

Loup Blanc: A French Shaman and the Anti-Cult Police

Massimo Introvigne

CESNUR (Center for Studies on New Religions)

maxintrovigne@gmail.com

ABSTRACT: In 2021, a French spiritual master called Cyrille Adam (Loup Blanc) was arrested, accused of “abuse of vulnerability” (*abus de faiblesse*) and “aggravated rape” by six former disciples. Based on published and confidential material and interviews with students, the article reconstructs the teachings of Loup Blanc and the organization of his group. While the Tantric sexual work performed with a minority of female students was never a main feature of Loup Blanc’s teachings and practices, I discuss it in detail since it is at the center of both media controversies and the legal case.

KEYWORDS: Loup Blanc, Cyrille Adam, Chamanisme de l’Origine, Harmonia, Oxyon 777, Neo-Tantrism, Anti-Cultism in France.

Introduction

The neoclassical Castle of Granès, located in a village in the French department of Tarn-et-Garonne, dates back to the 17th century, but was entirely rebuilt in 1886 following a project by renowned architect Jacques-Paul Lequeux (1846–1907). His majestic century-old peace was disturbed in the morning of December 7, 2021. Six carloads of police officers came to raid the castle and arrested Cyrille Adam, a spiritual master known to his students as “Loup Blanc” (White Wolf), who taught and gave initiations to students there. After a disgruntled ex-member had accused him of abuse of vulnerability (*abus de faiblesse*), regarded in France as the crime, typical of “cults,” that involves the use of psychological techniques to control “cult victims,” and five women claimed they had been abused, Loup Blanc was arrested. The French specialized anti-cult police CAIMADES (Assistance and Intervention Unit in the Field of Cultic Deviances, Cellule d’assistance et d’intervention en matière de dérives sectaires),

started looking for other “victims” prepared to testify, including by posting an appeal on Twitter, which was picked up and publicized by twenty-one different French media (Roux 2022).

The saga of Loup Blanc started, with dozens of articles about the “sex shaman” published in France (69 until January 2023, plus five video reports broadcasted by TV networks or social media). French media have a strong bias about groups labeled as “cults” (sectes), and this story featuring sex, shamanism, and mysterious rituals promised to be particularly juicy.

I have studied several groups teaching sacred eroticism whose leaders were accused of sexual abuse, from the Romanian movement MISA (Introvigne 2022a) to the Czech Guru Jára Path (Introvigne 2019), and beyond. I have emphasized in my studies of these groups, and reiterate here once again, that I do not condone sexual abuse, and do not believe that its perpetrators can protect themselves by invoking freedom of religion or belief.

Studying movements whose practices include sacred eroticism, on which I started publishing in 1990 through a book that remains an oft-quoted reference in the field, *Il cappello del mago* (The Magician’s Hat: Introvigne 1990), is a delicate matter. By exploring these movements for more than thirty years, I did come across instances of abuse. Even more often, I encountered cases in which anti-cultists, the media, and the police argued that practices combining spirituality and eroticism in which women are led by a male guru through sex-based rituals are always and by definition abusive. If the women themselves deny the abuse, it is because they are victims of brainwashing. Not believing in the existence of brainwashing (Introvigne 2022b), I do not accept this theory either, and maintain that each case should be studied in its own context.

It is not for scholars to assess whether Loup Blanc is guilty or innocent. We are simply not equipped to ascertain what really happened between him and those who are now the plaintiffs in the criminal case. However, scholars specialized in new religious movements can contribute to the debate on Loup Blanc a piece missing in the media discussion: a reconstruction of what his teachings are all about, and why a certain number of students follow him. My sources are the voluminous public and internal literature of Loup Blanc’s group of students, written statements by several of his pupils, and personal interviews with ten students (eight women and two men, for whom I use pseudonyms) in February and March 2023. I also interviewed the lawyer representing Loup Blanc, read the

statements of those plaintiffs in the court case who talked to the media, and a good number of hostile articles. Finally, I submitted some question to Loup Blanc himself, who answered them from jail.

A “Ferryman of Souls”

Loup Blanc is defined by the media as a “guru” or “shaman,” but he prefers to be called a “passeur d’âmes,” a “ferryman of souls.”

There are all kinds of jobs on this globe, he writes, but the most beautiful and the most useful is that of a ferryman, not just any ferryman, but the ferryman of souls. Yes, a ferryman of souls! The ferryman would take people across to the other side when there was no bridge, that’s what KYRIOS [one of the first names he used, before “Loup Blanc”] does in the simplest way possible. No decoration on the boat, no fuss, no muss, whether it’s decorated or simple it will take you to the other side. The other shore KYRIOS is talking about is the one we don’t even know exists. Perhaps we have heard of it, but we have never wanted to make the effort to set foot on it. KYRIOS helps us because it knows this other shore, the inner shore, and this is what he proposes to us: to go to the other, inner shore and set foot on this still virgin land that conceals unsuspected treasures (Kyrios 2008, 7–8).

A “passeur d’âmes” is born rather than made. Born in Chantilly, in Paris’ metropolitan area, on December 20, 1951, Loup Blanc reports that he had his first spiritual experiences at age 7 (Chamanisme de l’Origine 2023). Answering my questions about his first experiences, he added that

When he was about 18 years old, the Christ appeared in the room where he was relaxing, he was full of light, alive, real. The Christ took out his sacred heart and put it in his [Loup Blanc’s] heart and said, ‘I give you my sacred heart to fight scorpions and snakes.’

After having practiced martial arts for several years, and achieved a certain fame as a self-taught poet, painter, musician, and photographer, Cyrille Adam, in his own words, realized in 1980 that “believing he was doing many things, he understood that in fact he was not doing anything at all” (J.L.B. 2009a, 23). In that year, “something came down from heaven to encounter this being [Loup Blanc]” and his “life changed completely” (J.L.B. 2009a, 23–4). On February 2, 1982, he gave his first public lecture (J.L.B. 2009a, 24).

In 1983, the first structure gathering his students and coordinating his work was created, with the name Invitation à la Vie (no relations with the new religious movement founded with the same name, coincidentally in the same year 1983, by

Yvonne Trubert). As the main structure for Loup Blanc's students, it was replaced by Association Nitya Yoga in 1988, Association Harmonia in 1989, and Association Oxyon 777 in 1994. The latter was dissolved in 1999, in a context marked by the French controversies about "cults," to which I will return. A number of auxiliary organizations were also established: publishing houses, real estate managing companies, and an Académie européenne du Qi Gong Chinois de l'envol de la grue et techniques affinitaires (European Academy of Crane Flight Qi Gong and Similar Techniques), founded in 1996 and managing inter alia Qi Gong stages in France with masters invited from China.

Originally, Loup Blanc lectured and conducted the group stages called "initiations" in rented locations and in the premises of some students, including a farm in Brou (near Chartres) and lodges in Soeuvres (near Vézelay). In 2001, a student bought the Castle of Granès, where most initiations have taken place since, including after December 2020 when the castle was sold to an American gentleman who continues to rent it to the association managing the activities of Loup Blanc. Two students bought in 1999 a house in Sumène (Gard), where Loup Blanc, who lived beforehand in rented apartments or in the homes of followers, resided until July 2021. He then moved to a property bought by students in the Western Pyrenees, which also serves as a spiritual, ecological, and artistic center.

Stages were also offered in Peru, where land was bought in 2006 in El Paraíso (The Heaven), and some wooden houses were built. Three students moved there. There was no electricity, and the houses were very simple. However, my interviewees who went there found the experience "beautiful" and even "magnificent." Stages lasted normally for three weeks, with students preparing during the day and experiencing with ayahuasca at night. They underline that they always respected the law, and never took ayahuasca in Europe, where laws may regard it as prohibited (see Labate and Cavnar 2023), except once in Spain, at a time when local laws did not forbid its use. My interviewees described the experience as very powerful. Danièle called it "the experience of a lifetime," and noted she would not have done it with just any other shaman offering ayahuasca in Peru. She overcame her reservations only because she trusted Loup Blanc.

In 2012, the work in Peru was discontinued and the property was put on sale. Quarrels followed with a Peruvian who had served as the local manager of the center. His niece had married one of Loup Blanc's students, S., who had once

been the closest advisor of the master and whom some even regarded as his possible successor. However, he left the group, decided to remain in Peru with his wife, and started giving independent courses of shamanism. The economic and property quarrels with the former local manager are now before the Peruvian courts.

From 1990, Loup Blanc had traveled to meet spiritual masters from several different traditions. He regards as important his visit in 1996 to the ashram of Swami Muktananda (1908–1982) in Ganeshpuri, India, where he received a Tantric initiation (Shaktipat) and experienced the awakening of the Kundalini (Kyrios 1996, 79–80).

Gradually, a model developed where he would visit renowned teachers from different traditions in their spiritual centers and then invite them to France to lecture and conduct stages for his students. Some of my interviewees jokingly observed that this behavior seems to be the contrary of what should be typical of “cult” leaders, who prevent their students from meeting other spiritual masters who may eventually become their competitors. On the contrary, the model including a visit by Loup Blanc and an invitation to France was followed in the case of Swami Chetan of Haridwar (1990); the Rinzai Zen Buddhist roshi Eido Tai Shimano (1932–2018; 1992)—who many years later was also accused of sexual abuses during Zen private sessions with female students, although the case never proceeded to court—; Chinese Crane Flight Qi Gong master Zhao Jin Xiang (1993–1998); Taoist and traditional Chinese medicine master Wan Su Jian (1993–2014); Venerable Jamyang Tashi Dorje, the abbot of the Sakya Tashi Ling Monastery in Olivella, Spain (2000–2001); Shoshone Native American ritual specialist Clyde Hall (1999–2000). The cooperation with Clyde Hall, who is one of the most well-known leaders of the gay Native American movement, runs counter accusations of homophobia recently raised against Loup Blanc in some French media.

Loup Blanc also met leaders of the Indian movement Brahma Kumaris, visited with his students the German ashram of Mother Meera, an independent student of Sri Aurobindo (1872–1950), and cooperated with several Peruvian shamans. He continued his international contacts well into the 21st century. In 2016 and 2017, for example, after a trip to Mongolia, a local shaman called Grandmother Ayangat visited Loup Blanc and his students in France (Chamanisme de l’Origine 2016). The group’s website includes words of appreciations for Loup Blanc by

traditional healers and spiritual masters of different cultures. His students have kept documents and pictures of all these encounters with international spiritual leaders. The different names used by Loup Blanc reflect the different traditions he draws from: Kyrios, Ahimsa Hridayananda, Wan-Yang, J.L.B. (Joachim Loup Blanc).

An outside observer may recognize in Loup Blanc's books elements coming from Western Esotericism as well, including the Theosophical tradition, although explicit references to esoteric masters are scarce and, in his answers to my questions, he stated that "he knows about Theosophy, yes, but he has never read a book on the subject nor has he [been] enrolled in their lodges." George Ivanovich Gurdjieff (1866?–1949) is mentioned in passing as having been himself "a *Tantric Master*" (Loup Blanc 2020, 17). Esoteric Christianity is also a key reference, as evidenced by the first books published by Loup Blanc in 1988, *Mudra-Pater*, an esoteric interpretation of the Lord's Prayer and a guide to translate it into movements of the body (Adam 1988, republished in 2001 with prefaces by former Dominican turned Orthodox priest Jean-Yves Leloup and Venerable Jamyang Tashi Dorje: Kyrios 2001a), and *Les Chants du Vivant* (Songs of the Living) of 1992, a collection of poems (Adam 1992).

Loup Blanc, however, distinguishes between the genuine teachings of the Avatar Jesus and what he regards as their distortion by organized religion, particularly the Catholic Church. The theme returns in many of his writings:

it is not a reference, this Roman Catholic Church! Many crimes have been committed in the name of its son of God; it wanted to impose its beliefs through violence and fear! Jesus, who was only love and tolerance, would never have wanted this in his lifetime (Hridayananda 2002, 37).

Like other contemporary esoteric teachers, Loup Blanc also accuses the Christian churches of having replaced the doctrine of reincarnation, which was "clearly explained in the Gospel," with the "absurdity" of the resurrection of the flesh (Kyrios 2001b, 116).

While it is part of the scholars' work to investigate the possible sources of spiritual teachings, Loup Blanc insists that he discovered most of what he teaches by himself. In 2002, he published the first volume of *Le Voyageur incorporel* (The Incorporeal Traveler: Hridayananda 2002), to be followed in the future by two further installments. It is a long chronicle of dreams where he encounters a being he nicknames "the Blue Sage" and who tells him he can call him "Jean."

This “master” may be Loup Blanc’s higher self, or the Supreme Consciousness of the universe. When asked who gives him the order to divulge or not to divulge a certain teaching, he answered that

he could say the Supreme Consciousness or a Spiritual Assembly or a Cosmic Avatar... What good would it do if He told you where these Orders come from? Anyway, you would not be able to understand and even believe it! (Loup Blanc 2020, 27).

The Students: A Group of Seekers

In 2011, a main structure coordinating the management of Loup Blanc’s activities was founded with the name Association Les Amis du Peuple Debout (Association The Friends of the Standing People). The “standing people” are the trees, and the name indicates the ecological commitment of the group. After Loup Blanc was arrested, an Association de défense de Loup Blanc was also created.

According to my interviews, although it had not escaped the radars of the anti-cultists, the group kept a low profile until 2015, when it decided to offer some of his teachings through the Internet. It was a momentous decision, generating both success and problems. Loup Blanc lent money to a student, T., to be trained as a webmaster. He produced a beautiful website, “Chamanisme de l’Origine” (Original Shamanism), which made Loup Blanc and his teachings known to a broader circle. One result is that media and opponents now argue that there is a group or “cult” whose name is Original Shamanism, even if the “members” prefer to be called simply students of Loup Blanc and their legal structure’s name is The Friends of the Standing People. They feel that they are not, or perhaps not yet, a “movement,” and that the organizations and associations have been created for the need of administrative management only. They meet to receive the teachings during a weekend (or for a longer period in the summer) but do not live communally.

“Original Shamanism” refers to a teaching imparted by Loup Blanc after two spiritual experiences. In 1996, he felt the presence of the legendary Native American chief Sitting Bull (ca. 1831–1890). The chief revealed to Loup Blanc that the latter is the reincarnation of a great Indian chief, Red Cloud. In 2002, Loup Blanc received a higher initiation directly from the Origin, the Highest Conscience of the universe. Loup Blanc also teaches that he and several students

were once part of the Scottish MacGregor clan (hence the use of Richie MacGregor as yet another of Loup Blanc's names), and used to lead them to Scotland to the places where he believed they had lived their past lives.

T. gradually came to believe that his work with the website had entitled him to a privileged position in the group. Many of my interviewees pointed out his aggressive and manipulative attitudes towards other students, which caused a reaction by Loup Blanc. T. left the group in 2020, eventually becoming its most active opponent.

Who are the students of Loup Blanc? According to my interviews, at least in the 21st century they have remained stable between 150 and 200. This was the number of those attending the initiations before the COVID pandemic. Today (2023) the initiations gather between 50 and 70 students. While it is true that some have left because of the campaign started in 2020 by T. and some other ex-members, and the arrest of Loup Blanc in 2021, I have been told that their number is not significant.

In March 2022, a demographic survey was carried out by the group and submitted to Loup Blanc's lawyers. Contacted via the Internet, 170 in the group's mailing list identified as students and submitted their answers. The results show that 72.4% of the students are women, and 74.2% are 46 or older. Only 2.4% are 25 or younger, although some of those who joined did it through their parents who were already in the group. In one of my interviews, Marie told me that when she was 15 Loup Blanc organized a weekend that children were also allowed to attend. She came with her parents, and never looked back. One consequence of the comparatively high median age is that 22.9% of the students are retired. The group appears to be more stable than others: 54,1% of the respondents have been part of it since at least ten years.

The group has no full-time members. Among the 170 interviewees, 15 are "lawyers, architects, or engineers," 9 are "managers," 12 are "doctors and nurses." I was told that even a French Army general was once a member. No names were named, but the presence of highly educated professionals has been noted by the opponents themselves. The most represented profession is alternative medicine: 41 respondents are naturopaths, acupuncturist, or energy therapists. While some were already in these professions before meeting Loup Blanc, or made a living out of techniques he does not specifically teach (Feng Shui, which she studied autonomously in Brussels, in the case of one of my

interviewees), others were encouraged by him to use his teachings to start a career that may both be profitable and help suffering human beings.

My interviews show that almost all students were spiritual seekers, who had explored other paths of alternative spirituality either directly or through books before they met Loup Blanc. For example, Martine lived in Canada where she meditated in a center of Chögyam Trungpa's (1939–1987) Shambhala movement. Nadia had two aunts in the group of Sri Aurobindo. Without joining any movement, Marc practiced yoga in a center following the teachings of Bellur Krishnamachar Sundararaja Iyengar (1918–2014). Christian, a medical doctor, was always interested in alternative medicine and has a Vietnamese Buddhist wife. Claudine was a teacher in one of the Waldorf Schools inspired by Anthroposophy, and had been reading the works of Jiddu Krishnamurti (1895–1986) and Carlos Castaneda (1925–1998) since she was a teenager. Sophie had visited Aurobindo's ashram and was a yoga teacher when she started having visions of Native Americans. She decided to explore their culture and music, and visited an alternative healing and spirituality fair at Paris' Porte d'Auteuil, where she met Marie, who had a booth there and told Sophie about Loup Blanc. Eventually, Sophie became part of the group, and asked Loup Blanc to meet her yoga students in the home of one of them, Juliette, who also joined.

Uncharacteristically, Julie was a self-styled atheist, but reports that at age 7 she had a vision of “the Divine” and was told she would meet her master at age 36, which happened when she encountered Loup Blanc, who had sought her professional services as a beautician. Danièle was following another spiritual master when she started being “harmonized” by a student of Loup Blanc. She continued to follow both paths until she met Loup Blanc in person and found him a “more joyful and simple man” than her other teacher. In fact, all my interviewees were somewhat unhappy with the other teachings they had experimented with. They were told about Loup Blanc by relatives or friends, or met him by coincidence like Danièle, and in all cases reported that they “immediately” perceived he was the spiritual master they had been looking for.

Although some had heard his lectures, most went straight to the initiations, and some directly to the stages in Peru. “Initiations” are not one-on-one rituals but collective events held during the course of a weekend (or a longer period for the summer and other special initiations). Students go through hours of silence and meditation and listen to the words and music of Loup Blanc or, more recently

and even before his arrest, of the “ambassadors” he has appointed, women and men he regards as qualified to impart specific teachings. In recent years, most initiations have been led by the ambassadors, with Loup Blanc appearing only occasionally or for the longer summer initiations.

Many report having experienced extraordinary phenomena during the initiations, particularly when they touched Loup Blanc or were touched by him, often by pressing his thumb on their forehead. They thus became regulars at the initiations and, while keeping their jobs, started devoting significant time to attend the different events of the group. Some, based on their availability of time and skills, may volunteer to help with the events, from keeping accounts to cleaning the floors or cooking. This is regarded as a form of yoga (Séva Yoga) developing the capacity of giving and loving. A fee is charged for the initiations, but is not extravagant. A weekend initiation costs between 210 and 400 euros; those who come back to follow the same cycle a second time pay a reduced 50% fee.

The Teachings: Different Techniques of Self-Liberation

What do they learn at the initiations? All describe Loup Blanc as a charismatic and entertaining speaker. He played the drum and other instruments, dressed in colorful garbs representative of different spiritual traditions, performed traditional shamanic and other rituals, and answered questions with wittiness. Some of his antics have been ridiculed by the hostile media, but were in fact meant to be humorous. For example, he impersonated a female shaman he called Sandrine Leboeuf, the “Shaman of Berry,” for the first time at a fancy dress event organized by students. They found the character so humorous that he played “Sandrine” again in other events.

Loup Blanc’s teaching is not systematic, and is included in thousands of pages of transcribed lectures, interviews, and books. While “syncretism” today is a contested category, we can call his teaching “eclectic,” as it incorporates elements of several different Eastern and Western traditions, which are creatively reinterpreted and connected.

According to Loup Blanc, all the universe is submitted to the law of karma. We reap what we sow, and indeed the metaphor of the gardener represents the three

fundamental principles of life. The gardener is the conscious mind, who sows in the subconscious both positive and negative thoughts. The good thoughts go up to the divine sphere, but the bad thoughts come back to us, creating physical and mental problems. The universal cosmic energy (Prana) is both positive (Pingala, connected to Adam and represented by a red snake) and negative (Ida, connected to Eve and represented by a green snake). Through breathing exercises, we learn to mobilize the Prana, create harmony, and restore the original androgynous union between Adam and Eve. The exercises taught by Loup Blanc also lead to the awakening of the Kundalini or Shakti, a divine energy located at the base of the spine, which may then travel through the focal body points called chakras up to the crown chakra located on the top of the head. Meditating on specific colors and sounds also helps this process (Hridayananda 1993).

Nadia, one of my interviewees, is familiar with Hinduism and has a scientific formation. She insisted that all the techniques taught by Loup Blanc are consistent with modern science, which is not incompatible with the fact that some have a millennia-old Hindu tradition. Many are described in great detail in the 1994 *Manuel d'Auto-Libération* (Manual of Self-Liberation: Hridayananda 1994), whose readers would immediately notice that Hinduism is but one among many references of Loup Blanc, which also include esoteric Christianity, Judaism, Native American spirituality, Buddhism, and Taoism.

While we can all learn to connect with the cosmic energy, a master can make our journey more direct and easier through the transmission of his spiritual energy (Shaktipat). One example Loup Blanc offers is the esoteric interpretation of the meeting of Jesus with the Samaritan woman at the well (John 4:1–42). Loup Blanc sees in the well a representation of both the macrocosm and the human microcosm. The edges of the well, in contact with the air, represent Heaven and the supra-consciousness. The upper part of the well, in contact with the ground, represents the earth and the consciousness. The lower part of the well, where the water is, represents Hell and the subconscious. When Jesus tells the woman “You have had five husbands, and the man you are now living with is not your husband,” this has an esoteric sense indicating that the woman had five spiritual masters (also corresponding to the five senses and the five elements), is now dominated by the Ego (the non-husband), and is ready to accept her sixth and final master, Jesus, who will awaken her Kundalini through his Shaktipat (Kyrios 1996).

Loup Blanc proposes a similar esoteric interpretation of the episode in John 13 when Jesus washes his students' feet. The feet, who have touched many grounds, symbolize the old humans, and the old experiences from which genuine masters free their students, Peter's resistance is the struggle of the Ego confronted with a radically new teaching. Judas symbolizes the stubbornness of those attached to the conservative and authoritarian religious and political powers. Jesus is ready to wash their feet too, but they will always betray their masters. Loup Blanc explicitly compares the betrayal of Judas to the attitude of some of his own students, and notes that in the early days of Nitya Yoga he also used to wash the feet of his students (J.L.B. 2010, 36).

The liberation has many symbols, which can be mobilized to help the practitioner in the path. Loup Blanc believes that the Marseille Tarot deck is a powerful tool to develop the power of the imagination and intuition. He has even registered in his name in 2003 a trademark TAROT VISION® designating his courses on the Tarot deck. He has also filed or registered trademarks for CHAMANISME DE L'ORIGINE®, and for HARMONIATHÉRAPIE (later SPIRALES DE VIE®), CLÉS DE VIE CLÉS DE RÉUSSITE, and SEI-MEI-KIDO, which refer to specific teachings and applications of his techniques to various aspect of physical, psychological, and even financial well-being. Teachings currently imparted also include Ananda Yoga and the Medicinal Wheel (Roue Médecine). Several interviewees extolled the healing power of what was once called "harmoniathérapie" and now "spirales de vie." The positive effects of being "harmonized" persuaded them to join the group. The healthy effects of these techniques have also been acknowledged by one of the Chinese Qi Gong masters who visited the group in France.

The individual self-realization also benefits society in general, Loup Blanc teaches. However, there are certain rules to be followed. Respiration "makes of a human a master or a slave" and, for example, we would easily become slaves if we are smokers, as it is "cigarette smoke that polluted the bodies—vital, astral, mental, and causal" (J.L.B. 2009b, 49). Apart from the theory of the different human bodies, common in Western esotericism, Loup Blanc's students normally do not smoke.

They do not eat meat either. The master tells Kyrios that "Carnivore, cannibal, there is no big difference, it's all about eating flesh!" (Hridayananda 2002, 253), the only difference being perhaps that carnivores cook their meat and cannibals

eat them raw. The “immense genocide of animals, started since humans have been on earth and that will never stop” (Hridayananda 2002, 255), goes beyond the problem of unhealthy eating. Its consequences on the spiritual plane corrupt society in depth and generate dictators, who are also cannibals in their own way (Hridayananda 2002, 254). We can protect our liberty by getting rid of the system of political, religious, and economic structures “that create fanaticism, terrorism, and install social barriers” (Kyrios 2008, 39), but to eliminate the esoteric causes of oppression we also need vegetarianism, Loup Blanc teaches.

Tantric Work with a Minority of Women

One of my interviewees, Martine, reported that for years, while attending initiations, she never heard from Loup Blanc the word “Tantrism.” In Loup Blanc’s books, it is used exceptionally only, e.g.. in J.L.B. 2009b, 92, and there to warn that

if you start doing exercises of Tantrism after three or four months you will become crazy.
If you are not well guided by somebody, you will compromise your health.

However, the basic Tantric teachings about Shakti and Kundalini were taught since the beginning. Simply, the word “Tantrism” was not there. The immediate reason for this was that “Tantrism” evokes today among the general public teachings about how to improve sexuality by attending expensive weekend courses. Loup Blanc insists in his 2020 notes for an unpublished (and unfinished) book on Tantrism that

He is not like *Those* who convert *Tantra* into a profitable business... Yet, it is fashionable: *Reiki-Tantra*, *Tantra Stages*, *Tantric Shamanism*... offered just to attract clients who look for a romantic liaison or a new encounter (Loup Blanc 2020, 14).

On the other hand, Loup Blanc confirms in the same text that, while not using the word “Tantra,” it has always given to his students a Tantric teaching:

It is not because you don’t know it, or you don’t see it that *He* has not taught it. In fact, *He* has taught it in every initiation, since all the practices that *He* gives are Tantric... All is Tantric, all the practices *He* gives are as such (Loup Blanc 2020, 10–1).

In accordance with the academic literature on the subject, Loup Blanc insists that Tantric teachings are not about sexuality only, nor even mostly:

It is an aberration to place it at the sexual level only since *Tantrism* is much more than this! To limit Tantra to the sexual relation or to the couple just evidences a lack of understanding (Loup Blanc 2020, 14).

The scholar wishing to study Loup Blanc's group is confronted here with a dilemma. To understand the controversies and the legal proceedings against Loup Blanc, it is indispensable to explore the Tantric work he did with a small group of some twenty female students. Yet, by doing this, the scholar is led to devote to this work a space that is out of proportion with its real role in the group, with the risk of giving the false impression that teachings on sexuality had a central position in the path proposed by Loup Blanc. This was never the case. The following in-depth analysis of the Tantric sexual work has been made necessary by the current controversies, but readers should always remember that its role was never central among Loup Blanc's multiple teachings. It involved a limited number of women, and most students never heard of it. All the women involved were single. Their experiences went from one single session to twenty years of regular Tantric work with Loup Blanc in the case of my interviewee Danièle. No woman was a virgin when she started this particular work.

My interviews evidenced that the limited use of the word "Tantrism" by Loup Blanc is not a simple discursive strategy, since its discourse on sexuality does not have the Tantra as its single source. In the French context marked by Catholicism, before discussing specific practices of sacred eroticism, Loup Blanc believes that it is crucially important to overcome the taboos, "almost 2,000 years of Catholic dust" (Loup Blanc 2020, 1) that have covered and hidden the truth about sexuality. The images of St. Michael defeating Satan, St. George killing the Dragon, and the Virgin Mary trampling the snake under her feet all symbolize the Christian Church's willingness to control and demonize the force of sexuality (Loup Blanc 2020, 14).

In *Le Voyageur incorporel*, the Sage tells Loup Blanc that the Catholic Church has preached throughout the centuries the image of "sex as ugliness, a vile and perverted thing that leads to the fall out of Eden, tipping us into hell" (Hridayananda 2002, 258). This image, Loup Blanc teaches, is false, but is also a self-fulfilling prophecy that converts sex into a "deadly force... Sex is responsible of the evil you can see on this earth" (Hridayananda 2002, 256). If we try to expel sex, it comes back with a destructive vengeance. The Sage tells the parable of a man who has never seen a woman and is told by a sanctimonious neighbor that

one is coming to live in a nearby house. Not to be tempted by her, the man ties himself to a pole. When the woman appears, his desire and agitation only grow, until the rope is twisted and he is in pain. The man eventually escapes the temptation of that particular woman, but his reaction to the experience is to start a life of promiscuity and debauchery. The bigot neighbor represents the old religious teachings, and the meaning of the parable is that an “imbecile and unreasonable chastity” is like a cork on a champagne bottle: when it is pulled by an outside force, it pops thunderously and creates unforeseen disasters (Hridayananda 2002, 261).

In fact, sexuality according to Loup Blanc may be both a force of life and a force of death. He teaches that sexuality operates at four levels, which he calls Cocoon, Caterpillar, Chrysalis, and Butterfly. The Cocoon level corresponds to hell, and the repressed sexual force erupts in crimes such as rape and murder. The Caterpillar level is better than the Cocoon’s, but still includes perverted and degraded practices. It is at the Chrysalis level that one starts living sex in a liberated and loving way, until the Butterfly level of Divine Love is achieved. The ascension to the Butterfly level also corresponds to the Tantric path that allows the Kundalini to rise up the spine until the top of the head (Loup Blanc 2020, 7–10).

According to another scheme, included in an additional note for the book he was preparing on Tantrism, sent to Claudine who shared it with me during our interview, there are three levels of the Tantric work.

The first level is the knowledge of the phantasms or the ghost of desire, a way to live them and transcend them and use them as a liberating means!... The second level is the expansion of the four senses by the obstruction of a fifth one, which is the sensitive and sensory exploration of the double energy! The last level is the EXTASE of YANG and YIN, or of SHIVA and SAKTHI, how to open our souls to the cosmic soul of creation!

There is also a “fourth level which is the INTIMATE UNION WITH OURSELVES!”

Since in general, “in the MAN there is a WOMAN and in the WOMAN there is a MAN,” at the end of the Tantric work a woman may experience the intimate union of her male and female parts within herself, without a sexual encounter with Loup Blanc or any other man. This is the experience related to me by Claudine. After two years of Tantric work, she continued to sleep often in the home of Loup Blanc, but sexual relationships stopped. She just benefited from his presence and

energy for what she described as “an encounter between my male and female parts,” through which the Tantric work in fact continued for seven years, but in a different way.

A Tantric work on sexuality with Loup Blanc may follow a request by a female student or the fact that an invitation from the master has been accepted. As Martine told me, however, as it happened in her case, when Loup Blanc proposes the work to a woman it is because she had sent to him signals he had perceived and understood as a non-verbal request. I also found cases of women who asked to be taught this Tantric work and were told by Loup Blanc they were not ready. In fact, in more than twenty years less than 10% of the female students went through the Tantric initiations.

A scheme of the Tantric work that Loup Blanc himself shared with me is as follows:

There is an individual at the center (the Point), surrounded by circles (1. Phantasms, 2. Taboos, 3. Non-limit). Catholicism has put a lot of prohibitions in the minds of humans. All these prohibitions have caused a lot of drama, and continue today. Although repressed, this sexual energy is a creative energy. Phantasms can develop neuroses and deviations. The soul is feminine and the spirit is masculine. Love is a wave that travels through the Universe, it is impersonal and it becomes personal by passing through the human filter. Taboos are security locks, or sources of slavery. The last circle allows a liberation at the sexual level, we are free, we feel more energy and we develop spiritually, creativity is expressed at all levels of the being.

He admits that,

It is certain that the White Wolf way of working is different from the traditional Tantric model, but are there not “many mansions in my Father’s House”? (John 14:2).

The first work to do to avoid the catastrophes connected with sexual repression and recover a healthy sexuality is to overcome the phantasms and taboos. As one female student told me, in France they affect even women who have been educated in secular, non-Catholic families. While in the criminal case against Loup Blanc this has been reconstructed as evidence of abuse, the interviewees explained that they perceived what in a written summary of their Tantric experiences some of them listed as

sexy clothes; videos, photos and “explicit” exchanges sent from a distance before the encounters; videos, photos and “explicit” exchanges during the encounters;

as part of a shock therapy to liberate them from fears and taboos about sex. They say it worked so well that, as the Tantric work continued, some of these experiments were eventually proposed and initiated by them rather than by Loup Blanc.

Some traditional Indian Tantric schools would insist that romantic love is not needed when working on sexuality with a master and may even be a distraction. Some female students, however, testified that they fell in love with Loup Blanc and felt loved by him, although they understood it was not the kind of love you may experience in a usual couple, and they knew the relationship was not exclusive. Corinne wrote in her testimony that Loup Blanc “is not a man you can own. He teaches us and frees us from possessiveness and jealousy.” For Corinne, this is compatible with a loving relationship. Other women, however, made a distinction between love and what they call “l’affectif” (the affective element), which in our society is never free from an “attachment” that leads to dependence and jealousy. Loup Blanc, they say, would let the “affectif” develop but women who become “attached” would quickly understand that the work is “something else,” sometimes in a painful way. “He does not create affective dependence, Juliette said, he frees you from it.”

Loup Blanc himself answered me on this precise point that

in the Tantric way, it is logical that there is no ‘affectif.’ The ‘affectif’ is the prison in which a large part of humanity is locked. The ‘affectif’ brings jealousy, suffering, slavery, it is a feeling of blackmail.

This is a wall, Danièle told me, through which women in the Tantric work with Loup Blanc at some stage should learn to pass. Not all succeed. Without judging them, she feels that those who left the group and became plaintiffs in the criminal case simply did not manage to pass through that wall. Other interviewees told me they had mistaken the Tantric work for a “normal” couple relationship with Loup Blanc, despite being repeatedly told that this was precisely what this path was not.

The majority of the testimonies report that their non-possessive relationship ended quietly when both Loup Blanc and the student felt that the work had been completed, and the admittedly peculiar relationship they had established had run its course.

What comes straight from Tantrism is the teaching and practice of continence, i.e., sexual encounters without male ejaculation. One Western mistake about

Tantrism is to reduce it to teachings about sexuality only. Another mistake, sometimes found among early Western academic scholars who tried to make Tantrism “respectable,” is to remain silent on its sexual teachings. Tantrism does include teachings about eroticism, and while they have criticized pseudo-Tantric “New Age ‘tantric sex,’” Indologists have sometimes “provided inadequate corrective in the form of detailed studies on sexuality in traditional tantric practice systems” (Hatley 2018, 196). In the introduction to a 2015–2018 edition and translation of the *Brahmayamalatantra*, one of the oldest (7th-8th century) surviving goddess-oriented Tantras, American Indologist Shaman Hatley distinguishes among seven different paths of sacred eroticism (Hatley 2018, 196–99). He criticizes the theory that “coital practices [with ejaculation] in which sexual fluids were collected and consumed [...] have historical precedence,” and argues that in Tantric Shivaism the path based on continence “finds earlier attestation” (Hatley 2018, 200). The *Brahmayamalatantra* itself teaches “stopping/retention of seminal fluid” as a way to gain miraculous powers (*siddhi*) and the knowledge of past lives (Kiss 2015, 49, 51–3).

In a nutshell, the Tantric doctrine of continence teaches that when ejaculation is avoided, the male semen and the female sexual energy can travel inward up to the crown chakra located on the top of the head, which has a number of physical, psychological, and spiritual positive effects for both the male and the female partners. This teaching is common in many Tantric and neo-Tantric schools (see Introvigne 2022a), and is an important part of Loup Blanc’s Tantric work. He teaches that,

When you understand that wasting *Energy* does not help you, it just tires you out and gives even more strength to your *Ego* by locking you in the cage of *envy*, then you will make the decision to work on that level, to raise the *Life Force* along the *Spinal Channel*. At that moment, the *Spiritual Journey* will begin for you, as you will understand that, instead of letting the *Life Force* go downward, you will raise it upward and thus heal yourselves in depth (Loup Blanc 2020, 12–3).

This comes from a confidential, unpublished text. However, Loup Blanc occasionally hinted at this Tantric teaching in his published books. In *Le Pouvoir régénérateur de la Lumière* (The Regenerating Power of Light), published in 2009, he explained that to “use the sexual energy for spiritual purposes... it is enough to bring up the energy inside”: “there is a complete technique to bring the essence up to the top of the head” (J.L.B. 2009c, 92).

Unlike in other Tantric groups, however, continence is not mandatory for male students. Loup Blanc extols its benefits and practices it himself, but also warns it is not useful for those who are not prepared. Interviewees reported that between 2015 and 2023 three children were born to couples of students. According to them, that there were no more children did not derive from a generalized practice of continence, which did not exist, but from the fact that most women in the group were in their forties or fifties. Men I interviewed told me that teachings on continence were given privately to a few students, some of whom had an interest in the subject even before joining the group, and were almost never mentioned in the public lectures.

Anti-Cultism and the Prosecution of a Shaman

In a book published by Oxford University Press in 2011, Canadian scholar Susan J. Palmer explored the roots and reasons of the French campaign against the “cults” (called in France “sectes,” a French word to be translated in English as “cults” rather than “sects”). Old tensions between secularism and religion were combined with new fears that “cults” had developed sinister brainwashing techniques (Palmer 2011). While anti-cult movements are active in other countries as well, in France the main groups combating the *sectes*, including the UNADFI (Union nationale des associations de défense des familles et de l'individu victimes de sectes, National Union of Associations Defending the Families and Individuals Victims of Cults), are subsidized by the government. There is a governmental Inter-ministerial Mission for Monitoring and Combating Cultic Deviances (MIVILUDES, Mission interministérielle de vigilance et de lutte contre les dérives sectaires) and special anti-cult police units such as the one that dealt with the case of Loup Blanc.

The ideology inspiring both the MIVILUDES and the UNADFI are frequently criticized by international scholars of new religious movements and non-French governmental institutions such as the USCIRF (United States Commission on International Religious Freedom). They note that the anti-cult ideology is based on the pseudo-scientific theory of brainwashing, which assumes that otherwise mentally competent adults may be deprived of their free will through sinister and mysterious techniques of mind control developed by evil “gurus” (see USCIRF 2020). Most scholars of religion and courts of law in several countries, from the

United States to Italy, have concluded that these techniques do not exist. Claims that they are used by the “cults” are simply tools to discriminate against unpopular minorities. Anti-cultists insist that some doctrines and practices are so strange and socially unacceptable that they can only be embraced by victims of brainwashing or mental manipulation (Introvigne 2022b).

Loup Blanc has poked some fun at the associations that combat the “sectes” but behave themselves as “sectes” according to their own definition (J.L.B. 2009d, 82). He has observed that

soccer, hunting, political parties, religious parties, they are ALL cults but are authorized by the government (J.L.B. 2009d, 75),

which only hits those who dare to think unconventionally. However, he could not escape the malevolent attention of media that adhere to the definition of the “cult” prevailing in French society, of the UNADFI, and finally of the MIVILUDES.

In 1992, a local newspaper from Alençon called *L’Orne hebdo* published an article slandering Loup Blanc as the typical “guru” of a “cult.” The information came from the local affiliate of the UNADFI. Harmonia, the association that gathered at that time the students of Loup Blanc, decided not to react (although Loup Blanc personally had suggested a legal action). However, on April 22, 1993, a national newspaper, *France-Soir*, used the report of *L’Orne hebdo* in an article where an ex-member hidden under the pseudonym of “Christian” accused Harmonia of “destroying families and individuals.” *France-Soir*’s article reported the UNADFI’s opinion that Harmonia was one of the most dangerous “cults” in France, and suggested a comparison between the students of Loup Blanc and the Branch Davidians that three days before, on April 19, 1993, had died in Waco, Texas, in a confrontation with the FBI. The same and the following day, the TV network France 3 broadcasted the same information.

This time, Harmonia sued. On March 14, 1994, the Justice Court of Paris found *France-Soir* guilty of defamation for not having checked the accuracy of the story of “Christian” and having proposed a slandering comparison with the Branch Davidians (Tribunal de Grande Instance de Paris 1994). The newspaper did not appeal, and the judgement became final. The TV network had been sued separately before a different court, the Tribunal of Caen, which on June 12, 1994, concluded that the broadcasted content was not inherently defamatory, but

France 3 was nonetheless guilty of having presented it in a malicious way aimed at slandering Harmonia. Unlike *France-Soir*, the TV Network appealed. On June 25, 1996, the Appeal Court of Caen (Cour d'Appel de Caen 1996) ruled in favor of France 3, and on December 17, 1998, the Court of Cassation confirmed the appeal verdict. These decisions stated that the defamation issue could not be separated from the one about how the information about Harmonia had been presented. However, by that time Harmonia no longer existed. The Appeal Court and the Supreme Court, for a technical reason, were not persuaded that the new association, Oxyon 777, can replace Harmonia and exert all its rights. They thus found against Oxyon 777, based on a technicality that the students of Loup Blanc imputed to a mistake of their lawyer.

Meanwhile, in December 1995, a French parliamentary commission had published a report on “cults in France,” which included a notorious “list of cults” that was heavily criticized by international and French scholars and the French government itself later disavowed. The list included “Oxyon 777 (ex-Harmonia)” (Commission d'Enquête sur les Sectes 1995, 24). This was not surprising, considering the role of the anti-cult associations, directly or through their contacts with the French police intelligence service Renseignement Généraux (see Palmer 2011), in the preparation of the list. In 1997, *L'Orne hebdo* published a new vitriolic attack (*L'Orne hebdo* 1997). Some exchanges of letters followed, but once again the members of the association decided not to pursue a local newspaper.

In retrospect, the campaign led to some police or Renseignement Généraux surveillance of members and events of the group, but did not last for long. Its most annoying consequence for Loup Blanc's students was the use in some divorce cases of the argument that the parents who were members of a “cult” were not fit for the custody of their children. As mentioned earlier, Oxyon 777 was dissolved in 1999, and the campaign slowly subsided.

However, a worse storm started in 2019. As mentioned earlier, the student who had built the website of the group, T., was becoming progressively estranged from Loup Blanc for personal reasons. In March 2020, T. left the group, according to some of my interviewees after Loup Blanc had started confronting him about his manipulatory, aggressive, and inappropriate behavior toward several other students. Soon, he started campaigning against it on social media and inciting some female ex-members to contact the MIVILUDES. His aim was to

submit a report to the MIVILUDES and file a complaint against Loup Blanc. This was eventually done (although on the role of T. my interviewees had different opinions), accusing Loup Blanc of using techniques of psychological manipulation (the typical “cult” crime in France), including on women who accepted to participate in the Tantric work without realizing that, while they consented, they did it because they were “sous emprise” (under psychological control), which eventually led to his arrest on December 8, 2021.

While the criminal investigation continues, his lawyer, whom I interviewed, complains about the conditions of his detention, first in Nîmes and now in Béziers, where Loup Blanc is prevented from meeting his students and his relatives, following his vegan diet, and using his usual natural health remedies. According to the attorney, he lost 15 kilos since he was arrested. The lawyer also complains that 140 witnesses ready to testify in favor of Loup Blanc, including women who went through the Tantric work, were substantially ignored. Some students were heard, but they complained that the interrogations by the anti-cult police were quite aggressive. One even claimed that when she said that Loup Blanc “always respected the women,” her sentence was transcribed in the official report as “never respected women nor men.” She adds that when she asked to correct the report she was threatened by the agent. Requests to convert Loup Blanc’s detention into house arrest for humanitarian and other reasons were rejected.

Let me repeat once again that I do not condone sexual abuse, nor do I believe that freedom of religion or belief should protect abusers. In cases like this, which are not infrequent when a Tantric work on sexuality is part of the teachings, we are always confronted with irreconcilable narratives. Those who remain in the group are persuaded of the leader’s innocence. “Apostate” ex-members—“apostate” being here not a derogatory term, but a technical category used by sociologists to indicate the minority of ex-members who turn into militant opponents of the group they have left (Bromley 1998)—insist he (more rarely she) is guilty.

While leaving to courts of law the difficult task of ascertaining the facts, based on several decades of experience with groups and teachers who perform Tantric sexual work, I would only suggest that prosecutors and judges consider their peculiarities. Their practices, while typical of a century-old tradition in Asian Tantrism, may look bizarre, strange, and even subversive in the West. The

question is whether this should lead to the conclusion that the consent of any woman participating in these practices with a male guru should be regarded as necessarily and by definition vitiated by mental manipulation or mind control. It seems to me that such a conclusion would be offensive to the highly educated women I interviewed who insisted that they participated in a Tantric work with Loup Blanc that included several sexual practices, some of them unconventional, perfectly understanding what it was all about and after having concluded it was an experience they wanted to try. They emphatically claimed they were never coerced to do anything, and stopped the experience when they wanted to and believed they had already reaped the fruits they had expected from it. They then continued as members of the group in good standing to this very day. They are not aggressive when discussing the accusers, but believe that, having left the group, they are now ashamed of experiences they undertook freely and even described enthusiastically to other students at the time they were taking place. Now, however, they rationalize them through the convenient brainwashing argument easily available in the French anti-cult culture they are being socialized into.

Abuse, of course, is always possible. Although sexual abuse is statistically more prevalent in mainline religion, including the Roman Catholic Church, than in new religious movements (Shupe 1995, 1998, 2000, 2007), it can occur everywhere. It is a risk in groups including among their teachings Tantric sexual practices too, and there have been cases of unwilling women forced to have sex with the leaders. On the other hand, assuming that willing women are never really willing, notwithstanding how they tell their story, and can only be under the spell of mind control, implies that experimenting with Tantric sexual work is forbidden in general in France, and is just another incarnation of the old and discredited theory of brainwashing.

As for the fate of Loup Blanc, he would probably answer our questions, according to an unpublished poem a student sent to me, that “TIME... the Great Weaver, tirelessly weaves the wool of our experiences” and, in ways we do not always understand, weaves

the FABRIC of each creature’s destiny,
Giving the best to each according to their merits.

References

- Adam, Cyrille. 1988. *Mudra-Pater ou Notre Père gestuel*. Beuvron-en-Auge: Nitya Yoga.
- Adam, Cyrille. 1992. *Les Chants du Vivant*. Sainte-Scolasse-sur-Sarthe: Éditions Harmonia.
- Bromley, David G. 1998. “The Social Construction of Contested Exit Roles: Defectors, Whistle-blowers, and Apostates.” In *The Politics of Religious Apostasy: The Role of Apostates in the Transformation of Religious Movements*, edited by David G. Bromley, 19–48. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Chamanisme de l’Origine, 2016. “Une chamane mongole invitée par Loup Blanc.” Accessed February 27, 2023. <https://bit.ly/3IQuAYp>.
- Chamanisme de l’Origine. 2023 [last updated]. “Loup Blanc Chaman Yogi.” Accessed February 27, 2023. <https://bit.ly/3YpA5Db>.
- Commission d’Enquête sur les sectes. 1995. *Les Sectes en France*. Paris: Les Documents d’information de l’Assemblée Nationale.
- Cour d’Appel de Caen. 1996. “Société de télévision nationale France 3 c/ Association Harmonia, Association Oxyon 777, Cyril [sic] Adam et Renald Camerano.” Decision of June 25.
- Hatley, Shaman. 2018. *The Brahmayāmalatantra or Picumata. Volume I. Chapters 1–2, 39–40 & 83. Revelation, Ritual and Material Culture in an Early Śaiva Tantra*. Pondichéry: Institut Français d’Indologie, École française d’Extrême-Orient, and Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg.
- Hridayananda, Ahimsa. 1993. *Un Chemin vers la Lumière*. Paris: Guy Trédaniel.
- Hridayananda, Ahimsa. 1994. *Manuel d’Auto-Libération. Homme-femme, tu es libre*. Paris: Guy Trédaniel.
- Hridayananda, Ahimsa. 2002. *Le Voyageur incorporel. Récit onirique initiatique – Tome I: La Rencontre*. Vedène: Éditions Nouvelles Réalités.
- Introvigne, Massimo. 1990. *Il cappello del mago. I nuovi movimenti magici, dallo spiritismo al satanismo*. Milan: SugarCo.
- Introvigne, Massimo. 2019. “Sex, Magic, and the Police: The Saga of Guru Jára.” *The Journal of CESNUR* 3(4):3–30. DOI: 10.26338/tjoc.2019.3.4.1.
- Introvigne, Massimo. 2022a. *Sacred Eroticism: Tantra and Eros in the Movement for Spiritual Integration into the Absolute (MISA)*. Milan and Udine: Mimesis International.
- Introvigne, Massimo. 2022b. *Brainwashing: Reality or Myth?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- J.L.B. 2009a. *Le Secret de la loi d'échange*. Brie: Éditions Nouvelles Réalités.
- J.L.B. 2009b. *Le Pouvoir transformateur de l'Harmonie*. Brie: Éditions Nouvelles Réalités.
- J.L.B. 2009c. *Le Pouvoir régénérateur de la Lumière*. Brie: Éditions Nouvelles Réalités.
- J.L.B. 2009d. *Le Pouvoir créateur de la Mère*. Brie: Éditions Nouvelles Réalités.
- J.L.B. 2010. *Jésus lave les pieds des disciples*. Brie: Éditions Nouvelles Réalités.
- Kiss, Csaba. 2015. *The Brahmayāmala Tantra or Picumata, Volume II. The Religious Observances and Sexual Rituals of the Tantric Practitioner: Chapters 3, 21, and 45*. Pondichéry: Institut Français d'Indologie, École française d'Extrême-Orient, and Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg [volume II was published before volume I, see Hatley 2018].
- Kyrios. 1996. *Jésus et la Samaritaine. La rencontre près du puits*. Brunoy: Éditions AdaMèVÉ.
- Kyrios. 2001a. *Mudra Pater. Gestuelle sacrée*. Nancy: Éditions Nouvelles Réalités.
- Kyrios. 2001b. *Ta nourriture est la Lumière*. Nancy: Éditions Nouvelles Réalités.
- Kyrios. 2008. *Om Lumière du monde*. 2nd ed. Brie: Éditions Nouvelles Réalités (first edition: Brunoy: Éditions AdaMèVÉ, 2000).
- Labate, Beatrix Caiuby, and Clancy Cavnar, eds. 2023. *Religious Freedom and the Global Regulation of Ayahuasca*. London: Routledge.
- L'Orne hebdo. 1997. "Dans les cendres d'Harmonia, Oxyon 777 à pas feutrés." November 12.
- Loup Blanc. 2020. "Le Tantra – Force Sexuelle. La force de vie et de mort en nous." Unpublished manuscript.
- Palmer, Susan J. 2011. *The New Heretics of France: Minority Religions, la République, and the Government-Sponsored "War on Sects"*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Roux, Benoît. 2022. "Cinq victimes du chaman Loup Blanc l'accusent de viols et agressions sexuelles." *France 3 Occitanie*, February 13. Accessed February 25, 2023. <https://bit.ly/3STsICO>.
- Shupe, Anson D. 1995. *In the Name of All That's Holy: A Theory of Clergy Malfeasance*. Westport, CT, and London: Praeger.
- Shupe, Anson D., ed. 1998. *Wolves Within the Fold: Religious Leadership and Abuses of Power*. New Brunswick, NJ, and London: Rutgers University Press.
- Shupe, Anson D. 2000. *Bad Pastors: Clergy Misconduct in Modern America*. New York and London: New York University Press.
- Shupe, Anson D. 2007. *Spoils of the Kingdom: Clergy Misconduct and Religious Community*. Urbana, IL, and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Tribunal de Grande Instance de Paris. 1994. “Association Harmonia et Cyril [sic] Adam c/ Société Presse Alliance S.A. et Philippe Villon.” Decision of March 14.

USCIRF (United States Commission on International Religious Freedom). 2020. *The Anti-Cult Movement and Religious Regulation in Russia and the Former Soviet Union*. Accessed March 3, 2023. <https://bit.ly/3SRq0h0>.