the Darkhad Basin and the Ulaan Taiga mountains and surrounding areas east of Lake Hovsgol. While Buddhism is pervasive, many still adhere to several aspects of traditional Mongolian shamanism (although Pedersen [2011] gives an excellent discussion of the difficulties and deviations within Darxad shamanism in light of the effects of contemporary post-Soviet experience). Darxad shamans were considered by many to be the "the most 'powerful' and 'genuine' shamans of Mongolia" (Hangartner 2010, 263). In Pedersen's (2011) extensive exegesis of Darxad shamanism, he provides valuable insights into each of the ontological aspects addressed below.

Animism (yes): In identifying animism in North Asia more generally, Pedersen notes that "the people of North Asia are animist" and that, e.g. among the Darxad "mountains have spirit-'owners' (*ezed*), with whom local people have to engage in a respectful manner" (Pedersen 2001, 413; see also 2007, 137).

Totemism (yes): As above for animism, Pedersen describes totemism as a phenomenon observable across many (if not all) North Asian societies, including among the Darxad (Pedersen 2001, 413; see also 2007, 312). However, we should note that across much of the region totemism is not explicitly articulated in social tradition or clearly expressed as an ontological phenomenon. Rather, totemic concepts may be observed as ephemeral traits of social classificatory systems such as clans or vestiges of totemic notions may be found within various cultural histories or mythologies.

Rebirth Eschatology (supported): Pedersen and Willerslev offer that Mongolian conceptions of the soul suggest that it is "thought to go on living after death, which is only the loss of the envelope, i.e., the flesh" (Pedersen & Willerslev 2012, 468). We could find no direct ethnographic reference to rebirth eschatology specifically, but it is very strongly implied throughout the ethnographic literature (see Pedersen 2011 and references therein).

Perspectivism (spirit) (yes): Pedersen notes that:

…shamanic spirits, then, are not in any simple sense of the word 'above' the humans in

the Darhad cosmos – and, judging from Humphrey's descriptions (1996), nor is this the case in the Daur cosmos. Rather, a 'vertical' discourse of human ancestors ('fathers', 'mothers', etc.) seems to co-exist alongside a 'horizontal' discourse about zoomorphic spirits (bears, wolves, owls, etc.). The discourse about the skies can be said to constitute a conceptual technology through which the shamans are able to interpolate a transcendental dimension into the otherwise immanent realm of the shamanic spirits.... Rather than reflecting different 'social ontologies' (cf. Pedersen 2001), the horizontal realm and the vertical realm thus seem to play the role of perspectivist positions, or deictic markers, themselves (Pedersen 2007, 319).

Perspectivism (animal) (yes): Pedersen (2001, 422; 2007, 312-319) discusses this subject at length, describing for example that:

> ...the Darhad lore about badagshin ('half-people'). As we shall see, the badagshin are the vehicles of a genuine perspectivist imaginary in Viveiros de Castro's sense of the term, as the popular narratives about badagshin are full of accounts of humans who turn into animals, as well as animals that turn into humans. What makes this perspectivism unusual in the Mongolian context is its supremely ahierarchical character (Pedersen 2007, 312).

Discussing traditional Mongolian and Siberian (in general) perspectivism in relation to hunting, Pedersen also observes that "in Mongolia as much as Siberia, a safe and successful hunt hinges on the hunter's soul's ability to move between bodies by taking on the perspective of the different beings" (Pedersen 2011, 93).

Daur

The Daur are a Mongolic-speaking people who have long inhabited large areas of the Trans-Baikal region east of Lake Baikal, including areas of northeast China and the Amur region. As a result of numerous historical movements over the last few centuries they primarily inhabit areas of northeast China and Inner Mongolia today. Traditionally, they were semi-nomadic horse pastoralists, but also relied on hunting, varied farming and livestock raising. While influenced by outside sources, traditional shamanism remains a vital part of Daur spiritual life. Pedersen provides an insightful view of the vicissitudes of ontological reckoning among the Daur, which is worth providing here:

> …traditional Daur social life evolved around two contrasting social ontologies: a chiefly ontology of eternal sameness, solidity, and rigidity expressed in the solidity of mountains and the bone-dry imaginary of the patriline (*yas*); and a shamanic ontology of perpetual metamorphosis, malleability, and fluidity expressed in the unpredictable movements of wild animals and the inchoate trajectories of the shamanic spirits (Pedersen 2011, 164; citing Humphrey 1996, 29-64, 183-193).

Animism (yes): Humphrey states unequivocally that "…all objects and beings in nature, including the sky, humans, sticks and stones, the wind, and social institutions and human-made artefacts, were attributed with their own kinds of causal force or energy" (Humphrey 1996, 52).

Totemism (no): Clans and lineages (*mokon*) were recognized within and between villages (Humphrey 1996, 23) but this does not appear to be explicitly totemic in the

ontological sense taken herein. However, Humphrey also describes the curious beliefs and practices related to were-animals (kianchi), individuals (usually men) that were considered to have been possessed by an animal spirit; these beliefs even took on a cultic nature, even sharing characteristics with shamanic practice, but notably more profane, sensational and implicitly based on trickery (Humphrey 1996, 334-336).

Rebirth Eschatology (no): Spirits emerged from the deceased at death (especially upon the death of a shaman), and spirits might come to inhabit a place, object or feature of the landscape (Humphrey 1996, 128f); throughout the regions inhabited by the Daur "hills, rivers, and trees were seeded with ancestral spirits, awake and threatening, thus turning the whole landscape from the venerable to the prophetic." Although death was a release of spirits or souls (*sumus* – but this concept is complex – see Humphrey 1996, ch. 5.5; 212-) – it was viewed as a "metamorphosis into an ancestor" (Humphrey 1996, 194) – a process of transformation from one form to another (whether physical or spiritual). The souls of the deceased who passed away unsatisfied (young or without children, etc.) could become dangerous spirits (*shurkul*) and these could possess objects and people and generally cause misfortune. However, the death of newborns, infants and young children could be proceeded by placing the corpse in a tree, "so that it should be closer to *tengger* and therefore available for its soul to turn around (*erge-*) and search for a woman's womb in which to return" (Humphrey 1996, 198). Thus, reincarnation was clearly an option (especially for the very young and perhaps the souls of certain shamans), but it seems to have been considered random and could occur outside the clan. Cyclical rebirth does not appear to have been a conceptual norm (e.g., "In the case of an ordinary person who died at a respectable age with male descendants, the soul peacefully left the body and made its way to the ranks of ancestors in the other world" [Humphrey 1996, 198]).

Perspectivism (spirit) (yes): Humphrey describes the lived-life experiences of 'master-spirits', who were believed to have human "personalities, feelings, and motives" and experienced many of the observable singularities, trials and tribulations of everyday human life:

> Among early twentieth-century Buryats we find that 'master-spirits' of the land (*ezhid*), instead of being conceived on Daur lines as identical distant white-haired old men, had quite different characteristics. They were male and female, young and old, named, often called ancestors, had experienced birth, suffering, and death, came out of their tree, water, or mountain habitations to ride or fly around, wore clothes of particular colours, took on various animal and bird forms, talked to people through shamans, and often interfered in human life. They had relationships with one another, and in the landscape they had their 'seats', 'running places', and sites of notable mishaps and adventures. Above all they had personalities, feelings, and motives (Humphrey 1996, 128).

Perspectivism (animal) (no): Humphrey describes the very complex nature of Daur animal concepts – and while animals were believed to have individual and immortal souls just like humans, and souls could take human or animal forms in successive lives, animals themselves (as animals and not spirit-animals) were not conceived of as living human-like existences in their current state regardless of the possibility that they may

have been a human in a past life (Humphrey 1996, 98-105). However, we should consider the above-mentioned concept of *kianchi* (Humphrey 1996, 334-336) which suggests that animal-spirits could possess humans, thus implying at least some sense of interacting lived experience, but this is not well-documented enough to provide a concrete insight into this possibility as of yet.

Evenks

Vasilevich and Smolyak observe that:

> The Evenks are the most numerous and most widely scattered nationality of all the so-called small nationalities of Northern Siberia…. The overall dimensions of the territory settled by the Evenks are difficult to assess, but amount to approximately one-quarter of the whole of Siberia and the Soviet Far East (Vasilevich & Smolyak 1964, 620).

They are a wide-spread Tungusic-speaking people (linguistically, Evenki makes up the northernmost of the Tungusic languages). The broad ethnonym 'Evenk' comprises peoples also and elsewhere referred to as Evenki, Tungus, Orochen, Birar, Manegry, and Kumarchen, among other regional designations such as the Solon in Inner Mongolia. Traditionally, they were (and still are) reindeer pastoralists and hunters, ranging across a vast swathe of taiga, central Siberian forests and grasslands as far west as the Yenisey and Ob River basins and all the way east to the Sea of Okhotsk. In the southern Trans-Baikal and surrounding plains, many Evenks alternatively practice horse and cattle pastoralism. Evenk shamanism, like that of the Buryats and others, has in the last centuries become influenced by Buddhism and Orthodox Christianity, but remains a mainstay of Evenk religious belief and practice.

Animism (yes): Vasilevich and Smolyak write that "Among the most ancient ideas are spiritualization of all natural phenomena, personification of them, belief in an upper and lower world, belief in the soul (omi) and certain totemistic concepts" (Vasilevich & Smolyak 1964, 647f). See also Anisimov's (1963a) description of Evenk animistic beliefs in relation to totemic and shamanic rites (given below).

Totemism (yes): Vasilevich and Smolyak (1964, 647) see totemism unambiguously among the Evenk (see above 'totemistic concepts'). Vasilevich suggests that totemic concepts were introduced to the Evenks through contacts with neighboring groups, stating:

> Along with these interpretations of the origin of man, shared by all Evenks, there were among peripheral groups other interpretations having a totemic character or explaining the descent of man from animals and trees.... The observation of animals, of their habits and characters that so often resembled those of people, led to the belief that certain animals had earlier been people and had lived like people. Stories about the life of animals later became fairy tales (*nimngakan*). But these stories, even at the time of their conception, in all likelihood had no connection with totemism, since no trace of a taboo or of special consideration for these animals has remained (Vasilevich 1963, 68-70).

Anisimov also sees a stereotypical aspect of totemism among the Evenk, writing that:

> …the places of the ancient clan cult of the Evenks described above – the sacred trees and rocks *bugady* – may be placed in a single genetic line with the so-called totemic centers,

and the concepts linked with these *bugady* about the mythical maternal origins of the clan, in line with the topogentilic concepts of totemism known by the term totemic reincarnation. The Evenk concepts of the sacred trees and rocks *bugady* are a subsequent modification and generalization of those ancient topogentilic ideas of classical totemism, known from Australian ethnographic materials (Anisimov 1963b, 178f).

Rebirth Eschatology (yes): Anisimov describes for the Evenks, that souls reside in a clan-specific afterworld (see previous quote), and that shamans visit that place to acquire souls for women wishing to conceive – thus an implicit rebirth of a deceased clan member's soul returns to the clan (Anisimov 1963b, 203f). Anisimov also describes the reincarnation cycle conceived by the Orochs (a closely-related neighboring people to the Evenks) as:

> When death comes, the spirits return to the tigress- and bear-old-women, making their way there along the tiger or the bear river. After their arrival, the spirits live for a certain time at the headwaters of one of these rivers, and then enter the "management" of one of the old women. The latter feed them on coals from the hearth, after which the spirit takes the form of a mushroom, and the old woman once again throws it onto the earth, to the people. After falling there, the spirit enters the womb of a woman and initiates the [process leading to] birth (Anisimov 1963b, 180).

Perspectivism (spirit) and (animal) (yes): Writing of the closely-related Eveni, and relevant to the discussion of both rebirth and spirit-perspectivism, Willerslev and Ulturgasheva describe that the souls of children are thought of as especially vulnerable to "non-human spirits" that view the child's soul "as an animal prey to be killed and consumed" (Willerslev & Ulturgasheva 2012, 51-53). At the same time, the spirits of ancestors view the child's soul "as an absent kin who needs to be brought back to the land of the dead…danger comes from the ancestor spirit whose name was given to the child…the child is more its deceased namesake than its own individual being" (Willerslev & Ultergasheva 2012, 52). Vasilevich implies perspectivism: "The observation of animals, of their habits and characters that so often resembled those of people, led to the belief that certain animals had earlier been people and had lived like people" (Vasilevich 1963, 70). See also the above description for rebirth concepts which also support spirit perspectivism, and also Vasilevich's discussion of bears and wolves in the same contribution.

Hare-Slavey

The Hare-Slavey designation, as an ethnonym, represents an amalgamation of the Hare and Slave or Slavey groups of the Dene (or Sahtu), a Northeastern Athapaskan First Nations people (the others being the Dogribs and Yellowknives). These were (and are) Athapaskan-speaking peoples residing in the overall vicinity of the Great Bear Lake in Northwest Territories, Canada, but whose combined seasonal extent we are told ranged from the areas around the Great Slave Lake all the way north to the Arctic Ocean, from the areas surrounding the lower Mackenzie River in the west all the way to Hudson Bay to the east (Osgood 1933, 33). Traditionally, they were highly mobile

hunter-gatherers in both the boreal forest and up into the Arctic tundra. Shamanism served numerous functions from hunting magic to healing.

Animism (yes): Osgood (for the Bearlake Satudene) informs us that "The people are definitely animistic, living in a world of multitudinous spirits, which influence or control their destinies…. These spirits animate all the elements of nature such as fire and wind, the rivers, and the aurora borealis" (Osgood 1933, 83). Asch (for the Slavey) notes "The supernatural world was inhabited by spirits that could dispense power to or create danger for mortals. Spirits presented themselves to humans usually in animal forms such as the beaver, otter, wolf, and raven. Some individuals possessed personal animal-spirits" (Asch 1981, 344). Hara provides anecdotal evidence that rivers and lakes were believed to possess spirits, monsters, or Manitou (Hara 1980, 65; see entries for the Potowatomi and Woods Cree for similar ideas about Manitou). Ideas also described by Hara revolving around the belief in "ghosts" and the active behaviours of "good" and "bad" spirits of the deceased implies a concept of souls (Hara 1980, 217-219).

Totemism (no): While Savishinsky and Hara provide that many animal-related taboos among the northern Athapaskans may have stemmed from "A widespread mythological concept… concerning their aboriginal descent from a dog or wolflike ancestor" (Savishinsky & Hara 1981, 320), Asch states succinctly that: "the Slavey did not have clans or other forms of unilineal descent groups" (Asch 1981, 342). Hara also gives the impression that personal identities, rather than reckoned in a totemic fashion, were individualistic and often based on camping and hunting locations, for example (Hara 1980, 27).

Rebirth Eschatology (supported; yes): Savishinsky and Hara offer that:

> The Hare continue to maintain a firm belief in reincarnation, and a newborn infant or child who physically or behaviorally resembles a recently deceased person, or who dreams about such an individual, is often named after that person in accord with the concept that he or she is that individual's avatar (Savishinsky & Hara 1981, 320).

Hara provides anecdotal examples of reincarnation beliefs in which children are said to be their reborn grandparents (Hara 1980, 219f), but this seems not necessarily the rule, but rather one common possibility. Hara also mentions renaming based on rebirth concepts. Osgood provides a clearer picture that cyclical rebirth was well-understood, writing that:

> The idea of reincarnation is common, the newborn child being spoken of as 'natli' (born again). The child is considered the reincarnation of some individual generally designated by an old man or woman or the parent who recognizes the characteristics of the deceased…. [T]he first child conceived after a decease in the tribe (Hare) is considered as a reincarnation of the dead one (Osgood 1933, 75).

Perspectivism (spirit) and (animal): Inferred absent based on some discussion of religion but no reference to perspectival concepts as defined for our study. However, given the close relation with other Northern hunting societies in the region, lack of details in this regard may be an ethnological oversight, as even in detailed ethnographic sources there is markedly little discussion of such concepts, which may be a

consequence of the quite exceptional ecological hardships of life in the 'bush' faced by Hare informant communities. Indeed, Savishinsky notes that "In most other regards…including technology, social organization, shamanistic practices, and ritual, there was little to differentiate the Hare from surrounding peoples" (Savishinsky 1974, 50; paraphrasing Jenness 1967, 394f).

Iakoutes

The Iakoutes, or Yakut (also referred to as Sakha) inhabit what is now the Sakha Republic of the Russian Far East and immediately surrounding areas. This is a region that boasts some of the most frigid temperatures on record globally (a record low of -61.1◦ C was recorded in December of 2021), and with winter temperatures regularly reaching below -35◦ C and sea ice in the East Siberian Sea remaining frozen for up to ten months of the year. The geographic extent of this territory is immense, stretching from its center for thousands of kilometers in any direction, comprising Arctic coastlines and islands, permafrost tundra and vast tracts of larch taiga. Originally, Jochelson (1933) relates that the Yakut – a Turkic-speaking peoples – migrated into this harsh country from the south, perhaps from the Baikal area or even further west as the Upper Yenisey River and Central Asia. At any rate, they established a territory on the plains surrounding the west shores of the middle Lena River near Saisary Lake. They brought with them horses and cattle, but once vested in the region they also took on reindeer pastoralism introduced by neighboring peoples. Yakut shamanism adheres to the common features shared by the majority of traditions of the Eurasian Shamanic Complex with significant influences from Buddhism and Orthodox Christianity. Yakut shamanism also makes a distinction between 'white' or shamanic power gained by interaction with benevolent spirits and 'black' shamanic power derived from interaction with evil spirits. Blacksmiths were also held to possess considerable supernatural power.

Animism (yes): Tokarev and Gurvich describe how the souls of deceased shamans would 'elect' a new shaman, becoming their spirit-guardian, and provide that:

> The belief in *ichchi* or "masters" of different objects was evidently connected with hunting and fishing. The Yakuts believed that all animals, trees, and different phenomena of nature possessed *ichchi*, just as certain domestic articles, such as knives and axes. The ichchi themselves were neither good nor evil. In order to placate the "masters" of the mountains, cliffs, rivers, forests and so on at various places-river crossings, mountain passes and so on – the Yakuts left small offerings of pieces of meat, butter and other food, and also scraps of cloth. The worship of certain animals came close to this cult as well (Tokarev & Gurvich 1964, 278-280; italics ours).

Jochelson states that "Among the Yakut the 'masters' are called *i'čči*; and the word *e'cen* or *i'šin* is used – in the same sense among the Buryat…. According to the idea prevalent among all these tribes, every object – or at least every important natural object – has a spirit-owner residing within it" (Jochelson 1908, 30).

Totemism (no): Tokarev and Gurvich note that Yakut society was divided into clans and exogamous tribal affiliations called "volost" with clans sometimes binding into units called "naslegs" and larger units called "ulus" that were governed by an elected

(often hereditary) elder and an elder council (Tokarev & Gurvich 1964, 270). But, totemism in explicit terms, either classificatory or ontological, is not evident (but, we should also consider Pedersen's [2001] argument that such concepts are implicit across many North Asian societies).

Rebirth Eschatology (supported, but conflicting): Jochelson suggests that "The polar Yakut have borrowed from the Yukaghir the belief in the reincarnation of the souls of the dead in the newborn children of their tribe. This belief is quite unknown to the southern Yakut who form the greater part of the Yakut people" (Jochelson 1926, 161).

Perspectivism (spirit) (yes): Jochelson refers to the Yakut concept of *abasyl'r* (also called *abaahy*) – evil spirits hostile to humanity (Jochelson 1908, 119; see also Jochelson 1933). They may dwell in both the upper and lower supernatural worlds and do so with their own households and cattle, living mirrored human lives.

Perspectivism (animal): Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no reference to perspectival concepts as defined for our study.

Iglulik

The Iglulik, or Igluligmiut, are an Inuit people inhabiting the region north of Hudson Bay in Nunavut, northeast Canada. During historical times their territory was more or less centered on Iglulik (or 'Igloolik') Island in the Foxe Basin, extending in range from the Melville Peninsula as far east as Baffin Island and northwest into the Canadian Arctic Archipelago. Like most circum-arctic societies, the Iglulik were traditionally highly mobile, hunting caribou on the inland tundra and sea mammals (especially walrus and seals) on the sea ice. Individuals and families retained a high flexibility of mobility and group composition, with bilaterally related groups of families and kin coming together for communal seasonal activities or going it alone in dynamic fashion. Shamans (*angaákut*) were the intermediaries between humans and the spiritworld, often called upon to intercede between humans and the spirits of animals, the weather (e.g., Sila), and *Takánakapsâluk*, the Mother of the Sea Beasts, the Sedna figure among the Iglulik, controller of the souls of animals (see also Boas 1964, 177).

Animism (yes): Mary-Rousseliere sums this up succinctly, stating that among the Iglulik "All that exists has a soul or can have one" (Mary-Rousseliere 1984, 441).

Totemism (no): Damas (1963) provides a lengthy treatise on social structure and kinship amongst the Igluligmiut which very clearly illustrates an absence of totemic modalities or notions. This should come as no surprise as the absence of totemic systems is a common feature of many if not all High Arctic societies across North America.

Rebirth Eschatology (supported): Rasmussen describes that rebirth beliefs among the Iglulik were conceptualized as cyclical rebirth of souls in a timeless cycle, but that this was generally one of transmigration (human-animal) and/or possible metempsychosis (human-animal-human or animal-to-animal) and there is no direct statement that souls should, by default, be reborn into descendants of the deceased (Rasmussen 1929, 59). However, Mary-Rousseliere notes that "man has a double soul: *inu'siq*, the breath of life, and *ta'γniq*, the soul proper. One's name, *atiq*, is also a kind of soul, generally

inherited from an ancestor" (Mary-Rousseliere 1984, 441), suggesting that at least the name-soul was part of a cyclical rebirth scheme (see Walsh et al. 2019).

Perspectivism (spirit) and (animal): Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no reference to perspectival concepts as defined for our study. Again, we should be clear that this is not to say that animals and spirits were not perceived as living sentient and particular lives of their own, but that they lived them as animals and/or spirits, but not as humans, as our definitions of perspectivism imply.

Iroquois League

The Iroquois League, or Confederacy, was/is comprised of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca tribes of northeastern North America, with traditional territories ranging south and east of Lake Ontario and surrounding areas. Tooker summarizes the foundation of the League well, stating that:

> According to Iroquois tradition, there was once a time when the tribes of the region were at war with one another. To prevent a continuation of the conflict, the Great Peace, the Confederacy of Iroquois was established. Thereafter, the Iroquois styled themselves the People of the Longhouse…. In this Longhouse, the Senecas, the most western of the Iroquois, were designated the Keepers of the Western Door and the Mohawks, the most eastern, the Keepers of the Eastern Door. The other three tribes were arranged in a line between them, the whole resembling the arrangement of families and their fires in the ordinary longhouse. Thus, by analogy, the Iroquois called it a confederacy of five fires as later they termed the United States "the 13 fires" (Tooker 1978, 418).

All the groups in the League had their own clan system and moieties. For example, among the Seneca "the Turtle, Bear, Wolf and Beaver clans constitute one moiety; the Snipe, Hawk, Heron, and Deer clans, the other" (Tooker 1978, 428). Also, between tribes within the League some moiety relationships and inter-group responsibilities were recognized as well. The representative councils of each tribe took on specific ceremonial and organizational responsibilities. Each of the confederate groups practiced horticulture centered around the 'three sisters' combination of corn, beans and squash, supplemented by hunting, fishing and gathering. Prior to the introduction of Christianity and the subsequent development of the so-called 'Longhouse Religion', traditional cosmologies and belief systems among the societies comprising the League were highly animistic. Shamanic ritual practitioners who shared similar powers, knowledge or focus formed a variety of Medicine Societies (Fenton 1941, 413). These included the 'curative' False-Face society, whose members wore masks of deformed faces and performed ceremonies of purification as well as healing rituals for the sick (Ritzenthaler 1969, 15), or the Towii'sas society, a women's group whose focus was to "offer thanks to the spirits of the corn, the beans, and the squashes, *Dio'hē'ko* (these sustain our lives)" (Parker 1909, 179). Other societies represented important mystic animals such as the Bear, Buffalo, Eagle, and Otter societies, among others. Each group took on diverse responsibilities, ceremonies and rituals.

Animism (yes): The Iroquois concept of 'orenda' is implicitly animistic (e.g., "the power that is inherent in things, processes, and supernaturals – Orenda…" [Fenton

1978, 318]). This is particularly evident when considered against Pedersen's observation that "animism has less to do with homogeneous belief in nonhuman souls than with heterogeneous perceptions…of a potential interior spiritual quality in things" (Pedersen's 2001, 414), and when considered against Hewitt's statement that 'orenda' was an all-encompassing force inherent in all things:

> …among the Iroquois orenda, a subsumed mystic potence, is regarded as related directly to singing and with anything used as a charm, amulet, or mascot, as well as with the ideas of *hoping, praying*, or *submitting*…. From objects orenda or magic potence may pass or be made to pass to actions or words or sounds uttered by the object possessed of the required orenda (Hewitt 1902, 43-45).

Totemism (yes, supported): Despite Lévi-Strauss' observation to the contrary already mentioned, Tooker identifies numerous totem animals among the various societies of the Iroquois Confederacy, such as Turtle, Wolf, Bear, among many others (Tooker 1978, 426-428). Fenton states of the Northern Iroquois, that:

> …each tribe as well as being divided into villages and longhouse families was divided into two moieties. Each moiety comprised two or more clans, and the clans were again segmented into one or more maternal families or lineages. Every maternal family traced its home to some longhouse of which it once formed the household, and so the terms for the two are synonymous. These lineages, which later formed the segments of clans and with which they share their functions, are the building blocks of the social system (Fenton 1978, 309).

But we should note that this system of dualities formed a *pseudo*-totemic reckoning system in which animals only sometimes gave names and collective identities to groups, e.g., "…among the Seneca, there are clans named for birds and the deer group on one side, and other mammals and the turtle on the other", but elsewhere, these same distinctions are referred to as 'sides' and 'brothers', but these are not explicitly described as synonymy for 'totems' as such. Heidenreich states, of the Huron, that they had clans named after animals, but does not offer that the system was otherwise totemic beyond the nominal clan designations (Heidenreich 1978, 370f).

Rebirth Eschatology (no): Fenton suggests belief in an afterlife achieved by a long journey through the sky to the west by the deceased (Fenton 1978, 319). A naming custom used during the adoption rite points to renaming the living with the 'ancient title' of the dead, but this merely hints at ancestral naming practice, not rebirth as in the name-soul traditions which often imply cyclical rebirth (however, see also endnote 13 in Matlock 1994, 283).

Perspectivism (spirit) and (animal): Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no reference to perspectival concepts as defined for our study. However, as in most (if not nearly all) societies described herein, spirits were treated – in a sense – like peers, in that they were given due attention and respect, and could be spoken to as one would address a fellow human. In addition, various non-human animistic entities were addressed using kinship terms. This suggests a potential for social agency with humans, and thus the possibility for perspectival dynamics to be implied while one conceives of how non-human agents experienced their world. Communion

with spirit-beings was often made, as it was with other humans, through ceremonial feasting and food-sharing. This at least implies that spirits had human- or human-like wants, desires and needs. Thus, we should consider that other-than-human persons in many societies possibly (or even probably) were traditionally conceived of as reckoning with their own experiences in a perspectival light, in other words, as living mirrored-human lives in their own worlds. However, here these ideas are not attested as such in the ethnographic record.

Koriak

Koriak, or Koryak, inhabit the northernmost Russian Far East south of the Anadyr River and the Chukchi Peninsula into the Kamchatka Peninsula, and its extensive forests and forest-tundra. Close neighbors with the Chukchi to the north, the two groups' languages are inter-comprehensible and prior to the ethnographic period, the two groups had a long history of both interaction and conflict. Similar to the Chukchi, the Koriak comprise two basic groups, the more nomadic 'Reindeer' Koriak and the sedentary coastal-dwelling 'Maritime' Koriak. The Reindeer Koriak being seasonally mobile reindeer-herders while the Maritime Koriak maintain small sedentary villages whose primary economic focus was/is coastal sea mammal hunting and fishing in the Bering Sea to the east and to the west in the Sea of Okhotsk. Similar to the Chukchi, these different subsistence niches among the Koriak reflect quite different lifeways, but nevertheless traditionally there was a fair amount of interaction between 'Reindeer' and 'Maritime' groups. Mobility of some individuals between coast and interior, intermarriage and exchange between the two was a matter of course. Antropova notes that the Reindeer Koriak knew nothing whatsoever of maritime exploits while many of the Maritime Koriak may have practiced small-scale reindeer-herding in addition to coastal specialities (Antropova 1964, 854f). Both groups practiced similar forms of shamanism (both a general shamanic practice and a form of 'household' shamanism closely associated to ancestor cults and sacrificial offerings). The Koriak also share in the parallel cosmological concepts and mythological themes (such as stories of Raven) which span numerous societies on both sides of the North Pacific Rim.

Animism (yes): Jochelson writes:

> Not only all visible objects, but also the phenomena of nature, are regarded as animate beings.... Everything visible in nature, and everything imaginary, – that is, all that is within and beyond the limits of our visual powers (as, for example, animals, plants, stones, rivers, a wind, a fog, a cloud, luminaries, spirits, and deities), – are thought of as material beings of anthropomorphic form (Jochelson 1908, 30, see also 115).

Further, Antropova describes the Koriak belief in the ubiquity of other forms of spirit-creatures as well:

> According to Koryak religion, the whole world was inhabited by a multitude of harmful beings – *nin'vit's*. The *nin'vit's* were invisible, but could become visible if they chose. They appeared to people in the form of anthropomorphic creatures, with huge ears, burning eyes (sometimes with one eye, sometimes with three), with long sharp teeth and a body covered with thick black fur. It was thought that the *nin'vit's* hunted and ate people by

entering them and causing illness…. [T]he shaman had power over *nin'vit's* (Antropova 1964, 866f).

Totemism (supported): Antropova suggests totemic aspects of guardian-spirits (Antropova 1964, 866), but Jochelson observed "I have found no direct indications of the existence of totemism among the Koryak; but the wearing of the skin of the wolf and of the bear during these festivals may be compared to certain features of totemistic festivals, in which some members of the family or clan represent the totem by putting on its skin" (Jochelson 1908, 89).

Rebirth Eschatology (yes): Antropova provides that "Every member born in a family was regarded as a reincarnation of an ancestor…. The exact identity of the ancestor was learned with the aid of divination" (Antropova 1964, 867), and Jochelson describes that "Before a child is born, the Supreme Being sends into the mother's womb the soul (uyi'vcit) of some deceased relative of the child to be born" (Jochelson 1908, 100).

Perspectivism (spirit) (yes): Jochelson describes that:

> According to Koryak ideas, the *kalau* constitute families, just like human beings, with an old man as the head of the family, his children, their wives, etc. I heard various accounts concerning the abode of the *kalau*, from which it may be concluded that several groups are distinguished, according to their place of residence. Some live in the world under us. They have daytime when it is night here. They sleep when we are awake…. Other *kalau* live on the earth, toward the west, where the sun sets, on the borders of the Koryak country. They are thus identified with the darkness of night. They live in villages, whence they invade the camps and settlements of man…. They hunt human beings just as men hunt reindeer and seals (Jochelson 1908, 27-29).

Jochelson also observes of the Koryak underground world of shadows, that:

> The *Peni'nelau* live in the underground world in villages, just as human beings live on earth; and relatives live together in the same house. Every new-comer joins his own relatives. The inhabitants of the underground world take care of their relatives on earth by sending them animals, which they kill, and other kinds of food-supply; but they also punish them if they are displeased with them for one reason or another (Jochelson 1908, 103).

Whether this is appropriately 'perspectivism' of spirits, *per se*, or specifically of the afterworld is debatable.

Perspectivism (animal) (yes): Jochelson describes quite explicitly the Koryak conceptions that:

> The bear, the wolf, the fox, the ermine, the mouse, the raven, and other animals, are described as taking off their skins and becoming men. In the same manner the Fog people come out of a dispersing fog, and a cloud turns into a Cloud-Man. By casting off their hard exteriors, stone hammers turn into Stone-Hammer people, who go fishing. Fishes, also, take on the form of human beings… man also possessed the power of transforming himself. By putting on the skin of an animal, or by taking on the outward form of an object, he could assume its form (Jochelson 1908, 115f).

Koyukon

The Koyukon are an Athapaskan-speaking group traditionally living in the drainages and surrounding forests of the Koyukuk and Upper Yukon Rivers west from the Brooks Range in west-central Alaska. Traditionally, they have relied on a diversified subsistence economy of year-round hunting and fishing, and with gathering during the short high-latitude summer. This brings up an important point, as Nelson reminds us in his discussion of northern Athapaskan subsistence – with particular focus on Koyukon and Kutchin lifeways – of the importance of gathering/foraging (and trapping) among inhabitants of the circumpolar boreal forests, pointing out that gathered resources extend far beyond the mere acquisition of plant foods, but must also consider materials for shelter, heating and vital equipment, and that these should be taken into account when considering the importance of gathering, foraging, collecting of resources among any of the boreal forest/taiga-ranging societies of the circumpolar North (Nelson 1978, 209-211).

Shamanism was (and is) an important aspect of traditional Koyukon religious practice, and shamanic power was believed to be inherited from either side of the family.

Animism (yes): Nelson states that: "All animals, some plants, and some inanimate things have spirits…. Elements of the earth and sky are imbued with spirits and consciousness, much in the way of living things" (Nelson 1983, 21-25; see Clark 1981, 593), and "Not only the animals, but also the plants, the earth and landforms, the air, weather, and sky are spiritually invested" (Nelson 1983, 31). Further, Nelson, Mautner and Bane write: "The earth and sky are personified and imbued with spirits, much in the way of living things…. The earth and its landforms are also possessed of a consciousness" (Nelson, Mautner & Bane 1982, 261).

Totemism (no): According to Clark, the Koyukon generally lived in small, semi-sedentary groups consisting mainly of band-scale, matrilineal households and nuclear families and some non-related constituents (Clark 1981, 585). Kinship ties were recognized through marriage and there was otherwise little or no tribal unity beyond clan, band and family units. Clans were of three distinctions (i.e., Clark 1981, 589), but were not inherently totemic.

Rebirth Eschatology (supported): Reincarnation is mentioned by Clark (1981, 591) and Mills (1994, 22) among the Koyukon, but no direct statement about rebirth as such is made, except where Clark mentions that "Spirits of powerful deceased shamans could also become reincarnated in the body of a newborn or young person" (Clark 1981, 595), but we cannot be certain that the person indicated was related to the deceased. Rebirth is also strongly implied across pan-Athapaskan cosmologies (see, e.g., Mills 1988) and Nelson's brief description of the Koyukon story of Raven's rebirth as a human child, hints at the cyclical potential of metempsychosis (Nelson 1983, 17). Nelson mentions regarding death that there is such a place as a pleasant afterlife (Nelson 1983, 245), but Clark implies that such a place is merely a pit stop on the path to eventual reincarnation (Clark 1981, 591; see also de Laguna 2002).

Perspectivism (spirit) (yes): This is implied by Clark (1981, 593) and exemplified in Nelson's observation that even weather phenomena possess formerly human anima,

connoting motivations and behaviors to ancient human spirits, which retain human behaviors and motivations (Nelson 1983, 16-42).

Perspectivism (animal) (yes): This is implied by both Clark (1981, 593) and Nelson (1983, 20f). Nelson notes that in the Koyukon concept of the long-ago past 'Distant Time' humans and animals shared one society, and indeed "animals and other natural entities were human" (Nelson 1983, 227). This is also described, e.g., specifically in relation to wolves (Nelson 1983, 159), from one informant's statement that wolves are "too smart…too much like people" and bears too are suggested to be similarly, uneasily akin to people (Nelson 1983, 175). Nelson, Mautner and Bane quote a Koyukon informant as stating:

> We have respect for the animals. We don't keep them in cages or torture them, because we know the background of animals from kk'adoots'idnee. *We know that the animal has a spirit – it used to be human – and we know all the things that it did. It's not just an animal*; it's lots more than that (Nelson, Mautner & Bane 1982, 258; emphasis ours).

This suggests that animals are understood to have been human or be human-like and lead human-like existences.

Kutchin

The Kutchin, or Gwich'in, are an Athapaskan-speaking peoples inhabiting northern Alaska and the Arctic boreal forests of the Northwest and Yukon Territories of Canada, primarily in the valleys of the Yukon, Peel, and lower Mackenzie River basins. Traditionally, they were highly reliant on caribou hunting, supplemented by a broad range of prey and seasonal fishing and foraging. While distinct from adjacent Inuit groups, the Kutchin have a long history of contact and complex relations and interactions with their Inuit neighbors (see Gubser 1965, Ch. 2). While shamans were recognized among the Kutchin with respect and even fear, there were no full-time ritual specialists. Some individuals based on their own personal experience and connections might become 'animal-dreamers' and form a special bond with certain animals, and from this gain "all types of supernatural power and privilege" (Slobodin 1981, 527).

Animism (yes): Slobodin describes a guardian-spirit concept among the Kutchin, as well as the belief in numerous supernatural beings and special conceptions of animals and features of the landscape, and shamanic practitioners (Slobodin 1981, 527). But, we should note that we could find no literal reference that uses the term 'animism', as such, for these phenomena among the Kutchin.

Totemism (supported): Slobodin provides that clan-based special relationships exist with animals, including taboos based on them (Slobodin 1981, 523-527), but does not concretely propose a totemic reckoning system, as such. However, Lang (citing Dall 1897, 196) states matter of factly that the Kutchin "have always possessed the system of totems" (Lang 1899, 73).

Rebirth Eschatology (supported): Slobodin states that, among the Kutchin "One of the most durable of pre-Christian religious ideas is that of reincarnation. A small fraction of the population at any given time consists of the reborn" (Slobodin 1981, 527).

Elsewhere, he describes that rebirth eschatology among the Kutchin *could* occur but was not the rule, and reincarnation could even be by non-Kutchin (Slobodin 1994: 136).

Perspectivism (spirit): Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no reference to perspectival concepts as defined for our study.

Perspectivism (animal) (yes): Slobodin clearly indicates a form of perspectivism, in that:

> Every caribou has a bit of the human heart (...literally 'heart') in him, and every human has a bit of caribou heart. Hence humans will always have partial knowledge of what caribou are thinking and feeling, but equally, caribou will have the same knowledge of humans (Slobodin 1981, 526).

This implies that caribou conceptually possess a human-like perception of humans and *vice versa*.

Mansi

The Mansi, previously referred to as Volguls, or as Ob-Ugrians or even Ostyaks (in close synonymy with their Khanty neighbors, with whom the Mansi share close linguistic and cultural affinities) are a Uralic-speaking people inhabiting the Ob River basin on the West Siberian Plain in Northwest Siberia, a sub-Arctic expanse of dense forest and extensive marshlands. Traditionally, they subsisted by hunting, fishing and gathering, but depending on the household's location on the Ob and its tributaries, hunting (in the upper reaches) or fishing (in the lower reaches) predominated. They practiced seasonal residential mobility based on hunting and fishing grounds. Ancestor cults, the veneration of sacred places and associated deities/spirits, and shamanry were (and largely remain) at the forefront of Mansi cosmological belief and religious practice.

Animism (yes): Chernetsov (1963) provides a lengthy account of the complex world of souls among the Ob-Ugrians. Jordan, writing specifically about the Khanty, but with direct relevance to the Mansi, as the foundational cosmology and mythology of the two groups is well-recognized as being nearly identical, how various things possess life while others do not:

> Objects thought to be animate include people, animals, trees, water (flowing in the river), falling snow, fire, wind, and thunder as well as supernatural beings, even though they are not visible. The term *entelilenky* (not having *lil*) is used to describe objects that are inanimate. These would include fallen snow, water in a bucket, a dry (dead) tree, a stationary stone, or a clump of earth. At the same time, these categories are not fixed. A stone can be both inanimate, if stationary, or animate, if falling (Jordan 2003, 102).

See other implications in Habek (2011, 281) and Prokef'yeva, Chernetsov, and Prytkova (1964, 536) given below in the entry for the Xant (i.e., Khanty).

Totemism (yes): Prokef'yeva, Chernetsov and Prytkova write that:

> Although the Khants and Mansi were formally baptized, they retained their pre-Christian religious beliefs, which constituted a fairly complete set of totemistic ideas. The ancestors of the clans and phratries were thought to have been animals or birds, occasionally plants and even sometimes insects (butterflies).... The myths, mythological tales and

songs contain cosmogonic material, much of which concerns the origin of the phratries, totemic ancestors and so forth (Prokef'yeva, Chernetsov & Prytkova 1964, 533-536).

References in Chernetsov (1963, 23) also imply totemic concepts specifically related to birds and bird-imagery: e.g., "...the totem of the Nyaksimvol Mansi – from whom the heroine's clan originated was the blackcock" (Chernetsov 1963, 25).

Rebirth Eschatology (yes): Cherentsov discusses the proscribed waiting time for the rebirth of souls among the Mansi, in that "The soul lives in – the grave not less than three years, that is, until the body is decomposed. In the opinion of some Mansi this period varies according to the sex of the dead.... Some Mansi explain that actually the spirit moves into the child only after the passage of three or four years" (Cherentsov 1963, 25-28). Presumably, it was believed that at the end of this period, the soul was reborn into a newborn descendant of the deceased. This is directly supported by Prokef'yeva, Chernetsov and Prytkova, who note of both the Mansi and Khanty that "In the past each clan used to have a certain reserve of names which was connected with the belief in transmigration of the soul of a deceased ancestor into a child born into that clan" (Prokef'yeva, Chernetsov & Prytkova 1964, 533).

Perspectivism (spirit) and (animal): Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no reference to perspectival concepts as defined for our study.

Menomini

The Menomini, or Menominee, are an Algonquian-speaking peoples originally inhabiting the areas west and north of Lake Michigan and south of Lake Superior, in and around what is now the state of Wisconsin. Traditionally, they were hunter-gatherers who also practiced small-scale farming, as well as extensive harvesting and management of wild rice. Menomini religious beliefs included the acquisition of a spirit-guardian upon the completion of a puberty fasting rite of passage. This came with special powers and obligations that were the responsibility of the individual to nourish and guard. Shamanry as well as witchcraft were also practiced, and appear to have been (at least in some cases) intrinsically bound to Menomini ideas of spiritual power (see, e.g., Spindler & Spindler 1971).

Animism (yes): Skinner offers that "Rocks, ponds, and hills have their fancied denizens. All species of animals are ruled by supernatural chiefs" (Skinner 1921, 32).

Totemism (yes): Spindler and Spindler (1971) refer to rituals and dances associated with totem animals, as well as linguistic nuances for identifying totem and clan affiliations. They also describe how Menomini totemic reckoning was both a part of social and psychological organization but might also be complemented in a sense by personal proclivity in the adoption of a guardian-animal totem to which an individual felt a kinship, with such associations bringing with them taboos and rules of treatment regarding the adopted totem animal (Spindler and Spindler 1971, 34). Spindler also states that the Menominee had a:

> …dual organization or moiety system defined as the Thunderers and Bears, with subdivisions into patrilineal totemic descent groups (or clans).... Many older members of the tradition-oriented group have a totem or clan affiliation. It was common practice until

the mid-twentieth century for each individual to have his totem painted, usually upside down, on a grave stick at his place of burial (Spindler 1978, 712f).

Skinner also notes that the principal figure of evil in the underworld of Menomini cosmology was a "Great White Bear with a long copper tail, who [was], in addition to being the chief and patron of all earthly bears and the traditional ancestor of the Menomini tribe" (Skinner 1921, 31).

Rebirth Eschatology (no): Observations offered by Spindler suggest that burial practices and beliefs regarding the afterlife indicate no rebirth tradition: "…the soul, it was thought, passed on a four-day journey to the spirit land…. Weapons and utensils for the journey were placed with the body…mourners visited the burial place to offer food" (Spindler 1978, 717).

Perspectivism (spirit) and (animal): Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no reference to perspectival concepts as defined for our study. However, Spindler and Spindler do provide that one hunter informant told them "You know, bears aren't like deers. They are like human beings". They also observe that "there is no real separation between man and animal in the Menomini belief system" (Spindler & Spindler 1971, 34). While these and other statements hint at animal-perspectival ideas similar to those found within many hunting societies, they do not provide explicitly for notions of animals living distinctly human social lives.

Micmac

The Micmac, or Mi'kmaq, are an Eastern Algonquian-speaking peoples traditionally inhabiting the northeasternmost reaches of the St. Lawrence River, principally the Gaspé Peninsula, Nova Scotia and immediate vicinity; their post-colonial expanse also includes Newfoundland and parts of eastern Quebec and southern Labrador. Even today, this territory is densely forested and host to a wide variety of wildlife. Traditionally, the Micmac have been hunter-gatherer-fishers relying on a diversity of resources, including terrestrial as well as aquatic mammals such a moose, caribou, beaver and seals, and a wide variety of fish such as salmon and sturgeon, among many others from bears to birds (Wallis and Wallis 1955, 25-40). The Micmac had shamans whose primary function appears to have been divination and curing, but there was also much consideration of magical powers, including luck, witchcraft and sorcery.

Animism (yes): Bock hints at animistic elements in Micmac cosmology, stating that:

> Micmac beliefs and values were similar to those of other northern hunters…. Beaver bones were never given to dogs or thrown into the river. The bear was treated with special respect. There was a belief that animals could become transformed into other species…. Life is everywhere – visible and invisible, beneath the ground and under the sea. Various forms of life may change into one another. Some kinds of animals and some people are not what they seem to be (Bock 1978, 116f).

There also appears to have been significant element of sun-worship in Micmac cosmology. Johnson (1943) describes shamanism among the Micmac (among others), but

provides no information on the nature of beliefs in spirits or souls beyond the conceptual existence within the traditions of guardian or helper-spirits associated with shamanry.

Totemism (no): According to Bock "Micmac kinship terminology is cognatic and generational" and the social system was "quite flexible", with families moving between local groups and their controlling sagamores (local chiefs or leaders) (Bock 1978, 115).

Rebirth Eschatology: Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no reference to rebirth concepts as defined for our study. However, Wallis and Wallis describe a concept of animal-animal metempsychosis, stating that "Aged animals transform themselves into a different species…. Bear, caribou, and especially moose become whales; whales turn into moose… beavers…turned into ducks…squirrels turn into snakes" and so on (Wallis & Wallis 1955, 106f). In their discussion on souls, Wallis and Wallis present that "The soul of an infant does not go far from its body, and a deceased infant is buried beside a path, that the soul may slip into the bosom of a woman passing by and animate an undeveloped fetus" (Wallis & Wallis 1955, 262), clearly indicating a concept of reincarnation for the souls of infants, but not necessarily indicative of an ancestor-descendant rebirth cycle.

Perspectivism (spirit) (supported): Wallis and Wallis relate observations made by the Franciscan missionary Chrestien Le Clergq in the late 17th century that illustrate spirit perspectival concepts (and support the presence of animistic principles as well):

> …they have drawn these extravagant conclusions, – that everything is animated and that souls are nothing other than the ghost of that which had been animated; that the rational soul is a somber and black image of the man himself; that it had feet, hands, a mouth, a head, and all other parts of the human body; that it had still the same needs for drinking, for eating, for clothing, for hunting and fishing, as when it was in the body, whence it comes that in their revels and feasts they always serve a portion to these souls which are walking, say they, in the vicinity of the wigwams of their relatives and of their friends; that they went hunting the souls of beavers and of moose with the souls of their snow-shoes, bows, and arrows (Wallis & Wallis 1955, 149f).

Yet another anecdote regarding beliefs around the perspectival behaviors of spirits is provided by Wallis and Wallis where they note that "A text recorded in 1900 explained that formerly he [a particular form of spirit/ghost known as *skadegamutc* whose sighting was considered a portent of death] was seen primarily as a hunter seeking food for his children and should not be whooped at" (Wallis & Wallis 1955, 153). Related concepts of various supernatural peoples of various shapes, sizes and powers provide for a rich impression of mythical *others* who live otherwise human-like lives, but these are presented less like perspectival spirits and more like fantastical creatures such as *faerie folk* and *elves*, and are found in folklores throughout the region (see, e.g., Speck 1935, 68).

Perspectivism (animal): Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no reference to perspectival concepts as defined for our study.

Mistassini Cree

The Mistassini Cree are an Algonquian-speaking tribe of the broader Eastern Cree group whose territory surrounds the southern end of Lake Mistassini in Quebec and adjacent areas around the lake, but with considerable cultural overlap with Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi groups west and north to Hudson Bay and east into Labrador with close affiliations and interactions with Montagnais and Naskapi peoples to the north and east. With a similar subsistence base as the Micmac to the southeast, the Cree of Mistassini and other East Cree in the region traditionally hunted and fished a wide variety of species, with some ecological factors determining differences between those living along the Hudson Bay coast and those inhabiting the inland forests. Here, the Mistassini Cree may be considered quite closely in relation to the Montagnais-Naskapi (overviewed in the following entry) as well as to numerous Cree groups of Quebec and further west as well. As such, J. E. Michael Kew notes that:

> Montagnais and Cree…form a series of contiguous regional groups whose dialects constitute a language continuum stretching across the Canadian sub-arctic from Labrador to central Alberta…. From a linguistic and cultural perspective there is relatively little to distinguish one band from another. The term Cree could appropriately be extended to include the people Speck describes, for the main cultural differences between various groups arise from slight variations in subsistence activities, which are related to regional variance in abundance of different species of game and fish. Differences certainly existed in styles of decorative work on clothing, forms of canoes and snowshoes, minor elements of mythology, and the like, but basic similarities overshadow differences. *Naskapi* is a work which stands well as a representative account of the religious life of Cree and related tribes (Kew, in his foreword to the 1977 new edition of Speck's *Naskapi*, 1935).

Animism (yes): Speck describes the obligatory propitiation of animal spirits and communication with animals, suggesting an animistic concept at least as concerns the soul-spirits of animals and the belief in "supernatural controllers" of animals (Speck 1923, 455-457), but he does not elaborate on this and does not state directly that the Cree of the Mistassini territory were/are animists. He does, however, also describe a rich shamanic tradition, which intrinsically corresponds to an animistic worldview. Tanner indicates animism among the Mistassini clearly, stating that "…everything in the world has an *aataacaakw*, animals, plants, rocks, clothes, tents, even doorways to tents…anything that can be named has a spirit" (Tanner 1979, 114).

Totemism (no): Rogers and Leacock address this in part, writing that social structure and kinship among the Mistassini Cree was loose: "Genealogies were not of particular interest, and people were often unable to trace their specific relationships with distant relatives for whom they used kin designations" (Rogers & Leacock 1981, 183).

Rebirth Eschatology and Perspectivism (spirit): Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no reference to rebirth or perspectival concepts for spirits as defined for our study. While we could find no direct reference for rebirth eschatology among the Mistassini Cree in particular, see Speck's reference below for the Naskapi, which may conceptually apply to the Mistassini Cree as well, but which remains difficult to substantiate for our purposes here.

Perspectivism (animal) (yes): Brightman cites Lips (1947, 6), stating that, among the Eastern Crees of Mistissini, "the game animals is (sic) gifted with a soul similar to that of man; its reactions and social organization are imagined as similar to those of its human brethren" (Brightman 1993, 159). Speck also hints at animal perspectivism where he describes the trajectory of metempsychosis, implying parallels between the lived experiences and lifeways of humans and animals:

> Existing conditions, the forms and behavior of animals and the geography of the country, are largely the result of *transformation*. Consequently, transformation becomes an abstract principle in the system of thought.... We see how mammals, fish, birds, and natural landmarks are produced in their present guise by metamorphosis under the power of the conjuror, a shaman of a mythical period. Another important fact is that the trend of Montagnais-Naskapi evolutionary theory is from man to animals. We have a declaration on this point from the old Mistassini ex-shaman, Ka'kwa: "The animals were once like the Indians and could talk as we do. But some of them were overcome by others while in some animal disguise and forced to remain as such. Others assumed animal shapes so much that involuntarily they became transformed permanently" (Speck 1935, 49).

However, perhaps no better is the concept of perspectivism described anywhere as in the anecdote provided by Tanner, which is worth including here in its entirety (see also Image 2):

> …that there is a double significance to the events of the hunt is strikingly made use of in a myth which was told to me by Matthew Rich, an Indian from Northwest River, Labrador. The myth, which need not concern us in all its details is about a young man who marries a caribou girl. At the start of the myth the young man is hunting caribou with his family, and the story describes the hunting encounter between hunters and the caribou from the normal human perspective. However, during the hunt the young man becomes able to see these same events from a different perspective, that is, from the perspective of the caribou. This caribou perspective consists of the transformation of the caribou reality into human terms. The story gives details of how a number of phenomena involving the caribou appear to the young man (caribou reality), and how these same phenomena appear, by contrast, to the young man's family (human reality). For example, the young man sees what to him appears to be a beautiful young woman, while to the hunters this appears as an ordinary female caribou. After the boy marries the caribou girl he joins the other caribou, who to him appear as Indians, living in small hunting groups. Later they all assemble together in a large house. The caribou leader is the father of the caribou girl. During a caribou hunt the hunters and the young man see the same events, but to each they appear quite different. The human beings see the caribou running from the hunters, and when one is shot the animal falls down and dies; but the young man, seeing the same event, sees a person wearing a white cape running away and then throwing off the cape, which the hunter then picks up as the carcass. At another time, what appears to the hunters as the rutting of the caribou in the fall is seen by the young man as a soccer game played by the male caribou (Tanner 1979, 136f).

Image 2. 'The Sun is a Ball of Swans' multi-panel painting by artist Eric S. Carlson (also on the cover) depicts the blurred nature of human-animal perspectival transformations reminiscent of the story given above to Adrien Tanner by Matthew Rich. Copyright Eric S. Carlson. Used with permission.

Naskapi

The Naskapi, or Innu, are sometimes grouped into a broader cultural affiliation with related neighboring peoples as Montagnais-Naskapi, and are an Algonquian-speaking group traditionally inhabiting interior Labrador as far north as roughly the southern extent of Ungava Bay, as well as much of northern Quebec. Traditionally, they relied on hunting, fishing and trapping and some seasonal foraging, in many ways parallel-ing the hunting lifeways of peoples throughout the region. Their traditional territory intermingled with that of Eastern Cree groups (e.g., the Mistassini Cree), and the soci-eties of the region shared in an animist cosmology that revolved around reciprocity with nature and the animals that people relied upon for survival.

Animism (yes): Henriksen states succinctly that:

> The Innu have an animistic religion…the animals are spirited, and each species has its master spirit. The sun, trees, winds, thunder and lightning, and many objects in the environment are spirited. Even some rocks and certain human and animal body parts are spirited and can talk (Henriksen 2009, 17f).

Speck also writes:

> Among the supernatural forces at times mentioned as personified beings, are a group of poetical concepts…. The winds, next in rank of power below the Creator, are preeminent as spirits of the four quarters – forces controlling the universe; the life and growth of man and of animal and plant life (Speck 1935, 56-59).

And, quoting Le Clerq, Speck notes that:

> They believe that many kinds of animals have reasonable souls. They have superstitions against profaning certain bones of elk, beaver and other beasts or letting dogs gnaw them. They preserve them carefully or throw them into rivers. They pretend that the souls of these animals come to see how bodies are treated and go and tell the living beasts and those that are dead, so that if ill treated the beasts of the same kind will no longer allow themselves to be taken in this world or the next (Speck 1935, 72f).

Totemism (no): As above for the Mistassini Cree, Rogers and Leacock describe that social structure, classification and kinship were loose:

Genealogies were not of particular interest, and people were often unable to trace their specific relationships with distant relatives for whom they used kin designations. Other, more contemporary designations seem determined by toponyms based largely on features of the landscape (Rogers & Leacock 1981, 183).

Rebirth Eschatology (yes): Speck offers that:

The Great Man [i.e., soul] resides in each individual and it comes to the spiritual conception…again. It seems to be a frequent opinion, according to my notes, that the Great Man of the human embryo is the reincarnation of an ancestor who wills to renew its life-cycle in another generation (Speck 1935, 39).

Perspectivism (spirit): Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no reference to perspectival concepts as defined for our study.

Perspectivism (animal) (yes): Speck supports this (Speck 1935, 72; see also above reference for animal perspectivism among the Mistassini Cree), and Henriksen alludes to this with the story of the old caribou and the young caribou man (Henriksen 2009, 40f), echoing Willerslev's (2004, 634) observations among the Yukaghir. Also, alluded to in Henriksen's description of the Innu hunter's relationship to prey offers that "a crucial element in the repertoire of hunting techniques that the lnnu have, namely the ability to see the surroundings the way the animal sees it" (Henriksen 2009, 19).

Nenec

The Nenec, or Nenets or Nenetsy (sometimes referred to interchangeably also in some literature as Yurak or more generally as Samoyed), are a wide-spread Samoyedic-speaking people of northern Siberia, inhabiting a traditional range from roughly the Mezen River in the west to the Pyasina River (westernmost tributaries) in the east, broadly encompassing the areas of northernmost northwest Siberia south of the Kara Sea and east Barents Sea, including the Arctic islands as far north as Novaya Zemlya (see also the description below under 'Samoyeds'). Nenets peoples inhabit both tundra and tiaga across this expansive region. As such, they are divided (by dialect and subsistence economy) into the so-called 'Tundra' and 'Forest' Nenets. They remain seasonally-mobile reindeer pastoralists who have also traditionally utilized a variety of terrestrial animals, birds and fishes across the diverse ecological niches that they inhabit, from taiga to tundra to the Arctic coast, including sea-ice hunting. This being said, Prokof'yeva (1964) notes that their primary subsistence staple was reindeer, followed closely by fish for those with fewer reindeer. Social structure followed a patrilineal, highly-fractionated clan structure, and each clan maintained territorial and seasonal herding grounds.

Animism (yes): Animism is attested to by Haakanson and Jordan (2011, 164), Habek (2011, 281), Hajdú (1963, 32), and Prokof'yeva, the latter stating concisely that "In the religious beliefs of the Nentsy an important part was played by traces of primitive animistic world outlook. The elements, mountains, hills, rivers, lakes and so on, were believed by the Nentsy to have their own owner spirits" (Prokof'yeva 1964, 564).

Totemism (supported, yes): Hajdú mentions totem animal-related food taboos among the Nenet, stating "They eat the meat of practically all animals, with the exception of totem animals" (Hajdú 1963, 13), implying a recognition of totemic traditions. Prokof'yeva describes a clan system in which "…clans were united into phratries; marriages were not concluded within the phratries," and describes how – although dramatically fragmented across time and space – clans retained notions of mythical progenitors (Prokof'yeva 1964, 560). Addressing this, Hajdú offers broadly of Samoyed religion that:

> Special reverence toward the clan forefathers is a consequence of the cult of the dead. The forefather is usually depicted as having an animal shape. The particular animal ancestor from which the members of a clan originate was formerly a totem animal and was taboo. It was forbidden to kill the animal, to eat its meat, or to utter its name (Hajdú 1963, 33).

Rebirth Eschatology (no): Hajdú implies that there was no direct rebirth concept among the Samoyedic peoples in general, describing that:

> The spirits of the dead are also included among the lesser spirits, and thus they too are worshipped. According to Samoyed belief, a man consists of body, soul, and a shadow-soul. When a person dies, his soul leaves his body, but his shadow-soul or spirit – which accompanies him and protects him throughout his life – survives, and continues to live in the other world. The ghosts (shadow-souls) of famous shamans become *tādebćo*; because of this, idols are made in the image of deceased shamans (Nenets *ηytƐrma*), and are treated with superstitious reverence (Hajdú 1963, 33).

Perspectivism (spirit) and (animal): Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no reference to perspectival concepts as defined for our study.

Netsilik

The Netsilik, or Netsilingmiut, are an Inuit people inhabiting the region comprising the easternmost quarter of the Kitikmeot Region of northern Nunavut, Canada, roughly centered on the Rae Isthmus, but their mobile range expanded across a vast area "from Committee Bay in the east to Victoria Strait to the west, and from Bellot Strait in the north to Garry Lake to the south" (Balikci 1984, 415). The Netsilik were traditionally highly mobile hunters, utilizing the sea-ice for hunting of seals and polar bear and for ice-fishing. During the summer they hunted migrating caribou on the tundra. Like the Iglulik described above, the Netsilik retained a high flexibility of both mobility and group composition, with bilaterally related groups of families and kin banding together into small groups and coming together for communal seasonal activities (Image 3) and ceremonies, but otherwise remaining in small family or kinship-related units with significant autonomy. Shamanism played a similar role in Netsilik life as it did among the Iglulik, with shamans both respected and feared for their supernatural powers in relation to spirits and the spiritworld as well as with sorcery.

Animism (yes): Both Balikci (1970) and Rasmussen (1931) discuss a diversity of animistic concepts, and describe them throughout their observations among the Netsilik. Balikci writes that:

> The Netsilik believed that both the vast, cold universe and their individual camps were

inhabited by supernatural beings of many different kinds. Most important were the human souls, of which there were three species: personal souls, name souls, and ghosts of deceased men and women. In addition, people were surrounded by amulet spirits with important protective powers. Animals also had souls, some incarnated and some free floating and ghost-like (Balikci 1970, 198).

Totemism (no): Neither Balikci (1970) nor Rasmussen (1931) make any reference to totemic reckoning among the Netsilik, and to this subject Balikci states simply that "There were no lineages or clans, no institutionalized chiefs or formal government" (Balikci 1970, xv).

Image 3. A group of Netsilik Inuit collectively spearing fish in a stone fish weir. During summer, at productive resource acquisition locales multiple loosely affiliated social groups congregated to hunt, fish, and engage in social and ceremonial engagements. These conglomerations of various social units then splintered into smaller, highly-mobile family- and kin-based bands as the season ended. Archives of the National Museum of Denmark, used with permission.

Rebirth Eschatology (supported): Balikci relays the concept of name-soul rebirth among the Netsilik:

> Quite distinct from the ordinary human souls were the name souls. Personal names were thought among the Netsilik to possess a personality of their own characterized by great power and a distinct ability to protect the name bearer from any misfortune. In fact they acted as guardian spirits, highly beneficial to humans (Balikci 1970, 199).

Importantly, the name-soul was but one of multiple souls that a person possessed, and the other souls could achieve various eternal existences after death, but the name-soul was reborn. Rasmussen points out that the Netsilik conceived of multiple afterlife options for souls, including cyclical rebirth for name-souls as well as existence in a possible afterlife:

> As soon as a person dies the soul leaves the body. It continues to live in the image of that person, except that it journeys to the eternal hunting grounds.... But if the death taboo is broken, the soul is turned into…i.e. an evil spirit. In that case the soul of the dead person

does not go to the land of the dead at all, but stays somewhere at the place that is called manErAq. which is a term for the surface of the earth where men live. And then this soul, which has been prevented from going to the eternal hunting grounds by people's breach of taboo, does all it can to persecute those that are to blame for its life after death having been ruined... a name had its own particular soul acting quite independently of the body's soul, and this soul is for the benefit of all those who have the name (Rasmussen 1931, 215; see also Balikci 1970, 199).

Perspectivism (spirit) and (animal): Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no reference to perspectival concepts as defined for our study.

Ojibwa

The Northern Ojibwa (also in many ways synonymous with the Saulteaux, as well as closely related with neighboring Cree and Chippewa-Cree groups, among others) are one of many affiliated Anishinaabe peoples of the greater Great Lakes region. They speak an Algonquian language with regional dialects and traditionally ranged widely across the subarctic woodlands south and west of Hudson Bay. Both linguistically and in many cultural respects, they share similarities with other Algonquian peoples. Prior to colonial intrusions they practiced a hunting-focused lifeway that included a broad seasonal range of prey. Hallowell's work, which is most commonly referenced in relation to the Northern Ojibwa, focused specifically on the Ojibwa of the Berens River in the Lake Winnipeg area (Hallowell 1955). Traditionally, they were highly mobile, band oriented, hunter-gatherers. The concept of individual spiritual power (*manito·hke·win*; Rogers and Taylor 1981, 233) was central to Ojibwa cosmology and religion, and those with exceptional power, acquired through guardian spirits, dreams and visions, could become respected and feared shamans, capable of both healing and harmful sorcery.

Animism (yes): Hallowell states that the Ojibwa were not animists in the Tylorian sense. But he also notes that an individual is made up of three entities: soul, body, and ghost or shadow, paradoxically describing Tylorian animism (Hallowell 1960, 24). Similarly, Rogers and Taylor refer to five different shamanic professions and to the Ojibwa concept of manito'hke'win (Rogers & Taylor 1981, 233) but do not make direct reference to animism as such. Jenness observes that "To the Ojibwa…all objects have life, and life is synonymous with power, which may be directed for…good or ill. Just as man's power comes from his intelligence, his soul, so does the power of the animal, tree, and stone" (Jenness 1935, 21). Relatedly, Hallowell and Brown describe of notions of the soul(s) that:

> For the Ojibwa no such sharp dichotomy exists, although they do not confuse waking life with sleep. What they do accept is the equivalence of all experience known to the self so far as memory, reflective thought, and conduct are concerned. This equivalence is possible because for them, the body is not a necessary condition for experience; the locus of personal identity and experience is the soul, which may become detached from the body (Hallowell & Brown 1991, 85).

See also the point made in the citation from Pedersen (2001, 414) in the entry for the Iroquois League [all emphases ours]. Lantis provides further elucidation of a perception of the world as filled with anima, agency and intentionality in diverse phenomena in her discussion of manitos and guardian spirits, noting:

> In the world-view provided by Ojibwa religion and magic, there is neither stick nor stone that is not animate and charged with potential hostility to men…. The numerous manitos, of fairly equal rank, appeared as spirit prototypes of plants, birds, beasts, elemental forces, and life circumstances such as Puberty and Motherhood. They included useful trees like cedar and birch; certain roots, plants and berries; hummingbird, woodpecker, arctic owl, golden eagle, baldheaded eagle (the last three being Thunderbirds), hawk, loon, lynx, sturgeon, beaver, moose, otter, deer, wolf, black bear, caribou, turtle; and the sun, moon, thunder, lightning, meteoric stones, and winds of the cardinal points. The seasons might be personalized as supernatural (Lantis 1968, 21f).

Totemism (yes): While sociopolitical units seem only to have been designated during short-term encounters between bands (such as at communal seasonal fishing or trading points) and clan designations, where there were any, were not totemic in the strictest sense, we literally get the word 'totem' from the Ojibwa term for their clans, which were named for animals (e.g., Lévi-Strauss 1969b, 18-23). This is also well illustrated throughout Bishop's (1974) discussion of Ojibwa social structure. However, like, e.g., among the Buryat, Yukaghir and Khanty, the animal terms used to describe clan affiliations – 'doodem' (sic) 'totem' – do not appear (at least in the literature) to be intrinsically ontological in nature, but rather consanguinal designators, which in turn serve to enforce exogamy. From an ontological perspective as discussed here, an individual would not likely consider themselves or others to be a 'crane'-, 'bear'-, 'catfish'-, 'martin'-, or 'loon'-person. Rather, clan names designated the groups as such, but individuals were very much understood flexibly by their own merit and idiosyncrasies.

Rebirth Eschatology (no): Hallowell states that:

> …the possibility of reincarnation is extant; but it remains almost wholly unelaborated…. Reincarnation is also cited when a child is found to have a few gray hairs. People will say that it is some old man or woman who has been born again.... But no identification is made with any particular individual, and the linkage with the spirit of the dead therefore remains extremely vague (Hallowell 1955, 170).

And, see also the Jenness quote given above under the entry for animism.

Perspectivism (spirit) (yes): Hallowell (1960) applies his concept of *other-than-human persons* to numerous examples of spirits and other non-human non-animal forms. In fact, the very notion that most things might be considered unconscious is epistemologically void from Ojibwa conceptions of the universe, e.g., Hallowell relates that:

> …it would be an error to say that the Ojibwa 'personify' natural objects. This would imply that, at some point, the sun was first perceived as an inanimate, material thing. There is, of course, no evidence for this. The same conclusion applies over the whole area of their cognitive orientation towards the objects of their world (Hallowell 1960, 29).

He continues that, implicitly and across the board, entities and phenomena "may have anthropomorphic characteristics without being conceived as a human being" (Hallowell 1960, 29). Landes also informs us that in some peculiar cases, a shaman might even consider that he had transcended humanity, and himself actually become a supernatural creature (i.e., a manito or spirit-force) (Landes 1968, 11). This possibility suggests that the delimitation between the social lives of spirits and humans (at least shamans) was remarkably blurred.

Perspectivism (animal) (yes): Hallowell is quite descriptive throughout his work on this concept, noting examples of perspectival reckoning, i.e., he writes:

> Whether human or animal in form or name, the major characters in the myths behave like people, though many of their activities are depicted in a spatio-temporal framework of cosmic, rather than mundane, dimensions. There is 'social interaction' among them and between them and *änícinábek*.... [W]e find that in everyday life interaction with non-human entities of the animate class are only intelligible on the assumption that they possess some of the attributes of 'persons' (Hallowell 1960, 26-34).

This is further illustrated in Hallowell's (1976) extended discussion of dreams and conceptions of other-than-human persons. Landes also provides a tantalizing description suggesting (again at least for a powerful shaman with a powerful guardian-manito) the blurring of differences between humans, animals and spirits:

> In time the visionary introjected the qualities attributed to his manito guardian, who might be a super-deer, or super-moose, or super-bear, or some other. In this mystic identification with the guardian, partly revealed in sacred observances that included tabus (*sic*), mimetic enactments, and kinship address during public invocations, the visionary saw his winter solitude as the solitude of a woodland manito animal. Nights he would leave his human shape on his bed to stalk the country in the guardian animal's shape (Landes 1968, 10).

Penobscot

Traditionally, the Penobscot occupied the region of what is now northern Maine in the northeastern United States, specifically in villages along the Penobscot River. They were (and are) the southernmost of the Eastern Algonquian Wabanaki peoples (being the Abenaki, Malecite [or Maliseet], Micmac [or Mi'kmaq], Passamaquoddy, and the Penobscot). They were primarily semi-sedentary hunter-fisher-gatherers. The region is characterized by dense mixed deciduous and evergreen forests with numerous lakes and streams. Summers are short, and followed by cold winters that produce high accumulations of snow. Rivers and lakes are bound in ice typically from December to April. Generally speaking, the peoples making up the various Wabanaki bands share many cultural features. Speck observes that "with the Algonkian north of the St. Lawrence, the Penobscot present close similarities both in positive and negative respects; particularly noteworthy in social organization, religion, decorative art, shamanism, artifacts, and economic forms" (Speck 1940, 24).

Animism (yes): Johnson (1943) describes shamanism among the Penobscot (among others), but makes no revelation as to the nature of beliefs in spirits or souls beyond the conceptual existence within the traditions of guardian or helper-spirits associated

with shamanry. Speck mentions offerings made at springs to local spirits (Speck 1940, 196), and notes that "The formal divisions of time were, like other natural phenomena, regarded as spiritual personifications, especially the seasons of the year, which also figure in mythology" (Speck 1940, 261). Elsewhere, he observes that, among the Penobscot, 'true' wampum beads were referred to with a plural suffix, usually indicative of animate things; he states:

> The plurals of the terms are interesting. We have here a case of inconsistency which is fairly common in Algonkian, that inanimate objects are given the plural suffix (-ak, -αk, -ik) which properly belongs to nouns in the animate. This is true of Penobscot, Abenaki, Malecite, and Passamaquoddy only as applied to true wampum.... An explanation of this usage, according to Brinton's animistic way of looking at things, might be sought for in an assumed tendency towards the personification of sacred objects (Speck 1919, 6f).

Although, to this he immediately (and dismissively) voices doubt, suggesting that "This, however, strikes me as being altogether too rationalistic for the native mind".

Totemism (yes): Speck describes a non-restrictive totemic social structure for the Penobscot that was centered around patriarchal family bands that "...also held associations with particular animals whose figures were adopted nominally as their emblems" (Speck 1940, 203), and descent was claimed from special animals and ancestral family heroes (Speck 1940, 208f). He suggests this loose-yet-intimate association to certain animals within the social complex resembles what Haddon described as the "game totem". Speck describes the developmental trajectory of such traditions in his discussion of the "Origins of the Bear Family" (Speck 1940, 218). Snow notes the presence of totemic traditions, at least evident during the early 1800's, writing, e.g.:

> Attean belonged to a moiety composed of families with forest animals as their totems…. The families were the patrilineal descendants of ancient family bands where social and territorial functions had grown with the rise of the fur trade and village nucleation to the point that they assumed many of the features of clans (Snow 1978, 145).

Rebirth Eschatology, Perspectivism (spirit) and *(animal)*: Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no reference to rebirth or perspectival concepts as defined for our study.

Potawatomi

The Potawatomi are an Algonquian-speaking people whose traditional territory comprised the areas surrounding the southeast of Lake Michigan. During the early colonial period this expanded to include much of the areas south and west of the lake as well in what is now Illinois and Wisconsin. Overall, their territory and affiliation with neighboring groups appears to have been rather fluid. The Potawatomi were residentially mobile by season, settling between forests and prairie where they practiced horticulture, principally of maize, but also squash, beans and tobacco, which was supplemented by hunting, fishing and gathering. During the fall and winter, the larger villages broke up into smaller hunting and fishing groups, and moved into the many sheltered stream and river valleys of the region.

Animism (yes): Numerous aspects of the natural world possessed anima to the Potawatomi, who attest human agency to celestial bodies, weather phenomena and diverse animals and spirits. Huron H. Smith, quoting an early Jesuit missionary, Christian Hoecken [1847], observed:

> …they recognize no purely spiritual divinity; believing that the sun is a man, and the moon is his wife; that snow and ice are also a man, who goes away in the spring and comes back in the winter; that the evil spirit is in adders, dragons and other monsters; that the crow, the kite, and some other birds are genii, and speak just as we do; and that there are even people among them that understand the language of birds, as some understand a little that of the French. They moreover believe that the people of the departed govern the fishes in the lake; and thus from earliest times they have held the immortality and even the metempsychosis of the souls of dead fishes, believing that they pass into other fishes' bodies. Therefore, they never throw their bones into the fire, for fear that they may offend these souls, so that they will cease to come into their nets…. They hold in very special veneration a certain fabulous animal which they have never seen except in dreams, and which they call 'Missibizi', acknowledging it to be a great genius and offering it sacrifices in order to obtain good sturgeon fishing. They also say that the little pebbles of copper which they find at the bottom of the water in the lake, or in the rivers emptying into it, are the riches of the gods who dwell in the depths of the earth…. They hold that there is a great and excellent genius master of all the rest, who made heaven and earth, and who dwells they say in the East...

Skinner also relates of Potawatomi religion that it "harks back to those archaic eastern Algonkian manitous, Fire, Water, and the Sea, with the gods of the four Cardinal points, and a great controlling deity, the Great Spirit" (Skinner 1923, 11). To this, Keating states that "One of the strongest facts in corroboration of their entertaining a belief in futurity and the immortality of the soul or spirit, is, that they all believe in ghosts or phantoms" (Keating 1825, 109). Elsewhere in Keating's account we are told that Wennebea – the expedition's Sauk (a close neighbor of the Potawatomi inhabiting the upper peninsula of Lake Michigan) informant – made a distinction between 'soul' and 'spirit' holding "the former being probably, in his opinion, nothing else but the principle of vitality; its seat is in the heart; *all animals are gifted with souls*, as they are endowed with vitality" (Keating 1825, 232; emphasis ours). But, Keating also describes that Metea, the expedition's Potawatomi informant claimed to have no belief whatsoever in the concept of a 'soul' (Keating 1825, 107). Thus, there is some conflict which is important to note, since it illuminates the very different ideas and beliefs that may be garnered from individual informants in non-ethnographic contexts (we should note that Keating's account is not an ethnographic one but an expedition account, and should thus not be taken as an account specifically undertaken to gather accurate or authentic cultural data).

Totemism (yes): Clifton mentions at least a few totemic traditions (Clifton 1978, 729), and Skinner provides a detailed overview of the social organization of the totemic clan system among the Potawatomi (Skinner 1923, 16-30). Clifton describes that "The corporate property of each local clan was more supernatural than corporeal…. The clan also 'owned' ancestral names and the powers associated with them, various ritual

goods, and the vision powers of its members" (Clifton 1978,730). Clan kinship associations with animals and other natural phenomena were present during the proto-contact era but quickly dissolved. In point of this, Clifton notes that "By 1800 the idea of clan kinship with an animal was gone" (Clifton 1978, 731), but, clearly in prehistory these delineations existed, e.g, "the snow, the rabbit, and the men". However, this is complicated by the discussion on 'clans', where it is noted that "Keating went on to determine that the totemic group did not involve belief in kinship with an ancestral animal, that the clans were organized patrilineally and exogamously" (Clifton 1978, 732f).

Rebirth Eschatology (unsupported, but questionable): Skinner provides that:

> It was difficult to get a coherent account of the Potawatomi belief concerning the other world and the journey thither. It is known however, that they think that the human body has but one soul or spirit and not several…. It is thought the souls of the departed go to a happy world, following the trail of the dead which leads over the Milky Way into the western heavens to a land which is controlled by Tcibiábos, the brother of the culture hero, Wi'sakä. It is thought the souls of the wicked cannot escape from the grave for a number of years, and that murderers never arrive in the other world (Skinner 1923, 52).

However, Clifton hints at a form of name-soul belief in practice, as names were given to children at a very young age and were drawn from a pool of ancestor names associated with a clan-specific ceremonial bundle, stating:

> As a child, each Potawatomi received one of his several names and part of his personal stock of 'spirit-power' from the clan, for an inventory of names of deceased ancestors was part of the clan's property. Thus placed, the individual was bound into a system of social relationships with clan mates and members of other clans... The name a child received from his clan was a personal one appropriate to the clan eponym (Clifton 1978, 733).

But burial practices are suggestive of belief in an otherworld in that "...burials were elaborate, the corpse oriented in an east-west direction, the body interred in full finery with an array of grave goods, tools, weapons, food, and other necessities for the journey to the spirit world" (Clifton 1978, 733). Also, Keating gives discussion on the belief in souls and what happens to them upon death in a number of cases, concluding that there were notions of a positive and plentiful afterlife for the good and a negative, wanting afterlife for the bad, but no explicit option of return (Keating 1824, 107-109). Thus, we find that despite the clan naming tradition that hints at some notion of a name-soul connection, no concrete form of rebirth is indicated.

Perspectivism (spirit) and (animal): Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no reference to perspectival concepts as defined for our study.

Rock Cree

The Rock Cree are an Algonquian-speaking group principally inhabiting the boreal forests of northern Canada generally north and west of Lake Superior. As Brightman clearly describes in his discussion of Missinippi Rock Cree hunters, designations among the various divisions of Cree peoples are recognized internally in local and regional scopes but are also more complex and contextual social categories delimiting

widely dispersed groups of Cree peoples with many aspects of a shared culture (Brightman 1993, 4-6; the same can be said for many of the cultural groups described herein). For example, the Rock Cree are a division of the Western Woods Cree (along with the Swampy Cree and Thickwoods Cree), and the Rock Cree described by Brightman were those specifically inhabiting northern Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and even more specifically within the Churchill River drainage west of Hudson Bay. Like other Cree groups such as the Western Woods Cree, Westmain Cree, Eastern Cree as well as their Montagnais, Naskapi, Northern Ojibwa and Salteaux neighbors, they traditionally were hunters and trappers ranging widely across the vast subarctic forests of northernmost North America. Traditional cosmology and religious ideas among the Cree were highly animistic and tied directly to hunting lifeways in similar fashion to many discretely hunting-focused societies, e.g., animals were treated with deep respect both in life and in the treatment of their remains lest hunters become unlucky and unsuccessful with devastating consequences.

Animism (yes): Brightman, describing the concept of *pawākan*, states that "Crees ascribe animateness, self-awareness, intelligence, and sometimes covert humanoid characteristics to many nonhuman beings and objects" (Brightman 1993, 77). He also discusses Cree notions of the individual or personal soul, *ahcāk*, that is "a possession or component of the self" which is experienced through dreams and may even be stolen from the body through sorcery (Brightman 1993, 96).

Totemism (no): Brightman describes Cree group designations as predominantly toponymic rather than totemic as such (Brightman 1993, 5).

Rebirth Eschatology: Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no reference to rebirth concepts as defined for our study.

Perspectivism (spirit) (yes): Brightman implies the hunter-hunted nature to Cree conceptions, such that the spirit of the windigo hunts humans as humans hunt animals: "the *witiko* is sometimes represented as confusing them and perceiving humans as moose and beavers" (Brightman 1993, 136-139). He also notes how, "in Cree society, where religious thought recurrently problematizes categorial distinctions not only between humans and animals but between humans and perhaps all other entities in the universe" (Brightman 1993, 178).

Perspectivism (animal) (yes): Brightman provides that "…animals share human *itātisiwin*: 'They come to be… like human'" (see above quotation from 1993, 178f), and throughout his work he extensively lays out the many and dynamic ways in which animals and humans interact as social beings. This perspectival worldview is one in which animals, humans, and 'humanoid' beings were known to have lived alike lives (in fact, before humans existed, animals used fire, possessed speech and clothing, etc.) in the earliest times and is well summed up in Brightman's observation of Cree symbology that:

> The Cree signs *iðiniw* 'human' and *pisiskiw* 'animal' and the many signs discriminating modes of interaction between them cannot readily be arrayed as discretely bounded categories in sets of logically interrelating propositions…. The animal is different from me, and yet it is like me, as much like me as its ancestors were in the earliest time of the world

(Brightman 1993, 35f).

Indeed, this mythical early time (accounts of which are referred to as *ācaðōhkīwin*) presents animals as cultural beings and implies this conceptually to modern animals as well, as Brightman describes that:

> Animals are represented as talking, making fires, arranging marriage, living in lodges, exchanging food, making dried meat, practicing sorcery, and using such manufactures as toboggans. Since human beings were not yet in the world, these myths implicitly suggest that Cree designs for living are to some degree carried over from the animals who originated them. At the same time, the myths are strongly etiological: features of the appearance and behavior of modern animals are explained as resulting from the experiences of the prototypes (Brightman 1993, 41).

Samoyeds

As a cultural and linguistic designation 'Samoyeds' actually represent a diverse group of peoples speaking Samoyedic languages, including five distinctive groups (from west to east): the Nenets (Yurak), Enets (Yenisey), the Nganasan (Tavgi) in the north, and the Sel'kup and the Kamas to the south. Some groups also make distinctions between 'forest' and 'tundra' sub-groups, as well as various intragroup tribal affiliations. These similar yet diverse groups occupy an immense swathe of west and central Siberia. To paraphrase Hajdú (1963, 1), their territory comprises the Arctic tundra and forests between the White Sea in the west, extending across the Central Siberian Plain along the Kara and north Arctic Seas east to Khatanga Bay and the Central Siberian Plateau to the eastern base of the Taymyr Peninsula, and stretching from the islands of the Arctic Sea in the north – including Novaya Zemlya – all the way to the Sayan Mountains just north of Mongolia in the south. This is a region so enormous that, as Hamayon points out, "the Samoyeds of Yenisei (or Selkup, 'men of the forest') are culturally closer to their Ugrian neighbors (Xant-Mansi) hunters from the Ob Basin, than they are to the Samoyed reindeer herders of the tundra" (Hamayon 1990, 288; translation ours). Thus, cultural designations are further complicated by close association and assimilation with neighboring groups, e.g., with the Khanty to the west and Dolgan to the east. Overall, the Samoyedic peoples share a subsistence economy based on reindeer pastoralism to varying degrees, supplemented by hunting and fishing (at times with significant reliance on ice-fishing). See also the entries for the Nenec (Nenet, above) and Selkup (Sel'kup, below).

Animism (yes): Popov claims that:

> The basis of the religious outlook of the Nganasans was a set of very primitive preanimistic and animistic beliefs. The Nganasans believed, for example, that even things made by man were alive and could understand human speech. When leaving a sled with products for the winter in the spring, they used to make a short speech to it and promise to bring it fat and meat in the autumn (Popov 1964, 578).

Hajdú also points out that among the Samoyed:

> Men cannot get into direct contact with God, hence, according to the beliefs of all the Samoyed peoples, there are zoomorphic mediatory spirits between the gods and men.

They are called *tādepćo* by the Nenets, *Ios* by the Sel'kup, *samady* by the Enets, and *damada* by the Nganasan. Only the shamans are able to get in touch with them, and through them, the shamans are able to detect the will of the gods. The Samoyeds suppose that there are divine and spiritual beings in the manifestations and phenomena of nature, in lakes, in rivers, in mountain peaks or in any other conspicuous formation of nature. Some of these beings are malevolent (e.g., the Nenets water spirit), and their anger can be propitiated only by frequent sacrifices (Hajdú 1963, 32f).

Totemism (yes): Hajdú mentions food-avoidance rules based on totem animals among the Samoyed and in relation to ancestor cults, observing that:

Special reverence toward the clan forefathers is a consequence of the cult of the dead. The forefather is usually depicted as having an animal shape. The particular animal ancestor from which the members of a clan originate was formerly a totem animal and was taboo. It was forbidden to kill the animal, to eat its meat, or to utter its name (Hajdú 1963, 13-33).

Dolgikh also offers evidence that describes a Samoyedic totemic clan system, writing:

The tribute register for 1619 for Mangazeysk uyezd was preserved only in the form of an "abstract," made by the order of Muller. Obviously Muller's clerks made an error in copying, taking the expression "Eagle clan" [Orlovago rodu] for "Eagle village" [Orlova gorodu]. During the whole of the 17th century there is no single case in which villages are mentioned in the Mangazeysk uyezd for the aboriginal population. Muller annotated this comment as follows: "It is unknown where this village is located, as at the present there has been preserved no sign of its existence." Probably there was no "Eagle village." In 1619 only the "Pyasida Samoyeds" paid tribute in Pyasida, i.e., those Samoyeds we propose as the ancestors of the Ngomde or "Eagle" clan. Very probably both Nikifor Starodubets and Smirniy Ivanov collected tribute from the same people but called them by different names: one by the territorial, official name, the other by the clan, totemic name (Dolgikh 1962a, 253).

Rebirth Eschatology (supported): Popov relates that "The Nganasan believed in the transmigration of souls…. [A]fter death a person continued to lead his life in a 'lower world' similar to the earthly life, while his soul returned to the master of souls and then reentered a child during birth" (Popov 1964, 579). So, it appears that there was a concept of afterlife as well as rebirth. But it should be noted, as mentioned previously, that Hajdú also implies that there was no direct rebirth concept among the Samoyedic peoples in general (Hajdú 1963, 33). Here we have included rebirth eschatology as 'supported' possibly within the broader category of the Samoyedic peoples in some ways among some groups, but the reader will note that we have excluded it from the more specific entries for the Nenec and Selkup.

Perspectivism (spirit) and (animal): Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no reference to perspectival concepts as defined for our study.

Selkup

The Selkup (or Sel'kups, also sometimes referred to in early literature as Ostyaks, Ostyak-Samoyeds or simply as Samoyeds) are a Samoyedic people traditionally inhabiting the expansive taiga of the Ob River Basin, with territories on numerous tributaries

of the Ob such as the Tym, Ket' and Parabel' rivers, as well as across adjacent tracts of forest tundra. They share linguistic affiliation with other Samoyedic-speaking groups farther north, but Prokof'yeva notes that they are "similar in economy, everyday life and culture to their neighbors, the Khants and Kets, rather than to the northern Samoyedic peoples, the Nentsy, Entsy and Nganasans" (Prokof'yeva 1964, 587). Traditionally, they were hunter-fishers utilizing a broad spectrum of large and small game both hunted and trapped, and the northernmost groups also relied on some rudimentary reindeer herding. See also the above entry for the Samoyed more generically and relatedly that for the Nenec.

Animism (yes): See Hajdú's (1963, 32) references already given in the section on the 'Nenec'. Maloney refers to the Sel'kup as 'shamanists' and describes that:

> An important concept and value in Sel'kup traditional thought was the establishment and maintenance of good relations with the natural world. The key to these adjustments was communication which was established by means of shamans' mediation. Failure to observe the appropriate social and ritual practices could have dire consequences for success in hunting and other activities…. All three tiers of the Sel'kup universe are inhabited by different groups of spirits (male and female, good or bad and anthropo- or zoomorphic): local spirits; social or household spirits; clan spirits; and universal spirits. For all Sel'kups – at least until the early 1970s – space was not homogeneous; some places were qualitatively different from others.

> Concepts of sacred and profane…are useful points of departure in the development of more contextual understandings of Sel'kup world-view, and in particular, the importance of human communication with the sentient forces that inhabit the landscape.

> …Living nature was personified in the form of special local spirits whose number was limitless in the same way that nature has no limits (Maloney 2011, 119-121).

Totemism (yes): Prokof'yeva provides that totemism and reverence for the clan forefather, imagined as having an animal shape, are behind a tamed animal cult, stating that:

> The phratrial and clan names such as "Eagle," "Nutcracker," "Bear," "Swan," "Crane," "Woodcock" show the totemistic beliefs existing at one stage among the Sel'kups… among the Northern Sel'kups, the nutcracker was called the brother of all members of the Nutcracker clan and the eagle was called the brother of all the members of the Eagle clan (Prokof'yeva 1964, 601f).

Prokof'yeva also contends that "The custom of rearing these birds is explained by survivals of the totemistic beliefs of the Sel'kups" (Prokof'yeva 1964, 591). Hajdú further refers to an "ancient world view" among the Sel'kup that included distinctly totemistic concepts (Hajdú 1963, 23; see also 41), and Maloney presents at least features of ancestor cults which may also reflect totemic ontological aspects (Maloney 2011, 122).

Rebirth Eschatology (no): As noted above, Hajdú implies that there was no direct rebirth concept among the Samoyedic peoples in general, describing that:

> The spirits of the dead are also included among the lesser spirits, and thus they too are worshipped. According to Samoyed belief, a man consists of body, soul, and a shadow-soul. When a person dies, his soul leaves his body, but his shadow-soul or spirit – which accompanies him and protects him throughout his life – survives, and continues to live

in the other world. The ghosts (shadow-souls) of famous shamans become *tādebćo*; because of this, idols are made in the image of deceased shamans (Nenets *ŋytƐrma*), and are treated with superstitious reverence (Hajdú 1963, 33).

However, while the designation of 'no' agrees to the absence also observed for the Nenet, we should note that this is in conflict with the 'supported' designation given above for the Samoyed more generally which is qualified by the reference to Popov (1964, 579) relating to the possibility of a concept of a rebirth cycle among the Nganasan.

Perspectivism (spirit) and (animal): Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no clear reference to perspectival concepts as defined for our study. However, Prokof'yeva does note that the Selkup "retained traces of the cult of the bear and believed that the bear had once been a man" (Prokof'yeva 1964, 591) and that at one time, bears had been reared and referred to as family members; but there is no direct observance that bears (or any other animals) were conceptually seen as living human-like social lives or that they perceived themselves as humans and humans as animals in the manner of perspectivism as defined for our study.

Tsimshian

The Tsimshian comprise three basic divisions: the Coast Tsimshian, the Niska, and the Gitksan, inhabiting a territory roughly centered on the modern community of Prince Rupert in northwest British Columbia. Traditional tribal territories extended to the nearby islands of the Hecate Strait to the west (but not including Haida Gwaii), north and east up into the interior reaches of the Skeena River (the territory of the Gitksan), north along the Nass River drainage (the territory of the Niska), and south roughly as far as Price Island and the adjacent coastlines just north of where Queeen Charlotte Sound adjoins the southern end of Hecate Strait. Each of the three primary groups speaks a dialect of the Tsimshian language. Traditional Tsimshian subsistence was based primarily on fishing, supplemented by hunting and gathering. Tsimshian descent reckoning is matrilineal and social structure is clan-based, with each clan beng identified to crest animals and having numerous houses, each possessing hunting and fishing territories as well as rights and privileges to proprietary crests and associated myths, names, ceremonies, etc.

Animism (yes): Halpin and Seguin point out that:

...religious responsibilities included demonstrating respect for animals and spirits...illness, for example, was believed to be at least partially due to spiritual weakness or impurity, and the practices of the shaman marshaled the spiritual resources of the community to strengthen and purify the spirits of the patients (Halpin & Seguin 1990, 279).

Boas offers an account of shamanry in which a soul is rescued from 'the village of the Ghosts' through the use of a 'supernatural helper' (Boas 1916, 324; see also 859). However, this account of the town of ghosts is perhaps more telling of the nature of Tsimshian cosmology and spirit-afterlife-perspectivism envisioned for the deceased, rather than animism, *per se*. However, Boas also mentions human-animal metempsychosis in relating that a soul's second death (i.e., death in the afterlife) is "their transfer into

cohoes salmon" (Boas 1916, 330). Anima expressed by animals, supernatural creatures and forces, as well as those forces of nature abound through the extensive corpus of Tsimshian mythology, e.g., lightning is personified, as is the Devils' club plant (*Oplopanax horridus*), and so too the winds, as are mountains and features of waterways; we are even told of 'hungry' arrows and living canoes and shaman's rattles (Boas 1916, 460-475). Animated objects feature throughout Tsimishian myth, suggesting that they were conceptually not uncommon, as illustrated in the myth of 'Great Shaman', e.g.:

> Inside there were not many people, only a great chief sitting in front of a large fire. He wore his crown of grizzly-bear claws filled with eagle down. Two live rattles were on the ground on each side, and he wore his dancing-apron.... Then the boards for beating time ran in through the door like serpents, and each laid itself on one side of the large fire. Then weasel batons ran along behind the boards...the weasel batons began to beat of themselves, and a skin drum ran ahead and beat of itself (Boas 1916, 332).

There was at least some idea, expressed anecdotally, that individual souls could be transferred between people (Boas 1916, 559f), although in some cases this may only reflect a figure of speech (e.g., Miller 1984, 141). Of non-human souls, at least salmon explicitly possessed them (Boas 1916, 667), and McNeary discusses the 'souls or essences' of animals which must be treated properly (McNeary 1984, 8; and see also below under the category for animal perspectivism).

Totemism (yes): Rosman and Rubel provide concisely that Tsimshian "phratries are exogamic…. They are referred to by animal names and are associated in Tsimshian mythology with animal forms which are also used as crests. These crests may not be exclusive to particular phratries" (Rosman & Rubel 1971, 10).

Rebirth Eschatology (yes): Miller describes that "...immortality of souls rested on a belief in cycles of reincarnation", and that "in the process, *baa´lx* ('a soul') became reincarnated at birth in people related through women…. Thus freed of one mortal container, the soul was ready to occupy another form and be reincarnated at the birth of the next holder of that particular real name" (Miller (1997, 43f; also, see other references to this point by Miller 1997, 129-157). Kasakoff also notes among the Gitksan that "A woman's grandparents are reincarnated in her children" (Kasakoff 1984, 82).

Perspectivism (spirit) (supported): As mentioned under the animism category, Boas offers an account of shamanry in which a soul is rescued from "the village of the Ghosts" through the use of a "supernatural helper" (Boas 1916, 324), but we receive no indication that the eponymous ghosts or spirits perceived of themselves as living, within a perspectival framework as understood here. However, illustrative of both spirit and animal perspectivism, McNeary provides that both animals and 'supernaturals' possess distinctly human-like agency, perceptions of their world, and indeed lived experiences:

> The myths of the Northwest Coast in particular tell how animals, sky beings, underwater monsters, and a variety of other creatures and personages live in houses of wooden planks where they receive guests, give feasts, and perform songs and dances…the appearance of physical reality depends on the point of view of the perceiver – a concept…implicit in at least some Tsimshian tales (McNeary 1984, 3).

Perspectivism (animal) (yes): See the above entry on spirit perspectivism. As but one example, Miller refers to the Tsimshian concept that salmon "share language, society, and habitat with humans. When salmon left their villages beyond the sea…they left their villages as humans paddling canoes, but capsized to assume salmon form…their souls returned to the villages as humans" (Miller 1997, 43). Citing diverse examples, McNeary gives further proof from Tsimishian mythology illustrating the human-like social lives of animals and their equivalence in interactions with humans, e.g.:

> …skins may be seen as the "form souls" of animals…. While the animal has an undifferentiated human form underneath its "garment" of skin, the pelt embodies the characteristics that mark the creature's particular species…. Animals may transform themselves at will into human form…. Whether the mechanism of transformation is by taking off a skin or by a magical and instantaneous change of shape, the implication is that an animal can physically change to human form and back again…. [P]eople also enter into more intimate relationships with animals…. They may visit the animal villages, and even have animal lovers, wives, or husbands. In doing so, people may actually make the transition to the hidden worlds of animals (McNeary 1984, 8f).

Further, this dynamic expression of perspectivism underlying human-animal transformations is perhaps no better described when he writes that there is "one more way of thinking about animal-human transformations: that is, that the transformations do not involve physical change at all, but are matters of perception" (McNeary 1984, 11).

Tungus

As already mentioned above, the Tungus, or rather the many closely-related Tungusic peoples reflect diverse and wide-spread cultural and ecological contexts (see, e.g., Shirokogoroff 1966, 13-95), spanning nearly a quarter of all of Siberia. Shirokogoroff sums this up well, observing that:

> The Northern Tungus form a part of the Tungus in general, but distinct from the Southern Tungus, the best known of which are the Manchus. The term "Northern Tungus" covers linguistic similarity, either past or present, between groups, for among the Northern Tungus, from the anthropological and ethnographical point of view, several distinct groups may be distinguished…. At present, the Northern Tungus are met within the basin of the three great rivers; namely, the Enissy [Yenisey], the Lena, and the Amur River. Beyond these basins they live east of the Yablonov (Stanovoi) Mountains as far as Kamchatka (Shirokogoroff 1966, 1f).

As Descola (2013, 368) cites in particular Anisimov's (1963a) discussion relating to the Evenks as already mentioned (the terms 'Tungus' and 'Evenks' are principally synonymous in this case; and the reader is directed to the entry for the Evenks given above as complementary to the information provided here), we will draw from sources on the Northern Tungus groups and neighboring Tungusic peoples, such as the Lamut (Evens), Orochi, Udegey, and others in the southeastern sector of the Russian Far East, in an attempt to gain a broad understanding of the ontological features here in question among the Tungus more generally.

Animism (yes): Jochelson states that:

> The modern Tungus are Christians, Lamaists, and pagans (shamanists)…. But, for the

most part, these baptized Tungus may still be regarded as Christians in name only. Their nomadic life seldom brings them into contact with their priests, and though they like the church ceremonies and rituals, their religious concepts and psychology remain shaman-istic (Jochelson 1928, 41).

Writing of the closely-related Evens (Lamut), Levin and Vasil'yev note that "There was a cult of the 'masters' of nature and the elements – the taiga, fire, water, and so on, and also a peculiar cult of the sun, to which sacrifices of reindeer were made" (Levin & Vasil'yev 1964, 681). In his discussion on the concept of 'animus' among the Northen Tungus, Shirokogoroff concedes that "the Tungus philosophical conception may be called 'animism'" (Shirokogoroff 1935, 50f). Sasaki writes of the Udege (a variant spelling of 'Udegey') that:

…the social world of the Udeges consists not only of the human collective, but also ex-tends to forest animals and plants, fish and sea mammals, some 'inhabited' geographical elements like mountains, cliffs and rocks, celestial bodies like the sun, the moon and other stars and constellations, natural phenomena like wind, thunder and storm, and invisible spirits that cause epidemics, diseases, disasters and misfortunes…. The Udege spirit world is rich and complex (Sasaki 2011, 264).

Popov relates of the neighboring Dolgan that they:

…retained their old animistic beliefs. Deities and spirits were divided into three catego-ries (the same as for the Yakuts): *ichchi*, or incorporeal, invisible beings, who brought to life anything which they entered; *ayyy* or spirits well-disposed towards humans; *abaasy* or spirits hostile towards humans and causing various sicknesses and misfortunes; these lived in the earth and in the underworld. A person was believed to get sick and die be-cause the *abaasy* had stolen his soul and carried it away to the underworld, and then, invading the person, proceeded to eat him. The guardians of the people against the wicked spirits and mediators between humans and spirits were the *oyun* or shamans. The shaman garb and tambourine among the Dolgans were the same as among the Evenks.

In their religion the Dolgans worshiped the so-called *saytaans*. The *saytaans* could take a great variety of forms, for example, a stone of unusual shape or an ugly wild-deer antler. Any object could be a *saytaan* if a shaman commanded a spirit, *ichchi*, to enter it. The *saytaans* were greatly revered both as family and hunting patrons (Popov 1964, 665; italics ours).

Totemism (supported): Ivanov, Smolyak and Levin write that:

The mythology of the Udegeys may be divided into cosmogonic and totemistic myths…. The totemistic myths are connected with the tiger and the bear, and give various versions of the origin of the Udegey tribe. There are also myths devoted to other animals (Ivanov, Smolyak & Levin 1964a, 744).

Similarly, for the Orochi in the same region, Ivanov, Smolyak and Levin suggest some totemistic traditions in that "Legends about the origin of individual clans were often totemistic in character. They attributed clan ancestry to inanimate objects, plants and animals" (Ivanov, Smolyak & Levin 1964b, 757). In support of both animism and a totemic ancestor cult among the Tungus in general, Okladnikov writes that:

At the foundation of the animistic concepts and religious cult among the Tungus, for example, lies the ancestor-cult, although not that of ancestors in general, but that of

shaman-ancestors. The shamanistic pantheon among the Tungus is made up basically of ancestor-spirits who were shamans while on earth (Okladnikov 1970, 163).

Rebirth Eschatology (supported): Shirokogoroff observes that among the Northern Tungus, reincarnation was conceptualized, but it was akin to the more southerly karmic soul cycles, not specifically ancestor-descendant rebirth, per se (Shirokogoroff 1935, 184). However, see Anisimov's (1963b) contention given in the entry above for the Evenks that a sort of totemic reincarnation kept the souls of clan members cycling within the clan.

Perspectivism (spirit) and (animal): Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no reference to perspectival concepts as defined for our study.

Vancouver Island

For Vancouver Island we shall include related information for two societies with traditional territories on the island: the Kwakiutl (Kwakwaka'wakw) in the north and adjacent mainland coastal fjord lands and islands directly northeast of Vancouver Island, and the Nootka (Nuu-chah-nulth) whose traditional territories stretched from Cape Cook south to Sheringham Point as well as to the northernmost section of the Olympic Peninsula in Washington State. While notably distinct cultural groups, the Kwakiutl and Nootka share many commonalities with each other and to other distinctive groups of the Pacific Northwest Coast of North America (e.g., artistic styles and motifs, shamanic and ceremonial practices, matrilineal kinship structures and highly-developed totemic reckoning systems). However, as the reader will glimpse below, there is a remarkable difference even in the worldviews, social structures, and belief systems between these two closely related societies, even with adjacent territories on a single (albeit relatively large) island.

Animism (yes): Drucker describes that the Nootka conceived of numerous spirits:

> To most of them, mountains were objects to be lined up in ranges to locate offshore points, rather than localities to be traversed and known intimately. It is consistent that the woods and mountains were thought to be populated by vast numbers of dangerous and horrendous supernatural beings, while the sea contained fewer and less malignant spirits (Drucker 1951, 151).

This implies animistic conceptions of living nature and natural surroundings and spirits. Further suggestions note nature spirits in abundance as well as owner-spirit concepts in the form of supernatural 'Chiefs'. Of this, Drucker writes:

> The Nootkans were far more interested in the important animal spirits and monsters of their inlets and woods than with any remote deities. There was a belief, common to all the tribes, in the "Four Chiefs" – Above Chief (*hai'lepi ha'wil* or *ha'wilai'ilam*), Horizon Chief (*halsu'is hawii* or *ha'wil su'isai*), Land Chief (hai'ya'a'ai ha'wil or ha'wilume), and Undersea Chief (*halaso's ha'wil* or *hinaso's tee ha'wil*) (Drucker 1951: 152).

These 'Chiefs' they conceived of as being human-like and very active agents in everyday life, with sentience, emotions and certainly agency. The lost souls of humans were also considered exceptionally dangerous, as Drucker notes "Far more feared were the lost human souls, called *puqmīs*" (Drucker 1951, 153). Further animistic concepts

abounded; e.g., we are told that "There was really an infinity of dangerous beings lurking in the woods.... The Souls of Trees were malignant too" (Drucker 1951, 154). For the Kwakiutl, Walens (1981) provides clear descriptions of animism throughout; we are informed that various animals have souls, individuals have multiple souls, and even that humans make up the souls of inhabited spaces, and that objects such as coppers, drums and canoes possess names and souls.

Totemism (yes): Rosman and Rubel describe the Nootka as having a rather flexible, non-totemic lineal descent system (Rosman & Rubel 1971, 69-106). However, for the Kwakiutl of north Vancouver Island and the nearby mainland, Walens describes totemism and its exceptional place in Kwakiutl ontological reckoning in no uncertain terms, stating:

> The relationship between humans and their totemic animals is manifested through the medium of totem poles. These poles relate in graphic form the events of a particular myth specific to the history of the numaym [a cognatic kin group] and thus they encapsulate the collective identity of the numaym. Poles are often raised to commemorate important events, but this commemoration is reflexive – the event validates the continuing relevance and power of the numaym's myth, which in turn give meaning and power to historic events.

> Indeed, the erection of totem poles is required at certain key events in ritual transactions involving the spirits: the selling of coppers, marriages between two chiefly lines, of the building of a house, for example. Here the poles are erected because each of these events is intimately connected with the eternal relationship of humans and animals, a relationship that exists for their mutual benefit in fostering reincarnation, and each event can occur only with the blessing of the spirits. The erection of a pole at these events thus commemorates not the event, but the eternal relationship itself. It is a statement that the relationship still holds firm even though an important social change has occurred, such as a new person becoming chief, or the numaym lising in a different place (Walens 1981, 104).

Rebirth Eschatology (yes): Drucker points out a distinct lack of rebirth beliefs amongst the Nootka:

> Both soul and life simply "went away" when one died. The Northern Nootkans had no notion of an afterworld or Land of the Dead, so far as informants knew, nor any theory as to what happened to a soul (except, of course, souls of twins, who returned to Salmon's Home)…spirits of the dead simply wandered about in this world. The Central tribes believed the spirits of the dead became owls (Drucker 1951, 156f).

However, for the Kwakiutl, Walens (1981) provides numerous examples of rebirth concepts, including specifically-ancestor-to-descendant rebirth as well as name-soul traditions. Mauzé gives examples of the rebirth of souls back into a lineage among the Kwakiutl (largely citing Boas' extensive works) providing that:

> Indeed, the Kwakiutl thought of babies as ancestors who had returned among the living, an event usually presaged by dreams. Proofs of reincarnation are numerous and often related to physical features or specific skills…. [I]n Kwakiutl experience and thought, the reincarnated body bears the imprint of actions taken on the former body as if specific attributes are conveyed between bodies through the channel of the soul…. What is important is that souls return to the common stock of souls of the *numaym* (Boas 1932b, 216),

the *numaym* being the basic social unit in Kwakiutl organization; its name stands for 'people of the same kind.' The immaterial part of the human being is thus part of a substance – a substance of being – which exists before the individual, and a fortiori before the person, and which will survive him. The idea of the soul is thus that of a 'flow' of substance around a closed system, so that at death the soul returns to a stock of substance, owned by the group of which the individual is a member (Mauzé 1994, 182-184).

Walens also provides another excellent description of ancestor-to-descendent rebirth among the Kwakiutl (which also contains hints at aspects of spirit perspectivism as well), reporting that:

The Kwakiutl man (or woman) who has owed his life to the beneficence of a spirit, owes that spirit his own soul. Therefore, upon his death, his soul is carried to the spirit world, where it remains for one lifetime. When its spirit-world body dies, the released soul once again returns to the human world, where it is reincarnated as the person's own grandchild, who has already inherited his grandparent's wealth, eternal names, and privileges. Thus, through cyclic reincarnations, the original ancestors of the Kwakiutl remain alive throughout all time, and when a Kwakiutl maintains that he is an ancestor, he is not speaking metaphorically (Walens 1981, 17).

Perspectivism (spirit): Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no reference to perspectival concepts for spirits as defined for our study. But we recognize that variants of the story of *The Ghost Who Fought with the Great Shaman* (Boas 1916, 859), already mentioned above and which relates of a visit to the Village of Ghosts, where ghosts live lives reflective of the lives of the living, appear across many societies of the Pacific Northwest, and may suggest a form of spirit perspectivism as an underlying idea expressed through myth. The quote by Walens (given above) hints at spirit perspectivism, in that the souls of the dead live out their spirit-lives in villages before returning in death to the world of the living. Despite this, we could find no direct concrete expression or inference to the concept as understood for our purposes here. We must concede that this trait could very reasonably be considered present in the case of the Kwakiutl.

Perspectivism (animal) (yes): Drucker relates perspectivist concepts at least relating to creatures of the sea:

There was an Undersea-world not far off the Vancouver Island shore that everyone knew about, for it was there that the Salmon-people and the Herring-people lived, each tribe occupying half of a great house. These beings lived there "just like people," in human form when they doffed their salmon (or herring) guises, which they put on or took off like robes. With them dwelled the souls of twins. By an extension of the same idea. Whales and Hair Seals were also believed to have houses under the sea, though the entrance to the house of the latter beings was through a cave in a high island…. Wolves were placed in a special category among all the animals, as possessed of great supernatural powers whether in animal guise or, without their skins, in human form. They were a "tribe," and lived in a great house under a mountain.... [T]hey were more likely to be friendly than most spirits (Drucker 1951, 151f).

In the Nootka myth *How Andaokᵘt First Came to This World* we are told that "…there are people there who look like men, but they are not men: they have the souls of animals"

(Boas 1916, 908). For the Kwakiutl, Walens (1981) provides numerous examples of animal-human-animal perspectivism (see Image 4), including the belief that humans were reborn as salmon as part of the metempsychosis of one variant of the rebirth cycle. Further, Boas observes the anecdotal suggestion that animals were perceived of as humans, writing that:

> The many spectators who were sitting on the floor of the great dancing-house, to whom *XimsEhlEhi* told that those who were called were coming – these people sitting on the floor of the great winter dancing-house were the souls of the trees and bushes, and the souls of all the birds and of the small creeping animals, for they are all human beings (Boas 1921, 1220).

Image 4. 'Masked dancers – Qagyuhl.' Kwakiutl dancers wearing animal and spirit masks and costumes for a winter ceremony, with totem poles in the background. The expression of supernatural and theanthropic animals as well as supernatural beings among the Kwakiutl shows how deeply concepts of animism, totemism and perspectivism interweave every aspect of the society's animistic ontological reckoning. Indeed, it is just such masks and the identities that they reflect that led Krause (1931 [2022]) to develop a theory antecedent to perspectivism in which both similar interiority and physicality were conceptually achieved through donning masks or skins, mimesis, and ceremony. Photograph by Edward S. Curtis, 1914. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Edward S. Curtis Collection.

Woods Cree

As already mentioned in the entry for the Rock Cree, the Woods Cree, or better the Western Woods Cree actually comprise three groups: the Rock Cree, the Swampy Cree

(or West Main Cree) and the Thickwoods Cree (or Strongwoods Cree). Their traditional territory spanned the boreal forest, tundra and plains west of Hudson Bay and James Bay all the way to central Alberta, Canada, with the Swampy Cree occupying the east end of the territory, the Rock Cree in the middle and the Thickwoods Cree in the west. Of these divisions, Smith concedes that "…there do not appear to have been significant differences other than those associated with specific subsistence areas" (Smith 1981, 259). Traditional subsistence was based on seminomadic hunting, trapping and fishing, supplemented with limited seasonal gathering of berries.

Animism (yes): For the Western Woods Cree, Smith suggests that religious beliefs are poorly understood (Smith 1981, 263). A Great Spirit (*misi-manito*) was believed in, as was an Evil Spirit (*maci-manitoˑw*), and the cannibal-spirit Wendigo (*wiˑhtikoˑw*). Regarding animism, Smith offers that "Manitous or spirits could inhabit all living things, as well as objects or forces (such as wind and thunder); and many of these were considered animate" (Smith 1981, 263). While he does not discuss 'souls' in such terms, Scott adroitly describes the linguistic, cognitive, and social dictates of an animistic worldview:

> In Cree, there is no word corresponding to our term 'nature'. There is a word *pimaatisiiwin*, 'life', which includes human as well as animal 'persons'. The word for 'persons' *iiyiyuu*, can itself be glossed as 'he lives'. Humans, animals, spirits and some geophysical agents are perceived to have qualities of personhood. All persons act in a reciprocally communicative reality. Human persons are not set over and against a material context of inert nature, but rather are one species of person in a network of reciprocating persons. These reciprocative interactions constitute the events of experience (Scott 1989, 195).

Totemism (no): Socio-territorial affiliations and kinship were flexible, and regional and local bands were highly mobile and adaptable (Smith 1981, 259).

Rebirth Eschatology (no): Smith details burial customs that conform to beliefs in an afterlife and do not suggest rebirth, rather even its antithesis – the soul was actively kept from returning, e.g.:

> ...the corpse was covered by wood; and personal possessions, such as smoking equipment, snowshoes, gun and ammunition, were included in the interment. The dead person's drum and birchbark vessel were attached to the grave or a nearby tree. Following the burial and loud lamentations, the remainder of the day and through the night a silent vigil was kept *against* the return of the deceased's soul (Smith 1981, 262; italics ours).

Perspectivism (spirit) and (animal): Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no reference to perspectival concepts as defined for our study. However, given Scott's quotation above under the entry for animism, describing 'personhood' as applicable to diverse phenomena (as reflected also in Hallowell's '*other-than-human* persons') we must consider that notions of both spirit and animal perspectivism are implicit in the overall Cree worldview.

The Xant, or Khanty, also commonly referred to as Ostyaks and (with the Mansi) as Ob-Ugrians, are a Uralic-speaking people principally inhabiting the areas of the West Siberian Plain, the Ob River and its main tributary the Irtysh, in West Siberia (Wiget & Balalaeva 2011). As already noted, this region comprises a sub-Arctic expanse of dense taiga and extensive marshlands. There are four different Ob-Ugrian-speakers living in different areas of northwest Siberia: the Mansi ('Vogul') in the west and the Northern, Eastern and Southern Khanty (all of whom have been earlier referred to as 'Ostyaks' or 'Khanty'). Traditionally, each subsisted by hunting, fishing, and gathering, with local adaptations depending on exact places within the cultural territory. For example, the Northern Khanty (Ostyaks) inhabiting the Lower Ob practice tundra reindeer-herding and extensive fishing, while the Eastern Khanty on the Middle Ob are forest hunter-fishers, and the Southern Khanty on the Irtysh and its tributaries (largely now assimilated) practiced some herding of sheep and cattle, while also relying on hunting and fishing. To this point, Jordan notes that the Khanty "traditionally lived in widely scattered extended family settlements and river fish formed the basis of subsistence in most areas with reindeer breeding important north of the River Ob" (Jordan 2003, 39). In addition, each of the various groups practiced seasonal residential mobility based on hunting and fishing grounds. Even after Russian conquest in the late sixteenth century, the colonial imposition of the fur trade and the Yasak fur-tax, and the introduction of Orthodox Christianity (not to mention the Soviet-era's later promotion of atheism), Khanty traditional cosmology persists to this day, including diverse ritual and religious practices (Image 5), with the veneration of a pantheon of nature deities and spirits (e.g., of households, sacred sites, and animal-spirit keepers) as well as ancestor cults, in addition to shamanry and a spiritual economy of animal sacrifices. See also related entries for the Mansi, above.

Image 5. Eastern Khanty sacred site, Malyi Iugan River, Northwest Siberia. Members of a local patrilineage arrive at the shrine of their local protector spirit to conduct seasonal rituals, leave gifts and consume food and drink. Photo: Peter Jordan, September 2005. Used with permission.

Animism (yes): Prokef'yeva, Chernetsov, and Prytkova note that Khanty animistic beliefs were closely associated with expressions of social relationships between ancestors, various animals, birds and even butterflies (Prokef'yeva, Chernetsov & Prytkova 1964, 536, given above in the entry for the Mansi). This also extends to rivers, landscapes and essentially everything; things are both animated and owned by deities and personalities that must be acknowledged and interacted with appropriately (P. Jordan, personal communication, 31.05.2022). Habek (discussing the Komi) writes of comparable forms of animist worldviews among the Khanty and other neighboring groups, observing that:

> Diverse historical and ethnographic sources suggest that earlier Komi cosmology bore strong resemblances to the animistic belief systems of other neighbouring indigenous peoples, including the Saami to the west, and the Khants, Mansis and Nenetses to the East and North (Habek 2011, 281).

Wiget and Balalaeva provide that, among the Eastern Khanty "The animating force, which gives life, is called in Khanyy liɫ; the individuating form force is called iɫs. These souls animate and give form to all living things, things with breath" (Wiget & Balalaeva 2011, 65). Jordan also provides an excellent overview of animistic concepts aimed specifically at Eastern Khanty perceptions of animate vs. inanimate phenomena (Jordan 2003, 102-106; see quote already given above in the entry for the Mansi). He also discusses the "economy of souls" within Khanty cosmology, which clearly reflects beliefs in various souls and spirits in various animals and objects which provide them not only with anima but with social agency (Jordan 2003, 126-134). Chernetsov's quotation given immediately below in support of totemism among the Khanty also relates directly to the presence of animism (Chernetsov 1963, 25).

Totemism (supported): Balzer describes pseudo-totemic spirit-helpers associated to particular ancestral lineages among the Northern Khanty of the Kazym River, providing that:

> In the northern Ob River area, consultants explained that shamans brought "something like a frog or a cat to help cure," as embodiments of spirit helpers. "Even now old people say 'do not kill a cat or a frog – allow them to walk.'" Such totem-like helpers were associated with specific patrilineal groups of the curers (Balzer 1987, 1088).

Chernetsov states that "The connection of the zoomorphic images with the clan totemic cult is explained by the fact that the fourth soul is the reincarnated soul, inherited from generation to generation" (Chernetsov 1963, 25). See also the Prokef'yeva, Chernetsov, and Prytkova (1964, 533-546) quotations already given above in the entry for the Mansi.

Rebirth Eschatology (yes): Balzer describes preparatory rituals associated with death and dying that give valuable insights into Northern Khanty beliefs in rebirth (and animism):

> Treatment begins when a Khanty is sick, and close relatives are called to take turns in attendance. There is special concern, both for the sake of the family and for the sake of the dying, that the multiple souls of the invalid be allowed to follow their proper afterlife courses. The "breath" soul must be kept under a shroud, transferred to a doll image of

the deceased, and relinquished to live in the Khanty afterworld so that eventually it can return as the reincarnation soul (Balzer 1980, 79).

See also the above quote by Chernetsov (1963, 25) regarding clan totems and reincarnation souls, as well as the several observations made by Jordan that:

> With (Khanty) humans there is one reincarnation soul (Chernetsov 1963) that maintains the continuity of the social unit. The existence of a similar soul in the animal world is not apparent [p. 168]…at local holy sites at least, the group, which consists of a number of individuals of different ages (parents guide youngsters), starts by facing the north, to death, but also to the local protector spirit housed in the *ambarchik* [a stilted hut that houses sacred spirits who inhabit idols]. In making this movement, they turn to the east, to birth, to the mother goddess Pugos Anki, then continue the long turn through the sky like the sun, through youth, through maturity and finally to death in the northwest and north, to face the spirit and *ambarchik* once again. In this interpretation the circular symbolism draws on layers of metaphors – the rise and fall of the sun, of the year, of individual lives, all of which are reborn again in successive cycles of regeneration [p. 206]…. The return of sacred Khanty dolls to the living cedar tree from which they were cut metaphorically links human death and reincarnation within a social unit with the cyclical rebirth and regeneration of the natural world (Jordan 2003, 102-206).

Wiget and Balalaeva (2011, 66-67) observe that the *iłs* of the deceased lives a backward life in the Underworld before being reborn – a sort of life-in-reverse for half the duration that the deceased was alive. They also discuss the complexities surrounding Eastern Khanty concepts of souls and their transference between generations through rebirth, illuminating that the subject is rather difficult to discuss concretely due to the nuanced understandings of concepts of both "a generalized life force and individuating personality form" that may or may not suggest a belief in multiple souls with different trajectories upon death or in a single soul that can undergo multiple reincarnation events (Wiget & Balalaeva 2011, 62-68). Jordan also recognizes this complexity, offers clearly that:

> Ideas about the circulation of souls link the human, animal and spirit worlds for the local spirit is immortal and is merely receiving a new body. In the same way the Khanty believe that humans also have a reincarnation soul (below) that returns to the social unit, via a new-born child, sometime after the death of an elder (Jordan 2003, 165).

Perspectivism (spirit) (yes): Jordan hints at the idea that social organization among the various spirits conceived of by the Khanty mirrored human social organization, with chiefs and local communities, and sacrifices were made to spirits to supply them with the necessities of life such as food and transport, etc. (Jordan 2003, 144-147; see numerous examples throughout Wiget & Balalaeva 2011). However, the system overall described by Jordan does not suggest perspectivism's mirrored-human-reality so often illustrated in many other Siberian societies. Human social relationships with supernatural entities played out differently than human-to-human social relationships, suggesting some conceptual difference. As Jordan puts it:

> …every individual and social group was bound into a web of relationships with forest and water spirits, universal deities like Pugos Anki and Torum, and the social protector spirits represented by either household idols or the local holy site effigies, who resided

in stilted *ambarchiks*. Successful passage through life demanded that human relationships with these spiritual powers be nurtured through visits to holy sites, acts of gift giving, sacrifice, and the observance of a range of wider taboos (Jordan 2003, 150).

However, at least some spirits lived and dwelt in a perspectival fashion: "These constitute settlements of the sacred Iki, who lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering like the modern Khanty, who today reside in settlements of the living" (Jordan 2003, 156).

Perspectivism (animal): No direct ethnographic examples observed, but the likelihood of such concepts existing among the Khanty in light of many of Jordan's (e.g., 2003, 105) and Wiget and Balalaeva's (2011) observations (e.g. the presence of a Bear Cult and diverse concepts of anthropomorphized animal-masters, etc.) is considerable.

Yukaghir

Prior to colonial contact in the early 17th century and centuries of subsequent subjugation, the Yukaghir at one time ranged a vast territory that Jochelson estimates "included from west to east between the rivers Lena and Kolyma, and from north to south between the Arctic Sea and the Verkhoyansk Range, – which range includes in its eastern part the Oimyakon Plateau" – a region that experiences bitter Arctic temperatures, in which are experienced "the severest climate of all Siberia" (Jochelson 1910, 3-7). They are divided between the 'Taiga Yukaghir' (of the Upper Kolyma) and the 'Tundra Yukaghir' (of the Lower Kolyma) with those delimitations based on general geographic-ecological niches. The tundra inhabitants have since undertaken reindeer-herding as a result of close contact with Tungusic peoples, while the later have remained primarily hunter-gatherer-fishers. The Yukaghir are widely considered to be one of – if not the – oldest extant cultures of the Siberian Far East. The Yukaghir language is a language isolate, possibly related to a Proto-Uralic language group (Fortescue 1998, 44), either of which lend support to the contention that Yukaghir society reflects an exceptionally ancient institution. Traditionally, they practiced what is presumed to be one of the oldest forms of Siberian shamanism.

Descola references the Yukaghir only briefly, in his synthesizing discussion of human-animal relations (primarily focused on the Chukchee), noting that among hunting-focused societies across the circumpolar North from Eurasia to North America exhibit closely paralleled concepts of mimesis and perceptions of reciprocal sexual-interplay between human hunters and animal-not-animal-but-not-not-animal prey (Descola 2013, 269-271; see Willerslev 2004).

Animism (yes): Jochelson states plainly that:

> In the religious conceptions of the peoples I have studied these powers comprise certain classes of supernatural beings…. The supernatural powers are: anthropomorphic deities; spirits in the sense of the animistic theory, that is souls or spirits which animate objects or dwell in them but may also lead an independent existence; the phenomena of animatism, that is, conceptions of inanimate objects as living beings; spirits hostile to man. Finally I must include in this classification inanimate objects designated as fetiches (*sic*) [p. 156f]. Souls or shadows are owned by men and animals as well as by inanimate objects…. According to the beliefs of the Yukaghir the whole of nature is animated in the sense of Tylorian animism (Jochelson 1926, 136, 156f).

Stepanova, Gurvich, and Khramova also note relatedly of Yukaghir religion that:

> Shamanism existed among the Yukagir (*sic*) in the characteristic form of clan shamanism. Dead shamans themselves became objects of worship. Their bodies were dismembered, and the parts were kept as relics. Sacrifices were made to them, and they were considered the patrons of the clan. Later, Yukagir shamanism lost its specific character and developed forms closer to those of typical Tungus shamanism (Stepanova, Gurvich & Khramova 1964, 796f).

Willerslev echoes that:

> In the world of the Yukaghirs, as we have seen, everything – human, animal, and inanimate object – is said to have an *ayibii*, or what we would call a soul or life essence. For the Yukaghirs, the whole world is thus animated by living souls in the sense of Tylorian animism. Although everything is understood to be alive, people do nevertheless differentiate between conscious and unconscious beings (Willerslev 2007, 73; see also 2013).

Totemism (supported, but questionable): Jochelson describes the Yukaghir clan system as well as clan names associated with animals, but offers that these were merely classificatory in the strictest sense, rather than totemic; yet ancestor-cults may reflect an inkling of totemic ontological identities:

> The animal names of some Yukaghir clans might lead us to suppose that they had some connection with totemic cults, if it were not for a total absence of totemic conceptions among the modern Yukaghir. The name of the ancestor of the Yassachna Yukaghir, "Tabuckan," might point towards his identity with an animal, the hare; but even that much cannot be said in regard to the names of the other two clans. The Yukaghir say that the Korkodon people were called "The Fish Clan" because they fed exclusively on fish; while the Goose Clan owes its name to the incident that one of its shamans once turned into a stork (not, as might be supposed, into a goose) and flew about with the birds. Thus the names of these two clans do not seem to contain any indication of a former existence of totems among the Yukaghir. The consciousness, on the other hand, of the descent of the main group of each clan from one ancestor, exists in all clans. In ancient times the clan ancestor was the object of a special cult. His descendants prayed to him in their difficulties, sacrifices of food were offered at his grave, and in honor of hi memory great wooden idols were hung on trees. These idols served obviously as abodes for the ancestral spirit, and to them the Yukaghir addressed their prayer and sacrifices. These idols generally adorned highways and river-banks (Jochelson 1926, 115-117).

Rebirth Eschatology (yes): Jochelson writes e.g.:

> The Yukaghir do not regard the child before birth as an evil spirit or as participating in the actions of evil spirits; on the contrary, they believe that while the child is yet in the mother's womb, the soul of some one of the dead relatives enters into it [p. 156]…. Although the Yukaghir believes that the birth of the child depends on whether or not the body of the mother will be entered into by the spirit of the deceased ancestor, they are nevertheless fully aware of the fact that cohabitation with a man is an indispensable factor in the birth of a child [p. 160]…. I have stated that long before birth the soul of some deceased relative enters the child. While it is not stated which of the three souls enters, it may be inferred that the head-soul (*nu'innifi* in the Tundra dialect) is meant, because it goes to the Land of Shadows, whence it returns to enter the child (Jochelson 1926, 97, 156-160).

Willerslev revisits the subject of rebirth concepts in northeast Siberia in general, drawing from multiple sources. Of the Chukchi and the Yukaghir, he observes that among both groups there remains an understanding:

> that all living people are returned deceased relatives that have already passed through several lifetimes. Since the living are considered embodiments of the dead and their former lives are understood quite literally to pass through the past lives of their ancestors, there is an important sense in which time among the Yukaghir and Chukchi is understood in terms of cycles of endless repetition. People are, so to say, always already in the past. The past, then, is not something that comes after the present has ceased to be; rather, the past is always impregnated in the present, even as the present becomes past (Willerslev 2013a, 81f).

Perspectivism (spirit) (yes): For perspectival concepts represented in early ethnography, the literature on the Yukaghir is some of the most lucid and concrete in describing the presence of this phenomenon to be found. Jochelson offers that the souls of the dead:

> ...lead a life similar to the one on earth. Relatives live together. All surrounding objects are also shadows or souls. Thus the tent, dog, snares are so many shadows of the same objects or beings as they have existed on earth. The souls hunt the shadows of reindeer, birds and fishes with the shadows of traps, snares, bows and rifles. The animals who are hunted by living relatives are the same ones whose shadows have already been hunted by the souls of the relatives of the hunters in the Kingdom of Shadows (Jochelson 1926, 157).

This suggests a perspectivism for the souls of the dead, but not necessarily for spirits, though Jochelson gives quite a lot of details regarding other aspects of spirit worlds and the habits of their denizens, such as the *abasylar*. Of 'owner' spirits, Jochelson quite clearly provides that they were perceived as living human-like lives, being of different sexes and ages and cohabitating in families (Jochelson 1926, 144f). Willerslev describes that, among the Yukaghir, humans and spirits share the same kinds of souls (*ayibii*), and there may be considerable interactions between the two in both this world and its shadow spirit-world (Willerslev 2011, 60; Jimenéz & Willerlev 2007).

Perspectivism (animal) (yes): Jochelson (1926) provides numerous examples of animal perspectivism throughout his treatise on the Yukaghir. Willerslev sums this up in noting that:

> ...the Iukagirs regard the subjectivity of humans and non-humans as formally the same because they share the same kinds of souls, *ayibii*, meaning 'shadow' in the Iukagir language, which provides them with a similar or identical viewpoint on the world. Non-humans, animals, trees, spirits and inanimate objects – thus see the world as humans do: they live in households and kin groups similar to those of humans and see themselves as human hunters moving around the landscape hunting for their animal prey.... By recreating his body in the image of his prey, the hunter reflects back to the elk an image of itself – that is, the hunter exposes as 'exterior' or 'visible' what in reality is 'interior' or 'invisible': the infra-human perspective of the animal (Willerslev 2011, 60).

Yup'ik

The Yup'ik peoples of central and western Alaska inhabit primarily the areas of the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta, including ethnographically well-documented communities residing on Nelson Island and Nunivak Island. St. Lawrence Island is home to Siberian Yupik communities. Lantis points out that the insular peoples of Nelson and Nunivak held close ties to each other but not with those dwelling north and northwest into the interior (Lantis 1984, 209). It is important to note that there are cultural distinctions separating the Siberian Yupik (previously referred to as 'Asiatic Eskimo') of the Siberian side of Bering Strait – and the Yup'ik peoples on the Alaskan side. While they share similar languages in dialects of the Yupik and Central Alaskan Yupik languages that differ from the Iñupiat language and dialects of Alaskan Inuit groups, they maintain distinct, yet related, cultural identities. Even so, the Siberian Yupik and the Alaskan Yup'ik share numerous crafting techniques, material technologies, and artistic styles (see Image 5) that are closely related and which – like their languages – differ from those of their Iñupiat neighbors. Here, we will focus primarily on the Yup'ik peoples of Alaska, supplemented in places with evidence from the Siberian Yupik where it may be relevant. Traditionally, the Yup'ik have relied on fishing, supplemented by hunting and seasonal gathering for subsistence, with a focus on marine mammals and other marine resources. Up into the river basins of the interior there is also a focus on caribou. Seasonal mobility was punctuated by a move in spring from sedentary winter villages to fishing and hunting grounds in the open tundra or into the interior mountain drainages.

Animism (yes): Hughes points out that the Yupik peoples on the Siberian side of Bering Strait, as well as those insular Yup'ik groups within the Strait (e.g., Saint Lawrence Islanders; Hughes 1984b, 273) were "highly animistic," sharing an animistic cosmology similar to the neighboring Chuckchi (Hughes 1984a, 244f). Of the Yup'ik of western Alaska, and quite relevant to not only animism but rebirth eschatology and animal perspectivism, Fienup-Riordan writes:

> The perishable flesh of both humans and animals belied the immortality of their souls. All living things participated in a cycle of birth and rebirth…. For both human and non-human persons the soul was identified as the principle that sustained life…for humans an aspect of the person was reborn in the next generation. Newborn children often received the name, and with it the soul, of a recently deceased relative. In the past, inanimate objects were also believed to possess souls (Fienup-Riordan 1990, 167f).
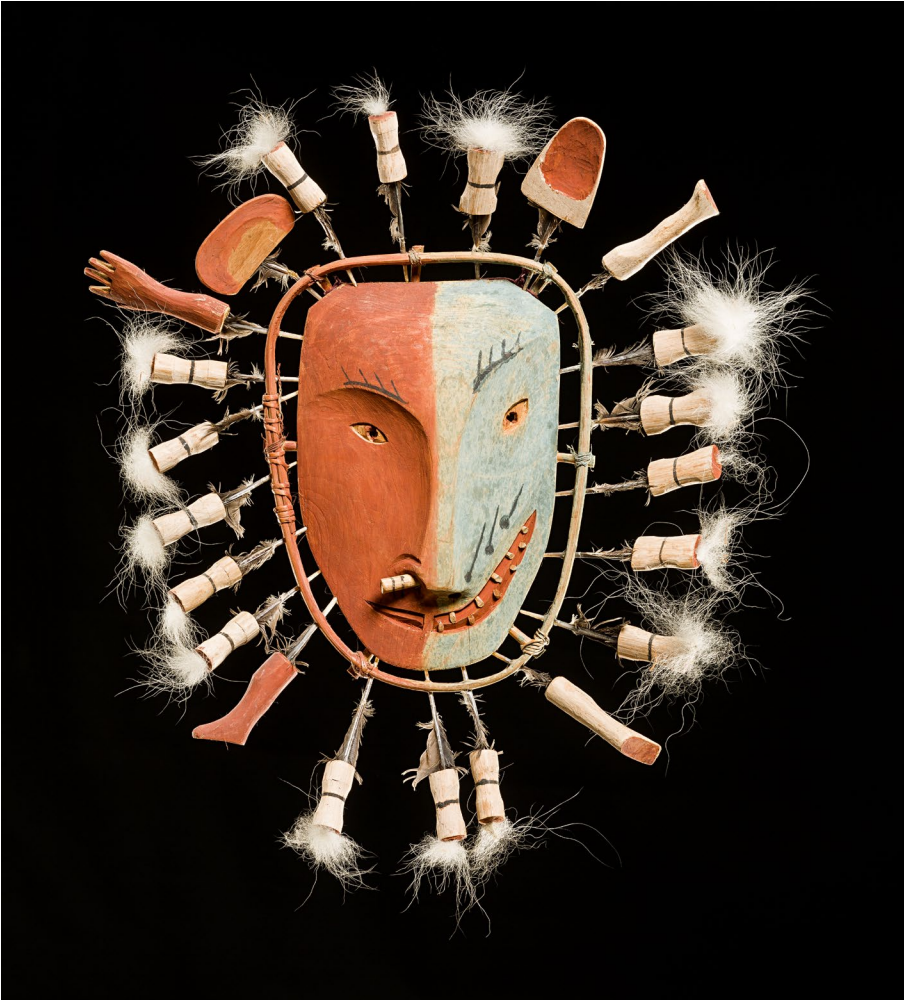
Image 6. Ceremonial Yup'ik mask (agayut) from Nunivak, collected during the Fifth Thule Expedition. This mask and many like it of similar yet diverse design illustrates the transformative and gestalt nature of human, animal (wolf and killer whale in this case) and spirit identities and perspectives among the Alaskan Yup'ik. Sonne (1988, 247) provides that this particular mask represents a "Typical irci-mask emphasizing the bipartite nature, half-human and half-animal of the irci spirits." The red half depicts a human face while the blue half depicts that of an animal, while the entirety of the mask represents the irci spirit. Such masks could be worn by both shamans and layfolk alike as representations of the hybrid beings that individuals encountered (as well as of individual helping-spirits in the case of shamans). Photograph by Roberto Fortuna. Archives of the National Museum of Denmark. Used with permission.

Totemism (no): Menovshchikov describes Yup'ik social structure as having been previously a matriarchal clan-like system based principally on consanguine kinship relations (Menovshchikov 1964, 842f). Fienup-Riordan describes a social organizational system among the Nelson Islanders as being based on relationships between the living and the deceased in which "…individuals and individual families within the social system are always what they are not, simultaneously the living and the dead,

and at once bound by and prohibited from affinal and consanguineal relation" (Fienup-Riordan 1983, 158-160).

Rebirth Eschatology (yes): Fienup-Riordan observes that "… these endearments were wonderfully explicit expressions of the belief that in the newborn child the soul of the near dead is born again, for, in the Yup'ik world, no one ever finally passes away, out of existence. Rather, through the naming process, the essence of being human is passed on from one generation to the next" (Fienup-Riordan 1983, xviii, see also 175). This is also evident in the kinship terminology and naming traditions (Fienup-Riordan 1983, 153-158).

Perspectivism (spirit): Inferred absent based on considerable discussion of religion but no reference to perspectival concepts for spirits as defined for our study.

Perspectivism (animal) (yes): As noted above under the section on animism, Fienup-Riordan observes that "Yup'ik Eskimos traditionally viewed the relationship between humans and animals as collaborative reciprocity…humans and nonhuman persons shared fundamental characteristics" (Fienup-Riordan 1990, 167). In illustration of this dynamic in which humans and animals shared a social culture (in both appearances and behaviors), with humans living in animal society and animals capable of living in human society, Fienup-Riordan recounts the story of *The Boy Who Went to Live with the Seals*, which provides a clear example of animal-perspectivist deixis:

> …the boy went to live with the seals for a whole year. He followed the returning ones to the *qasgiq* under the sea. Under the water it was just like on dry land, and the seals appeared to the boy as old men. There were three tiers of seats in the *qasgiq*. On the lowest sat the smallest seals, the *issuriyagaat*. These were the spotted seals, but to the boy they appeared as men with sores all over their body. On the next tier sat the *nayiit* (hair seals), and on the third tier sat the largest seals, the *tungunqut* (bearded seals). It was one of these *tungunqut* that hosted the boy. The boy sat by his side the whole winter learning from him. And he did not leave the *qasgiq* the whole winter (Fienup-Riordan 1983, 178).

Transformation into, and the impersonation of, animals' spirits was also a common feature of Nelson Islander cosmology (e.g., Fienup-Riordan 1983, 205).

While the above examples describing the presence or absence of the ontological aspects of animism, totemism, rebirth eschatology, and spirit and animal perspectivism is certainly not exhaustive, it should hopefully provide the reader with a good starting point towards understanding the dynamic variances of such phenomena among diverse Northern societies, some closely related by geography and/or worldview, and others dramatically different and distant.

Chapter 4. Synthesis of Ethnographic Overview

After reviewing the ethnographic literature on the 32 cultural groups presented above, we set about analyzing what this data actually tells us about animism, totemism, rebirth eschatology, and perspectivism in cross-cultural perspective in relation to Northern societies. Across our sample, 29 groups were decisively described in the ethnographic literature as animists or were clearly described as having unambiguously animistic epistemologies. The three other groups were less-explicitly referred to as animists but still regularly described as such (the Kutchin, Mistassini Cree and Ojibwa), and the review of the ethnographic literature strongly supports that animism was a foundational principle among their traditional cosmologies and ontological reckoning systems. For example, for the Ojibwa, while labelled by Hallowell explicitly as 'not animists' (Hallowell 1960, 24), upon a careful reading of the related literature they readily epitomize Pedersen's (2001, 414) description of animism, especially when considered alongside Hallowell's own subsequent discussion of Ojibwa concepts of "*other-than-human* 'persons'". This rings even more true when considered against Tylor's original understanding of the concept of animism, namely that:

> Animism divides into two great dogmas, forming parts of one consistent doctrine; first, concerning souls of individual creatures, capable of continued existence after the death or destruction of the body; second, concerning other spirits, upward to the rank of powerful deities. Spiritual beings are held to affect or control the events of the material world, and man's life here and hereafter; and it being considered that they hold intercourse with men, and receive pleasure or displeasure from human actions, the belief in their existence leads naturally, and it might almost be said inevitably, sooner or later to active reverence and propitiation. Thus *animism in its full development, includes the belief in souls and in a future state, in controlling deities and subordinate spirits,* these doctrines practically resulting in some kind of active worship (Tylor 1871, 427, emphasis ours; see also Stringer's [1999] discussion of Tylor's work).

Table 3. Cultural Units. Black indicates presence. White indicates absence (or absence of data). Grey indicates that the presence of a trait is strongly suggested but not directly attested. Blocks marked with an asterix (*) indicate a single ambiguous reference. Totals including black and grey bars: animism = 32, totemism = 19, rebirth eschatology = 19, perspectivism combined = 18 (total = 27; spirit = 13 and animal = 14, respectively).

Group Name	Region	Alternate Synonymy	Animism	Totemism	Rebirth Eschatology	Perspectivism (spirit)	Perspectivism (animal)
Buryat	Eurasia	Buriat	■	■	■	■	
Chukchee	Eurasia	Chukchi	■	■	■		■
Darxad	Eurasia	Darhad	■	■	▦	■	
Daur	Eurasia		■	■		■	
Evenks	Eurasia	Evenk	■	■	■	■	■
Hare-Slavey	North America	NA	■		■	■	■
Iakoutes	Eurasia	Yakut	■		▦	■	
Iglulik	North America	Iglulik Inuit	■		■		■
Iroquois League	North America	NA	■	▦		■	
Koriak	Eurasia	Koryak	■	▦	■	■	■
Koyukon	North America	NA	■		■	■	
Kutchin	North America	NA	■	▦	■	■	
Mansi	Eurasia	NA	■	■	■	■	
Menomini	North America	Menominee	■	■			■
Micmac	North America	Mi'kmaq	■			▦	
Mistassini Cree	North America	NA	■				■
Naskapi	North America	Innu	■	■	■		■
Nenec	Eurasia	Nenet/Nentsy	■	■	■		
Netsilik Eskimo	North America	Netsilik Inuit	■		▦		■
Ojibwa	North America	NA	■	■		■	■
Penobscot	North America	Eastern Abenaki	■	■			*
Potawotomi	North America	NA	■	■			
Rock Cree	North America	NA	■			■	■
Samoyeds	Eurasia	Nganasans	■	■	▦		
Selkup	Eurasia	Sel'kups	■	■			
Tsimshian	North America	NA	■	■		▦	■
Tungus	Eurasia	N. Tungus/Even/Lamut	■	▦	▦	■	
Vancouver Island	North America	Nootka/Nuu-chah-nulth and Kwakiutl	■	■		*	
Woods Cree	North America	NA	■				
Xant	Eurasia	Khanty	■	■			*
Yukaghir	Eurasia	NA	■	▦	■	■	■
Yup'ik	North America*	NA	■		■	■	■

Fourteen societies on our list explicitly manifested some form of totemic classification system (however, some societies included in this group, e.g., the Iroquis League, Koriak and Yukaghir, evince aspects of totemism in their respective social structures that remain certainly questionable from an either ontological or classificatory perspective). Five groups had a pseudo-totemic system of social categorization that contained totemic elements or themes (such as clan conceptions of a preternatural ancestor figure associated with a particular species of animal, etc.). Of note, in designating the presence or absence of totemism, 'Vancouver Island' provides a special problem. Rosman and Rubel describe the Nootka as having a rather flexible, non-totemic lineal descent and social structure system lacking totemism (Rosman & Rubel 1971, 69-106); but for the Kwakiutl of north Vancouver Island and the nearby mainland, Walens describes totemism in no uncertain terms (Walens 1981, 104). Since, within the literature, the Kwakiutl manifest such a classic example of Pacific Northwest Coast totemism, we have considered totemism confirmed at the regional scale. At the other end of the spectrum, the Yukaghir had clan ethnonyms based on animals, but these seem to have developed almost anecdotally or been derived from specific groups' heavy reliance on a particular animal resource rather than on any mythic association with or genuine ontological considerations of the given animal type; but the Yukaghir also recognized

clan-specific ancestor cults at least of a totemic-like nature. Likewise, for the Koryak, Antropova suggested totemic aspects of guardian-spirits (Antropova 1964, 866), but Jochelson found totemism absent (Jochelson 1908, 89). Regardless of these variances, none of the potentially pseudo-totemic groups appears to have distinguished person-hood or differentiated identities based *intrinsically* on totemic concepts. We should also note that in the following analyses, we have attempted to err on the side of caution in such cases and included totemism as 'present' (at least abstractly or potentially) so as not to bias our interpretations toward minimizing the possibly latent presence of to-temism or totemic concepts in diverse forms and expressions.

Rebirth eschatology was expressly present among ten groups. Literature for an-other nine groups suggests reincarnation beliefs but not directly or necessarily cyclical ancestor-to-descendant rebirth. Eight groups appear to have lacked reincarnation of any sort as an option for the souls of the deceased. Literature regarding this aspect of beliefs among the remaining societies was simply not mentioned either way. As we encountered for totemism, the 'Vancouver Island' designation poses a problem. We should note that this is not a fault in Descola's argument, as we have already pointed out that he mentions Vancouver Island only in passing to illustrate the material culture similarities observable between Asian and North American prehistoric complexes across the North Pacific Rim based on Leroi-Gourhan's work. Nevertheless, the prob-lem arises because Drucker points out a distinct lack of rebirth beliefs amongst the Nootka (Drucker 1951, 156f), while Walens (1981) and Mauzé (1994) provide abundant examples of rebirth concepts, including specifically ancestor-to-descendant rebirth as well as name-soul traditions among the Kwakiutl. This shows the tremendous varia-tion in cosmologies across closely neighboring societies, even in an insular context. Ultimately, as with totemism, we consider that rebirth concepts are at least confirmed for a portion of the Vancouver Island region in general.

'Spirit' perspectivism was evident in at least thirteen societies. For some societies, information relating to beliefs about the lives of spirits and the souls of the deceased, e.g., as among the Tsimshian, Kwakiutl and others, suggest that the dead lived in set-tlements of their own and that supernatural monsters hunted humans in much the same way that humans preyed on animals. But whether these represent perspectival deixis in Viveiros de Castro's sense is unclear since these "monsters" in question were not actually considered 'spirits' *per se*. Rather, they appear to have represented, at least conceptually, very real physical beings (mythical or not) that were believed to inhabit the darkest reaches of surrounding forests. Similarly, the Micmac conceived of an af-terlife in which:

> …the rational soul is a sombre and black image of the man himself: that it had feet, hands, a mouth, a head, and all other parts of the human body: that it had still the same needs for drinking, for eating, for clothing, for hunting and fishing, as when it was in the body…. [T]hey went hunting the souls of beavers and of moose with the souls of their snowshoes, bows, and arrows (Wallis & Wallis 1955, 149).

Again, whether this indicates an actual perspectival concept is unclear because we are not offered a glimpse of what the deceased were actually thought to believe about

themselves and about the living. Fourteen societies evinced a concept consistent with animal-related perspectivism. None of the ethnographic literature reviewed suggested a distinct *absence* of perspectivism. Obviously, this is due to the fact that as a concept and term 'perspectivism' remains a relatively recent neologism that postdates much of the ethnographic literature at hand. That said, examples of perspectival concepts are quite lucidly described in some of the ethnographic literature (e.g., Jochelson's account of the Yukaghir and Tanner's account of the Mistassini Cree).

Ultimately, we observe that animism was present in all societies included in our sample. The three other phenomena – totemism, rebirth eschatology and perspectivism (both spirit and animal), are present to varying degrees. It is seen that perspectivism in some form is present in the majority of hunting societies, but remains difficult to quantify across much of the literature. Totemism as a phenomenon was present in numerous groups and on par with rebirth eschatology and perspectivism when considering spirit and animal perspectivism as a single ontological phenomenon (Fig. 1).

Figure 1. Frequencies of ethnographically-documented ontologies
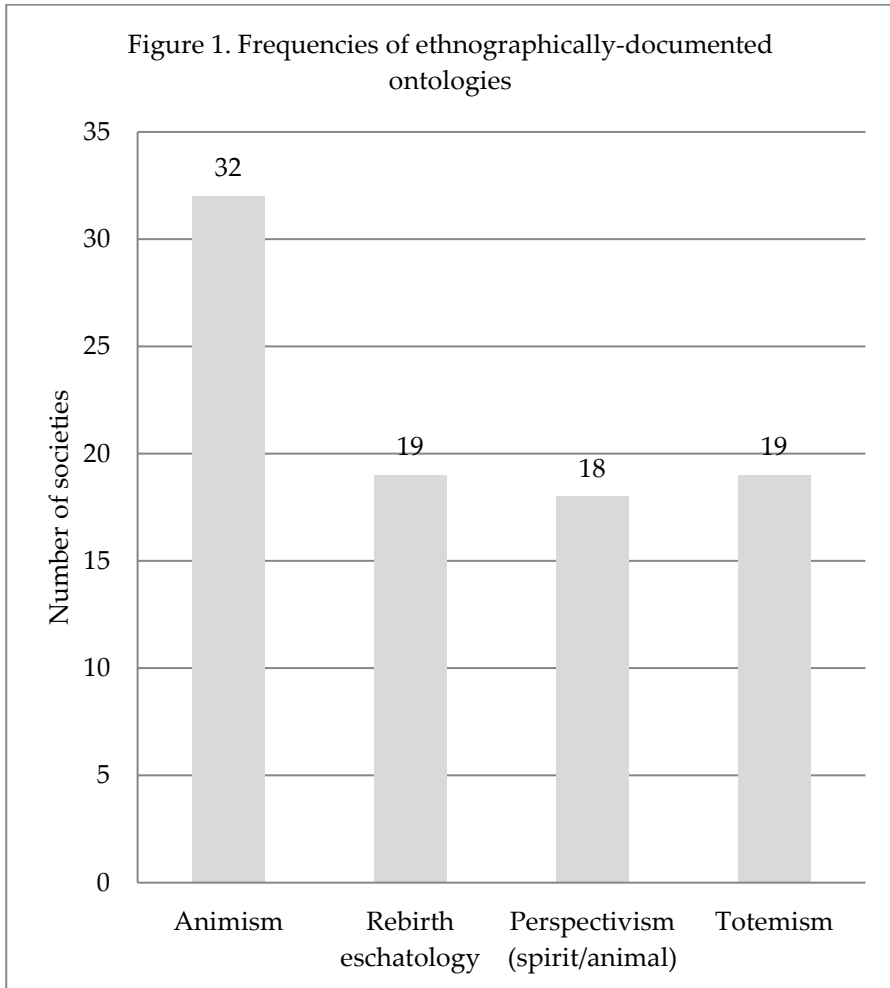
To provide novel illustration of the dynamics between these various aspects of ontology, we applied simple set logic to the ethnographic data to classify hierarchically the ontological phenomena in question. We collated presence/absence of animism, totemism, rebirth eschatology, spirit perspectivism and animal perspectivism. First, these were entered as nominal classes into VennMaster v. 0.38.2 (Kestler & Mueller 2013) to create Euler diagrams (Figures 2 and 3). Euler diagrams are similar in concept to the familiar Venn diagrams, but instead of simply showing overlaps they also provide for the relative scale of overlap as approximately as possible. This allows for a more accurate representation of the gravity of the interplay between subjects. This is an elegant but non-trivial way of hierarchically classifying and visualizing the sets (e.g., Grünbaum 1975, 1992a, 1992b; Pakula 1989; Rusky & Weston 2005; Venn 1880). As a

means of developing and assessing set logic, this method illustrates how sets of cultures sharing different fundamental ontological notions both delineate and overlap in our dataset.

Figure 2. Reconciled Euler diagram showing sets based on totemism, rebirth, spirit-perspectivism and animal-perspectivism. It can be seen here that animism encompasses all four sets and overlapping nodes.
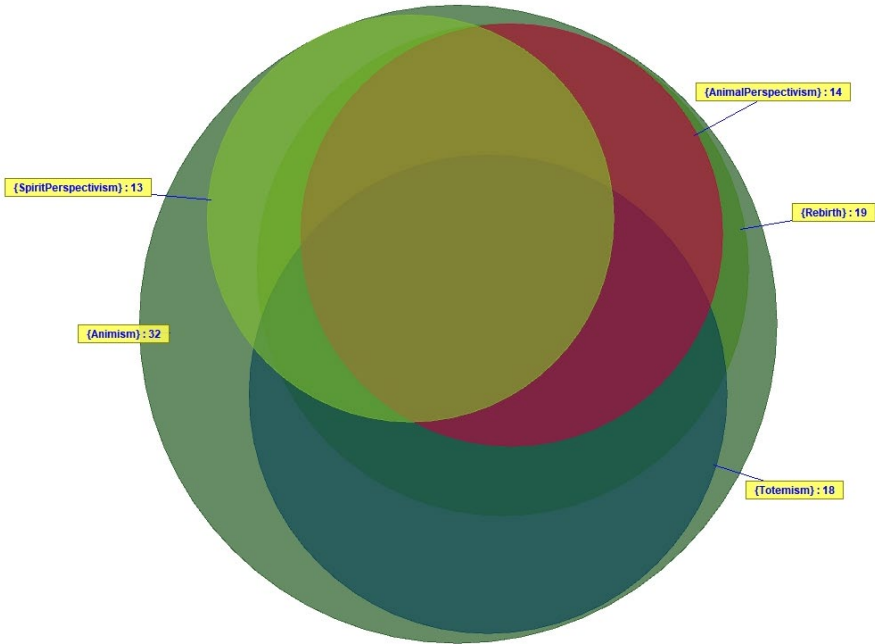

Figure 3. Diagrams showing relational sets of ontologies as represented ethnographically in our sample. Nine basic combinations were identified across all of the groups, out of a much larger set of possible combinations: **1** (Animism, Rebirth, Spirit Perspectivism, Animal Perspectivism, Totemism): Darxad, Evenks, Ojibwa, Tsimshian, Yukaghir; **2** (Animism, Rebirth, Spirit Perspectivism, Animal Perspectivism): Chukchee, Darxad, Evenks, Koriak, Koyukon, Tsimshian, Yukaghir; **3** (Animism, Rebirth, Spirit Perspectivism, Totemism): Darxad, Evenks, Tsimshian, Xant, Yukaghir; **4** (Animism, Spirit Perspectivism, Totemism): Darxad, Evenks, Tsimshian, Xant, Yukaghir; **5** (Animism, Rebirth, Animal Perspectivism, Totemism): Darxad, Evenks, Kutchin, Tsimshian, Vancouver Island, Yukaghir, Yupik; **6** (Animism, Animal Perspectivism, Totemism): Darxad, Evenks, Kutchin, Tsimshian, Vancouver Island, Yukaghir, Yupik; **7** (Animism, Rebirth, Totemism): Darxad, Evenks, Kutchin, Mansi, Samoyeds, Tsimshian, Tungus, Vancouver Island, Xant, Yukaghir, Yupik; **8** (Animism, Rebirth, Animal Perspectivism): Chukchee, Darxad, Evenks, Koriak, Koyukon, Kutchin, Naskapi, Tsimshian, Vancouver Island, Yukaghir, Yupik; **9** (Animism, Rebirth, Spirit Perspectivism): Chukchee, Darxad, Evenks, Iakoutes, Koriak, Koyukon, Tsimshian, Xant, Yukaghir; Animal Perspectivism (Animism, Animal Perspectivism): Chukchee, Darxad, Evenks, Koriak, Koyukon, Kutchin, Mistassini Cree, Naskapi, Ojibwa, Rock Cree, Tsimshian, Vancouver Island, Yukaghir, Yupik; Spirit Perspectivism (Animism, Spirit Perspectivism): Chukchee, Darxad, Daur, Evenks, Iakoutes, Koriak, Koyukon, Micmac, Ojibwa, Rock Cree, Tsimshian, Xant, Yukaghir; Totemism (Animism, Totemism): Buryat, Darxad, Evenks, Iroquois League, Kutchin, Mansi, Menomini, Nenec, Ojibwa, Penobscot, Potawatomi, Samoyeds, Selkup, Tsimshian,Tungus, Vancouver Island, Xant, Yukaghir, Yupik; Rebirth (Animism, Rebirth): Chukchee, Darxad, Evenks, Hare-Slavey, Iakoutes, Iglulik, Koriak, Koyukon, Kutchin, Mansi, Naskapi, Netsilik Eskimo, Samoyeds, Tsimshian, Tungus, Vancouver Island, Xant, Yukaghir, Yupik; Animism (Animism): All societies in the sample.
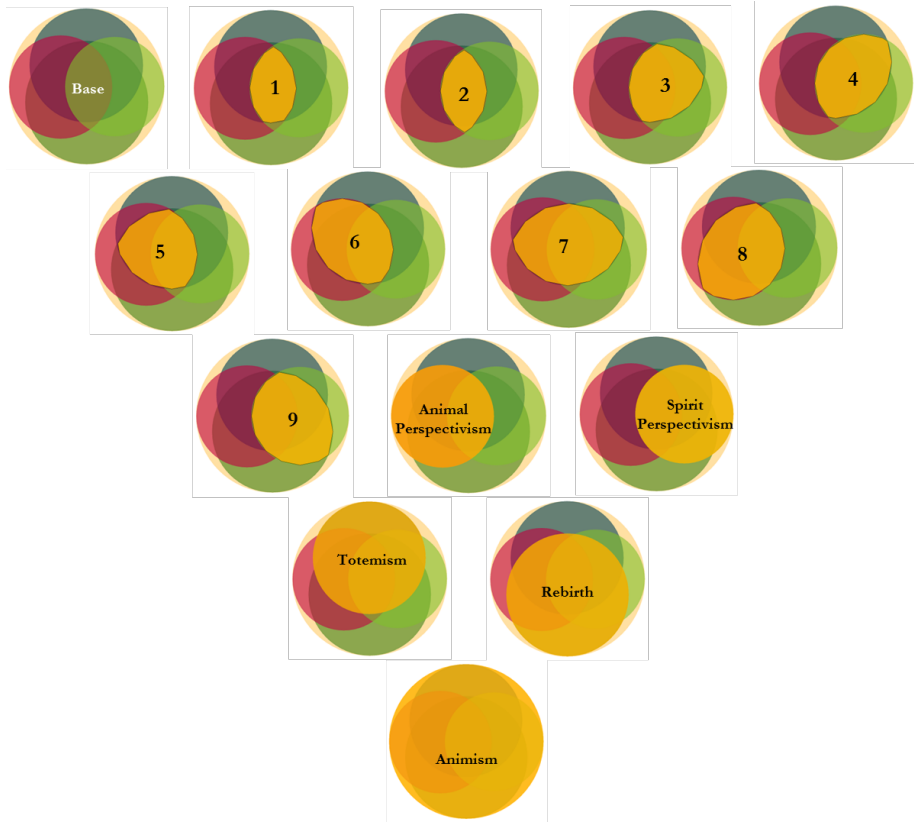
Another elegant and useful way of illustrating relational patterns in the comparative studies can be achieved through cladistic methods, or the generation of tree-models or dendrograms (Boyd et al. 1997; Mace et al. 1994). To illustrate where the different Northern societies outlined here fall comparatively in relation to features of their ontological reckoning, we generated a simple heuristic tree-model based on Neighbor-joining analysis. Unlike a phylogenetic model, which implies some process of descent from a common ancestor, this is a phenetic cladistic method of tree-building that generates a single dendrogram (tree-diagram) based on successively pairing neighboring taxa that share common traits in order to achieve a star-like tree with the shortest possible branch lengths (Saitou and Nei 1987). Thus, we need not presume that the recorded beliefs and traditions of any given society in our sample necessarily pre-date those of any other. This is a necessary consideration for a comparative ethnological analysis that does not take into account archaeological or other temporal contexts. Here, the Northern societies discussed are the taxa, and the different ontological phenomena are their traits. Figure 4 shows a Neighbor-joining dendrogram generated from our data using Splitstree 4 (Huson and Bryant 2006). We have taken the liberty of highlighting the central 'trunk' of this tree which one may imagine represents ani-

mism, with other ontological phenomena branching off at various degrees. In this dendrogram, the longer the branch (see, e.g., the 'Xant' or Khanty branch), the more divergent or composite the society's ontological reckoning scheme. Moving from far right (Buryat and Woods Cree) to far left, the branching pattern reflects subsequently more compound suites of ontological reckoning. Notably, there appears no one clear feature (e.g., social structure, subsistence strategy, ecology, historical contingencies, etc.) that could be said to explain the different suites of ontological reckoning as they are modeled here; hunter-gatherer and fisher-hunter-gatherer societies group in clades with pastoralists and horticulturists, maritime specialists group with terrestrial hunters, Arctic groups cluster with boreal forest-dwellers and steppe and tundra herders, and there appears to be no logical separation cleanly delimiting between Eurasian and North American societies. In short, the pattern is complex. Overall, the implication in this quite simple illustration is that an uncanny diversity of ontological systems has evolved in vastly different ecological and social contexts across immense distances with animism being the single consistently underlying factor. To us, this supports the notion that animism may be to differing degrees both cognitively hardwired and culturally transmitted.

Figure 4. Neighbor-joining dendrogram of ontologies in our sample of Northern societies. The thicker line along the central spine is given to represent animism as the connecting phenomena between groups and groupings (clades).
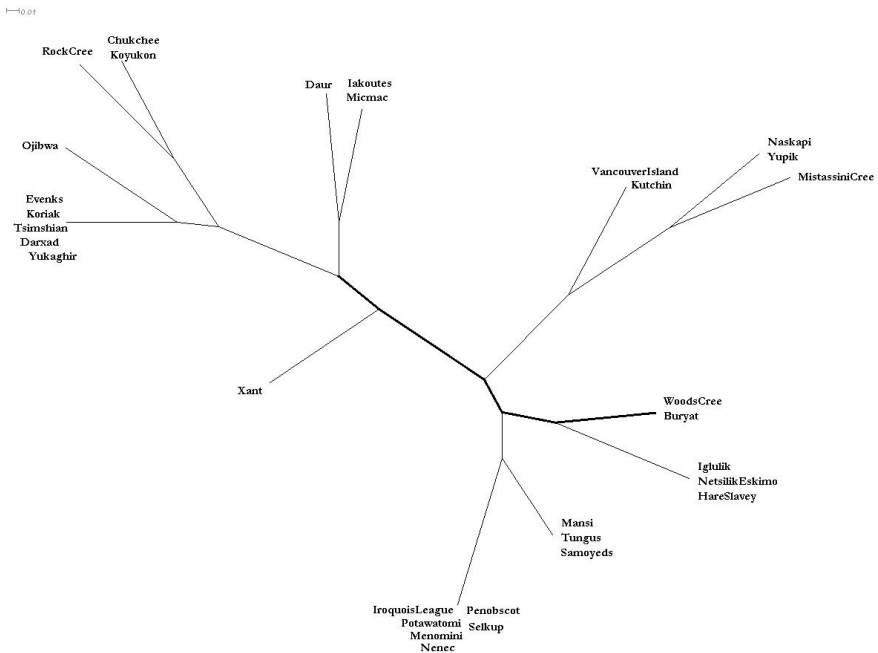
Chapter 5. Discussion: Further Questions and Opportunities

Overall, our findings support the hypothesis that, in all the cases given in Table 3, animism is endemic. It provides a constant substrate to all of the other ontologies discussed herein. Animism clearly is a variable that is not dependent on the presence of any of the others. In short, totemism, rebirth eschatology and perspectivism each emerge variably within the underlying framework of an animistic system (e.g., Bird-David 1999; Halbmayer 2012).

Here we have proposed that operationalizing Descola's ontological schema poses significant problems because the ontological units are not comparable as independent variables even when viewed in a relatively small regional sample encompassing societies across the northernmost regions of the Northern Hemisphere. This is particularly relevant at the multiregional scale, where the ontologies proposed in the model are of asymmetrical scale and are thus incommensurable; this is because the emergence of totemism as a means of understanding the world and one's place in it – at least in some large regions of the world – appears completely dependent upon the necessary presence of animism. This indicates that Descola's model – when ontologies such as animism and totemism are construed as comparable modes of ontology – might be unwieldy and ineffective for even-handed cultural comparison, rendering it impossible to make a controlled comparison of ontological systems between vastly diverse cultures, and the concomitant assessment of environmental, social, and historically contingent variables that may impact them. Consequently, we suggest support for Marshall Sahlins' observation that "…animism, totemism and analogism are but three forms of animism, namely communal, segmentary, and hierarchical" (Sahlins 2014, 281). At the very least, totemism ought to be considered as a byproduct or feature of animism.

Are There Similar Problems of Categorization with Other Ontologies?

It is worthwhile to return now to Descola's full four-field model, and another of its related ontologies. We consider Descola's 'analogism' to be a variation of animism by greater and greater degrees of phenomenological classification *and* animistic inference. Interestingly, López Austin (1988, Ch. 5), Descola's primary source for discussing the Nahua, unequivocally recognizes that the ontological framework upon which much of the various pre-Hispanic Nahua cultural ideological complexes rests was clearly animistic. As styled by Descola (2013, 213) for the ancient Nahua, rather than a unique ontology, analogism is a categorical epistemology – a taxonomic device (not all that different from totemism) developed on animistic perceptions' existential egalitarianism taken to its theoretical extremes. Basically, if one thing is like another simply based on conceptualized similarities (i.e., analogues amid an actual glut of dissimilarities or 'heterogeneous elements') then inanimate things could be similar enough to animate things based on any number of minute and irrelevant characteristics, *and* if similarity of characters is enough, why not extrapolate this to inferred homology? Descola fur-

ther offers an example of the results of analogism as: "…the hypothesis that the qualities, movements, and structural modifications of certain existing beings exert an influence on the destiny of humans or are themselves influenced by the behavior of those humans" (Descola 2013, 201f). Rather than juxtapose totemism, this observation actually parallels culturally transmitted beliefs and ritual practices of supplication undertaken in many animist societies, e.g., in regard to placating the souls/spirits of prey animals to ensure future hunting successes or to avoid misfortune, as among the hunting practices of many Northern hunting societies; but these societies are dominantly animistic and by definition *not* analogistic. From this perspective, analogism (or the attendant behavioral manifestations of its logic) can actually be seen as a form of arbitrarily and loosely-systematized hyper-animism. There is also growing empirical evidence that outside influences and the costs of their consequent behaviors dynamically alter environments and species' relationships within them, as e.g., described by the expanding field of niche construction theory (e.g., Odling-Smee et al. 1996). Thus, offering the neologism of 'analogism' is perhaps also unnecessary, as it describes – rather than a truly ontological system – varied and highly culturally-moderated, intensive canalizations (deepening niches) of features of other ontologies and taxonomies.

Ergo: Where There Is Totemism, Is There Then Also Necessarily Animism?

We are in a situation where it seems possible that animism in some form or another is a pre-condition for other ontologies, and perhaps other forces that were not considered worthy of the four fields, such as rebirth and perspectivism. Totemism is a dynamic expression of social structure, organization, and descent reckoning – a way of organizing and delimiting one's place within an animistic worldview – the *how* and *where* one exists – rather than philosophically defining *that* one exists (returning to the traditional definition outlined by Lévi-Strauss [1991, 18]). By this definition it is a way of positioning the individual and the group in a structured social pattern, genuinely understood and expressed in its connections to totem ancestors, animals, and the like, but still a symbol of a particular identity's classificatory *place* of existence within the social dynamics of an animated world, not the *way of being* within that perceived reality (see Viveiros de Castro 1998, 473). Thus, if it is present, totemism is both expression and designation of self embedded within an otherwise animistic worldview, the former not possible without the latter. Pedersen has gone so far as to suggest that a conflated form of animism and totemism – in various permutations and in some cases only latently expressed – was probably a shared feature common to all (or nearly all) North Asian societies (Pedersen 2001, 417).

To consider a different region in the world, nowhere is this better illustrated than among the ethnographic Arunta of Central Australia, whose pervasive totemism interweaves with reincarnation beliefs forming an ontology in which humans, other animals, plants and features of the sacred landscape are all possessed not only by spirits, but by the spirits of ancestors, whom, by cyclical transmigration form an intimate bond between humans and nearly every feature of their experienced world. The totem and its explicit link to ancestors, animals, and plants, as well as its anchoring within the

physical landscape, position the individual in both the social and natural environment – both of which are abuzz with active yet unseen *anima* (parallel links to living and non-living things and particular landscapes or territories are observed among totemic traditions along the Pacific Northwest Coast of North America – see Mills 1988, 389). Indeed, animism is so diverse in its expressions in different physical and social environments that we ought to speak of *animisms* – Durkheim's "luxuriant system of beliefs but also such variety in principles and wealth in basic ideas" (Durkheim 1995, 45) – rather than animism as an essentializable ontological or classificatory phenomenon. In this light, totemism may be considered closer to a social epistemology – a system for organizing and understanding social knowledge – rather than an ontology. But totemism, rebirth eschatology, and perspectivism can each be understood as ontological features, or more appropriately – adaptations, within fundamentally animistic cosmologies. Therefore, juxtaposing animism *against* totemism as competing categories is both misleading and unnecessary. As Viveiros de Castro has observed: "…totemism, as a form of classification, can only be found in combination with animic systems" (Viveiros de Castro 2012, 88).

Beyond this, there are many groups outside of the so-called 'Shamanic Complex' that are understood to have been or still be totemic, but without ethnographic acknowledgement of the presence of animism. Thus, a further hypothesis generated by the findings here and suitable for future testing is that there may be many cases where animism was not explored deeply or discussed by ethnographers before, during, and after fieldwork, based on the biased pre-occupations with the primacy of describing and explaining totemism as an ontological phenomenon. Similar potential holes in the scope of the ethnographic record and perhaps in our review of it are suggested by the fact that some groups very closely culturally and geographically related (such as the Micmac and Penobscot), or in some cases even synonymous or to some degrees integrated (such as, e.g., the Tungus and Yakut or the Nenet and Samoyed) do not share the same ontological traits. This is a salient reminder that ethnography and thus ethnology must always be considered critically, and wherever possible, data must be drawn from diverse sources.

Perspectivism Is Nearly as Pervasive as Totemism, and Not Dependent on It

Our findings show that perspectivism is present in many societies that have (at least) animal totem recognition, even if in some latent or ephemeral form (e.g., Ojibwa and Yukaghir) as well as those that do not. For instance, the Chukchee are perspectivists but not totemic. We can deduce rather plainly that perspectivism does not necessitate totemism or *vice versa* and that perspectivist ontologies seem ubiquitously animist. Indeed, Descola even offers an example of 'perspectivist animism' (Descola 2013, 368), and elsewhere Viveiros de Castro (1998) and Pedersen (2001) have recognized the foundational animistic principles at play in perspectivism. As Willerslev (2004) has pointed out, perspectivism may be a variation on animistic perception that particularly aids in the mimesis and deception of prey (for hunters) or spirits (for shamans), thus providing an advantage in the hunt or a way of engaging with other entities socially.

In cultural evolutionary terms, animal perspectivism likely then developed and persisted among forest hunters specifically because it provides an adaptive advantage when seeking out prey that can regularly elude a hunter through evasion or camouflage (e.g., Guthrie 1993, 48). In the stalking and out-thinking of game in woodland hunting, it helps to be able to put one's self *in the mind* of prey in order to anticipate movements and other behaviors, thus assisting mimesis in the design space and potentially facilitating subsequent hunting success. Similarly, putting one's self behind the eyes of an animal – into its perspective – may be useful for avoiding particularly dangerous situations, e.g., encountering camouflaged predators. Perspectivism, then, takes the anthropomorphism and personification aspects of animistic *and* totemic ontological thinking to a next reasonable step – normalizing the personhood of the anthropomorphized animal in order to mentalize, or 'read its mind'.

We have differentiated between 'spirit' perspectivism and 'animal' perspectivism. Spirit perspectivism delimits beliefs wherein nonhuman supernatural agents are thought to view the human world as humans view the spirit world and wherein spirits live an existence that mirrors a natural human experience relative to the emic realities of the society in question. Animal perspectivism represents, as laid out by Viveiros de Castro (1998), this same concept with regard to animals rather than supernatural agents. Our data suggests that the two can exist separately and do not seem dependent necessarily on anything but animism. We should also consider that Pedersen observes that there exists a potential ontological intersection between totemism, perspectivism and rebirth eschatology as well, in which a totemic "*inter*-human perspectivism" emerges as clan ancestors, shamans, animals or other entities see through the eyes of others and *vice versa* (Pedersen 2001, 421).

Regardless, it seems that animistic cosmologies appear necessary (i.e., the independent variable) for ontologies such as totemism and perspectivism to emerge. Totemism and perspectivism are independent variables to each other, but neither appears to develop outside of an animistic context. We have not encountered a single instance in which either phenomenon has developed outside an underlying animistic framework, and we are ambitious to extend this study to further groups in other regions (e.g., to a similarly sized sample of Australian Aboriginal groups).

Rebirth Eschatology Is Also Relevant to the Model, and Is as Pervasive as Totemism

Rebirth eschatology, as well as simply beliefs regarding the reincarnation of souls from one body into another, are a common feature in many societies. The different ways in which these ideas are manifest within various cultures can provide insights into the contextual development of ontological systems. Principally, ideals regarding the ways in which souls migrate from body to body (whether between humans and other humans [reincarnation], humans and animals [transmigration], multiple or cyclical transmigration [metempsychosis], soul rebirth distinctly between deceased ancestors into their descendants, or whether based on some form of hierarchy of incarnations, etc.) can be uniquely informative when examined from a perspective concerned with

modes of reckoning personhood and identity and how one conceptualizes the existence of things; in a word, an *ontology.*

In particular, rebirth eschatology, like totemism, is a relational system. It conceptually associates the individual with characters that are not theirs alone. Such metaphysical relational perspectives on personhood can be juxtaposed with Bird-David's (1999) 'relational epistemology' among the Nayaka and similarly Strathern's (1988) notion, observed in Melanesian contexts, that each person cannot be so much conceived of as an individuality, but more as a 'dividuality' – a personhood defined by their context, not a set of primary characteristics, is perhaps a key to understanding Indigenous rebirth concepts (Descola 2013, 117). Cyclical rebirth carries with it a significant ontological implication in that it denotes that individual persons are merely the current physical hull of entire lineages – a synchronic manifestation of shared identities stretching back in time situating both personhood and identity in physical and social, but also temporal, contexts.

Insightful examples of reckoning contextual personhood can be found throughout the North American Arctic. This can be seen in the prefix terms 'nuna' (land), 'tariuq' (sea), '-miut' (contextual designator often referred to in the anthropological literature as indicating 'people' or 'people of…') (Burch 1976), and the term 'sila' (a complex affix that can mean 'world', 'air', 'wind', and 'nature' or 'universe', 'intellect', or 'consciousness') as well as numerous other ontologically-expressive contextual designations. For the first three terms, Burch (1976) argues that among Indigenous Alaskan groups, such fixative designators, while not incorrect, are incomplete in the sense that, e.g. 'Nunamiut' could be interpreted as meaning 'inland peoples', just as easily as it could correctly indicate 'a group of people that hunt caribou away from the coast', or 'a person that is going to the mountains away from the sea', or any other relative indicator of place (and even time) that sets land and sea relative to each other. Similarly, of the Inuit term 'sila', Nuttall observes among Greenlandic Inuit, that to display 'silaqaraluarpit' is to be 'out-of-one's-mind', while 'silaqarpoq' is to 'have sense' (Nuttall 1992, 72). 'Sila' literally provides both a concrete and inexplicable context to individuals' ontological reckoning, placing the dividuality within the larger scope of the environment and universe.

Thus, we see the potential for circumstantial ontologies based not only on in/exteriority and dis/similar physicality, but of temporal and locative contexts – even of current intention or activity. As a feature of ontogenesis then, rebirth overlays the living individual in a contextual ancestral landscape, both social and environmental, a world comprised of interior and physical continuity, but also of temporal continuity. As an aspect of animistic ontology, cyclical rebirth concepts situate personhood in a non-linear trajectory in which the living incarnation is temporally fore-fronted, but is not the only entity of concern. Seen in this way, ontological-reckoning in social systems with rebirth eschatology (not unlike totemism) is relational not only to the self and to the ancestors but also to the pool of potential souls in all things conceived of as having them.

Chapter 6. The Comparative Method and the Question of Galton's Problem

Up until this point, some readers may have wondered about Galton's Problem in relation to the present discussion. A classical conundrum in ethnology and cross-cultural comparative studies, Galton's Problem refers to Francis Galton's objection to E. B. Tylor's (1889, 272) presentation of his study of the evolution of marriage and descent rules (such as exogamy as a means of mitigating conflict between groups) drawn from a broad sample of societies and presented at the meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. At the time, Galton pointed out that correlations observed between cultural traits may falsely appear within cross-cultural comparisons due to historical contingencies – basically that traits observed between cultures often are not ahistorical coincidences or the products of emergent evolution so much as the complex and compound results of cultural diffusion ('independence' vs. 'concurrence' in the original argument).

Since Naroll dubbed and revisited 'Galton's Problem' in relation to systematic cross-cultural comparative analyses, ethnologists have continued to struggle with discerning between historical and functional associations between aspects of culture (Naroll 1961, 1963, 1965). Naroll's discussion is certainly worth revisiting in regards to our evaluation offered here and certainly in the face of a renewed interest in broad cross-cultural analyses in the social sciences. The Comparative Method borrowed from biology (Mace and Pagel 1994) enables us at least to clearly assess the relationships between one variable and another between societies, in some cases identifying dependent and independent variables, and suggesting necessary causal relationships, where one thing comes before another, as we have found here with animism forming the foundation for other ontological frameworks.

Significantly, the broad range of ideas that are complicit in the construction of any particular ontology – or cosmology or socially shared epistemology – are prone to what Naroll described as a "hyper-diffusional association" (Naroll 1965, 430). Simply put, ideas, beliefs, practices, and any other cultural phenomena are often quickly diffused between neighbors, whether their proximity is geographical, culturally descendent, or temporal (likely dynamic combinations of each) and regardless of whether their historical trajectories have brought them to such similarity through homology, analogy, or coincidence (i.e., homoplasy). Generally speaking, cultural traditions tend to get mixed up given the time and space to do so, for example through processes of diffusion and acculturation. Both exciting and frustrating from an analytical perspective – culture is dynamic. Thus, the correlation problem becomes one of the historicity of cultural descent and development in place and time. A significant problem with assigning particular ontologies broadly or uncritically to cultures is that ontological frameworks are not simply synchronic cultural features. They are affected by any number of conditions, from differences in the environments and ecologies in which they develop (cf. Ingold 2012, 305), to the deep historical contingencies at play in all aspects of cultural evolution, and even likely to some (as yet under-identified) degrees,

they are also very likely dictated by cognitively-tethered consequences of human perceptions and behaviors that have developed over the entirety of hominin evolution (Turner and Maryanski 2008; Turner et al. 2018). Galton's Problem notwithstanding, however, we hope that simple yet rigorous analytical logic has here assisted in elucidating the taxonomic distinction among several major candidate ontologies.

The Relevance of Ontologies to Cognitive Studies of Religion

We have thus far laid out a case for rethinking Descola's ontological schema with the consideration that animism and totemism should not rightly be compared as equivocal ontological phenomena. Ontologies are integral to the development of individual and communal (i.e., social) values and behaviors because in many ways they dictate the foundational perspective of the individual within the larger world, thus driving how one interacts therein, and this of course can be extrapolated out to the nth degree from individuals to groups to communities to societies to cultures, etc. Studies have established that humans at an early point in ontogenesis distinguish between the animate and inanimate domains (Opfer & Gelman 2010; Karmiloff-Smith 2015). However, it has also been established that adults throughout the world ascribe agency to inert objects (Guthrie 2015). It seems that although children start out as realists, older individuals tend to think through non-realistic, animistic representations. Consequently, adults establish a moral relationship to animated entities thereby expanding their moral domain beyond strictly human interactions (e.g., Descola & Pálsson 1996; Willerslev 2007). The same can of course be said of totemism (e.g., Lévi-Strauss 1991, 75). But, despite numerous studies of animate/inanimate distinctions and others of moral behavior (Haidt 2012), there remains a lack of investigations into the essential relationship(s) between animist representations and human morality (arguably the foundation of 'religious' thought). But further considering this is extremely important. Animism, by its very nature as a mode of understanding the world that recognizes the gamut of human experience as potentially (even explicitly) possessing agency and sentience at scales of and often beyond those of human capacity, necessitates a moral system of equity between all (or at least most) things. Thus, as a cognitive framework for navigating social relations, e.g., with non-human ecology and the natural environment, animism can be understood as a sort of umbrella ontology at which the individual is situated at the very bottom of a top-down system and thus must consider and contend equitably with ever-expanding orders of existence outward from the self (cf. Harvey 2005; Ingold 2000). Totemism on the other hand, while paradoxically reflecting this at the smaller scales of individuals and select members of interrelated in-groups, has the opposite effect beyond those scales. Totemism creates and maintains differences – both implicit and explicit – between those within the totem and those outside it.

With this in mind, animism is rather a framework for cosmology – or perhaps more accurately it is a cognitive foundation for a diversity of cosmologies and ontologies, while totemism in its many forms is but one ontological way of compartmentalizing the self and other phenomena within an animistic cosmology. Thus, from a cognitive perspective as well, animism and totemism are incommensurate units for assessing

ontological reckonings. As there have to date been few studies addressing this key difference and its myriad potential consequences for the development and evolution of 'religious' thought, future cognitive studies focused on better understanding of the different levels of ontology would do well to explore this in more explicit detail.

Conclusion

There is a clear empirical overlap between ontological distinctions even within single societies that widely share common epistemologies. As our analysis suggests, many societies possess sub-categories of animism (such as rebirth eschatology, perspectivism, and totemism) to greater or lesser degrees. For example, in the sample that we explore here, some animistic societies are totemistic, but, at least in this region, all totemic societies are animistic, thus suggesting that animism is necessary for totemism to occur.

We do not intend this analysis to be a criticism of Philippe Descola or his cross-cultural analysis, but rather a critical assessment of the use of such studies to examine asymmetric cultural phenomena in overly broad ahistorical contexts. In fact, Descola (e.g., 2013, 403) recognizes and humbly acknowledges his own oversimplification of complex ontological phenomena. But, if we are to compare disparate phenomena from a cross-cultural perspective with an even-handed model for systematic cultural comparison, we must at least consider the commensurability of our units or develop a methodology that accounts for such disparity (e.g., Dumont 1986; Iteanu 2009; 2013; Willerslev 2013b).

Contrary to what may have come across in the preceding critique, we are unanimously admirers of Philippe Descola's body of work. He is a brilliant scholar whose contributions to ethnography and anthropological theory should not be overlooked or downplayed. We see ourselves as building on Descola's significant legacy by contributing to the ongoing dialogue that his, and others', work have re-opened. The ethnographic examples explored here suggest that there is an issue with the equivalence of ontological distinctions in Descola's four-ontology schema, particularly in that totemism (and, for that matter, rebirth eschatology and perspectivism) is not commensurate in scale to animism. The latter being more comparable to features of animistic thinking that relate specifically to social classification, and only ephemerally to ontological reckoning. However, we can also recognize that this may be quite different among, e.g., Australian Aboriginal societies in which the scope and expressions of totemism are altogether different.

That notwithstanding, we suggest that totemism is dependent on animism's inherent ontological inclusivity as foundational to its reckoning non-human and non-living phenomena with the potential for agency, consciousness, and personhood – thus their juxtaposition to humans in the social realm. As we have shown, even simple systematic analytics (e.g., set theory and hierarchical classification illustrated by Euler diagrams and neighbor-joining) brought to bear in cross-cultural comparisons can be a powerful heuristic for critically assessing and illustrating relationships between cultural phenomena and illuminating discrepancies in qualitatively structured observations. Future cross-cultural comparative studies – and humanities research in general – will benefit greatly by expanding Comparative Methods and embracing emerging Open Science frameworks that place an increasing focus on replicability at all levels of scientific endeavor. Simple – yet rigorous – classificatory logic will continue to provide

a foundation for developing and testing hypotheses beyond the Victorian anthropological tradition of *argumentum ad verecundiam*.

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