

TEONANÁCATL:
Ancient and Contemporary Shamanic
Mushroom Names of Mesoamerica and
Other Regions of the World

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INTRODUCTION

Guzmán (1990:98), noted authority on the entheogenic mushrooms of Mesoamerica wrote that "according to Wasson, nine indian tribes in México use sacred mushrooms or did in the past. Five of these--the Mazatec, Mixtec, Mixe, Chatino and Zapotec indians--are located in the state of Oaxaca. Four others dwell elsewhere; [one tribe] the Nahuatl [are found], from the center of México to the Pacific in Colima and Chiapas and to the Gulf of México in Veracruz. Of these, the Mazahuan, Otomi and Tarascan indians apparently no longer use the sacred mushrooms, having abandoned them at some point in their forgotten past."

"Eruption of the earth", "mushroom of reason", "children of the water", "our masters, the mushrooms of the world", "the most holy of lords", "little ones that spring forth", "mushrooms of the saints", and "los señores (the lords, used by Mesoamericans)", are but a few of the many endearing epithets used to describe the adoration, respect, and esteem many Mesoamericans hold when expressing their love for the sacred mushrooms. The ancient *Nahua* adorned the sacred mushrooms like beautiful flowers and their cultural importance has been significantly immortalized as well as botanically depicted along with other sacred plants on an ancient statue known

as "*Xochipilli*" (the "prince of flowers").

The *Nahuatl* mushroom names discussed in this study originally appeared in several codices and journals written by the early Spanish historians, botanists, and friars during the 16th and 17th century, all who undoubtedly wrote under the dictation of the strict hierarchy and guidance of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. References of the sacred mushrooms were recorded in the diaries, journals and codices of the Franciscan Monk Bernardino de Sahagún (1956), the Dominican Friar Diego Durán (1867 [1581]), Francisco Hernandez (1651), Coto (1983), Jacinto de la Serna (1892), Kingsborough (1842), and Fray Toribo de Benavente [Motolina] (1858).

These *Nahua* mushroom names and epithets first gained recognition within a small segment of the scientific community due to the scholarly research and published papers of Schultes (1939, 1940), Wasson & Wasson (1957), Wasson (1957), Hoogshagen (1959), Singer and Smith (1958), and Guzmán (1983).

The Spanish chronicler Sahagún was the first historian to note that the Aztec people consumed certain mushrooms which caused inebriations. In the *Nahuatl* language these mushrooms were known as *Teonanácatl* ("flesh of the gods"). Sahagún also wrote that these mushrooms were commonly consumed during ritualistic ceremonies performed by Aztec priests and their followers. The most common scholarly accepted name applied to the sacred mushrooms appears to be the word

Teonanácatl which several historians (especially Sahagún) mentioned in their historical works.

Noted ethnomycologist R. Gordon Wasson (1974, see Fig. 1), reported that Molina had referred to the sacred mushrooms as *xochinanácatl*. *Xochi* is the *nahuatl* word for flower and *nanácatl* implies mushrooms. The words *teonanácatl* and *nanacátl* were names Sahagún used when describing several species of entheogenic mushrooms which were indigenous to the New World (Sahagún, 1956). *Nanácatl* is also the *nahuatl* word for meat and is used primarily by Mexican Indians to describe entheogenic mushrooms as well as their edible and poisonous cousins.

Wasson (1981) suggested that *Teonanácatl* could also be interpreted as "sacred mushroom", "wondrous mushroom", or even "divine meat." According to Guzmán (1990:96), "after Wasson called attention to the word *teonanácatl* it was used indiscriminately to describe any of the Mexican hallucinogenic mushroom [species]. But Sahagún applied it only to those mushrooms used by the *nahuatl* tribe. It no longer has currency; at any rate, neither Reko, Weitlaner, Schultes nor Wasson found [or uncovered any evidence that the word] *teonanácatl* [was currently] being used by modern indians. However, I [Guzmán] discovered that a similar [word], *teotlaquilnanácatl*, was the popular name applied to sacred mushrooms such as P[silocybe] mexicana Heim and P[silocybe]

caerulescens Murr. by the indians who use them in the region of Necaxa [in the] state of Puebla--A Nahuatl region . This naturally raises the question: Was the Nahuatl word *teotlaquilnanácatl* misconstrued by Sahagún to be [interpreted as] *teonanácatl*?" (Guzmán, 1960)

The ritualistic use of *teonanácatl* was pandemic throughout Mesoamerica during the time of the conquest and appears to have been a traditional culture as well as an integral structure within the widespread Aztec empire. Both the Spanish clergy (especially the Holy Office of the Inquisition) and the conquering historians all described the mushrooms and their ritualistic use as barbaric pagan practices and the church vehemently deplored and opposed the rituals employed by those who consumed them; often torturing the practitioners, sometimes murderously. The clergy and the conquerors alike, believed that the use of the mushrooms and the pagan rituals which followed their use to be devil worship; venomously opposing and prosecuting those who performed or practiced such heresies.

The Spanish were mycophobic, blatantly displaying their abhorrence towards those who consumed the sacred mushrooms. The many historians and clergy who documented the widespread use of the sacred mushrooms as well as many other sacred plants, provided history with written detailed proof of their negativity towards such use and practices.

Sahagún (1956) has provided history with the best description on the use and effects of the sacred mushrooms among the Aztec. And in essence, presented to his hierarchy, written descriptions of many of the effects which he (Sahagún) assumed occurred in those who consumed the mushrooms:

"At the very first, mushrooms had been served. They ate them at the time when, they said, the shell trumpets were blown. They ate no more food; they only drank chocolate during the night. And they ate the mushrooms with honey. When the mushrooms took effect on them, then they danced, then they wept. But some, while, still in command of their senses, entered [and] sat there by the house on their seats; they danced no more, but only sat there nodding.

"One saw in vision that already he would die in battle; one saw in vision that he would be eaten by wild beasts; one saw in vision that he would take captives in war; one saw in vision that he would be rich, wealthy; one saw in vision that he would buy slaves---he would be a slave owner; one saw in vision that he would commit adultery---he would be struck by stones---he would be stoned; one saw in vision that he would steal---he would also be stoned; one saw in vision that his head would be crushed by stones---they would condemn him; one saw in vision that he would perish in the water; one saw in vision that he would live in peace, tranquility, until he died; one saw in vision that he would fall from a roof-top---he would fall to his death. However many things were to befall one, he then saw all in vision: even that he would be drowned.

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"And when the effects of the mushrooms had left them, they consulted among themselves and told one another what they had seen in vision. And they saw in vision what would befall those who had eaten no mushrooms, and what they went about doing. Some were perhaps thieves, some perhaps committed adultery. However many things there were, all were told---that one would take captives, one would become a seasoned warrior, a leader of the youths, one would die in battle, become rich, buy slaves, provide banquets, ceremonially bathe slaves, commit adultery, be strangled, perish in the water, drown. Whatsoever was to befall one, they then saw all [in vision]."

Aaronson and Osmond (1969) suggested that Sahagún "in writing of the mushrooms often referred to [the users] disconsolate, dissolute, disintegrating [describing their] state of personality [while under the influence]" of the mushrooms. Special attention is now focused on the following descriptions of some of the effects of the mushrooms upon their users:

"The bad youth becomes crazed mad, he goes about eating mushrooms." (Sahagún, 1956, book 10:12).

"The one of noble lineage when he is a bad nobleman, goes about eating mushrooms." (Sahagún, 1956, book 10:20).

"The bad noblewoman is infamous, very audacious, stern, proud, very stupid, brazen, besotted, drunk. She goes about eating

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mushrooms." (Sahagún, book 10:49).

"The harlot, the carnal woman is rude, drunk, shameless, eating mushrooms." (Sahagún, 1956, book 10:55).

"The lewd youth is foolish, he goes about eating mushrooms." (Sahagún, book 10:57).

Hernandez (1651) in referring to the mushrooms implied that the Nahuatl word "Teyhuintl" could be described "as causing uncontrollable laughter." Another historian, Jacinto de Serna (1892) later referred to some mushrooms as "Quatlannamacatl" and Benavente, a Spanish monk (cited in Kingsborough, 1848), referred to some mushrooms as "Teunamacatl" ("bread of the Gods"). In a study on pagan rites and idolatries, Benavente had also mentioned the word "teonanácatl" and described the effects of the sacred mushrooms as follows:

"They had another drunkenness which made them more cruel; which was of some small mushrooms. . .and after a while they were seeing a thousand visions, especially of snakes, and as they went completely out of their minds, it seemed to them that their legs and bodies were full of worms which were eating them alive, and thus half raving, they went out of the house wishing that somebody would kill them, and with that bestial drunkenness and the trouble they felt, it would happen sometimes that they hanged themselves. And they were also against others much more cruel. They called these mushrooms

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"*Teonanácatl*", which means "Flesh of the Gods" (the demon they adored). And in that manner, with that bitter food, thier cruel God held communion with them (also cited in Knauth, 1962:263).

In 1574, Antigüedades Mexicanas was published by André Thévet as Histoyre du Mechique (written by Andrés de Olmos in 1543). In this volume, Thevet referred to the sacred mushrooms as "*Teonanacatl (=carne de dios a del diablo*", "meat of the Gods or of Satan"). Later, (Tula, 1640) described the mushrooms as "*Hongos que embelezan.*" Serna (1892), in describing a Coloquio which appeared in a volume entitled "El Teatro de Nueva España en Siglo", referred to the sacred mushrooms as "*hongol demonico ydolo*" (idolic demonic mushrooms) (see Wasson, 1973, 1980:213).

The Dominican Friar Diego Durán refered to the sacred mushrooms as "*unos hongos monteses*" and Orozco y Berra (circa 1870's) stated that the mushrooms seemed to produce "a state of intoxication with frightening hallucinations."

The Franciscan Bernardino de Sahagún later described the sacred mushrooms as "*hongos malos que emborrachan*" (=evil mushrooms that inebriate) and even went so far as to boldly claim "*aún provocan lujuria*" (they [the mushrooms] provoked lust). Here is Sahagún's description referring or even alluding to the mushrooms association as a possible aphrodisiac:

"*There are some small mushrooms in the region which are called teonanácatl; these*

grow under the grass (hay) of the fields and pastures. They are round, having rather high stipe, slender and terete. When eaten, they have a bad taste, hurting the throat, and they cause intoxication. They are medicinal for fevers and for rheumatism. Only two or three need to be eaten. Those who eat them see visions and feel a faintness of heart. And they provoke to lust those who have eaten a number, or even a few of them" (cited in Schultes, 1940). Wasson (1980) suggested that Sahagún may have inserted this latter statement into his writings "to excite the 16th century readers seeking always the fountain of youth and new aphrodisiacs." Another historian, Francisco Flores (1886-1888), had also suggested that the sacred mushrooms were but "one of the many aphrodisiacs found in Nueva España."

The Nahuatl word *teonanácatl* was not meant or used by the ancient Aztec to describe any one single species of mushroom as Schultes (1939, 1940) first suggested, but most likely referred to several varieties of mushrooms. Many of the entheogenic species employed by the Aztecs as well as by their contemporary ancestors belong to the genus Psilocybe. However, some scholars have suggested that some of the mushrooms species referred to as *teonanácatl* may have belonged to the genus Panaeolus. Current research indicates that native healers living in remote mountain villages in Mesoamerica do not refer to any of the sacred mushrooms as *teonanácatl*.

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In the early 1900's, a noted botanist W. E. Safford (1915) claimed that the sacred mushrooms were non-existent and that *teonanácatl* was actually the dried button of the peyote cactus. Thirty-four years later, Singer (1949-1951) became the first investigator to published a correct identification by indicating that *teonanácatl* was actually a mushroom.

Noted ethnopharmacologist Jonathan Ott (1993) discussed and suggested the probability that some species of the sacred mushrooms were known of and once used traditionally by the ancient Mayan. Ott, in referring to the possible use of the sacred mushrooms by the Mayan, mentioned two phrases found in a dictionary of the Cakchiquel language written by Friar Thomás de Coto (1983) who described effects very similar to those attributed to an entheogenic mushroom experience. Ott noted that the phrases K'aizalah ocox and Xibalbai ocox could be interpreted as "mushrooms that made one lose ones judgement" and another phrase Quècc'im [kekqim] tiquhirican could imply mushrooms "that inebriate" (Garza, 1990; Mayer, 1977).

In 1957, only 7 species of entheogenic mushrooms were known by western science to be employed ceremoniously by some primitive tribal groups in Mesoamerica. By 1962, Guzmán had identified more than 14 species. In 1983, Guzmán published his monograph on "The Genus Psilocybe" and reported that more than two dozen species are currently used by various groups of primitive peoples residing in

México. Ten years later, Allen, Gartz, and Guzmán (1992), reported a worldwide distribution of 135 species of psilocybian mushrooms and one year later, Ott (1993) described 146 species (currently there are now more than 169 psilocybian mushrooms, see Allen, Guzman and Gartz, 1997).

THE MEXICAN MAGIC MUSHROOMS

Shamans, brujos, curanderas, sabios, peasants, mezticos, and Mexican natives throughout southern Mexico have provided researchers and independent investigators, numerous names for many species of entheogenic mushrooms still used traditionally in magico-religious healing and curing ceremonies.

The most common name applied to mushrooms in traditional societies residing in Mesoamerica is the Mexican word *nanácate* (mushroom). It is of Mexican origin as is the word "hongo" (mushroom, Spanish derivation). *Nanácate* is derived from the *Nahuatl* name *nanácatl*. The common Indian word for *nanácate* is *she-to* and *kee-sho*. Both are mis-spellings of the original word *xi-tjo* which implies "eruption of the earth".

Throughout Southern México, different tribal groups employ words and phrases which describe the sacred mushrooms used in traditional healing and curing ceremonies; many which are of Spanish origin: *hongo* (mushroom), *honghi* (mushroom), *hongos* (mushrooms), *honguito's* (little men), *honguillos negros* (little black mushrooms), *duendes* (the spirits), *los ninos santos* (the

little saints), *cositas* (little things), *durrumbe* (landslide), *paquenos* (little ones), inebriating flowers, *ntixti* (dear little children), *sasa* (the clowns), and *paquenos que brotan* (little ones that spring [leap] forth).

Hernandez (see Wasson, 1959:2728, The Herbalist), described a mushroom used by Mexican Indians that allegedly caused *pura risa* (sheer laughter). *Tso-ska* (loco mushroom), is another phrase used by both Mexican and Indian Mezticos who peddle or provide entheogenic mushrooms to foreigners. Guzmán (1983 also reported that *cauiguateréqua* (Purepecha =the mushroom that inebriates) referred to some unknown mushroom species which occurs in the Mexican State of Michoacan.

The Mixe (Mijes) who always consume their mushrooms in pairs, referred to them as *nwintson ahtom nashwin mush* (our masters, the mushrooms of the world). When eaten thus (in pairs), the Mixe refer to this practice as *casada*. The Mixe have even named one species *tu.m-t.um* (*Tu muh*) for when the sacred mushrooms are picked each year on June 1st. *Tu muh* implies "that which sprouts by itself" i.e., without seed (also described by Maria Sabina in Wasson, 1980 as "that which springs forth").

Another tribal group, the Coatlan refer to the sacred mushrooms as "Los Senors" while the Matlanzínca shamans refer to *Psilocybe wassonii* (= *Psilocybe muliercula*) as *netocuhuatata* (the most holy of lords) and the

Nahuatl of San Pedro Nexapa refer to them as "the noble prince of the waters." (Schultes, 1939, 1940, 1969:136; Singer & Smith, 1958; Heim, 1963; Schultes, 1978; Guzmán, 1977, 1983, 1990; Wasson, 1957, 1974; Schultes & Hofmann, 1979; Santesson, 1939; Rubel & Gelter-Finger Krejci, 1976; Miller, 1966; Lipp, 1990, Hoogshagen, 1959; Hernandez, 1651; Serna, 1892; Kingsbourough, 1848.



Fig. 1. R. G. Wasson and Rolf Singer with a collection of Psilocybe caerulescens Murr. Photo: G. Guzmán.

TABLE 1.

The following table represents epithets of both ancient and contemporary names and/or terms of endearment for two dozen species of entheogenic mushrooms used ceremoniously in Mesoamerica.

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Additionally, ancient and contemporary epithets for entheogenic mushrooms used traditionally as well as recreationally in both Western and Eastern Civilization are presented in the discussion which follows after Table I.

1. Psilocybe acutissima Heim. = (Psilocybe yungensis).

Known in Spanish as:

hongo adormece (soporific mushroom).

2. Psilocybe aztecorum Heim. (Fig. 2-3).

Known in Spanish as:

niñitos.

niño (boys).

dormilon (sleepy head).

niños del agua (children of the water).

Known in Nahuatl as:

"apipilzin".

teonanácatl (not in modern times).

teu-nanácatl

tejuinti (intoxicating) (not in modern times).

teyhuinti nanácatl (intoxicating mushroom) (not in modern times).

Psilocybe aztecorum is sold to tourists by Mexicans and is known only from the volcanic slopes of Mt. Popocatepetl. Two varieties are known to be used ritualistically in sacred healing and curing ceremonies by native peoples living in and around Oaxaca, Mexico.

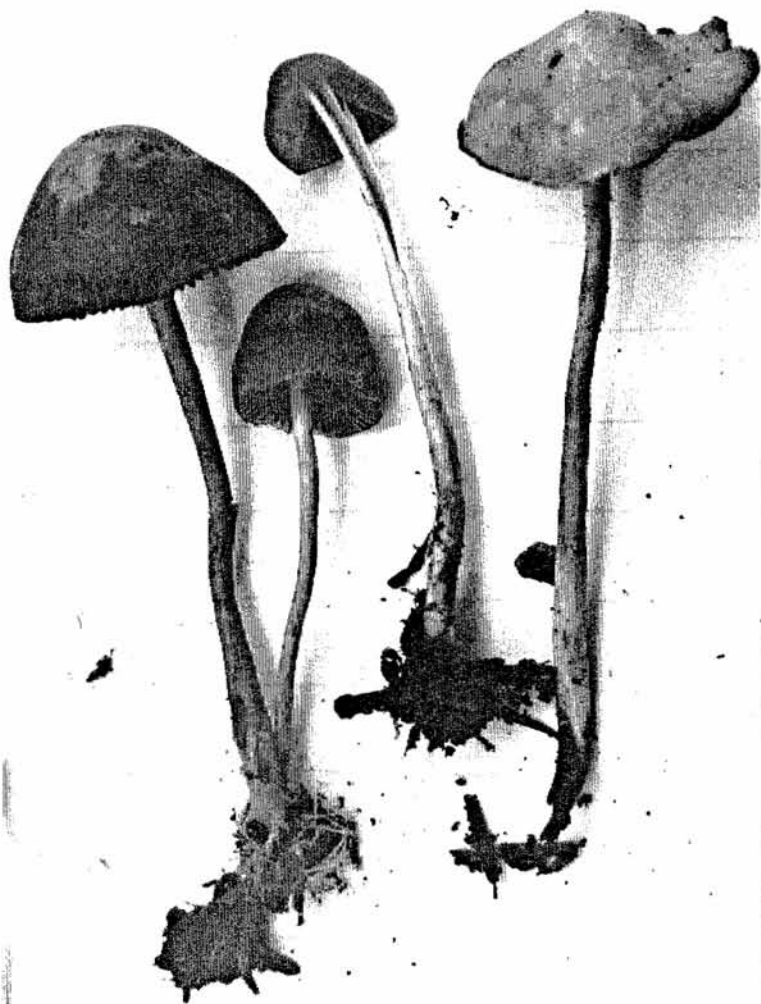


Fig. 2. Psilocybe aztecorum Heim emend.
Guzmán. Photo: G. Guzmán.

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Fig. 3. Psilocybe aztecorum var. aztecorum
Heim. Photo: G. Guzmán.

3. Psilocybe caerulescens Murr. (Fig. 4).

Known in Mazatec as:

di-shi-tjo-ki-sho (sacred mushroom of
landslides).

di-ki-sho (the dear little things that
leap forth).

derrumbe (Spanish), (landslide).

derrumbe de agua (Spanish),
(landslide in the water).

derrumbito. (Spanish).

di-ki-sho (or 'nti xi tho = the dear
little things that leap forth).

nti-xi-tjo-qui-xo (little thing that comes
out of the earth of a landslide).

nti-si-tho-kiso.



Fig. 4. Psilocybe caerulescens var. caerulescens Murr. Photo: G. Guzmán

Known in Mazatepec as:

di-shi-thó-ki-shó.

Known in Mixe:

kang.

ko:ng (lord governor).

Known in Chatino as:

cui-ya-jo-o-su (sacred mushroom of great power [in Oaxaca]).

Known in Zapotec as:

razón bei (mushroom of reason).

razón mbeý (mushroom of reasoning).

Known in Spanish as:

cañadas (ravine).

Known in Nahuatl as:

teoteaquilnanácatl (divine mushrooms that describe or paint).

Psilocybe caerulescens and its many variations fruit on sugar cane mulch and along landslide areas.

4. Psilocybe caerulescens var. albida Heim.**Known in Mazatec as:**

derrumbes (landslide mushroom).

5. Psilocybe caerulescens var. mazatecorum Heim.**Known in Mazatec as:**

derrumbes (landslide mushroom).

xi-tjo (kee-sho).

Known in Spanish as:

los senores (the lords).

This species fruits on sugar cane mulch.

6. Psilocybe caerulescens var. negripes
Heim.

Known in Spanish as:

derrumbes (landslide mushroom). mushroom of
superior reason.

This species fruits near Juquila.

7. Psilocybe caerulescens var. ombrophila
Heim. (see #11 and #18).

Known in Mazatec as:

derrumbes (landslide mushroom).
derrumbes negro (black landslide).
kee-sho (see she to).

Known in Chatino as:

cui-ya-jo-o-su.

Known in Mixe as:

atka-t (mayor).
at-kat (mayor).
nashwinmush (mushrooms of the earth).

8. Psilocybe caerulipes (Peck) Saccardo.
(Fig. 5).

9. Psilocybe caerulipes (Peck) Saccardo
var. gastonii Singer.

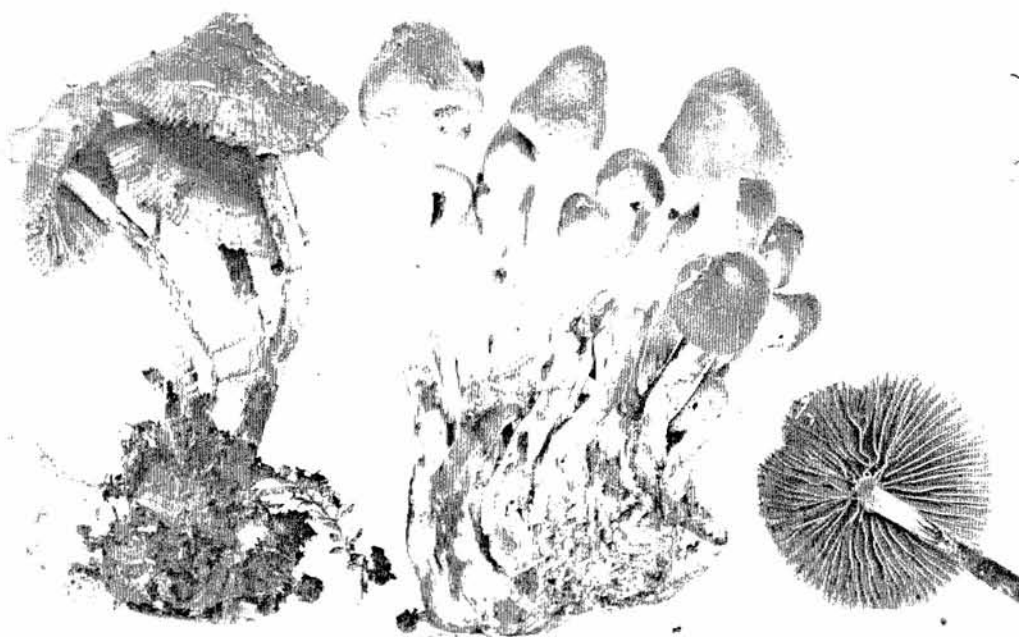


Fig. 5. Psilocybe caerulipes (Peck) Saccardo.
Photo: A. H. Smith.

10. Psilocybe candidipes Sing. & Smith
Known in Mixe as:
nche-je (a signal of).

This implies that other entheogenic mushrooms grow near this species.

11. Psilocybe cordispora Heim = Caerulescens
var. ombrophila. (see #7 and #18).

Known in Spanish as:

dulces clavitos del señor.

Known in Mixe as:

ene-t'-c (thunders teeth).

na.shwi.ñ mush (mushrooms of the earth).

atkat (mayor).

at-kat (mayor).

This species is used by Mixe (Mijes) and Mazatec shamans and healers.

12. Psilocybe cubensis (Earle) Singer.
(Fig. 6).

Both No's 12 and 13 are macroscopically indistinguishable (see next entry).

13. Psilocybe subcubensis Guzmán. (Fig. 7).
Both #12 and #13 are

Known in Mazatec as:

San Isidro (patron saint of the fields).

San Isidro de Labrador (patron saint of agriculture).

derrumbes del estiércol de vaca (landslide that grows on cow dung, Spanish).

nti-xi-tjo-le-ncha-ja (dear little thing pertaining to the steer).

di-xi-tjo-le-rra-Ja (divine mushroom of manure or sacred mushroom of cow dung).

di-shi-thó-le-nraja (the fungus like those grow on cow dung).

nti-si-tho-yele-nraha.

nti-xi-tjole-ncha-ja.

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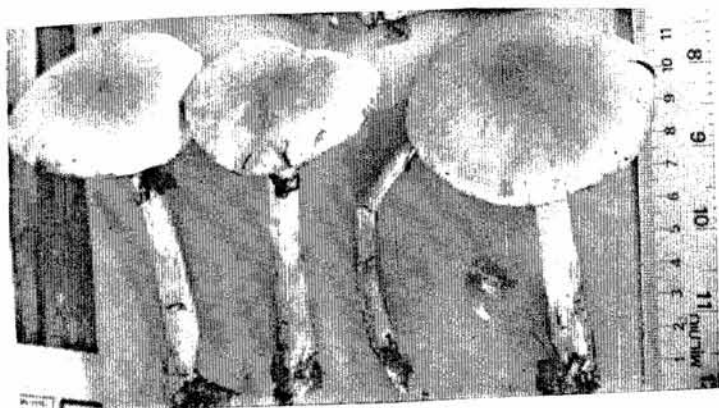


Fig. 6. Psilocybe cubensis (Earle) Singer.
Photo: J. Allen.



Fig. 7. Psilocybe subcubensis Guzmán. Photo:
J. Allen.

Known in Zapotec as:

nocuana-be-neecho.

Known in English as:

golden tops, gold caps, purple ring.

Known in Spanish as:

In Central America, Psilocybe subcubensis is known as "suntiamama."

14. Psilocybe fagicola Heim et Cailleux.**Known in Spanish as:**

senores principales.
los señors (the lords)

15. Psilocybe hoogshagenii Heim var.

hoogshagenii (Fig. 8).

Known in Spanish as:

los ninos.
los Chamaquitos (the little boys).

Known in Nahuatl:

cihuatsinsintle.
teotlaquilnanácatl (divine mushroom that describes or paints).

Known in Mazatec as:

di-nize taa-ya.
pajaritos de monte (little birds of the woods).

Known in Mixe as:

Atka:t (judge).
na.shwi.ñ mush (mushrooms of the earth).

This species is primarily used by the Chinantecs.



Fig. 8. Psilocybe hoogshagenii Heim var. hoogshagenii. Photo: J. Jacobs.

16. Psilocybe hoogshagenii var. convexa
Guzmán = (Psilocybe semperviva Heim and
Guzmán. (Fig. 9).



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Fig. 9. Psilocybe hoogshagenii var.
convexa=Psilocybe semperviva Heim & Cailleux.
Photo: G. Guzmán.

17. Psilocybe isauri Singer = Psilocybe
yungensis.

18. Psilocybe mexicana Heim. (Fig. 10-11).

Known in Spanish as:

- pajarito (little bird).
pajaritos (little birds).
chamaquillos (little boys).
cositas (little things).

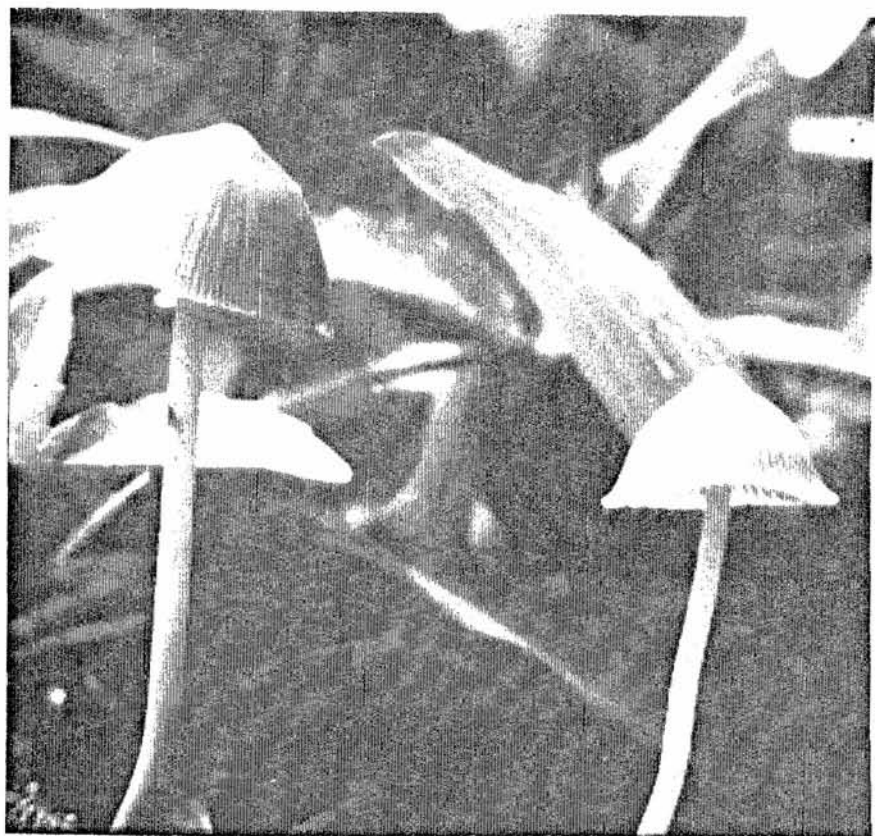


Fig. 10. Psilocybe mexicana Heim. Photo: J. Jacobs.

Known in Spanish as:

pequeños que brotan (little ones that Spring forth).

angelito (little saint).

hombrecito (little men, a smaller version of P. mexicana).

hongo santo de las praderas.

Known in Mazatec as:

di-nizé (little bird).

di-shi-tho-nize (to sing like a sweet bird).

nizé (little bird).

nti-xi-tjo-ni-se (generally implies that,
because it makes you sing like a bird).

ndi-shi-tjo-ni-se.

nti-sitho-nizé.



Fig. 11. Psilocybe mexicana Heim. Photo: G. Guzmán.

Known in Mazatec as:

si-tho.
 steyi.
 t-ha-na-sa.
 to-shka (intoxicating mushroom).
 tsmai-ye.
 tsamikindi.

Known in Chatino as:

cui-jajo-o-ki.
 cui-ya-jo-to-ki.

Known in Chinantec as:

a-mokya.
 a-mo-kid.
 a-ni.
 hembras (girl mushrooms).
 los chamaquitos (little girls).
 los ninos (little people).
 machos (boy mushrooms).
 ma-nadje-zuhe.
 nañ-tauga.
 t-ha-na-ja.
 to-shka (intoxicating mushroom).
 tsmai-ye.
 tsmikindi.

Known in Zapotec as:

mbey-sant (saint mushroom).
 piule de churis.

Known in Mixe as:

atka:t (mayor).
 at-ka.t (mayor).
 amokia
 ko.nk
 konsk

ko-nk

na.shwi.ñ mush (mushrooms of the earth).

Pi:tpi (spindle sword).

piit-pa (spindle sword).

Known in Guatemalans as:

pajaritos (little birds).

Psilocybe mexicana is the most sought after and prized species preferred by Mazatec healers in Oaxaca. For many years, P. mexicana was only recognized as occurring in Oaxaca. However, it has since been reported from various Mexican states (Guzmán, 1983). Lowy 1977) later reported that this species is common in Guatemala and observed it being sold by children to tourists.

19. Psilocybe mixaeensis Heim = P. caerulescens var. ombrophila. (see #7 and # 11).

20. Psilocybe muliercula Singer & Smith = (P. wassonii Heim).

Known in Spanish as:

mujercitas (little women).

hombrecitos (little men).

señoritas (little girls).

santitos (little saints).

angelitos (little saints).

niñas or niño.

Known in Nahuatl as:

cihuatsinsintle.

This mushroom is used only by Aztec and Matlanzincas Indians. Known only from

Tenango, Mexico (Singer & Smith 1958) where it is commonly sold to tourists. It was first identified at Piedras Blancas on the slopes of Cerro de Toluca, Mexico. Nahuatl Indians refer to this species as "siwatsitsintli." Healers who use this species believe it to be female and consider the mushrooms as saints (including males).

21. Psilocybe semperviva Heim et Cailleux
=(P. Hooqshagenii var. convexa Heim).

22. Psilocybe wassonii Heim (see Psilocybe muiercula).

Known in Matlanzínca as:

netocuhutata (the most holy of lords).

23. Psilocybe yungensis Singer.

Known in Mazatec as:

hongo adivinador (divinatory mushroom).

hongo genio (genius mushroom).

hongo que adormece (soporific mushroom)

di-nizé-ta--a-ya.

di-shi tjo-leta-ja.

di-shi-to-ta-a-ya.

nizé-ta-a-ya or pajarito de monte (little bird of the mountain).

nti-si-tho-taaya.

parajito de monte (little bird of forest).

Known to the Mije as:

atka-t (mayor).

at-kat (mayor).

na.shwi.ñ mush (mushrooms of the earth).

pi.tpi (spindle sword).

hongo genio (genius mushroom).

hongo que adormece (soporific mushroom).

Psilocybe yungensis may have been or still is in use by some indigenous peoples in remote regions of South America.

24. Psilocybe zapotecorum Heim. (Fig. 12).

Known in Mazatec as:

reje or reji (implies where other mushrooms grow).

piule de Garda (narcotic of Christ's Crown of Thorns).

di-nizé taa-ya.

honguito adivinador (little divine mushroom).

hongo de la razón (mushroom of reasoning).

nche-je.

Known in Zapotec as:

badao zoo.

badoo.

bei.

be-meeche.

beya-zoo.

beyo-zoo.

bi-neeche.

bi-niichi

corona de cristo (crown of thorns).

derrumbes (landslide mushroom).

derrumbe de agua (landslide in the water).

derrumbes negro (black landslide).

mbey-sant (saint mushroom).

mbey san (mushroom of the saints).

patao-zoo.

paya-zoo.

pea-cho.

pe-neeche.



Fig. 12. Psilocybe zapotecorum Heim emend Guzmán. Photo: G. Guzmán.

Known in Zapotec as:

pea-zoo.

pi-neeche.

pi-nijchi.

pi-nij-chi.

piule de barda (mushroom of the Christ crow
of spines).

piule de churis.

razón-bei (mushroom of reason).

razón-guiol.

razón mbey, razón-mbei (mushroom of reason).

razón viejo.

zoo-patao.

Known in Chatino as:

cui-ya-jo-o-tno (great sacred mushroom).

cui-ya-jo-to-ki (little sacred mushroom).

P. zapotecorum is a popular species employed ceremoniously by Mazatec and Zapotec shamans. They occur in marshy grounds in the Sierra Costera region.

25. Conocybe siligineoides Heim.**Known in Mazatec as:**

nti-shi-tho (sacred).

ta'a'ya.

DISCUSSION

The most popular and sought after variety of the more than 2 dozen species of sacred mushrooms used in traditional healing and curing ceremonies in Oaxaca, México is Psilocybe mexicana Heim. It is the preferred species among Mazatec shamans, curanderos, sabias, and healers (male and female). The Chinantecs prefer Psilocybe hoogshagenii (Rubel et Krejci 1976) and the Mixes prefer three different species (Psilocybe cordispora, Psilocybe hoogshagenii, and Psilocybe mexicana).

In villages in and around the ancient ruins of Palenque, Psilocybe cubensis is employed ceremoniously by some shamans and healers. There it is referred to locally as the "San Isidro" mushroom (named after the patron saint of agriculture). Because Psilocybe cubensis and/or P. subcubensis are associated with manure, many local shamanic healers (including the late María Sabina) do not use these latter two mentioned species and consider them to be inferior.

Entheogenic mushroom use also occurs outside of Mesoamerica. Published research and recreational users of psilocybian fungi have also provided history with many endearing epithets used to describe the many various species of local entheogenic mushrooms; including some ancient traditional terms. Some of the epithets listed below have only recently been known of during the last thirty to forty years while the Chinese and Japanese epithets were recorded more than two millennia

ago. These include mushrooms known of in the following countries:

TABLE 2. OTHER WORLD NAMES FOR ENTHEOGENIC FUNGI

- Fiji:** nui-ni-tevoro (devils parasol).
(Wasson, 1959).
- Japan:** maitake (dancing mushroom).
waraitake (laughing mushroom).
o-waraitake (big laughing
mushroom).
odoritake (jumping mushroom).
shibiretake (numbing mushroom).
waraitake modoki (?). (Sanford,
1972; Wasson, 1959;
Emboden, 1979).
- China:** hsiao chun (laughter mushroom).
hsiao:ho (laughter). (Emboden,
1979; Wasson, 1959).
- Spain:** sorgin zorrotz (witch's thread).
(Gartz, 1995).
- Germany:** narrenschwaner (foolish mushroom).
(Wasson, 1959; Gartz, 1993).
- Austria:** schwämmerln gegessen (mad mush-
rooms). (Wasson, 1959).
- Hungary:** bolond gomba (fool's mushroom).
(Wasson, 1959).
- Slovakia:** žalené huby (mad mushroom).
szmer (szalec-foolish). (Wasson,
1959).
- Africa:**
Central Africa, (Banzu people): losulu.
Ivory Coast, (Mao people): tamu. (mush-
room of knowledge).
Zaire, (Eala people): abanda (see
Samorini, 1992, 1995; Ott,
1993).

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- Samoa:** faleaitu (ghost house or comedy).
 pulouaitu (ghost hat).
 ta-epoui (cow-dung). (Cox, 1981).
- Bali:** jamur tahi sapi (magic mushrooms).
 legelain (dizziness). (Thong et
 al., 1993; Krippner, Pers.
 Comm. to JWA, 1993).
- Thailand:** hed keequai (mushroom which appears
 after water buffalo defecates).
 (Allen and Merlin, 1992;
 Unsigned, 1990, 1991).
- New Guinea:** koull tourroum, kooblourroum.
 (Guzmán, 1983).
- Honduras:** suntiama for Psilocybe cubensis.
 (Guzmán, 1983).

In America, as elsewhere throughout the world, entheogenic mushrooms are used ludibly by certain members of society as a tool of recreation and by some as a means of religious enlightenment. Among such users the entheogenic mushrooms are commonly referred to as "magic mushrooms" and/or "shrooms" (Ott, 1976, 1978, 1993; Singer, 1978).

Stafford (1982 [1992]) noted that the epithet "magic mushroom" was invented and first brought to the attention of the public by a Life magazine editor (see Wasson, 1957) who inserted this term against the wishes of R. Gordon Wasson, into the title of Wasson's Life Magazine feature contribution. Wasson (1980) had never appreciated the implication and insertion of the word "magic" and had indicated that he preferred the word

"wondrous, and deplored the now popular and widespread use of the word "magic" and held reservations about its use.

Popular names given to magic mushrooms by those who consume them for ludicrous purposes are listed in table 3.

TABLE 3. ENGLISH LANGUAGE EPITHETS

Psilocybe cubensis (gold caps, golden tops, cubes, purple rings).

Psilocybe semilanceata (liberty caps, liberty bells, pixie caps, blue legs, witch's thread).

Psilocybe stuntzii (blue ringers, Washington blue veils, Stuntzii's blue legs).

Psilocybe pelliculosa (elves caps, elves stools, woodland caps).

Psilocybe cyanescens (red saucers).

Psilocybe baeocystis (blue bells, blue fuckers).

Panaeolus subbalteatus (red caps, subs).

Copelandia spp. (blue meanies, cone heads, gold caps, dimple tops, witch's tits), (Allen, 1982, 1997; Gartz, 1995; Lincoff and Mitchell, 1977; Stevens & Gee, 1977; Menzer, 1978; Stamets, 1978; Lincoff, 1983; Pollock, 1974; Ott, 1993; Weil, 1977, 1980).

In regards to the suspected use and entheogenicity of Panaeolus spp., especially Panaeolus campanulatus var. sphinctrinus, a species Shultes first suggested to be the teonanácatl mushroom which Sahagún recorded as being used by Aztec priests and their followers prior to, during, and after the conquest, Guzmán (pers. commun., 8-31-94) still maintains that this species is not used by Mexican Indians (Schultes, 1939, 1940; Sahagún, 1956).

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