

SPIRITUAL WARFARE AND TERRITORIAL SPIRITS: THE GLOBALIZATION AND LOCALISATION OF A "PRACTICAL THEOLOGY"¹

Jean DeBernardi
University of Alberta

Since 1989, a small number of Christian leaders have formalized a controversial "practical theology" of territorial spirits and spiritual warfare that they teach through books, internet sites, and international conferences. As a result of their efforts at promotion, the practices associated with spiritual warfare have circled the globe and found widespread acceptance among charismatic Christians. Most striking is the fact that this movement accommodates the multiplicity of 'territorial spirits' associated with different cultural forms of Christianity within a global framework. While cultural congruence appears to explain the popularity of spiritual warfare and the ministry of deliverance in countries like Guatemala and Singapore in which Christianity exists in tension with local popular religious cultures, the popularity of this movement in urban North America appears to be based on the attempt to re-enchant Protestant Christian cosmology.

After setting the scene with a discussion of the dramatic 1999 'operation' that C. Peter Wagner led to Turkey to confront the spiritual stronghold of the "Queen of Heaven," I explicate the practical theology of spiritual warfare and territorial spirits presented in the writings of key leaders in this movement, and the objections posed by some of their critics. In order to better understand the process of global diffusion of the spiritual warfare agenda, I discuss a 1998 international conference held in Guatemala at which the organizers neatly demonstrated the efficacy of spiritual warfare by showcasing a prosperous town that they claim to have taken from the control of a demonic spirit. Finally, I analyze the localized form that spiritual warfare has taken

in Singapore to demonstrate the congruence between Chinese popular religious culture and the practice of spiritual warfare that have led to a ready local acceptance of this “practical theology.”

Operation Queen’s Palace

The constellation of practices associated with spiritual warfare, including the ministry of deliverance (or exorcism), spiritual mapping, and the identification of the territorial spirits deemed responsible for the failure of evangelism, is now global in its reach and popularity. For example, recently Peter Wagner, co-founder of the “Spiritual Warfare Network,” used the internet and a 1998 book entitled *Confronting the Queen of Heaven* to invite Christians from all parts of the world to travel to Turkey in October 1999 to participate in a program of spiritual warfare. The organizers, Colorado’s Global Harvest Ministries, initially advertised the pilgrimage as “Operation Queen’s Palace,” but later changed it to “Celebration Ephesus,” and finally termed it a “Love Turkey” event. While the organizers presented the event as an expression of love for Turkish people, a love that they demonstrated with financial gifts totaling \$70,000 (U.S.) for earthquake relief, nonetheless Wagner’s rationale for the event (as explained on the website and in his book) was based in spiritual warfare theology.

Using the experiences of the apostle Paul in Ephesus as his Biblical foundation, Wagner postulates three levels of spiritual warfare. These are: (1) ground level spiritual warfare, or the casting out of demons; (2) occult-level spiritual warfare, or dealing with “powers of darkness that are more coordinated and organized,” like witchcraft, shamanism, or Freemasonry; and (3) strategic-level spiritual warfare (often abbreviated as SLSW), which involves “confrontation with the high-ranking territorial spirits which have been assigned by Satan to coordinate the activities of the kingdom of darkness over a certain area” in order to prevent people from recognizing the truth of the gospel.² According to Wagner, Paul engaged in spiritual warfare in order to convince the Ephesians that “the power of God was greater than any of the supernatural power

of darkness that the magicians were in touch with.”³ Moreover, he claims, Paul used the gospel to neutralize the power of the goddess Diana, whom he describes as “the chief territorial spirit over Ephesus and Asia Minor,” and whose temple in Ephesus was one of the seven wonders of the world.⁴

Moving to the present, Wagner argues that a territorial spirit, whom he identifies as the Queen of Heaven, continues to be responsible for making many unreached peoples “impervious to receiving the great blessing that God desires to pour out upon them and upon their nations.”⁵ He hints that she takes many forms, including Diana (the goddess whom Paul himself defeated in Ephesus), and the Virgin Mary. The real Mary, he argued, was in heaven, however Diana assumed the form of the “counterfeit Mary,” who took on many of Diana’s attributes, including an iconic association with the crescent moon, and the title “Queen of Heaven.”⁶ Moreover, he revealed that a small group of intercessors already had conducted a secret prayer journey to Mount Everest, whose Nepalese and Tibetan names (the intercessors discovered) meant “Mother of the Universe.” During this campaign, which they called “Operation Ice Castle,” they “assaulted” the “seat of the Mother of the Universe,” a wall of ice 20,000 feet high.⁷

Undeterred by the August 17th earthquake, in October 1999, 3,000 to 5,000 pilgrims from more than fifty countries—including South Africa, Greenland, Peru, Taiwan, and Korea—first crisscrossed Turkey in small prayer groups, and then assembled in the ancient Roman amphitheater in Ephesus for a four-hour service to “celebrate what organizers say is the breaking of the power of a major global spiritual stronghold.”⁸ Let me now discuss some of the sources for this striking new “practical theology,” and its associated practices.

Spiritual Strongholds

While cultural historians and anthropologists often document the impact of events and trends on local cultures, most assume that cultural flows move from the centre to the periphery.

In the diverse mix of denominations, sectarian movements, and independent churches that make up contemporary Christianity, however, we see far more complex vectors of influence, and the emergence of new global centres, many of which sit outside the traditional centres of power in world Christianity in countries like Korea and Singapore, Argentina and Brazil. And while many still hold the stereotyped view that Christianity is a European cultural product (despite its Middle Eastern origins), contemporary evangelical Christianity demonstrates that new understandings of Biblical texts may emerge in the multiple, diverse contact zones in which world Christianity (or its representatives) interact with local cultures.⁹

In recent years, a number of Christian authors (including Peter Wagner) have sought to develop a new theology and new practices that critics often note are based not on a close hermeneutic reading of the Bible, but rather on their claim to have received ongoing revelation and direction from the Holy Spirit. Among other sources, this new theology draws authority from a rich fund of anecdotal accounts provided by ministers and missionaries who report experiencing powerful, disturbing encounters with local spirits. Drawing together certain Bible passages with these contemporary revelations and experiences, those who support this new theology argue that unconverted regions of the world are under the control of territorial spirits (which one author identifies as “cultural ethnic demons”) who are rooted in specific “geographical areas and population centres.”¹⁰ Armed with this new awareness, in the 1990s Wagner and others developed and promoted the constellation of practices associated with the spiritual warfare movement, including prayer journeys like the pilgrimage to Mount Ephesus. While critics charge that the practices associated with spiritual warfare are extra-Biblical, Wagner claims to have been directly inspired by the Holy Spirit, noting that he and other Christian leaders sensed in the early 1990s that “the Holy Spirit is saying, ‘Prepare for warfare.’”¹¹

The movement drew impetus from a number of sources, including an influential 1989 book by John Dawson entitled *Taking*

Our Cities for God. In that book, Dawson argues that in order to evangelize a city like Los Angeles, people must identify the 'territorial spirits' that prevent evangelism. He views the diversity of human cultures as a divine product, but he adds that "Satan has assigned a hierarchy of principalities, powers and rulers of darkness to specific territories on earth. In this way Satan has marked the culture of every people on earth with some of His own characteristics."¹² While Dawson admits that it is more difficult to discern the demonic in modern urban culture than in an animistic tribe, he proposes that people seek to discern the specific type of oppression active in that city: "We associate New York with mammon, Chicago with violence, Miami with political intrigue."¹³

While Dawson may have popularized the practice of spiritual warfare with this book, many attribute its initial development to Korean pastor Paul Yonggi Cho. In the book's early pages, Dawson himself noted that Cho inspired him to develop this new approach to spiritual warfare:

I sat on the platform with other preachers listening as Paul Yonggi Cho, pastor of Yoido Full Gospel Church, Seoul, Korea, spoke to the crowd about spiritual warfare. As he testified about a hair-raising personal confrontation with an evil spirit, the Holy Spirit turned my thoughts towards the ministry of Jesus recorded in the Gospels. Jesus seems to have been in constant confrontation with demons. He regularly discerned their presence and their work.¹⁴

Cho is pastor of what is often called the world's largest church, and he himself attributes his success in Seoul to the overcoming of demonic oppression. He reports:

The key to breaking that bondage was the casting out of a demon from a woman who had lain paralyzed for seven years. When, after months of prayer, the demon oppressing her was cast out and

she was healed, our church exploded with growth. The sky above the village was broken open and the blessings of God began pouring down....The growth of our Church and the growth of Christianity throughout the nation of Korea did not come by accident. It came through fervent, violent, prevailing prayer.¹⁵

Some Western Christians have criticized Cho, however, for developing what they term 'Christian animism.' One polemical Christian author, for example, has observed:

A trait of Korean Christianity is the tendency to see Christianity as a path to material prosperity. That tendency is a residue of shamanism, the native folk religion in Korea and other northeast Asian countries for shamanism. In shamanism, you ask the shaman (a sort of medicine man or woman) to intercede with the spirits to ensure your health or business success...

The religious disposition of the Koreans is both harnessed and exploited by the "Christianity" of Paul Yonggi Cho in his blatant mix of sorcery, mind-over-matter, self-interest, Sinkyo, Japanese Buddhism, and Christianity. But to mix pagan ideas and practices with the pure religion of Christ is condemned in Scripture as the heinous sin of idolatry. It is a marriage of Christianity and the occult...¹⁶

The fusion of shamanism and Christianity that this author describes in particular characterizes many local forms of the ministry of deliverance. While the ministry of deliverance has strong biblical precedent and is shared by many Christian denominations (charismatic and non-charismatic alike), this ministry takes on new dimensions for participants in the spiritual warfare movement.

Spiritual warfare is strikingly congruent with the practices of shamanistic exorcism. A gulf exists, however, between “spiritual warfare” practices in regions like North America where shamanism is a rare and marginal social practice and societies in which shamanic rituals are commonly performed as a remedy for human misfortune. While Western authors like Dawson can only identify territorial spirits with abstractions that name the effects attributed to demonic forces (“the spirit of apathy”), Korean or Chinese or African Christians have developed a much more fully realized cosmology of evil, and also perhaps an experientially based appreciation of the New Testament passages that describe the casting out of spirits as part of Jesus and the apostles’ practice. While undoubtedly many North American participants find spiritual warfare to be experientially powerful and empowering, this ministry appears to be especially compelling for Christians whose cultural background includes the experience of shamanic performances.

While the experience of shamanism may be lacking in North America, charismatic Christians are not lacking in imaginative interpretations of evil that invoke demonic possession to explain dark events. In particular, the Christian novel is a popular genre through which the theology of spiritual warfare finds an important outlet. Take, for example, Frank E. Peretti’s 1986 best-selling Christian novel, *This Present Darkness*—a publication that precedes most of the published Christian books on spiritual warfare.¹⁷ One of the main characters in this novel is a winged “Strongman” who commands his tall, “loathsome” generals and troops to take a small town. The Strongman enters the body of Kaseph, a power-driven member of a “Universal Consciousness Society,” and thus possessed, Kaseph seeks to take over the local college in the name of this non-Christian organization. In the end, however, the Christian characters—identified as the ‘Christian Remnant’—use prayer to bind, rebuke, and cast out the Strongman and his demonic troops. Peretti’s vivid account of demonic possession and expulsion is—as the book’s cover announces—a novel. For those who believe in demonic possession, however,

these imagined events compel belief, transcending the allegorical dimension of this story.

Wagner acknowledged the unevenness of the popularity of the spiritual warfare program in a recent lecture, noting ruefully that ministers in his community (currently Colorado Springs) still were debating whether territorial spirits existed ten years after the leaders of this movement had identified them, and complaining that few American cities had “powerful ministries of deliverance.” By contrast, he described almost enviously the vibrancy of the deliverance ministry in several large South American churches, adding that in the fastest growing church in Bogota, Columbia, every convert was required to undergo a two to three day retreat to “get all the demons cast out.”¹⁸

While the ministry of deliverance is an important component of spiritual warfare, an equally central practice is “intercession,” or prayer on behalf of others. For example, Singaporean Christians who are involved with the spiritual warfare movement commonly gather to “pray for nations,” dividing into small groups to pray for the world’s diverse countries and “unreached people groups.” As a resource for intercession, participants draw on encyclopaedic databases on the world’s nations and cultures, including a thick atlas of the world’s countries known as *Operation World*, designed to be used as the basis for a program of prayer.¹⁹

Equally influential is the work of George Otis Jr., the founder and president of the Sentinel Group, a Christian research and information agency in Lynnwood, Washington. Together with Peter Wagner, he coordinates the “A.D. 2000 and Beyond Movement’s United Prayer Track,” which uses the Internet to coordinate global events of simultaneous prayer and fasting. Otis’s definition of spiritual strongholds, like Dawson’s, suggests that they are simultaneously occult and social:

...spiritual strongholds are the invisible structures of thought and authority that are erected through the combined agency of demonic influence and human

will. In this sense they are not demons, but the place from which demons operate.²⁰

Otis has articulated a vision of evangelism that focuses on what he identifies as the “Strongholds of the 10/40 Window,” meaning the countries that lie within the area from 10 degrees to 40 degrees north of the equator, including Northern Africa, the Middle East, India, China, and Mainland Southeast Asia. This area, he notes, “is littered with an astonishing diversity of natural and man-made sacred sites” which are “important points of contact with the spirit world,” but also “targetable elements in the Enemy’s deceptive web.”²¹ As the book’s cover also notes, “the 10/40 Window contains the birthplace of every major non-Christian religion on earth—Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Shintoism, Taoism, Confucianism, Bahai, Sikhism, Judaism, and Jainism.”

Participants in the movement to break spiritual strongholds follow activities that are both local and global in scope. First, they actively seek to “map” their communities in order to identify spiritual strongholds, a ‘diagnostic’ technique for intercessors that Wagner compares to x-rays.²² Through “spiritual mapping,” church members seek to assess the status of Christianity in their community. Specific activities include identifying the “prevailing social bondages” (such as social problems, vices, and militancy on the part of “sinners”); competing worldviews and allegiances (non-Christian religions and events; influential deities and role models, and spiritual opposition, including “demonic powers”), and the history of the development of the community.²³ Once they have gathered this information, they engage in three activities that take them outside their churches and into the larger world to attack spiritual strongholds. These are: (1) prayer walking, in which they walk inconspicuously in small groups to pray, targeting areas that they have identified as spiritual strongholds (like a red light district, a bar-filled street, or a Masonic lodge); (2) prayer marches, in which they gather en masse to process through city streets to a site where they hold a well-publicized rally; and (3) prayer journeys, where they travel in groups to visit powerful “spiritual

strongholds” that transcend local communities. Members of the A.D. 2000 network also participate in global programs of coordinated prayer that they term “Praying through the 10/40 Window.” For example, Peter Wagner’s widely publicized prayer journey “Operation Queen’s Palace,” was the occasion for united prayer on the site of Ephesus by those making the prayer journey, but also involved the global participation of believers who were mobilized to “pray in one accord” for the targeted country.²⁴

From the Experience of Evil to a Practical Theology

While many seek Biblical precedence for the ritual practice of binding spirits (as Wagner did in his 1998 book on the Queen of Heaven), their discussions also are permeated with narratives of spiritual warfare that are drawn from the evangelical mission field. The practice of justifying their claims using narratives based on the personal experiences of ministers or missionaries led critics to accuse them of basing their new theology on anecdote rather than Biblical authority.²⁵ In 1991, for example, Peter Wagner published a book entitled *Territorial Spirits: Insights on Strategic-Level Spiritual Warfare from Nineteen Christian Leaders*, in which he set out the tenets of spiritual warfare, and announced that it was to be the cutting edge Christian movement for the 1990s.

In this edited volume, Wagner presented articles by 18 authors, each of whom describes experiences of spiritual warfare that took place throughout the world—in Argentina, Korea, Thailand, Japan, Columbia, Zimbabwe, Zaire, and California. Many of these authors describe mysterious, frightening events: one missionary died suddenly after cutting down a tree that was the site of animistic worship, another lost family members after destroying a Japanese family idol, while a third tried to proselytize in a Canadian First Nations village and the local village demon jumped on his back.

These authors also describe ritual practices that they developed in the mission field to combat these spirits. Thus one missionary who was having little success proselytizing in Thailand decided to engage in spiritual warfare one day a week in the forest, an activity that evokes Thai Buddhist forest meditation. Another cast demons out of a Zairean witch doctor, and in the process of the exorcism learned the names of the Zairean demons (which included): "Guard of the Ancestors, Spirit of Travel, Feeder of the Dead, Rescuer from Sorcery, Voice of the Dead, Spreader of Illness, Paralyzer, Destroyer in Water, Healer, and many others."²⁶ One striking dimension of this literature, then, is that these evangelical ministers, far from dismissing animist and ancestral spirits as superstitious, instead acknowledge their existence and challenge their power. They seek to identify these spirits by name, and to confront them through prayer, often acknowledging their failure to take territory from them.

Two of these cases of 'power evangelism' are worth examining in more detail. Paul Long describes an elder in his church in Zaire. The elder had no sons, and since he could not take a second wife and remain a Christian, he left his Christian wife and returned to his village to marry again. The missionary visited him there, and on meeting his friend, immediately discerned that he "had been talking with spirits and seeking their power in his life." After the two men hunted together, they rested at his house, in the "very center of spirit worship for the tribe." Although the medicine man sat nearby, the missionary decided to preach from the tribal spirit mound. His friend beat the drum to assemble a crowd, but when they gathered, the missionary, in his words, "felt the cold fingers of death press around my throat and I could not speak. As I stood there in foolish helplessness, the medicine people laughed; it sounded like voices from hell." His friend observed that: "You should have known better. This is the devil's turf. You have no right or power here." On learning that the ruin of a Christian chapel stood elsewhere in the village, the missionary decided to preach there, and reported that this time he was able to speak with power and clarity. The villagers decided to rebuild the church.²⁷

Vernon J. Sterk, who worked as a missionary to Zinacanteco, Mexico, reported "...the ominous domination of that area was so oppressive that we could literally feel it, even though our worldview did not yet allow us to recognize the specific evil spirits that were identified by the Indian people." He further noted that "[e]ven a non-Christian anthropologist who lived in that same village for six months commented to us about the spiritual oppression that she felt was so pervasive there." Interestingly, he observes that non-Christian Tzotils would visit Christian Tzotils who lived outside of tribal boundaries when they believed that territorial spirits were afflicting them, and that they relied on their Christian hosts to pray to cast out their afflicting spirit.²⁸

These accounts reveal that while spiritual warfare appears to be radically anti-syncretic, it nonetheless is a profoundly localized form of Christian practice that is the product of the encounter between Christianity and non-Christian cultures. Missionaries long have faced the challenge of translating the Bible into local languages and cultural idioms while preserving its essential message in the face of competing cosmologies. Translators must seek equivalents for Biblical concepts in local languages that are permeated with very world views that they are seeking to transform. Rather than denying the existence of power of the ancestors, spirits, and deities worshipped in many non-Christian religions, Christian evangelists instead identified them as Satanic.

In many forms of world Christianity, an important consequence of the diabolizing of a people's former gods and ancestral spirits is that they continue to live in the imagination as powerful forces through which people explain misfortune. Moreover, continued belief in these spirits often leads to demands for Christian responses to evil. In her discussion of Ewe Christians in Ghana, for example, Birgit Meyer argues that continued belief in witches and evil spirits was an "unintended and undesired consequence of vernacularization," concluding that "through the Devil, the spiritual beings of the old religion became part of Ewe Protestantism."²⁹ Ultimately, the cultural blending involved not only a synthesis of meaning, but also of practice. In particular

African Pentecostal Churches developed ritual forms of healing that were congruent with traditional African practices, leading Kiernan to conclude that Pentecostal religions harnessed the “resources of Christianity” to “satisfy African concerns with health and wellbeing.”³⁰ Meyer also concludes that the development of Pentecostal rituals to seek deliverance (including ritual remedies for witchcraft attacks) was a form of grassroots ‘Africanization’ of Christianity that addressed peoples’ desire for solutions to the existential problems posed by the “very material lack of health, wealth and fertility.”³¹

The theology of spiritual warfare acknowledges the existence of local ‘demonic’ spirits associated with different geographical locations. In the non-Western world, these territorial spirits usually are the ancestral spirits, idols, and saints of varied animistic or ‘folk’ religions, including syncretic forms of Catholicism. In the literature on territorial spirits, however, we find a movement from the missionary’s experience of these spirits who are known to the peoples whom they seek to convert, and a kind of reciprocal conversion, in which they come to believe that these local spirits indeed have tremendous power, and may be responsible for their failures of proselytization. The solution is one familiar to shamanistic healers: they must learn to name the afflicting spirits, and only then can they seek to ‘bind’ them and cast them out. Their most powerful weapon is, of course, prayer. As one Argentinian minister observes: “This approach has made prayer exciting. When people pray they expect something to happen. They engage the enemy and they bind him. And then they move on and loot his camp.”³²

By contrast, in more secularized Western societies, spiritual warriors more often identify “social bondages” like drug use, alcohol abuse, and homosexuality as the targets for spiritual warfare, even if these activities are not associated with the worship of particular deities. While significant congruence exists between many forms of popular religious culture and forms of spiritual warfare, there is no such fit between, for example, the sociocultural practices of San Francisco’s gay subculture and the ministry of

deliverance, except perhaps a metaphoric one in which 'sins' are equated with 'evil spirits.' By contrast, for Christians whose cultural roots include in particular the shamanistic worship of non-Christian spirits, spiritual warfare dramatically enacts the tension between traditional beliefs and practices and Christian beliefs and practices as a battle of spiritual forces.

The Theological and Practical Critiques

While the spiritual warfare movement has enjoyed widespread popularity, opposition to this movement has been growing both among ministers and theologians, many of whom note that while the Bible indicates that Christians have authority over demonic spirits, there is little biblical evidence for territorial spirits, and even less justification for the practice of "strategic level spiritual warfare."³³ According to Wagner, another obstacle to acceptance of his theology is the stance taken by some denominations that "Christians cannot be demonized."³⁴ A more immediate threat to this practice, however, is the opposition that has arisen to it among those who recognize its potential volatility. The practice of praying for the conversion of non-Christians during their major religious events has deeply offended some non-Christians, leading to the charge that in their evangelical zeal, those engaged in spiritual warfare are not sufficiently tolerant of the beliefs and practices of others. A recent article in the *Christian Science Monitor*, for example, notes that "the more aggressive, potentially confrontational aspects of these practices raise concerns within and beyond the evangelical community."³⁵

These protests have had an impact on those practicing spiritual warfare. For example, organizers renamed "Operation Queen's Palace" to "Celebration Ephesus," apparently in response to complaints from church leaders who feared that a mass gathering of Christians "claiming victory over a Middle Eastern god could be perceived as militant." More acceptable to them was a recent "[1997] Reconciliation Walk," an event in which

Christians retraced the steps of the medieval Crusades to apologize for the “holy wars.”³⁶

While some criticize this movement for its potential to set off new holy wars, others have attacked the “practical theology” that leaders like Peter Wagner have developed to justify these practices. The most developed critique to date is a book written by Chuck Lowe, a lecturer at Singapore Bible College, who in teaching Singaporean Chinese students discovered that they had no doubt about the existence of territorial spirits since they “knew from Chinese religion that spirits are territorial.” Noting (as I did earlier) that popular authors like Vernon Sterk demonstrate the reality of territorial spirits by “empirical observation” in cultures that assume the existence of such spirits, Lowe questions whether animism is “a reliable source for Christian belief and practice.”³⁷

Lowe assaults the validity of Wagner’s “practical theology” on a number of fronts. Most devastating perhaps is his argument that the construction of spirit taxonomies was characteristic not of the Bible, but rather of the medieval Church. He documents that the reforming founders of Protestantism—Martin Luther, John Wesley, and John Calvin—rejected these Medieval teachings about demons, and stresses (like many sceptical Christian authors and ministers) that “Satan is subject to the sovereignty of God.”³⁸ He notes, however, that many of the Christians involved in this movement believe that their leaders have received direct, ongoing revelation from the Spirit, and are unlikely to be swayed by the argument that these claims must be tested against Scripture.³⁹

The Globalization and Localization of Spiritual Warfare: Maximon and the Transformation of Amolonga

As I have discussed above, the practice of spiritual warfare is based not only on Biblical precedent but also on the experience of evangelists in a variety of mission fields. At present, however, its proponents have formalized it into a practical theology that

circulates the globe in books and on internet sites. Moreover, a small network of globetrotting charismatic ministers promote the ministry of deliverance in international conferences and talks, while local churches teach these now decade-old practices at weekend seminars. In a 1999 talk at a church in Red Deer, Alberta, Peter Wagner concludes that these global networks of relations are a powerful new force in Christianity, and that the organized, hierarchical churches are "old wineskins."⁴⁰

Simon Coleman has noted that for charismatic Christians, the power of international conferences derives from the fact that they draw together participants from nations in all parts of the globe, an indication of the diffusion and influence of their form of Christianity. He adds that like pilgrimage sites, these conferences also diffuse their influence throughout the world, but through mass media rather than relics.⁴¹ Consideration of a recent international conference will highlight the processes by which the practices of spiritual warfare have been both localized and diffused through travel, pilgrimage, and mass media, in the "multisource diffusion of parallel developments" that is contemporary charismatic Christianity.⁴²

In October 27-31 of 1998, El Shaddai Church in Guatemala sponsored a "1998 Global Conference on Intercession, Spiritual Warfare, and Evangelism" in Guatemala City. The conference, whose estimated 5,000 participants included delegations from 115 countries (Pilon 1998), demonstrated the global reach of the spiritual warfare agenda. Ministers from all regions of the world—Africa, the South Pacific, Latin America, North America, Asia, and Europe—took the stage to report on developments and experiences in their countries. Among those addressing the participants were leaders of the spiritual warfare movement, including Peter Wagner, Harold Caballeros, George Otis, Edgardo Silvosio, and Dr. Don Petry.

As Martyn Percy points out, the Charismatic Renewal Movement is a "culture of rallies, crusades and camp revivals" that includes experiences similar to those of classic pilgrimages.⁴³ He notes, however, that by contrast with Catholicism, the ecclesiology

of Protestantism contains no theology of 'place,' since, for Protestants, linking God to a place is "too constraining and routinized."⁴⁴ By contrast, the "practical theology" of spiritual warfare endows place with deep spiritual significance, since territories are the sites of important battles for souls. Perhaps not surprisingly, then, the Guatemala City conference not only provided an opportunity for charismatic Christians to meet, share their experiences, engage in rituals of reconciliation, and pray against spiritual strongholds, but also was the occasion of a collective pilgrimage to the site of an alleged victory over a territorial spirit.

El Shaddai's minister, Harold Caballeros, claimed that evangelical Christians had liberated a small market town from a powerful territorial spirit, Maximon (also known as San Simón). On the final day of the conference, the organizers took 50 busloads of participants to Amolonga, carefully orchestrating a collective "Triumphal Entry" into the town. Conference organizers also sold a video at the event ("The Miracle City Almolonga: A Look at Community Transformation") in which they documented their victory over Maximon. Moreover, it seems likely that the organizers had deliberately scheduled the Global congress to coincide with Maximon's festival, an event popular with tourists, believing (as one speaker put it) that the "survival system of evil spirits" was grounded in local religious festivals.⁴⁵

In a 1998 book coedited by Harold Caballeros—the pastor of El Shaddai Church—and Mell Winger, director of the Bible Institute at El Shaddai Church, and sold as a conference proceedings for the event, Winger contributed an essay on the transformation of Almolonga. According to Winger, 90% of the 18,000 ethnically Quiche residents of Almolonga are now born again Christians. Twenty five years ago, he claims, they served Maximon, a "perverse idol" who is associated with "the vices of smoking, drinking liquor, and immorality." He describes worship of Maximon thus:

Maximon is a 3-foot idol consisting of a clay mask and a wood and cloth body. He receives the kisses of the faithful who kneel before him. Placing at his

feet bottles of liquor purchased with their meager earnings, they hope against hope that their offering will bring blessing and healing. The priest offers lit cigars to the idol, and taking a mouthful of the liquor offering, spews it over the devotees. The followers leave expecting a blessing, perhaps receiving a demonic display of power, but nonetheless slipping deeper and deeper into an abyss of oppression.⁴⁶

Winger notes that Maximon is considered the patron saint of many mountain villages. An Assemblies of God minister, however, practiced a ministry of deliverance in Amolonga, and "when believers asked a demon to identify itself, 'Maximon' was sometimes uttered by the oppressed one." Among those saved was even a priest of Maximon, who was born-again after a month-long drinking binge that left him seriously ill. After his conversion, his family burned his idols and magical paraphernalia, and he left for the mountains "to fast and seek the Lord."⁴⁷

Hedonistic pleasures sometimes find their patron saints in quasi-demonic beings like Maximon whose followers perform magical rituals to ensure their worldly success and pleasures.⁴⁸ No surprisingly, the theologians of spiritual warfare see in such quasi-demonic forms of worship proof of the association between idol worship and sin. Maximon is a particularly appropriate saint to represent the antithesis of Christian values, since he is a worldly rogue whose followers offer him liquor and cigars; a Catholic saint born of the fusion of Catholicism and Mayan religion, pan-Mayanists now purify his image of Christian influences and celebrate his Mayan-ness, claiming an essentialised, tribal identity that also exists in tension with the universalizing demands of a world religion like Christianity.⁴⁹

Winger attributes many transformations in Almolonga to conversion, including the improvement of the status of women, family harmony, a work ethic, and economic renewal. Moreover, he claims, Almolonga's jail closed, and converts transformed their

bars into small shops with Christian names like "Little Jerusalem."⁵⁰ In a discussion that evokes Max Weber's arguments about ascetic Protestantism and the spirit of capitalism, Winger also observes that when men stopped spending their money on liquor, they began to save and invest their profits. As a consequence of spiritual renewal, he concluded, the farmers began to "plan ahead and invest in topsoil and fertilizers," with the result that they have enjoyed a commercial boom, and now export their produce to other countries."⁵¹

Recent ethnographic research in Almolonga supports Winger's claim that a connection exists between "trade, capitalization and conversion," although the researchers conclude that changing economic circumstances have meant that the residents of Almolonga need to explore new lifestyles, lifestyles that Protestant belief systems help validate, and for which they offer practical support.⁵² As Vasquez concludes in his study of Salvadoran and Peruvian Christian transnationalism, the popularity of Pentecostalism is in part due to the fact that "to be Pentecostal is to be modern, to escape the fatal traditionalism of Catholicism."⁵³

For the Christian practitioners of spiritual warfare, Maximon represents a powerful territorial spirit who seeks to prevent the evangelism of Mayan peoples. Radically anti-syncretic, evangelical Christians demand that those who are born again destroy their old cultural symbols and practices, burning magical paraphernalia, smashing idols, and even exorcizing the spirit of Maximon from their converts. Claiming victory, they have labelled Almolonga a 'miracle city,' promoting it (at the Global Congress at least) as a sacred pilgrimage site for Christians from all parts of the world, whom local organizers invited there to witness this remarkable transformation. The city now showcases the success of evangelical Christianity, a success measured not only in number of converts, but also by the development of a Protestant work ethic and the growth of material prosperity. Just as Almolonga's market gardeners now sell their produce in a global marketplace, so too Almolonga's evangelists market this miracle narrative for global export through videotape, essay, and the charismatic pilgrims

themselves, who return to their home churches armed with stories of their own experiences of this new sacred site.

The Localisation of the Ministry of Deliverance in Contemporary Singapore

The wave of revival associated with spiritual warfare also has had significant impact on the practice of charismatic Christianity in Singapore. As I observed during three periods of ethnographic research in 1995, 1997, and 1999, the congruence between this form of Christian ritual practice and the practices of Chinese popular religious culture is striking. As in the African examples briefly discussed above, Christian conversion has involved the demonizing of local spirits, but people continue to experience these spirits as powerful and potentially malicious forces in their lives. Consequently, many Singaporean Chinese Christians participate enthusiastically in spiritual warfare campaigns and in the globally coordinated activities of Wagner's "A.D. 2000 and Beyond" Movement's United Prayer Track.

In the discussion that follows, I focus on what Peter Wagner calls "ground level spiritual warfare," which is closely related to the more widespread ministry of deliverance. By comparison with 'Strategic Level Spiritual Warfare,' the ministry of deliverance has strong Biblical precedent, and is readily acceptable to a range of evangelical and charismatic Christians. At the same time, the ministry of deliverance neatly fits with Chinese popular religious beliefs about the spirit world, and this congruence may explain its widespread popularity in contemporary Singapore. As Murray Rubinstein has noted, congruence, which he defines as "the existence of key parallel cultural patterns and structures," has been key to the success of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in Taiwan.⁵⁴ For example, Taiwanese Christians perceive the similarities that exist between 'gifts of the spirit' and the practice of spirit mediums (or shamans) who are possessed by the spirits of

deities, albeit claiming that they are possessed by the 'true spirit' while the spirit mediums are demon-possessed.⁵⁵

As with Maximon in Guatemala, Singaporean Christians often identify the deities of popular religious culture as demonic opponents, and enact dramatic rituals to expel them. These rituals are simultaneously syncretic and anti-syncretic, for they assume the reality of 'evil spirits,' and identify them with an almost anthropological precision at the same time that they seek to ensure that Chinese Christians engage in rituals of rejection and repudiation. Ironically, these rituals show striking parallels to the rituals used by Chinese spirit mediums to subordinate and exorcize harmful spirits.

In the popular religious tradition, people commonly employ spirit mediums to exorcize spirits who trouble humans, causing them illness and misfortune. In the urban village where I did research on Chinese popular religion in Malaysia, for example, four spirit mediums held regular healing consultations within a five minute walk of my house. People who follow this tradition view some misfortune as the result of spiritual obstacles or opponents, and seek spiritual remedies to remove them. The deities possessing these spirit mediums typically are martial artist gods who 'whip dirty things,' or ghosts, in order to drive them away. They also offer rituals to change a person's luck, and charms for protection.⁵⁶

While the evangelical deliverance ministry does not employ the spangled, bright costumes or intimidating weapons used by spirit mediums, nonetheless they do offer a dramatized ritual performance that performatively enacts the repudiation and expulsion of these spirits, as well as offering an opportunity for an emotionally-charged catharsis. Moreover, the language of deliverance employs metaphors of war, of weapons, enemies, of opposing spiritual forces and spiritual attacks that is highly congruent with the popular religious language of spiritual opponents, and martial artist protector deities.⁵⁷ In the Christian case, the main 'weapon of war' is praise (song) and prayer.

In Singapore, the deliverance ministry was widely popular both among members of a variety of charismatic and independent

Churches, but also among members of major denominations. Singapore's Anglican Bishop and Archbishop, for example, have strongly supported the adoption of charismatic forms of worship in Singapore's Cathedral, and have been active in promoting many of the programs associated with Peter Wagner's A.D. 2000 and Beyond United Prayer Track. In a 1997 interview with a high-ranking Anglican, he explained that many years earlier Bill Subritzky, an evangelical Anglican minister from New Zealand, had generated deep interest in the ministry of deliverance through a dramatic act of exorcism. According to Subritzky's account of this event, a previous Bishop had invited him to Singapore to conduct a deliverance ministry. Part way through the seminar, the Bishop interrupted him to say that he believed that there were demons in the cathedral. At that time, according to Subritzky, "The Holy Spirit showed me a black angel of death some three metres high, over the top of the cathedral."⁵⁸ The Bishop informed him that during World War II, the Japanese had brought all the Australian nurses in Singapore to the grounds of the Cathedral, where they massacred them and buried them. They decided to form a procession, and to "march around the cathedral Jericho-style," successfully exorcizing this angel of death.⁵⁹ Subritzky attributed the subsequent success of Christian renewal in Singapore to this ritual act of deliverance. In his published work he speaks of spiritual forces, but Subritzky also identifies as opponents the more abstract spirits of division, sectarianism, lust, pride, and envy that may plague a nation, a city, or a congregation. The Anglicans also engage in spiritual mapping, and one minister noted that the Anglican cathedral stood on a geomantically powerful location where the five dragons that form Singapore island converge. Thus within the framework of spiritual warfare, even geomancy—the Chinese occult science of mapping the spiritual forces in the landscape—finds a place.

In 1997, an Anglican lay minister led a workshop on 'Deliverance from Demons,' which involved anointing through song in order to make the meeting place sacred. Some of the songs are saturated with the symbolism of spiritual warfare, and the use of song to open the event and invite the anointing of the Holy

Spirit for me powerfully evoked the sung invocations with which Chinese spirit medium trance sessions begin. By contrast, the instructional section of the seminar was didactic, and closely followed an outline that had been distributed to all seminar participants. The instructor taught the class Biblical names for Satan, presenting Bible support for the idea that exorcism is a dimension of Christian ministry, then identified sources of demonic influence. By contrast with the Biblical discussion, which echoed accounts found in many books on spiritual warfare, the identification of these sources of demonic influence were thoroughly grounded in Singaporean Chinese popular religious practice, and included ancestor worship, adoption by gods (which is commonly arranged in order to provide protection for sickly children), consulting spirit mediums, visiting fortune tellers, drinking charmed water or eating food offered to idols, and participating in martial arts. Singaporean society is urban and cosmopolitan, and the list of ways to become demonized also included listening to satanically-inspired music, and participation in the New Age movement. Finally, in the last two classes the instructor invited people to come forward to the altar. The sedate, well-ordered event was then transformed, as many were 'slain in the spirit,' falling into the arms of lay ministers, while others screamed and vomited as spirits left them. As this transformation took place, the instructor moved among them, commanding the spirits of the popular religious pantheon to leave these Christians. "Spirit of the God of Prosperity—I command you to get out! Get out!"

In an interview, an Anglican minister who—despite his training and affiliation had adopted the style of an independent church—provided further context for the ministry of deliverance. Most interesting were two narratives that he offered me in an interview concerning his attempt to deliver two Chinese spirit mediums. While both attempts failed, these narratives illuminate the conflict and convergence between the two traditions.

Let me summarize the more dramatic of these two cases. In this narrative, the minister recounted his experience in seeking to deliver a spirit medium who was deeply involved in the occult. The

spirit medium was rumored to have killed nine men, and at one point took refuge in a Thai monastery, where he learned divination and meditation techniques. Since Chinese consider Thai monks to have extraordinary magical powers, this added greatly to his mystique when he returned to Singapore and set up an altar in his home. People believed that this spirit medium could tell everything about you by hearing your footstep, and many came to him for love magic that would allow them to bewitch the object of their affection. The spirit medium was successful, and spent his money on a "bad lifestyle" (which usually means a hedonistic life spent pursuing pleasure and excitement in nightclubs and at the racetrack, and also sometimes investment in illegal, high profit activities like drug trafficking).

Finally, however, the spirit medium felt that his possessing demons were demanding far too much of him. A client had come to him with terrible boils on his skin. The spirit medium went into trance, and when he awoke he found his client had placed fifty eggs in front of him. He fell into a trance again, and when he came to, the eggs were gone. When he asked what happened, the client told him that he had slid around on the floor like a snake, and eaten the eggs. He then had sucked the pus out of the client's wounds. The spirit medium became very ill, vomiting up the eggs, and the next day he had ulcers in his mouth. When he tried to rid himself of the demon, however, the demon threw him off a third-floor balcony, and he injured his legs.

The minister reported that when the man came to church, he would 'saw at' his tongue with his teeth, which he interpreted to mean that the spirits still controlled him. And when the minister sought to exorcize the spirits, he manifested many different spirits, sliding along the floor like a snake, or flying through the air and landing on the floor in a lotus position like a Buddha. While his entire family converted, hoping to save him from this terrible life, the spirit medium himself returned to his mediumistic practice, unwilling to give up his dissolute lifestyle.

Following this story, the minister observed that his church took a strong stand "vis-a-vis the other traditions," and required

converts to submit to the ministry of deliverance before they were baptized. This practice suggests, then, that the ministry of deliverance may be used as what Arnold Van Gennep would term of ritual of separation from an old identity prior to entry into a Christian community.⁶⁰ The minister also noted that some found this practice intolerant of other religions, since these spiritual alternatives were deemed demonic. Perhaps it is not surprising, then, that between 1997 and 1999—a period of increasing violence against Asian Christians—the rhetoric of spiritual warfare had become self-consciously muted, with less talk of “binding” evil spirits, and more emphasis on love for non-Christian others.

Conclusion

In recent years, anthropologists increasingly have explored culture change in light of the creative hybridization of elements drawn from different traditions. As anthropologist Ulf Hannerz notes, culture flows in transnational networks, and “the transnational and the territorial cultures of the world are entangled with one another in manifold ways.”⁶¹ As a collective structure of meaning, the constellation of practices associated with spiritual warfare is global in its scope. At the same time, these practices—which have been diffused throughout the world through travelling ministers, prayer rallies, books, websites, videotapes, and audiotapes—are differently grounded and localized in the many cultural contexts in which Christians have taken them up. The channels of influence do not flow, however, from Western Christian centers to Asian, African, and South American ‘peripheries.’ Rather, a syncretic blend of animism and Christianity—which appears to have roots in the shamanic cultures of Asia, Africa, and Latin America—has found its way to the more secularized Western world. The ministers and missionaries who report their encounters with shamans and spirits are not tolerating a local syncretism, but proposing new ritual forms that are designed to encompass the world’s diverse spiritual hierarchies under a dualistic framework of good and evil.

This interpretation of spiritual warfare and territorial spirits may, however, be too intellectual. Often the ministers who are involved in spiritual warfare and its associated ministry of deliverance are engaged in highly successful programs of Church growth. They are seeking ways to make religion exciting for their members, and have paid close attention to their spiritual competitors in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. At their best, Chinese, or Korean, or Shona spirit mediums can be awe-inspiring masters who captivate their audience with the eloquence and imaginative powers of their performances. In staging dramatic, quasi-shamanic rituals that seek to demonstrate the sovereignty of the Christian god over other all other gods, these ministers are perhaps seeking to recapture mythological powers that have been lost since the theological rationalization of Protestant Christianity.

Notes

- ¹ I conducted most of the research on which this paper is based in Singapore in 1995, 1997, and 1999. Funding for this research project on "Chinese Christian Syncretism in Singapore and Penang, Malaysia" was provided by research grants from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, and Faculty of Arts and Central Research Fund grants from the University of Alberta. James MacKenzie attended the Global Conference on Intercession, Spiritual Warfare, and Evangelism held in Guatemala City in 1998 on my behalf, and collected the published materials, videotape, and secondary sources that form the foundation of the section in which I discuss that event.
- ² C. Peter Wagner, *Confronting the Queen of Heaven*, (Colorado Springs: Wagner Institute for Practical Theology, 1998), 11-12.
- ³ Wagner, *Confronting*, 11.
- ⁴ Wagner, *Confronting*, 12.
- ⁵ Wagner, *Confronting*, 17.

6 Wagner 1998, 32-34.

7 Wagner 1998, 37.

8 Tomas Dixon, "Celebration Ephesus: Praise Pushes Back 'Queen of Heaven,'" *Joel News* 5 (October 1999). Downloaded from: <<http://www.xs4all.nl/~mvdwoude/news-en/jn294.htm>> on January 13, 2000.

9 Irving Hexham and Karla Poewe, *New Religions as Global Cultures: Making the Human Sacred*, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1997), 44-45.

10 Vernon Sterk, "Territorial Spirits and Evangelization in Hostile Environments," in *Territorial Spirits: Insights on Strategic-Level Spiritual Warfare from Nineteen Christian Leaders*, ed. C. Peter Wagner, (Chichester: Sovereign World Limited, 1991), 151.

11 Wagner, *Territorial*, 3.

12 John Dawson, *Taking Our Cities for God: How to Break Spiritual Strongholds*, (Milton Keynes, England: Word Publishing, 1989), 156.

13 Dawson, *Taking*, 153.

14 Dawson, *Taking*, 23.

15 Paul Yonggi Cho, "City Taking in Korea." in Wagner *Territorial*, 117-118.

16 "Paul (David) Yonggi Cho: General Teachings/Activities." Downloaded from: <<http://www.pacinter.net/users/chawman/Cho.html>> on May 5, 1998.

17 Frank E. Peretti, *This Present Darkness* (Wheaton, Illinois: Crossway Books, 1986), 318.

18 C. Peter Wagner, "Keynote address at Word of Life Center 1999 Conference" (Red Deer, Alberta, 1999). Downloaded from <http://www.wordoflife.ca/events_page.htm> on February 23, 2000. In this lecture, Wagner also noted that Harold Caballeros, the organizer of the 1998 World Congress on Intercession, Spiritual Warfare, and Evangelism in Guatemala City, teaches that "Jesus told us to be fishers of men. When you catch a fish, what is the first thing you do? You must clean them! Once they're caught, you got to clean them.

Christians are the same way.”

- 19 Patrick Johnstone, *Operation World* (Carlisle: OM Publishing, 1993).
- 20 George Otis, Jr., *Strongholds of the 10/40 Window: Intercessor's Guide to the World's Least Evangelized Nations*, (Seattle, Washington: YWAM, 1995), ii.
- 21 Otis, *Strongholds*, 2.
- 22 Wagner, “Keynote”.
- 23 “Spiritual Mapping: Research Questions and Glossary of Related Terms,” (Lynnewood, Washington: The Sentinel Group, 1998).
- 24 Otis’s influential spiritual geography of the 10/40 window provides maps and general historical and geographical background, lists the “unreached peoples,” notes the “spiritual competition” and finally identifies “national prayer concerns,” including “spiritual power points” and festivals and pilgrimages. Otis’s group also produced workbooks for spiritual mapping designed to guide local churches to map their spiritual territory, as well as an online “Mapper’s Forum.” See, for example, “Praying Through the Window IV: Light the Window.” [information pamphlet], (Colorado Springs: Christian Information Network, 1998).
- 25 Responding to the criticism that the source of this theology is anecdotal, a former evangelical minister noted in discussion with me that the Biblical way of communication is stories, and “stories sing.” Moreover, he observed, theology develops *out of* story and the experiences that people have with God.
- 26 Wagner, *Territorial*, 48.
- 27 Paul Long, “Don’t Underestimate the Opposition,” in Wagner, *Territorial*, 129-133.
- 28 Vernon Sterk, “Territorial Spirits and Evangelization in Hostile Environments,” in Wagner 1991, 149-150.
- 29 Birgit Meyer, “Beyond Syncretism: Translation and Diabolization in the Appropriation of Protestantism in Africa,” in *Syncretism/Anti-syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis*, eds. Charles Stewart and Rosalind Shaw, (London:

Routledge, 1994), 63.

30 Jim Kiernan, "Variations on a Christian Theme: The Healing Synthesis of Zulu Zionism." eds Stewart and Shaw, 1994, 77.

31 Meyer 1994, 58-59.

32 Edgardo Silvosio, "Prayer Power in Argentina." In Wagner 1991, 113.

33 Chuch Lowe, *Territorial Spirits and World Evangelism?: A Biblical, Historical and Missiological Critique of Strategic-Level Spiritual Warfare* (Ross-shire, Great Britain: Mentor/OMF, 1998), 26-28.

34 Wagner "Keynote".

35 Jane Lampman, "Targeting cities with 'spiritual mapping, prayer.'" *Christian Science Monitor* (September 23, 1999). Downloaded from <<http://www.csmonitor.com/durable/1999/09/23p15s1.htm>> on January 29, 2000.

36 Tomas Dixon, 1999.

37 Lowe, *Territorial*, 104-105.

38 Lowe, *Territorial*, 1998, 99; 86-102.

39 Lowe, *Territorial*, 1998, 101.

40 Wagner, "Keynote".

41 Simon Coleman, "Charismatic Christianity and the Dilemmas of Globalization," *Religion* 28/3 (July 1998), 251.

42 Irving Hexman and Karla Poewe, "Charismatic Churches in South Africa: A Critique of Criticisms and Problems of Bias," in *Charismatic Christianity as Global Culture*, Karla Poewe, ed. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press), 61.

43 Martyn Percy, "The Morphology of Pilgrimage in the 'Toronto Blessing,'" *Religion* 28/3 (July 1998), 282.

44 Percy, "Morphology", 285.

45 This belief has led practitioners of spiritual warfare to focus their prayers on non-Christians who are celebrating festivals. When the Southern Baptist Convention promoted a prayer guide suggesting that members pray for the conversion of Jews during the High Holy Days, however, the Anti-Defamation League expressed their distress and outrage (see Lampman, 1999).

- 46 Mell Winger, "Almolonga the Miracle City," in *The Transforming Power of Revival: Prophetic Strategies into the 21st Century*, eds. Harold Caballeros and Mell Winger, (Buenos Aires: Editorial Peniel, 1998), 217.
- 47 Winger, "Almolonga", 218.
- 48 See also Jean DeBernardi, "The God of War and the Vagabond Buddha." *Modern China* 13/3 (1987), 310-332.; "On Trance and Temptation: Images of the Body in Malaysian Chinese Popular Religion," in *Religious Reflections on the Human Body*, ed. Jane Marie Law, (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1994), 151-165; "Tasting the Water," in *The Dialogic Emergence of Culture*, eds. Dennis Tedlock and Bruce Mannheim, (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1994), 234-259; Robert P. Weller, "Capitalism, Community, and the Rise of Amoral Cults in Taiwan," in *Asian Visions of Authority: Religion and the Modern States of East and Southeast Asia*, eds. Charles F. Keyes, Laurel Kendall, and Helen Hardacre, 141-164. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1994); 1994 *Resistance, Chaos and Control in China: Taiping Rebels, Taiwanese Ghosts and Tiananmen* (Seattle: University of Washington Press); and "Matricidal Magistrates and Gambling Gods: Weak States and Strong Spirits in China," in *Unruly Gods: Divinity and Society in China*, eds. Meir Shahaar and Robert P. Weller, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 250-268.
- 49 James MacKenzie, "The Priest, The Shaman, and 'Grandfather Judas': Syncretism and Anti-Syncretism in Guatemala." in *Religious Studies and Theology* 18/2, 33-65
- 50 Mel Winger, "Almolonga", 220.
- 51 Mel Winger, "Almolonga", 223.
- 52 Liliana Goldin and Brent Metz, "An Expression of Culture Change: Invisible Converts to Protestantism among Highland Guatemala Mayas," *Ethnology* 30, 335.
- 53 Manuel A. Vasquez, "Pentecostalism, Collective Identity, and Transnationalism among Salvadorans and Peruvians in the

U.S.," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 67/3 (September 1999), 630.

54 Murray Rubinstein, "Holy Spirit Taiwan: Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in the Republic of China," in *Christianity in China From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, ed. Daniel H. Bays, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 359.

55 Murray Rubinstein, "Holy Spirit", 362.

56 Jean DeBernardi, *Memory, Modernity, and Identity: Secret Societies and Spirit Mediums in a Diaspora Chinese Community*. Unpublished book manuscript.

57 See, for example, Paul Tan, *A Call to War* (Singapore: Manna House, 1995).

58 Bill Subritsky, *Demons Defeated* (Auckland, New Zealand: Sovereign World, 1985), 20.

59 Bill Subritsky, *Demons*, 21.

60 Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, N. B. Vizedom and G. L. Caffee, trans. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960 [1909]).

61 Ulf Hannerz, Ulf, "Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Cultures." *Theory, Culture, and Society* 7 (1990), 236-251.