



**Reread** Is new paradigm thinking the only option when considering the evolution of consciousness? This reread looks at **Morris Berman's** twenty year, three-volume cultural history, which takes the long, long view, and offers a different wayside map to our possible cultural evolution.

## Living in Paradox

Books by Morris Berman discussed in this piece are *The Reenchantment of the World*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1981, republished as a Bantam paperback; *Coming to our Senses*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1989; and *Wandering God*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 2000.

I have the most archaic values, of the upper paleolithic', wrote Gary Snyder many years ago in *The Real Work*. Gary Snyder talked not so much of the big, rather of the long, long picture, evolutionary timescales where the last 10,000 years were only a blink of an eye. For him the great revolution for humankind, turning out to be a defining evolutionary watershed, was between the Neolithic and the Paleolithic. Snyder brought poetic voice to the debate about the evolution of consciousness, which has rumbled on over the last decades. In turn, thinkers associated with holistic and New Age approaches have contributed significantly to the conversation. Spiritual paths, from Buddhism through to esoteric religion similarly speak a language of the evolution of spiritual consciousness. At the same time ideas about the evolution of mind have been transformed within the mainstream academy, with the latest thinking reported in popular explications such as Christopher Wills' *The Runaway Brain*. These brain science books are a different category; worked from the orthodoxies of science apart from nature, rather than as part of nature.

This under-reported cultural phenomenon announced that a cultural shift of seismic proportions was underway. Across the seventies and throughout the eighties a series of accessibly styled book-length essays appeared from the pens of recently young (white) Americans from across the Atlantic, seeking to make sense of the two decades or so of cultural change in terms of consciousness, moving from a mechanistic paradigm to one of holism. The changes were seen

within these books as positive, an evolution away from the older ways of modernity, mechanistic science and industrialism – embracing an ecological, New Age way of being, knowing and doing in the world; Marilyn Ferguson's proto-new age text, *The Aquarian Conspiracy*. Fritjof Capra's *The Turning Point* drew similar conclusions from the move towards alternative medicines, the new spirituality and the greening of politics and technology. Hazel Henderson's *The Coming of the Solar Age* outlined the new solar economics which was on the cusp of replacing the clapped-out oil economics. Quite soon Ken Wilber was to become well known in North America at least, for his massive systematising tomes on consciousness changes, whilst William Irwin Thompson's equally prolific, if less visible, series of consciousness books, beginning with the most influential, *The time falling bodies take to light* showed that this was a trend with broad flanks.

All these books shared the conviction that massive change was on the way, and on the way soon. That they were, to a man and woman, American, wasn't something which escaped some cultural commentators, and in Europe were often warily connected up with the excited goings on in California and other centres of incipient over-the-top New Agedom. European academicians, never too keen on such naked, uncritical optimism dismissed it all as over-excited speculation and waited for it to go away.

Twenty years on, it may well be that this cultural shift has run its course. Certainly currently, the mainstream's marginalisation of the integrity of this cultural phenomenon, seems conclusive. After an initial period of curiosity, the mainstream lost interest. At the same time, by contemplating a longer timespan, for example the two hundred and fifty year emergence of the scientific revolution – encompassing Copernicus' publication of *De Revolutionibus* in 1453 to Newton's *Principia* in 1689 – a different story might be suggested. Two hundred and fifty years provides something of a clearer

frame from which to consider the claims of the advocates of cultural shift. The shift is ongoing and doesn't happen overnight, or, say, in the decade of the seventies to eighties. Rather, that may be a specific instance of this phenomena of which the convulsions of modernism at the turn of the last century, was merely an anticipatory and only semi-conscious expression. If by the turn of this century it has been ongoing for a hundred years, extrapolating the Scientific Revolution exemplar, there could be another hundred and fifty years yet to run.

To its critics, many of these pronouncements about the coming changes appeared to be flabby, weak in academic rigour, and lacking perspective, full with nowness and a short now-ness at that. The virtues of the long view and the historical imagination seemed absent, as was a sense of knowledge, and familiarity with the prolific research community within many sections of the leading edge of the academy.

Even so, the consciousness movement is gaining ground, encompassing ever widening support and influence as a compelling interpretation of the limits to the modern world view, whilst providing an all-embracing and sympathetic holistic replacement. There appear to be however, definite boundaries to new paradigm thinking's sphere of engagement. A specific example is in the new paradigm's non-engagement in the related, though separate, psychological movement which grew up around the study of self, other, and ego during the post-war period. This is the disparate and elongated squiggle of avant-psychological thinkers which encompasses R.D. Laing, depth psychology, the Post-Winnicottian object-relations school of Michael Balint, and others aligned to the Freudian rather than Jungian tradition. This thinking looks to early child development as a primary source for understanding the drives of human beings. At the time these related schools were heralded as the leading hope for a new psychology until it was itself replaced by newer genetic and evolutionary explanatory systems purporting to be the cutting edge interpretations of the workings of mind and culture.

For the most part this work has remained outside discussions of the evolution of consciousness. There are exceptions however, a fascinating example of which is the work of Morris Berman. In Berman's recently completed trilogy on cultural evolution this psychological field takes centre stage, contributing to one of the most sustained considerations of possible changes in consciousness, whilst all the time working from firm historical ground. Berman, fluent in these psychological schools, imaginatively applies aspects of self-other psychology to a very long spread of history and pre-history, seeking again and again, in the crystallisation of the self across different periods, an understanding of why that period could have been the way it was. In a

sense Berman's work represents the object relations school's pitch for a voice in the debate about the possible evolution of consciousness. Perhaps because he is off to one side of the main paradigm thinkers, his writing uses a kaleidoscope of sources, from outside the movement, to support the body of the argument. Indeed Berman doesn't lack for long footnoted chapters which show him amply able to utilise the broadest interdisciplinary academic canvas in appealing, accessible language and style.

Berman's perspective is of a person at ease with the long view, looking at cultural history across many of its time zones and social spaces. Given that the trilogy has itself appeared across three decades, there is also, not surprisingly, development and change in Berman's thinking, so that after twenty years a definite evolution to his own thought has also taken shape. In the trilogy's first book, *The Reenchantment of the World*, Berman appears relatively optimistic about the continuing emergence of a small conserver and reinhabitory culture – and his essay was, at least in part, addressed to this community. By the time of his recent *Wandering God*, both the hopes of an emergent counter-culture and the optimism, have been consigned to the wind. Along the way he becomes increasingly preoccupied with the New Age 'Paradigm shift' and its celebratory replacement of the mechanistic way of looking at the world with a new holistic worldview as the panacea for every ill.

Morris Berman's first book *The Reenchantment of the World* which was published in 1981, dealt with a time frame which began with the pre-Homeric Greeks and ended with the present day. His next, *Coming to Our Senses*, was equally far reaching in historical canvas. The recent *Wandering God* rewinds the clock to alight on an equally long-framed period, the forty thousand or so years between paleolithic and neolithic cultures, eulogised by Gary Snyder and his ilk. Berman's concerns however are completely contemporary. And in terms of cultural evolution his conclusions are at variance with those who embrace paradigm-change and paradigm-speak. At one and the same time all three books are written with a light and humorous touch, speaking not specifically to the academic world of detailed facts, but beyond, to those communities who are most likely to be credulous of paradigm changes, and those who want to go further. Although rigorous, Berman speaks from within that constituency who have gone in for inner exploration, self-development and a belief in human development. At their core, Berman's books explore changes in consciousness in the context of cultural evolution. They do so however, from straight history, and the personal telling of stories mixed in with a varied application of diverse and catholic sources.

The first book, *The Reenchantment of the World*<sup>1</sup> offered up an oddly timely reading of Western history

for the late seventies. Berman's line of enquiry derived mainly from history of science, charting the emergence of the scientific world view, and the gradual disappearance of what within the book's pages he described as the 'attached' consciousness of animism. Here humanity was a part of, rather than apart from nature. As well as animism he uncovered a living, enchanted relation to the world in the neo-pythagorean and hermetic realities of early scientific Europe. From this, he mapped modern science's three hundred year journey towards exponential disenchantment, epitomised by the figure of Isaac Newton, and the parallel submerging of the West's archetypal energies and unconscious life. Today however, what has been happening, according to Berman, has been the re-emergence of this archetypal strata in the West. And to support this he looked at Jung, and other marginalised thinkers, as expressions of a new Gnosticism. If this new Gnosticism represented the pre-scientific, Berman's real interests lay in a post-scientific holism which acknowledged that the scientific revolution had indeed happened. He found it in the odyssey of interdisciplinary learning that is the work of Gregory Bateson, to whom he devoted much of the book. Berman saw in Bateson a figure of enough interdisciplinary breadth as to provide the basis of a post-scientific holism for the conserver culture of which he was so hopeful. In so doing he was outlining a world, both of before and after science. By its conclusion, *Reenchantment* seemed to be conveying a cultural shift which underscored something of the conditions for a possible science for the free society Berman envisaged in this reinhabitory future, although he provided various caveats regarding its exploitation towards authoritarian, not to say, fascist ends.

At the time the paradigm rupture felt real enough, and for those old enough to recall the end of the seventies, the belief that a new culture was emerging still maintained enough of a hold to give it a modicum of credibility. However those last years of the decade saw the coming to power of Thatcher, and shortly afterwards, Reagan, in the United States. Who would have imagined – if you had told them – that just around the corner the West was in for (at least) twenty years of rampant materialism, yuppies, insider trading, and all the icons of resurgent capitalism melding with incipient globalism. In retrospect, the emergent inhabitory culture which *Reenchantment* looked forward to, palpably failed to materialise in any social form except at the fringes. Still, the extent to which the values and beliefs of that culture have held up, is a matter of argument, as is the extent to which they have been transmitted to subsequent generations. If a core group were influenced by a new metaphysics, it seemed to stall before translating into any larger scale social phenomena. There is a definite influence, in that there are significant groupings of people who would describe themselves in ways which can be traced back to a belief in this cultural shift. Also, a whole commercial sector has grown up around the marketable attributes of this culture. But holist science remains completely on the fringes, looking in on a scientific mainstream which during the last twenty years, has gone from strength to strength, and has seen its epistemology become increasingly assumed as truth. Whether these last twenty years have been only a cultural 'augenblick', and whether a genuine shift in the larger body cultural over the next century will grow, perhaps by stealth and via well-positioned people, is also a moot point. If this is the case, a culture which gives a distinct impression of having shifted to this new paradigm may well emerge, although this culture will organise itself and look pretty much the same, with wars, poverty, elites and power struggles all continuing.

On a less dramatic level, our relationship to and knowledge of the natural world may well remain equally mediated and distant.

In 1987, Berman published his sequel to *Reenchantment* and after a quick glance through the contents it was clear that his faith in cultural change was dimming. His celebration of the Gnostic, already underscored with reservations, dissolves. In its place *Coming to our Senses*, the new book, maps a topography of Gnosticism, again framed by the context of depth psychology. As a consequence the turn to the Gnostic becomes only one, and hardly the most evolutionarily interesting, option. Rather, to Berman's mind, the certainty of one

paradigm is replaced by the certainty of another. What excites Berman is an evolution towards uncertainty, towards the spaces between paradigms. *Coming to our Senses* includes much cultural history, though history to a specific end – that of delineating common cultural phenomena. This history forms the repeating pattern of the emergence of various heretical counter-movements. Each brings with it the promise of salvation, but is then quashed or assimilated into the mainstream through repression or co-option, while orthodoxy maintains its grip on heresy. Berman calls this ebb and flow 'the hidden history of the West', and uncovers in it quite enough identifiable attributes to claim that all his examples are, at core, Gnostic in character. *Senses* outlines four examples – the emergence of Christianity and the subterranean disappearance of Gnosticism; the culture surrounding the twelfth century Cathar heresy and its destruction; the emergence of early modern science out of neo-platonic Hermeticism; and the rise of Nazism, a demonic version of the Gnostic impulse. These provide graphic examples of where profound cognitive shifts have occurred, demonstrating the Foucauldian thesis of rupture or discontinuity between epochs. They in turn invoke radical changes in perception as to what the nature of reality is, for instance in the changing outlook from magic to science. What is felt, seen and experienced with the onset of the scientific outlook is wholly different to what a preceding pre-scientific, magical period felt, saw and experienced. Common to all these though, is that all Western mystical experience has as its core a dual structure (or binary pattern) of mainstream state religion and the Gnostic response, each identifying with the ascent of consciousness from below, (earth) to above (heaven). If the mainstream, be it the ossified state church or other symbols of power, provides a superstructure mediating the 'ascent' of others, Gnostic ascent offers ways by which people can do this themselves. Both, however, are vertical apprehensions of reality. Psychologically, what is happening, Berman contends, is the union of self with other. Within *Senses* he is particularly committed to the object-relations school, specifically the concept of 'the Basic Fault', although the main point is the psychological unpacking of dualism. The many instances of divisions within self and society are mirrored in the psychological divide which the 'the Basic Fault' represents. Berman has already mentioned various well known examples in the course of his historical reread – for instance, self/other, wild/tame and heaven/earth, all binary dualisms. The dualism embodied by the basic fault, or gap or Lacanian and other 'nemological' approaches, he would say, permeates the rest of our lives, as does the primary psychological object which results from this – the transitional object. Throughout *Senses* Berman remains clear in his belief that massive contemporary cultural change is underway, but with

these psycho-cultural examples to hand, he now fears the same binary pattern is in the midst of repeating itself – this despite the certainty that this isn't all there is; the Western spiritual model of ascent isn't the only way to code reality, and the binary approach isn't the only pattern available in town.

As the book approaches its closing section he is trying to find a way for a future culture to move beyond this psychic divide of the basic fault and ensuing transitional object, pretty much ubiquitous in the history of the West. In a critical move, he begins outlining the possibility for cultures as well as individuals to move towards a state which is actually made conscious of the cultural space taken up by such transitional objects, which he calls reflexivity. This would be a culture which is both conscious of the binary codes as codes, and at the same time, one which attempts the enterprise of living without holding on to any new paradigm, be it a scientific outlook, New Age thinking, an education, or an e-commerce paradigm. Each of these being, from Berman's perspective, the current version of the transitional object. In place of transiting from one condition to another, there would be the reflexive attempt of 'living within coding.' And this coding would be self-referential – coding about coding. Berman sees examples of this in orthodox post-moderns such as Jacques Attali and his coding of 'composition' within his book *Noise* (noise is the space between codes) where musical playing is for the pleasure of playing, and also Dorothy Dinnerstein's<sup>2</sup> conceptualisation of 'enterprise' or 'ontological love'. He also believes such reflexivity is embedded within traditional cultures, and notes the Pali word 'jivitindriya', 'vitality, or 'life-force' and the oft-referred to American-Indian description of 'the gesture of balance.' Berman notes the centrality of the gesture of balance to Balinese culture. These archaic, traditional and post-modern examples, are either feeling their way to an integration of the steady-state within their structural organisation, or have had them integrated for thousands of years.

Berman follows this with a consideration of the nature of creativity in and outside the Western tradition. Rather overwhelmingly, he views the whole trajectory of post-Renaissance to high-modernist art as riven with various forms of instability and imbalance, the result of a culture riddled with internal tension, and dependent on instability. Not that it isn't great art, rather that it exhibits conditions of pathology. In Batesonian language, it is an example of a culture which is the result of a climax-state, oscillating between tension and resolution, rather than one that is organised around steady-state principles. By contrast, Berman suggests, elements of contemporary culture do include exemplars of creativity which are self-consciously reflexive; forms of coding about coding, and forms of steady-state systems. Berman homes in on music, in



particular, though also upon the meditative qualities of some craft practice. His specific example is minimalist music, represented by the likes of Steve Reich, Terry Riley and Phillip Glass<sup>3</sup>. He sees such music as being one of the most visible examples of a contemporary steady-state art form surfacing in recent contemporary culture.

In one sense the recent sequel to *Senses; Wandering God*, is a footnote to this development of self-aware reflexivity. Berman again finds himself tracking down where examples of modes of perception are outside 'ascent consciousness'. And in this new book, he uncovers them, most compellingly, in the old stone age. Berman also finds a single term to describe the state of mind; Paradox. This nomadic state of mind was able to integrate awareness of the diffuse and peripheral with the immediate and close-to-hand. It was both focused and non-focused, where the world is shimmering and alive, and in a state of 'utter watchfulness'. Once again object-relations, the emergence of the self and other, are offered as the interpretative schema from which to understand this nomadic mind. Whilst he repeatedly points out that his line of thought is speculative and his evidence circumstantial, Berman seems sure that this 'living in paradox', this 'ability to hold contradictory propositions, or emotions simultaneously, (and) sustaining the tension of this conflict to form a deeper reality' was a biological response, albeit many thousands of years ago, to grappling with the alienation brought on by the emergence of the self, of identity, and of the beginnings of ego consciousness.

How did this response arise? Well, for Berman it lies deep in our genetic past, which, although he doesn't have the evidence, seems connected with what humans today see in animal display and behaviour. Within this long period of the self separating from its environment, the mode of consciousness lived with and in the world, but without the ego needing to find 'meaning' in this world. The world was vividly alive, and a need for explanation would have been absent, hunter-gatherer societies would have felt no discomfort from the marginal alienations of growing ego-consciousness.

This, if you will, is Berman's 'horizontal consciousness'. If it is perhaps almost unrecognisable to most of us contemporary humans, this is because it more or less completely disappeared again, a long long time ago. And much of the remainder of the book is devoted to tracing how, why, and where it disappeared, and what the state of paradox has been replaced by. What in fact we live with today is another response to our emergence into selfhood, at least if you follow object-relation's depth psychology. Paradox's replacement is, in Berman's language, the 'sacred authority complex'. This emerges as paradox gradually disappears, and interestingly, according to Berman, happened at the same time as the coming of agriculture. The disappearance is traced in *Wandering God* across the vast timescales of

the upper paleolithic and neolithic. As the crystallisation of the ego and of the self develops, so there grows an increasing awareness and absorption in issues of meaning. And as wandering nomadic band societies begin to settle into sedentary, agricultural ways of life, different relationships to movement and to time raise themselves as necessary issues. Foresight becomes important for sedentary organisation; an outcome of the need to harvest a surplus for the group to live on during the lean times. Intention, planning and the need to be future-aware re-orient the group away from living in the present. Settlement cuts wandering cultures off from their nomadic, sensuous, and possibly animal connection with the world. Where previously the journey, without destination, was in itself quite enough, once humans found themselves in one place the priority is in ensuring and maintaining security. And security and planning bring on verticality. Accepting the world as it is falls away and is replaced by an increasingly conscious, and alienated, world view. Meaning is externalised, and in sitting down, neolithic man's physical movement is replaced by the symbolic journey, of salvation. In other words self is externalised, in an 'other' which becomes vested with outside authority, reinforced through the vertical or 'ascent' arrangements of state, power, and inequality, and its spiritual analogue – the worship of (vertical) religious authority. This is the *nub* of a sophisticated interdisciplinary argument, deploying insights from both the contemporary anthropological imagination and psychology. Anthropologically, it is based on a contentious schema, which disputes the simple replacement of hunter-gatherer nomadism with neolithic agriculture and pastoralism. Although walking is only briefly referred to – and supported by Bruce Chatwin's book *The Songlines* – walking is the centrepiece to Berman's understanding of the biological origins of this state of mind. Movement, rather than myth and transcendence, is the key 'physiological substrate of the paradoxical experience'. And, as if to underline the point, walking, Berman reminds us, has been part of the human world for 4 million years.

This is a very different evolutionary schema to many of those who have used prehistory as the ground from which to proffer histories of the evolution of consciousness. If Berman is genuinely onto something many of the presumptions of a range of thinkers are revealed as standing on shaky ground. It may be that Berman has his own reasons, but during the course of the following chapters he carefully chips away at the thinking which comprises a part of the edifice of the current Gnostic sensibility in the West: The associated cults of the likes of Joseph Campbell, Carl Jung, Marija Gimbutus and Mercia Eliade are delicately pulled apart. Not only are these influential thinkers mired in 'ascent' thinking, Berman suggests, but partially in

consequence, share a predisposition to importing their assumptions into their reconstructions of history, so that their versions of the past bear only a passing resemblance to 'what actually happened.' Jung and Campbell wanted (or needed) to believe in a realm of universal archetypes, but this doesn't actually add up, Berman says, if you look at the evidence. In the chapter on Agriculture, Religion and the Great Mother, Berman takes issue with Gimbutus and the followers of the Kurgan goddess culture of old Europe, claiming the scholarly record suggests that rather than it being destroyed by ransacking patriarchal hordes, this peace-loving matriarchy never existed; that it is a figment of a particular type of feminist imagination. It feels as if Berman, a man who holds a PhD in phil. of science, is clearly committed to academic rigour and a 'what actually happened' approach, and consequently he is also serious about his research; there are eighty pages of footnotes in *Wandering God*, supporting his take on a host of contentious issues.

Emerging the other side of these strewn bodies Berman begins to contemplate how our contemporary circumstances might re-find paradox. It is not in a return to the deep past, he is no advocate of a future primitive. We need to 'do civilisation well' he contends, and ponders instances where paradox emerged, in his eyes, in modern guise during the course of the last century. This had already led him to the 'songlines' of Bruce Chatwin, and in the penultimate chapter continues with the later philosophy of Wittgenstein, and Deleuze and Guattari's late twentieth century rhizome thinking. All three of these are, Berman explains, contemporary expressions of horizontal nomadism. The cult anti-philosopher Deleuze has written extensively on the logic of nomadism, whilst Wittgenstein, to whom Berman devotes almost a complete chapter, moved from the early vertical thinking of Tractatus to rejecting ascent and searching out, in Berman's reading his own version of horizontal paradox. 'Doubt itself' Berman quotes Wittgenstein from *On Certainty* 'rests only on what is beyond doubt.' The logicians' language game, of course, but a language game within the paradoxical language of the groundless ground.

Living, indeed playing, with paradox, with a reflexive awareness of the pull of the transitional object, knowing the space between contradiction, and aware of coding within coding, are the modern options for cultural evolution. Both *Wandering God* and *Coming to our Senses* edge towards a clearly different evolutionary choice to new paradigm thinking, with its certainties about definite paths and destinies. At points in the new book the inference is that this shimmering, radiant consciousness may well be closer to the remnants of our simian animal heritage, which with the rupture of agriculture, and its related sedentary lifestyle conclusively pulled 'our kind' across a threshold. At the

conclusion of *Coming to our Senses* Berman invokes the late writer John Fowles' point about the basic fault, the nemo being, 'an evolutionary force, as necessary as the ego. The ego is certainty, what I am; the nemo is potentiality, what I am not.' 'The ability to utilise the basic fault creatively', writes Berman, 'is as much an evolutionary option as our history of using it destructively.' Berman has written a trilogy of books which fuses an undervalued segment of contemporary psychology with an evolutionary epistemology. Whilst these books have traced the nemo's power to determine cultures and individuals, they also suggest a serious, other option – living in reflexive creativity and paradox. Repeatedly the hint is that purely reflexive activities such as art practice, making, and the slow repetition of activity, can give people back this experience. And also silence, for which perhaps think of John Cage and his meditations on silence, where the spaces between the one and the other begin to open. And the expression of creativity kindles the possibility of social, rather than individual realities, moving towards cultural spaces which are aware of their reflexive states. Oddly, perhaps, there isn't anything necessarily ecological about paradox, even if ecological conditions were the original context for their existence. Walking and ambulation could be ecological, but our modern world is intent on building an ecological relationship which will have next to nothing to do with the genetic ancestry of our wandering past. As for significant parts of the holistic green community, there seems to be a need for answers which can represent 'truth'. Filling that need are versions of a/the 'new paradigm truth'. Berman's work illuminates many of the difficulties of paradigm thinking as the solution, and the conventions of verticality which are implicit in many 'paradigm' thinkers. It must be hoped Berman's work facilitates a discussion where consciousness evolving into a new paradigm, can be apprehended both in the context of a conscious sense of self/other relations. In escaping the binary patterning by which we shape culture, it could point towards wider, longer horizons, with views in every direction.

<sup>1</sup> This turning upside side down of Max Weber's world has spawned at least two other books which posit reenchantment as the trajectory of their particular discipline fields: Suzie Gablik, *Reenchantment of Art*, New York, Thames & Hudson, 1991, and David Griffin's *Reenchantment of Science*, Albany, SUNY, 1988

<sup>2</sup> Jacque Attali, *Noise*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1985; Dorothy Dinnerstein, *The Mermaid and the Minotaur*, New York, Harper & Row, 1976

<sup>3</sup> For instance with Steve Reich listen to *Music for Eighteen Musicians*, Terry Riley, *In C*, and Philip Glass, *Einstein on the Beach*, or the soundtrack to Godfrey Reggio's film (which draws out the cultural contrasts between steady and climax states) *Koyaanisqatsi*