

Mystical mobilities and entheogenic Latin America

Guillermo Giucci

State University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Abstract

In this paper, I seek to explore the concept of mystical mobility as a way of addressing travelling and thus using mobility resources that go beyond the transport agenda. I propose to address innovative paths and research questions by discussing alternative cultural geographies in order to seriously reconsider the concept of mobility in a broad sense. The work aims to introduce the notion of ‘mystical mobility’ and its relationship with entheogens (i.e. psychoactive substances) as a new component of mobility studies, also considering how physical and mystical trips are (or are not) combined.

Keywords

Latin America, peyote, mushrooms, ayahuasca

Introduction

As articulated in the renowned chapter ‘Traveling Theory’ of Edward Said’s *The World, the Text, and the Critic*, ideas have a point of origin, or at least an apparent origin. As various contexts in time and place occur and pass by, they acquire new prominence. The particular conditions of acceptance or rejection of such theories make their incorporation possible or not. Finally, once an idea is accommodated it is transformed by its position in a new time and space.¹

The postcolonial context allowed anthropologist James Clifford to reformulate Edward Said’s traveling theory. According to Clifford, Said’s delineation of the four ‘stages’ of travel – a point of origin, a distance traversed, a set of conditions

Corresponding author:

Guillermo Giucci, Universidade do Estado de Rio de Janeiro, Prudente de Moraes, 1234 apt., 202 Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro 22420-042, Brazil.

Email: giucci@uol.com.br

for acceptance or rejection, and, finally, a transformed idea occupying a new position – is structured as a story of immigration and acculturation.² Such a linear path, however, could not do justice to non-linear complexities, for instance, the space of *betweenness*, a hybridity composed of distinct, historically connected spaces. Given the changing situation of inside–outside connections, of ‘dwelling-in-motion’, Clifford argues that hybrid experiences should tell us as much as rooted ones. We can assume that travelling is a means of knowledge and recognition. The notion of travelling alludes to men’s and women’s lived experiences; to a space travelled to and lived in; to sociability, to flows, frictions, and emotions that are significant.

This approach allows us to put on stage a new set of actors, practises, and concepts of travelling, thus going well beyond the traditional way of understanding, labelling, and defining movements. This possibility demands innovative angles of theoretical investigation.

The present work sustains that the concept of mystical mobility allows for an alternative way of addressing travelling, and thus using mobility resources that go beyond the transport agenda. Innovative paths entail different ways of moving through new cultural geographies, in order to seriously reconsider the concept of mobility in a broad sense. I intend to introduce the notion of ‘mystical mobility’ as a new component of mobility studies, so as to encourage further studies in this area, as well as to offer a new research perspective. I understand ‘mystical mobility’ (or ‘Entheogenic’ mobility, that is mobility generated by psychoactive substances) as the physical displacement away from home in order to experience a spiritual communication between individuals, nature and divinity, be it through an intuitive vision or an ecstatic feeling. I have chosen to write about ‘entheogenic’ mobility exactly because the movement of people, objects, ideas, and information related to mystical mobility is a far reaching but oftentimes a nebulous phenomenon. ‘Entheogenic’ mobility is ‘virtual’ travelling, but it is nevertheless a ‘true’ mobility. How do we reconcile those (slippery) concepts? Could we better frame the ontologies of travelling by researching ‘entheogenic’ mobility?

We face another contradiction: in order to obtain a mystical trip, we needed (and often still need) to physically travel. We can trace geographies of ‘entheogenic’ journeys. For instance, in this paper I focus on uncharted mobility in Latin America as a privileged field for the ‘entheogenic’ mobility. Although it is not a central aspect of this paper, choosing Latin America demands to understand how entheogens inspired not just natives, but also foreigners to travel to specific locations in Latin America in a quest for such experiences. Thus, this work aims to explore the relationship between travel and personal, perceptual, or spiritual transformation. This also means to further develop investigation from the ‘margins’, as it is lived and understood in non-European contexts. Furthermore, it leads us to understand the moment in which people from the ‘margins’ and the ‘cores’ meet, and their backgrounds, aims, and (virtual and real) mobility experiences.

This paper is organised along three perspectives. First, I will present a succinct account of three very important entheogens in Latin America: peyote, mushrooms,

and ayahuasca. Second, I focus on the rise of chemically synthesised substances and its consequences, such as, for example, the unnecessary physical trips to South America in order to achieve psychedelic experiences. Third, as a conclusion, I will offer additional aspects about 'entheogenic' journeys and mobility studies and history.

What are entheogens?

The neologism *entheogen* was coined in 1978 as an alternative to the terms *hallucinogen* and *psychedelic*.³ It derives from two words of ancient Greek, *entheos* ('full of the god, inspired, possessed') and *genesthai* ('to come into being'). Thus, an entheogen is any chemical substance that causes one to experience feelings of inspiration, often wrapped in a religious or spiritual manner. Entheogenic experiences are different from psychedelic ones, although borders between them are blurred. Entheogenic experiences are also different from esoteric meetings where no use of sacred plants occurs.

In Latin America there is a tendency to associate theoretical thinking with European intellectuals. We can certainly think together with the early guides of this mobile age, as well as following the more recent manifestations of the 'mobility structure of feeling'.⁴ However, in the last years an unfamiliar and heterotopic Latin America has appeared in front of my eyes. Places like Pauini and Pucallpa in South America; entheogenic therapeutic centres like the Temple of the Way of Light (Peruvian Amazon) and Takiwasi Rehabilitation Centre (Tarapoto, Peru); films, songs, books, images, and shamans. The possibility of reading and listening to the so-called marginal thinkers and practitioners has opened an uncharted field of study for mobility. Thinkers and places in this context are intertwined. In *Notes Toward a Politics of Location*, Adrienne Rich affirms: 'A place on the map is also a place in history.'⁵ Geographical references tell complex stories of social, spatial, and cultural displacements.

The role of shamans is central for the natives and even more for foreigner visitors. We can rely today on 'neo-shamans': they are still bridging users and substances, acting as mediators and assuming, openly or not, a sacerdotal role. In any case, they can be defined – even when a religious aim is not present – as spiritual guides and 'thinkers', though not in the traditional Western sense. They usually come from underprivileged social classes, claiming bottom-up expertise, and having skills raised from use, not from theory.⁶ They teach, communicate, guide, and mediate at a local level. The traditional hierarchical superiority is inverted, and we arrive there as apprentices of natives who did not attend the university and do not speak English. There is consequently a connection that binds marginal local performers with foreign apprentices, eager to learn forms of knowledge absent in the most advanced European and North American Universities.

Orlando Chujandama Huazanga was born in the small village of Lluccayanacu, Peru, and was raised by his grandfather, Don Aquilino Chujandama, one of the

most respected ‘Vegetalismo’ masters in the region. Orlando is a traditional Peruvian ‘curandero’ (spiritual herbalism practiced in the Peruvian Amazon), who we can contact through his website or Facebook. He lives in Tarapoto with his wife and five children, but has a small venue to receive groups and patients in the village where he was born. Something similar happens with Francisco Montes Shuña, the Peruvian shaman of Capanahua ancestry. His work as a healer entails the use of ayahuasca and perfumes. Francisco created the Sachamama Ethnobotanical Centre in 1998. The ayahuasca visions are the source for the paintings that he exhibits at the Centre. We might be Ph.Ds in Economics at Harvard or Cambridge University, but Westerners that travel to meet Orlando Chujandama Huazanga or Francisco Montes Shuña do so in order to learn from alternative epistemologies.

Peyote

Richard Evans Schultes and Albert Hofmann, in *Plants of the Gods*, affirm that Mexico represents the world’s richest area in diversity and use of hallucinogens in aboriginal societies: peyote is the one that is best known.⁷ A nine-page entry on Wikipedia offers a detailed definition of this substance: *Lophophora williamsii* (or peyote) is a small, spineless cactus with psychoactive alkaloids, particularly mescaline, and native of Mexico and south-western Texas. Known for its psychoactive properties when ingested, peyote is used as an entheogen and supplement to various transcendence practices, including meditation, psychonautics, and psychedelic psychotherapy. In Nahuatl language (a language part of Uto-Aztecan family) the name *peyōtl* is often translated as ‘Divine Messenger’ and peyote has a long history of ritualistic and medicinal use by indigenous Americans: Native populations are likely to have used peyote for at least 5500 years.⁸

If looked at from a European perspective, peyote is originally related to the Tarahumara Indians, Native American people of north-western Mexico who retreated to the high sierras on the arrival of Spanish explorers in the sixteenth century. The first western traveller to experiment and to describe the peyote ritual is assumed to be the Norwegian explorer Carl Sofus Lumholtz in late nineteenth century.⁹ He wrote positively about the drug, upholding that the partaking of peyote was not injurious to health, stating that the cult was observed only during a limited season of the year.¹⁰

Can the ethnographer communicate the touch of divinity? Can he activate the self-effacing gesture? How can I communicate the divine spark? Only in an indirect manner, by quoting authors that mention the dissolution of the Self and claim to have melted into totality. When French surrealist writer and actor Antonin Artaud (1896–1948) arrived in Mexico in 1936 to participate in the peyote ritual among the Tarahumara, he did not travel with the interest of an ethnographer or a tourist.¹¹ He did not know that in 1935 Wendell C. Bennett and Robert M. Zingg had published *The Tarahumara: An Indian Tribe of Northern Mexico*,¹² a book that provides the classic baseline ethnography of this group for the early twentieth century.

Neither was he familiar with names of researchers like Heinrich Klüver and Weston La Barre.¹³ Artaud was trying to escape European civilisation and the analytical view of the world.

This discontent with aspects of European civilisation is key to comprehending why some travellers surrender to a new geographical context impregnated by alien ideas. Only a few years after Sigmund Freud published his *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1930), in which he affirmed that life was impossible without ‘auxiliary constructions’ and signalled the importance of drugs and intoxication to avoid suffering,¹⁴ Artaud hoped to find in Mexico the ancient solar culture. The Tarahumara were for Artaud a ‘Race-Origin’ superior to the Europeans. The peyote ritual opened for him the gates of infinity. Artaud claims to have found the meaning of life in the Sierra Madre: the unmediated and vital connection with the Cosmos.¹⁵ For Gilles Deleuze, literature is health and in a delirious clinical condition, the words become meaningless, resembling a night that has lost its history, its colours and songs.¹⁶ Artaud’s writing about his experiences among the Tarahumara is an odd mixture of sublimity and delirium.

Mushrooms

In May 1957 Robert Gordon Wasson, an American author, ethnomycologist, and the Vice-President of J.P. Morgan, published an article in *Life* magazine entitled ‘Seeking the Magic Mushroom’.¹⁷ On the night of 29–30 June 1955, Wasson and his friend Allan Richardson shared the celebration of a ‘holy communion’ where ‘divine’ (hallucinogenic) mushrooms were consumed. The rite was led by two women, María Sabina and her daughter, both of them *curanderas* or shamans, and the proceedings took place in Mixteco language. The white travellers saw visions and emerged spiritually transformed from the experience. Wasson proudly wrote that Richardson and he were the first white men in recorded history to eat the divine mushrooms; no anthropologists had ever described the scene that they witnessed.

From the standpoint of mystical mobility, María Sabina (c. 1894–1985) was an ‘attractor’ of corporeal and imaginative travel. The illiterate Mazatec healer, who lived her entire life in a modest dwelling in the Sierra Mazateca of southern Mexico, generated the physical movement of objects like cameras and tape recorders. She also stimulated communicative travel through person-to-person messages via telephone and texts. Although ‘seeing’ animals and coloured patterns are common features of the entheogenic experience, the main reason for the local ritual was medicinal. Sick people went to María Sabina to be cured. In this sacramental view of reality, illness and death are not interpreted as organically caused, but understood as the effects of malevolent spirits.

María Sabina’s description of her journey to the underworld connects us to the literary history of *katabasis*, or descent in search of understanding.¹⁸ Most *katabases* take place in a supernatural underworld, such as Hades or Hell. However, *katabasis* must be followed by *anabasis* (a going or

marching up); the lack of the latter is not *katabasis* but death. This is the case with Gilgamesh, Hercules, Ulysses, Orpheus, Christ, Aeneas, Dante, or of Jorge Luis Borges in the short story 'The Aleph'.¹⁹ The descent for knowledge is a fragment of the dreamlike quality of sacred plants. María Sabina surrenders her body and her voice to the 'sacred children' (mushrooms). They speak through her. For María Sabina, mushrooms were like God. They gave wisdom and cured diseases. They had power, because they were the blood of Christ.²⁰ The shaman thus travels to the underworld and returns to the world with heightened knowledge. Of course, the other world is not a separate and independent entity but a form of communication with layers of reality that are not accessible in normal states of consciousness.²¹

Albert Hofmann, the father of LSD ('my problem child'), started to experiment with dried specimens of *Psilocybe Mexicana* in the laboratory.²² As in the case of LSD, he had to experiment it on himself. A strange, dangerous, and necessary step: voluntary intoxication. The self-experiment confirmed for him that human beings react much more sensitively than animals to psychoactive substances. With the help of tests on human subjects, the active principle was isolated, concentrated, and transformed into a chemically pure state. Two new substances, obtained in the form of colourless crystals, were named by Hofmann 'psilocybin' and 'psilocin'.

Hofmann was a friend of Robert Gordon Wasson and Richard Evans Schultes. On 26 September 1962, Hofmann and his wife flew to Mexico City to meet Wasson. Several days later, they made a formal visit to María Sabina in Huautla de Jimenez. Hofmann comments that María Sabina 'was obviously impressed when it was explained to her that they had managed to confine the spirit of the mushrooms in pills'.²³ After the ceremony, María Sabina acknowledged that the pills had the same power as the mushrooms. The synthetic psilocybin was identical with the natural product. As a parting gift, Hofmann gave María Sabina a jar of psilocybin pills. In what sense is there a moving away from nature? It is clear that the 'mushroom' consultations could now be given even in the season when no mushrooms grew. More importantly, María Sabina would later affirm that the 'sacred children' seemed to have lost part of their power after the arrival of Wasson and company.²⁴ The presence of the intruder with psilocybin pills points to the incorporation of a new threatening technical element in the pre-existing Christian and Amerindian syncretism, since the shaman does not comprehend the process of fabrication and is unable to control its quality.

In 1957, Gordon Wasson published his encounter with María Sabina and, contradictory enough, it was the very same moment in which synthesised substances were available. So, while mystical trips were feasible 'in the United States', it is also true that – in the decades after Wasson's article – the city of Huautla de Jiménez in the State of Oaxaca, witnessed the arrival of thousands of travellers from the United States and Europe in search of the illiterate Mazatec healer and her magic mushrooms.²⁵

Ayahuasca

Out of the diverse entheogens examined in this paper, ayahuasca is the one that has produced the most dynamic forms of physical and spiritual mobility. This is partly due to its transnational geographical location (the Brazilian, Peruvian, and Colombian Amazon), the magnetic power of the jungle image, the transformation of the ingestion of the beverage into a well-organised and expansive religion reaching numerous national and international urban centres, and the adaptation of the ritual aspect to a flourishing touristic system, including the use of the most advanced forms of virtual communication.

Ayahuasca is a compound hallucinogenic beverage (a mixture of *Banisteriopsis caapi* and *Banisteriopsis inebrians*). According to Dennis McKenna, 'Of the numerous plant hallucinogens utilized by indigenous populations of the Amazon Basin, perhaps none is as interesting or complex, botanically, chemically, or ethnographically, as the hallucinogenic beverage known variously as *ayahuasca*, *caapi*, or *yage*. The beverage is most widely known as *ayahuasca*, a Quechua term meaning "vine of the souls".²⁶ Adapting Georg Simmel's essay on 'Adornment' to the entheogenic experience, the brown and dense hallucinogenic beverage contained in the jar shines like a jewel, provokes a sensuous attention, and is designed to enlarge the individual by adding a super-individual aspect.

In 1849 the English Victorian botanist Richard Spruce (1817–1893) joined Alfred Russel Wallace's and Henry Walter Bates's expedition to the Amazon Basin, collecting more than thirty thousand plant specimens. The plants and objects collected by Spruce (mostly in Brazil) formed an important botanical, historical, and ethnological resource in England. In 1851, Spruce described *B. caapi* and observed its use among the Tukano tribe of the Uapes river in Brazil.²⁷ The American Richard Evans Schultes, the most important Amazonian plant explorer of the twentieth century, also collected over thirty thousand herbarium specimens (three hundred species new to science) and was the first to academically examine ayahuasca, a brew made out of *B. caapi* vine in combination with various plants that contain *N,N*-dimethyltryptamine.²⁸

In early 1953, beatnik writer William Burroughs began a seven-month expedition into the jungles of South America to find *yagé*. From Lima, Peru, Burroughs wrote to Allen Ginsberg: 'Yagé is space time travel. The blood and substance of many races, [...] new races as yet unconceived and unborn, combinations not yet realized, passes through your body. Migrations, incredible journeys through deserts and jungles and mountains, across the Pacific in an outrigger canoe to Easter Island.'²⁹ Wade Davis mentions the different answers given by both the scientist Schultes and the literary spiritual seeker Burroughs when experiencing ayahuasca in the jungle. Burroughs described to Schultes his psychedelic trip as an earth-shaking metaphysical experience; the scientist simply replied: 'That's funny, Bill, all I saw was colours.'³⁰

On 22 July 1961, in the middle of the Amazon rainforest, José Gabriel da Costa (Master Gabriel) created the Union of the Plant (União do Vegetal) in order

to 'make peace in the world'. Some years later the União do Vegetal was organised as a spiritual centre. After the death of Gabriel in 1971, the original followers expanded the reach of the UDV with the installation of new centres in many cities in Brazil and abroad. In addition to the General Headquarters, the Union of the Plant currently has 212 centres, located in all Brazilian states and in seven countries: the United States, Spain, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Australia, Italy, and Peru.

'Sky of the Mapiá' (Céu do Mapiá) is a Brazilian village founded in 1983 by Sebastião Mota de Melo (Godfather Sebastião). It is located in the headwaters of Igarapé (river) Mapiá, in the municipality of Pauini, state of Amazonas. The village is located within the Inauini-Pauini National Reserve and is the headquarters of ICEFLU, a branch of the Holy Daime religion. Despite the difficulties of natural accessibility, Céu do Mapiá became a pilgrimage centre that receives fans of the Holy Daime from around the world.

Mystical tourism

It is a challenging test to compare Artaud's peyote writings with Aldous Huxley's 1954 philosophical essay *The Doors of Perception*.³¹ Huxley's experiment occurred in a comfortable house in Los Angeles over an afternoon on May 1953 with the assistance of a psychiatrist. Indeed, this was possible because mescaline was first isolated and identified in 1897 and first synthesised in 1919. Therefore, in the early 1950s there was no need to travel to Mexico to ingest peyote, no need to participate in the sacred space of the peyote dance, no need for the collective ritual. Pharmaceutical achievement eliminates the uniqueness of locality and the aura of non-reproducibility.

We can thus see that in Huxley's experimentation the spatial relationship ceased to be important. I go so far as to state that for Huxley, the mind was primarily concerned with the intensity of existence, not with measures and locations. Along with indifference to space, there was indifference to time. There is also a revelation about the illusory nature of analytic and linguistic perception: 'I was seeing what Adam had seen on the morning of his creation: the miracle, moment by moment, of naked existence. *Istigkeit*, was not that the word Meister Eckhart liked to use? "Is-ness"'.³² Entheogens are the condition of possibility of the production of 'pure presence'. In addition to ethnoscapas, mediascapas, technoscapas, financescapas, and ideoscapas, to employ Appadurai's categories of social life,³³ entheogens are channels for the production of *inscapas*. How does the lack of physical travel to Mexico and Latin America impact the entheogen experience and the inscape exploration? Huxley apparently was not too much concerned.

On the other way around, the disappearance of geographical novelty does not entail a decrease in the desire to experience the entheogenic 'presence' in Latin America. Thousands of tourists travel every year to Peru, Colombia, and Brazil as part of a widespread mystical phenomenon. As Andrei Znamenski asserts, the number of Western spiritual seekers who are trying to recover what they describe

as ancient, tribal spirituality is growing strongly.³⁴ There is a boom in shamanic practices in the West, materialised in seminars, workshops, retreats, and a large body of literature and specialised magazines.³⁵ In today's experience, on one hand, Latin America is not the only destination anymore. On the other hand, it still remains a very important region for these kinds of practices. While the opportunities for mystical travelling are abundant in western countries, Znamenski states how entheogenic tourism is a 'small industry of jungle shamanism that involves Western spiritual seekers, tour operators, and local native and mixed-blood people'.³⁶ The mystical tourist transcends the 'tourist gaze': he/she can be considered a post-tourist, who deploys a role distance and favours spiritual performative techniques and dispositions.³⁷

The Peruvian Amazon is one of the most popular destinations for human potential movements and holistic enterprises. I will only mention a few of these holistic enterprises: *Takiwasi* (Centre for the Rehabilitation of Drug Addicts and for Research on Traditional Medicines founded by the French Doctor Jacques Mabit in Tarapoto City, Peru), *Refugio Altiplano* (just outside Iquitos, Peru), and the *Temple of the Way of Light* (healing centre in the Peruvian Amazon).

The Spiritual industry is also promoted by agencies located outside Latin America and is heavily advertised. John Grunwell asks: 'What brings people from all over the world to South America, simply to use ayahuasca?'³⁸ Among the main reasons, he mentions self-exploration and spiritual growth, curiosity, physical and emotional healing, and the desire for a vacation to an exotic location. Most participants are male, ranging from thirty to sixty years of age, with an increasing number of female participants.

So, Latin America still preserves the 'aura' of a unique entheogenic place. But increasingly the entheogenic beverage is available in different parts of the world. Religious messages and financial opportunities have the tendency to expand and universalise.

As announced in a virtual site (*The Sacred Voyage*) we can attend a two-day Ayahuasca retreat in Holland:

Two-day healing weekend with Ayahuasca. We work with a team of experienced and committed guides, who provide safety and loving support. Our groups consist of a maximum of 20 participants and a team of 4 to 6 guides. The first day of this weekend is a preparation for the ceremony which takes place on the second day. We prepare ourselves as a group by sharing our intentions, by heart-dancing or voice expression, and by (holotropic) breath work. On the second day you will drink the Ayahuasca. Costs for these weekends are 255 Euros including light meals. It is possible to stay overnight in our ceremonial room, costs are 10 Euros per night.³⁹

Let us compare the announcement for the Netherland Ayahuasca retreat with the announcement of a retreat from the Ayahuasca Foundation in Peru: 'Three Week Shipibo Ayahuasca Retreats. The three week Shipibo ayahuasca retreat is an opportunity to receive a complete treatment from an authentic curandero in the Amazon rainforest. Participants spend 19 days at the Ayahuasca Foundation's

Chamisal Retreat Center (plus two days in Iquitos), participating in nine ayahuasca ceremonies led by a Shipibo curandero and the assistant healers.⁴⁰ In the Peruvian case, the notion of authenticity continues to function as a sign of difference and as symbolic capital, if we consider Bourdieu's sociological perspective.

Conclusion

While Latin America is considered the 'natural' place of entheogens, in the United States and in Europe, there are emergent locations for entheogenic experiments: the university and the hospital. In February 2015, in an article on *The New Yorker*, Michael Pollan writes that the research into psychedelics, shut down for decades, is now yielding exciting results.⁴¹ Pollan mentions the importance of psilocybin and LSD hospital trials with terminal patients facing the existential distress of death. According to Pollan, the research to treat anxiety and the study of the neurobiology of mystical experience is taking place at several universities in the United States, including John Hopkins, UCLA Medical Centre, and the University of New Mexico, as well as the Imperial College, in London, and the University of Zurich.⁴² According to this tendency, the scientific research of entheogenic virtues in universities and hospitals promises to lead humanity into a new stage of human consciousness. Increasingly, synthetic entheogenic substances will be at the disposal of the consumer far away from the site of production, including universities and hospitals, making it possible to avoid physical trips for ingesting these substances in their natural setting.

Entheogenic trips indeed challenge our classical idea of travelling, because the experience associated with those substances is a mystical trip, not a physical one. We noticed, however, how mystical travelling was limited to some months of the year (once mushrooms or peyote were available as entheogens) and how a physical trip was necessary to experience a mystical trip. On top of that, the implementation of synthesised substances culturally and geographically 'reshapes' the whole experience, offering our discussion a fertile contradiction. On one hand, Latin America is a very important region for investigating mystical mobility. On the other hand, given the synthetic production of entheogenic substances, it is not necessary to travel to Latin America in order to experience this kind of mobility. Therefore, the importance of travel to a geographically distinct location is fading with the emergence of other locations (in Europe and the United States) for entheogenic experimentation. There is indeed an unresolved tension between this and the status of Latin America as an important geographical reference for spiritual and medicinal pilgrimage.

The entheogenic practice in Latin America (and abroad) is not only related to medicinal or hallucinogenic experiences; it affects spatial transformation of economic systems, the various 'power-geometries', the politics of mobility and the role that the movement of people, ideas, objects, and information play in social life. Today, we can even claim that Latin American entheogenic experiences are not *exclusive* of Latin America (it is actually quite the opposite), and that they are modifying goals, significance, and routine, both in Latin America and in other locations. This is indeed challenging, as stated by Clifford: apart from considering

travelling from the perspective of a linear path, we should also focus on non-linear journeys and *betweenness*.

Declaration of conflicting interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Notes

1. E. Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 227.
2. J. Clifford, *Routes. Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1997).
3. R. G. Wasson, A. Hofmann and C. A. P. Ruck, *The Road to Eleusis. Unveiling the Secret of the Mysteries* (Berkeley, North Atlantic Books, 2008).
4. J. Urry, *Mobilities* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 2007), p. 6.
5. A. Rich, *Toward a Politics of Location*, 1984. <http://people.unica.it/fiorenzoiuliano/files/2014/10/Adrienne-Rich-Notes-Toward-a-Politics-of-Location.pdf> (accessed 15 July 2016).
6. J. Scuro, *Neochamanismo en América Latina. Una Cartografía desde Uruguay* ('Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 2016').
7. R. E. Schultes, A. Hofmann and Ch. Rätsch, *Plants of the Gods: Their Sacred, Healing and Hallucinogenic Powers* (Randolph, VT, Healing Arts Press, 2001), p. 26.
8. Peyote – Wikipedia in wikipedia.org/wiki/Peyote (accessed 12 March 2017).
9. C. Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico. A Record of Five Years' Exploration Among the Tribes of the Western Sierra Madre*, 2 Vols. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011).
10. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, chapter XIX.
11. A. Artaud, *México y Viaje al País de los Tarahumaras* (México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1995).
12. W. C. Bennett and R. M. Zingg, *The Tarahumara: An Indian Tribe of Northern Mexico* (Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press, 1935).
13. H. Klüver, *Mescal, the 'Divine' Plant and Its Psychological Effects* (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Company, 1928); W. La Barre, *The Peyote Cult* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 2012).
14. S. Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents* (New York, Norton, 1961).
15. Artaud, *Ibid.*, p. 321.
16. G. Deleuze, *Crítica y Clínica* (Barcelona, Anagrama, 1997), p. 10.
17. R. G. Wasson, 'Seeking the Magic Mushroom', *Life Magazine*, 10 June 1957 (International Edition). The article was first published by *Life Magazine*, 13 May 1957.
18. According to the Dictionary, catabasis means 'a march from the interior of a country to the coast, as that of the 10,000 Greeks after their defeat and the death of Cyrus the

- Younger at Cunaxa'. It also means 'a retreat, especially a military retreat'. I use the term in relationship to Literature and in particular the image of Christ.
19. I mention Gilgamesh, Hercules, Ulysses, Orpheus, Christ, Aeneas, Dante as pre-modern examples of figures that enter the Underworld (Hades, Hell) in literary texts like *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, *The Odyssey*, *The Bible*, *The Aeneid*, *The Divine Comedy*; for a modern and ironic example of *katabasis*, see Jorge Luis Borges' short story, 'The Aleph'.
 20. Á. Estrada, *Vida de María Sabina. La Sabia de los Hongos* (México, Siglo XXI, 1982), p. 45.
 21. K. Von Stuckrad, 'Reenchanting Nature: Modern Western Shamanism and Nineteenth-Century Thought', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 70:4 (2002), 771–99.
 22. A. Hofmann, *LSD. My Problem Child. Reflections on Sacred Drugs, Mysticism, and Science* (Santa Cruz, MAPS, 2009).
 23. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
 24. Estrada, *Ibid.*, p. 119.
 25. O. García Cerqueda, *Huautla, Tierra de Magia, de Hongos... y de Hippies 1960–1975* (Puebla, Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 2014).
 26. D. McKenna, 'Ayahuasca: An Ethnopharmacologic History', 1998, p. 1. http://www.sapaninka.com/archivos_up/ayahuasca-an-ethnopharmacologic-history-002.pdf (accessed 10 June 2015).
 27. R. Spruce, *Notes of a Botanist on the Amazon & Andes* (London, Forgotten Books, 2016).
 28. W. Davis, *The Lost Amazon. The Pioneering Expeditions of Richard Evans Schultes* (San Rafael, CA, Earth Aware, 2016).
 29. W. Burroughs and A. Ginsberg, *The Yage Letters Redux* (San Francisco, CA, City Lights Books, 2006), p. 50.
 30. W. Davis, *One River. Explorations and Discoveries in the Amazon Rain Forest*. (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1996), p. 154.
 31. A. Huxley, *The Doors of Perception* (New York, Thinking Ink, 2011).
 32. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
 33. A. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large. Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1996), p. 33.
 34. A. Znamenski, *The Beauty of the Primitive: Shamanism and the Western Imagination* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007).
 35. *Ibid.*, p. viii.
 36. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
 37. S. McCabe, 'Tourist', in P. Adey, D. Bissell, K. Hannam, P. Merriman and M. Sheller (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Mobilities* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 349–57.
 38. J. Grunwell, 'Ayahuasca Tourism in South America', *Newsletter of the Multidisciplinary Association for Psychedelic Studies MAPS*, 8:3 (1998), 59–62.
 39. <http://openmindtrips.com/events/netherlands/north-holland/amsterdam/ayahuasca-9/ayahuasca-weekend-the-netherlands/> (accessed 2 July 2017).
 40. <https://www.ayahuascafoundation.org/three-week-shipibo-ayahuasca-retreat-peru>, (accessed 2 July 2017). The Shipibo Indians are found in settlements and villages north of the city of Pucallpa, Peru.
 41. M. Pollan, 'The Trip Treatment', *The New Yorker*, 9 February 2015, pp. 36–47.
 42. *Ibid.*, 38.