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religions like ours not only didn't exist, they would also have been superfluous and incomprehensible.

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- See also: Anarchism; Anarcho-Primitivism and the Bible; Animism; Animism – A Contemporary Perspective; Bioregionalism and the North American Bioregional Congress; Ecology and Religion; Evolutionary Biology, Religion, and Stewardship; Fall, The; Fox, Matthew; Ghost Dance; Magic, Animism, and the Shaman's Craft; Paganism – A Jewish Perspective; Teilhard de Chardin, Pierre.

Anishnabeg Culture

The Algonkian-speaking Anishnabeg (meaning “human beings”) of the Great Lakes region of North America includes speakers of the Odawa (Ottawa), Ojibwe (Chippewa) and Potawatomi dialects, now known among themselves as the Three Fires, as well as the Algonquins, to their east. Sharing major features of their religion, language and culture are the Cree who live to their north and west, and the various native peoples who live north and south of the St. Lawrence River, as well as Labrador and Newfoundland; more distantly related are the Pikuni (Blackfoot, Blood), who live east of the northern Rockies.

The Anishnabe reserves (Canada) and reservations (United States) are now located in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Manitoba and Ontario. Their migration myth speaks of moving from the Atlantic coast along the St. Lawrence River to the Great Lakes. In pre-contact times, the Anishnabeg lived not only in the above areas but along the Atlantic seaboard and the Midwest (Ohio, Illinois, Kentucky) of the present-day United States. In the latter areas, they practiced horticulture and lived in settlements.

Before the effects of contact with Europeans, the Great Lakes Anishnabeg lived a semi-nomadic hunting-gathering lifestyle, traveling by canoe and snowshoe over an established yearly round; for example, traveling to maple forests in early spring when the sap runs and particular lakes in early fall when the “wild rice” ripens. Many traded with more settled peoples, such as the Iroquoian-speaking Wyandot (Hurons), exchanging dried meat and hides for corn and tobacco. Some carried out small-scale horticulture on their own, where the soil and climate was suitable. Some mined copper in shallow pits. Hence, they were familiar not only with towns, but with urban, mercantile centers, such as Cahokia, across the Mississippi from present-day St. Louis, long before Europeans arrived on the scene.

For these people, as hunting-gathering cultures everywhere, “religion,” “spirituality” and “nature” are meaningless terms, for each term would include every aspect of their lives; hence, these words do not denote anything distinguishable, in and of themselves. It is impossible for modern humans to fully appreciate what it meant to live in a situation where everything perceivable is undomesticated nature and every facet of nature is individually numinous. Hence, virtually everything observed or done involved a spiritual, ritual interaction with a *manido* (spirit/deity); all one's neighbors shared the same understanding; and one's language reflected these understandings in nuanced, complex ways. Let us, however, attempt to generalize from the contemporary hermeneutic as to how we humans understood the environment as hunter-gatherers.

The world around one – sun, moon, stars, Earth, rivers and lakes, animals, fish, trees, plants, stones (those that are animate), etc. – consists of numinous relatives; we live amidst the divine. These relatives are all more powerful than humans, for humans depend on them for life, but they do not need humans to survive. We need these relations to sacrifice themselves for the many things we require: branches and bark for shelter (wigwams), canoes, baskets and firewood; skin, flesh, bones and sinews for clothing, food, tools and thread; berries, seeds (wild grains), sap and tubers for food, medicine, glue and water-proofing. We encourage our relatives to give themselves to us for these needs by crying to them, asking them to pity us and give us their lives so we may live; in turn, we reciprocate by giving them symbolic gifts, especially tobacco, by honoring them through rituals, by always speaking to them respectfully, and by never wasting their precious gifts. For if we do not, they may not listen to us again or may not come back to life so that they can again sacrifice themselves for our needs.

Humans are so weak and pitiable that not only do we need the gifts of spirits to live, we also need a special, personal relationship with one or more *manido* in order to carry out our functions and for protection from assorted

dangers. We are born into a clan, and the clan *dodem* (tutelary spirit, animal or plant) provides a generalized connection to the spirit realm but not a personal one. Hence, elders with known powerful, spiritual connections are asked to dream a name by the parents of an infant. These names provide protection to the children until they are old enough to begin creating their own connections. This is done by vision-questing through fasting, for every human must have a special relationship with a *manido* in order to live.

Children are encouraged, starting with a fast from dawn to dusk, to seek visionary experiences with the numinous, usually theriomorphic spirits (spirits in animal form). Every animal we encounter as we walk through woods and meadows, or paddle on lakes and rivers, is simultaneously an animal and a spirit. On each encounter, it is the animal who chooses in which mode she or he will relate to us; hence, we must always treat every meeting with the greatest respect. Through fasting, we encourage particular spirits to come and speak to us, to offer their powers to aid us in our supporting our family and band, to be a spiritual ally against those who might use their powers to attack us and our kin, even to be a friend. Fasting periods are increased until by adolescence, fasts are of four days or longer duration. Fasting means no food, no water, no sleep, and paying constant attention to our surroundings for those who may come. The major fast for females is at their menarche; for males, it is during puberty. But fasting continues throughout one's life, whenever there is need. For females, each cycle of the moon involves an intimate relationship with Earth and Moon, when the body is renewed and purified. This lessens the need for fasting in order to encounter the spirit realm as compared to males. Other means of communicating with the spirit realm are through lucid dreaming and the use of the Spirit Lodge (called "sweat lodge" by Euroamericans).

Some people develop relationships with the most powerful and dangerous spirits, such as Thunder or the terrible underwater being we dare not name, and can use these relationships to help other individuals or the community as a whole. There are four different types of experts with specific spiritual talents in these regards. The most powerful perform the "shaking tent" ritual, in which the spirits come and speak with one so all can hear.

The above way of life became disrupted by the earliest contacts with Europeans. These strangers brought diseases for which the people had no immunity and the majority died in repeated waves of epidemics: measles, smallpox, even the common cold. The second factor was the fur trade.

The fur trade was developed mutually, and native peoples saw it as advantageous. For, at first, easily obtainable furs from animals hitherto only occasionally hunted, native people received iron tools, brass pots and firearms.

But under the pressure of the fur trade, the beaver disappeared over much of its traditional area. Peoples of similar cultures allied together and struggled to gain trading monopolies over the disappearing beaver. Warfare replaced raiding, whose primary purpose was to exhibit masculine values, in order to take over large trading and trapping areas. The Iroquoian-speaking Haudenosaunee amalgamated into the Five (later Six) Nations, and armed by the British, drove the Anishnabeg from their traditional areas to their north and west. The Anishnabeg, armed by the French, moved west and pushed Souian-speaking peoples onto the Plains where they found the Spanish-introduced horse. The Anishnabeg returned and pushed the Six Nations south of the Great Lakes, where they remained until, siding with the British during the American Revolution, many fled into Canada.

Thus the fur trade had a major effect on relationships, both human and spiritual. Reliance on trading furs for flour, sugar, blankets and pots – all previously supplied by women through gathering and manufacture from bark and hides – led to a lessening of the economic importance of females. The trapping of beaver, requiring exclusive use of large territories by trappers, usually males, led to the concept of exclusive trapping rights by clans. Both transitions led to the bilateral clans becoming patrilineal. The use of firearms, primarily for warfare, led to a reliance on them for hunting, even though the bow was more practical in the wooded terrain, requiring the trapping of ever more beaver for guns and powder. Animals were becoming a commodity, leading to the desacralization of certain species, as well as dependency, not on the *manido*, but on Europeans. Finally, a taste developed for traded whisky, for which there were no cultural controls, unlike the native cultures in the southern part of North America, where alcohol was used ritually.

The success of the American colonists against the British led to a massive migration of Euro-Americans westward, and the Scottish Highland clearances, followed by the Irish potato famine, led to considerable migration of Europeans into the still British-held north. In both the United States and Canada, the Anishnabeg were forced onto ever-shrinking pieces of land, which the respective governments put under the control of Christian missionaries. Anishnabe children were forcibly removed from their parents and communities and placed in residential schools where they were physically brutalized for speaking their language or continuing any traditional customs, when they did not die of disease. Thus began an official policy of cultural genocide, whose purpose was to destroy native culture and religion, if not the native peoples themselves.

The traditional rituals and relationships with the spirit realm of nature were outlawed, and these laws were enforced by the military (U.S.) and police (Canada). The replacement of traditional spirituality by a simplistic

Christianity emphasizing the sinfulness of native people due to their "race," and the destruction of the traditional economy based on nature by missionary-controlled welfare led to cultural ennui, to alcoholism, despair, suicide, and the use of relationships with *manido* for sorcery (the use of spiritual power against one's own neighbors and community for personal gain). The relationship between religion and nature become extremely attenuated; the end of traditional rituals in the early twentieth century, especially vision-questing, meant that most individuals no longer had an intimate relationship with the numinous.

Traditional religion did continue, but in two ways. On the one hand, the original teachings and rituals went underground, to resurface in the 1970s. On the other hand, generations of simplistic Christian missionary teachings led to a focus on the first part of Genesis, misogynistically interpreted, and the *Pater Noster* ("Our Father") prayer. A revised form of traditional religion, reinterpreted through the missionary lens, arose. Anthropologists studying these cultures passed on to the Anishnabeg Russian scholars' misunderstandings of Siberian shamanism as the correct way to understand Anishnabe concepts.

Hence, the understanding of the numinous as a multiplicity of natural spirits was overlaid by the assumed superiority of monotheism, and prayers in English were made to a male "Creator" on the model of Genesis or "Our Father," while in the native language, the reference was made to Grandfather alone, taken from the primal generative couple of Grandmother Sky and Grandmother Earth. But these patrifocal utterances were contradicted by the traditional offerings of tobacco to Sky, Earth and the Four Directions equally. Anthropologists convinced many that it was not all of nature that was numinous, but each species had a male "Master" that alone was divine; this in a culture that had been completely egalitarian with no notion of a chief or "master" and understood that the animals on which humans relied for survival were female, as nurturing and sustenance comes from the female domain. Anthropologists also taught that individuals did not have their own relationships with the spirit realm, but only special individuals to be called by the Tungistic word, "shaman." Finally, in the late 1960s, the romantic "back to Earth" movement of the dominant culture provided a new term and concept for the female numinous Earth: "Mother Earth." This was an idealized abstraction of the Earth mother that had little reality to that numinous being, Grandmother Earth, on and by which we live, with whom we can have a vital, intimate relationship.

The actual tradition which went underground began to resurface with the formation of the American Indian Movement (AIM) in the late 1960s. Begun by Anishnabeg in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area as a force to protect urban natives from racist violence, the youths became connected

with traditionalist elders, bypassing their middle-aged parents and Euro-American-recognized political "chiefs," and began to fast, take part in Spirit Lodges, and, on the Plains, the Thirst Dance ("Sun Dance"). After a phase of militancy which brought the severe plight of native peoples to the public eye, the founding leaders involved themselves with native education and a revitalization of traditional religion.

Among the Anishnabeg, this began with the surfacing of the Midéwiwin, a quasi-institutionalized mode of traditional religion, important in its present form since the earliest days of the fur trade, that suited the modern situation. At first, young people who wished to take up the traditional spiritual life, along with Midéwiwin rituals, were forced by the Christian churches to leave their homes and create communities off the reserves. Slowly, the new traditionalist influence spread and missionaries lost control over the reserves. Non-Midéwiwin traditionalists began to publicly practice healing with natural herbs and their personal relationship with the numinous. Reserves began to gain control over their schools, health centers, police, etc., and the traditional rituals began to be openly practiced.

The Midéwiwin rituals, which hold ceremonial gatherings bringing Anishnabeg together on different reservations four times a year, create a means for urban native people to be again in nature, to fast, participate in Spirit Lodges, and attend four-day initiation and seasonal rituals. Prayers are again addressed, as in the past, to the Grandmothers and Grandfathers, honoring and respecting all aspects of the numinous. In urban areas, the availability of traditional spirituality has provided a foundation for support and health services for natives suffering from alcoholism and other ills of despair. While only a minority of Anishnabeg avail themselves of these opportunities, their numbers continually grow, and with this growth comes a renewed spiritual relationship with nature.

Along with the spiritual plight of the Anishnabeg, the leaders of the revitalized Midéwiwin focused on the contemporary human devastation of Earth, lest Earth take revenge and destroy us. Much of the Midéwiwin's activities are oriented to education concerning the predicament of our planet, as well as concern and prayers for its recovery during their ceremonials.

Jordan Paper

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See also: American Indians as "First Ecologists"; Haudenosaunee Confederacy; LaDuke, Winona; Mother Earth; Totemism.

Anthropic Principle

The term "Anthropic Principle" refers to two distinct responses – one logical and one metaphysical – to the finding by Western scientific cosmologists that the early universe provided the very conditions necessary for the existence of humankind (Gr: *anthropoi*). According to the logical response, also known as the Weak Anthropic Principle, these cosmological data simply confirm the obvious, for if the initial conditions had not been consistent with the emergence of human life, we would not have been around to observe them (see Barrow and Tipler). According to the metaphysical response, known as the Strong Anthropic Principle, the cosmological data rather provide an occasion for amazement and awe, since they show just how many highly improbable conditions had to pertain simultaneously to make human life possible; when we contemplate this fine-tuning, we may well conclude that the universe has been destined to give rise to us (see Dyson). Because of its teleological character, the Strong Anthropic Principle figures prominently in modern arguments for divine design (see Davies).

Both versions of the Anthropic Principle are inspired by the same scientific data. Cosmologists have shown that although many possible universes would fit Einstein's equations, very few could support carbon-based life. For such life to emerge, a highly particular set of laws and circumstances must pertain. For example:

If the gravitational constant had been slightly smaller, then stars and planets would not have coalesced; had it been larger, then the universe would have collapsed upon itself.

If the strong nuclear force (which holds nuclei together) had been slightly smaller, then the universe would have contained only the simplest element, hydrogen; had it been larger, then all carbon would have turned into oxygen.

If the weak nuclear force (which causes some nuclei to disintegrate) had been smaller, then no hydrogen could have formed and the universe would have

lacked hydrogen-burning stars like our sun, not to mention life-giving water; had it been larger, then supernovae would not have ejected carbon, iron, and oxygen, all essential to life.

If the electromagnetic constant had been smaller, then stars would have burned out too quickly for life to evolve; had it been larger, then stars would not have been hot enough to warm planets sufficiently for carbon-based life.

Some critics of the Strong Anthropic Principle argue that all these conditions, though highly specific, could be the result of chance if enough universes existed to make ours statistically likely. Other critics suggest that, as science progresses, we will likely learn that the seemingly arbitrary laws and circumstances of our universe are in fact necessary. Both chance and necessity are presented as challenges to the idea of cosmic design, especially by an omnipotent divine agent. In response, proponents of the Anthropic Principle typically argue that these critiques do not rule out divine design as a logical possibility – hence the reasonableness of responding to the hospitality of our universe with a sense of awe.

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Anthropologists

Anthropologists have studied religion since the beginning of the discipline through a succession of three major different theoretical and methodological approaches: ethnological, ethnographic, and ecological. The ethnological approach was developed mainly in England during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and principally by Edward B. Tylor (1832–1917) at Oxford University and James G. Frazer (1851–1941) at Cambridge University. Their method involved extensive and detailed cross-cultural comparisons through library research. Their theoretical framework was unilinear evolutionism in which so-called primitive societies were thought to reflect earlier stages in cultural evolution. Tylor considered animism, which he defined as a belief in spiritual beings, to be the foundation of all religion.

Frazer is famous for his monumental *Golden Bough*