



CORPUS PUBLISHERS

Research Article

Current Research in Psychology and Behavioral Science (CRPBS)

ISSN: 2833-0986

Volume 5, Issue 1, 2024

Article Information

Received date : 07 June, 2024

Published date: 02 July, 2024

*Corresponding author

Mark Juhan Schunemann

Email: ms1390@exeter.ac.uk

University of Exeter Psychedelics Research Group
<https://sites.exeter.ac.uk/psychedelics/?team=mark-juhan-schunemann>

Department of Social and Political Sciences, Philosophy, and Anthropology

Key Words

Ritual theory; Ethical enhancement; Tradition; Worlding; Sensorium; Habitus

DOI: 10.54026/CRPBS/10112

Distributed under: Creative Commons CC-BY 4.0

What Ceremony Does to Psychedelics: On the Importance of Applying Integrated Theories of Ritual Value Generation to Psychedelic Studies

Mark Juhan Schunemann*

University of Exeter, UK

Abstract

Background: This paper brings ethnographic and cultural studies into dialogue with ritual and value theory. It is based on the tripartite premise psychedelics can fundamentally effect humans' involuntary reactions to beauty and goodness (sensorium), ways of being and acting in the world (habitus), and what we think can(not) be the case about the world ((super-)plausibility).

Structure: Firstly, I look at a historic comparative ethnography of ex-counter-culture-members. This ethnography uncovers the meaning crisis which many faced. The solution to this crisis for people who left the movement was to join ethically or ritually stringent religious communities. This prompted me to examine the theories of ritual and ethical enhancement. The former can be a method of generating valence for individuals and communities through defining group commitments and values. The latter discourse so far lacks a social dimension. Without the explicit inclusion of the decorated portal of a ritual, Western psychedelic praxis has often tended towards the 'centripetal' (inwards) rather than 'centrifugal' (outwards), terms developed by Chris Partridge, leading to detraditionalization and retraditionalisation respectively. This can lead to a different relationship between the culture and the individual – one of rebellion and rejection on the one hand, or of integration and acceptance on the other.

Aim: I hope to establish that understanding and including an account of the surrounding rituals is central to the 'preparation, set, setting, and integration' paradigm – and thus to any account of psychedelic phenomenology. We conclude in consonance with Federico Campagna's recent work that the development of new syncretic traditions is inevitable. Careful thought must be given to this for, in the words of Donna Haraway, it "matters what worlds world worlds".

"Such is the afterlife of a metaphysical narrative issued by a dead world: like print left on a path, a new foot comes to fill it and to betray its boundaries...If a world is ever to survive the end of its own historical body, it is through syncretic disfigurement rather than the efforts of archival conservation."

– Federico Campagna, *Prophetic Culture: Recreation For Adolescents*, p.29

"The science of psychedelics cannot be disentangled from the wider and more multifaceted culture of psychedelics..."

– Erik Davis

"One can have what one wants, but not want what one wants."

– Arthur Schopenhauer

When one thinks of the words, "preparation, set, setting, dose & integration", One cannot avoid considering culture and tradition – that which is handed (tradere) down and even traded across generations and between cultural liminal zones. Culture per se, both diachronically and synchronically, occupies much, perhaps most, of this five-fold psychedelic paradigm. Both the shamanic and syncretic plant teacher cultures involve crucial contributions to preparation, setting, and integration. Preparation usually involves an elongated period of – at the very least – motivation and intention-setting, and – at most – the abstention of sexual activity and even quotidian drugs and foods like caffeine and meat for enough time for the sacrifice to be felt. Setting involves intricately colourful visual and musical symbols steeped in lore, strict taboos on movement, and a focus on being there for one another's healing. Integration, ideally, takes place in the same community, among friends both old and new, where one can be held & cared, recognised & recuperated. This essay seeks to answer the social-theoretical question, how is it that ritual praxis, when combined with the pharmacologically-potent psychedelic, results in changes in the inner life of the individual with regards to the values of the surrounding culture? What is the action-potential of ritual? And further, what role does the invention of traditions have in this space?

In order to answer these questions, I use three informative social theories: the sensorium, the habitus, and the plausibility structure. The sensorium describes how individuals take in the culture around them – their involuntary reactions to beauty and goodness, their artistic tastes and moral-somatic reactions, what makes them laugh, blush, tick. The habitus involves the way in which individuals embody the culture around them, described by Bourdieu through the colloquialism, "second nature", it is "history turned into practice"; where the sensorium may locate why we laugh or cry, the habitus describes how we do that – how normal is it to thank, what gesticulations are recognisable: Psychedelics, for instance, in recreational contexts, may make people feel they have to 'pretend to be normal' in a public space, and so forth. Thirdly, plausibility structures describe the way in which socialisation leads to a cultural way of understanding spiritual-intellectual regions become "plausible" to individuals. In terms of the history of religion, Mormonism is superplausible to Christianity is superplausible to Judaism. Psychedelics also have the ability to change what it is we consider possible regarding the unknowable in human life: The realms of the afterlife and the spirits. In all these social facts, ritual can play a cultivating role, and psychedelics a scrambling role. Psychedelics change these according not solely to individual will but social context, and one important context is ritual ceremony. The argument of this essay is that ritual is one of the ways these three are honed. Entheogen rituals can shift ethos and worldview of individuals through changing (1) Involuntary aesthetic reactions to what is true and beautiful, (2) Our 'second nature' towards and 'common sense' of what is normal action, (3) Through expanding



the metaphysically possible. By way of illustration, I compare ritual to non-ritual psychedelic experience through Chris Partridge's distinction between "centripetal" and "centrifugal" drug use: The former leads to detraditionalization, the latter to retraditionalization. This is understood through Donna Haraway's advocacy in *Staying with the Trouble*: "it matters what worlds world worlds."

The structure of the essay takes the following form: firstly, I look at the debates surrounding ritual social theory, at sensorium, plausibility, habitus, ethos and worldview. I argue that these interrelate and provide three applications of this interrelation. Firstly, I look at one comparative ethnography which studied the groups of 1960's counter-culture members who decided to leave the movement during the 1970's. This helps us to understand a historic counterfactual: What did a ceremonial lacuna do to psychedelics? This leads us into the thorny philosophical territory of 'moral enhancement', a field which so far in psychedelics studies has considered the individual rather than the social role. Finally, I apply the theory to Leor Roseman and Nadeem Karkabi's ethnography of in the Israel-Palestine context: could psychedelic ceremony stimulate and / or inhibit peace building?

I conclude that the careful production (both continuous and innovative, instituted and instituant) of rituals can potentiate psychedelics not merely as clinical medicines for the pathologised, nor simply as consciousness-exploring technologies of chemical mysticism for the healthy philosopher-seeker, but even as prophetic challengers which can help cultures break through to new ethical paradigms. By the same logic, rituals can also cultivate desires which are not conducive to what the world may need. Nevertheless, ceremonies operate fundamentally on the axiological axis: in the realms of virtue, beauty, and potential.

This hypothesis of value change integrates multiple social facts and theories and has emerged out of observational study through half a decade of ethnographic research and participant observation in rave, Santo Daime, Native American Church contexts, and spontaneous ritual contexts: because it emerges from observational and naturalistic data, it would benefit from experimental conditions in order to turn from hypothesis to theory. It is intended to apply to the broad category of ceremony in all its etic guises: to initiation rites, regular worship, personal ceremonies, rituals of rebellion, and other proposed categories.

Ritual and the generation of values

"Thus does duty become desire."
-Barbara Myerhoff

I must first explicate Emile Durkheim's ritual theory to explain its development in Roy Rappaport. Durkheim saw social integration as ritual's core function. Rituals are "society experiencing and worshipping itself" through "effervescence". Durkheim's conception of "effervescence" proves useful in understanding the power of ritual in culture (2008[1912]). When a group of people repetitively intone words and enact embodied movements together, feelings transcendence can occur among individuals. The individual looks to her left and right, to her past and future, and realises she could be any other human who has made the same movement and sound – at the time (synchronically) and through time (diachronically). And so, more than social bonding, individuals feel they have transcended the mind-forged-manacles of their ipseity.

Rappaport develops Durkheim's notion, and has been contrasted to Maurice Bloch. Bloch argued that rituals exist in order to establish hierarchies, and are thus undesirable in a liberal society. A diabolic smokescreen initiated by a priesthood, they keep the powerful in power and the powerless under their authority [1]. Surely, ritual can hierarchise. Victor Turner also informs us that, "high could not be high unless the low existed, and he who is high must experience what it is like to be low [2]." Yet Bloch's emphasis is through a critical lens, implying society needs to outgrow the need for rituals [1].

Rappaport, conversely, sees "the primary function or meta function of liturgical performances" as "not to control behaviour directly, but...to establish conventional understandings, rules and norms in accordance with which everyday behaviour is supposed to proceed..." Though not only their function, this is their value for society today. His judgement moves from a Durkheimian description into tentative prescription: they make our humanity. Rituals are part of the way sapiens become humans, intrinsic to our humanisation. Rituals cannot enforce values, but they do define them: "it is not ritual's office to ensure compliance but to establish obligation [3,4]."

Whilst rituals' "first office" is "performance" and this renders it the "basic social act", (1999, p. 137) they nonetheless have morality intrinsic to them, relying on "acceptance" more than they do "belief." Cross-culturally, a "breach of obligation" is "universally stigmatised as immoral". (1999, p. 132) Illustratively, 'swearing on my mother's life', even if I do not actually consider my mum's life to be at risk, holds moral sway. Regardless of (dis)belief in God, getting married in a church substantiates adultery as morally wrong. Enacting a ritual "establishing an "ought" against which the 'is' of behaviour may be judged Rappaport [3,4]." (Establishment of ethical norms is the perennial function of religious rites. This means that the invention of new traditions, as one sees in psychedelic syncretism¹³ and the hybridisation of religion, involve the changing of ethical norms.

Barbara Myerhoff phrases a resonant concern. Rituals have an 'ideological' or symbolic pole and a 'physical' pole in the world of the senses. "When the poles fuse, a single experiential reality is created and the individual becomes the embodiment of...the collectivity's belief...their roots have been set down in the deepest layers of the heart...Thus does duty become desire." (2008, p. 347). With psychedelic rituality in particular, one important theory proves informative in explaining the role that tradition has. In the closing statements of Chris Partridge's *High Culture*, the moment when the magic mushroom was discovered in the West is analysed. Partridge casts it as a cultural microcosm. When banker R Gordon Wasson discovered the psilocybin mushroom in Mexico, through his meeting with the Mazatec mushroom shaman, Maria Sabina, his motivation and method of ingestion fundamentally differed from hers¹⁴.

Sabina had used it primarily for healing others and to aid the community. Wasson used it first for experience, as a tool for transcendence. The former, that is, "divination and healing" is understood "centrifugally." So, "the focus of sacred labour is directed outward toward others and the community." This requires singing songs for others, and co-creating a culture for the community to cultivate. This is contrasted to "centripetally", where "the focus of sacred labour is directed inward towards the self [5]." This, when the "focus" is "on the experiencing self" (p. 334) is associated with "detraditionalising." (p. 336) Detraditionalisation is characterised as an experience which is "free-floating, detached from...original interpretive frameworks, and reinterpreted according to a range of other subjectively determined occultural memes." (p. 334) I take retraditionalisation to be its dialectical motion – when traditions are gradually invented, handed down, even changed, but seen as in league with the ancestors and antecedents, rather than purely a question of individual experience and interpretation. Any drug experience can contain movements in both directions but the question here is the net movement of sacred labour.

If ceremonies do have a meta function of generating yardsticks of value, I now ask, what are the elements of social reality which psychedelics and rituals both impact? And what happens when one combines them? Both ethnographic and clinical evidence suggests that psychedelics impact and can change our reactions to beauty, goodness, wickedness, as well as our considerations of metaphysical possibility. Firstly, I look at two significant publications of relevance to the notion of psychedelics and morality, and their limits. Thereafter, what it is that psychedelics impact is understood collectively through the Geertzian notions of "ethos" and "worldview"; what psychedelics impact are understood individually through the "sensorium", the "habitus" and the "plausibility structure".

Sensorium, habitus, and plausibility structures

Habitus is the individual expression of cultural mores, learned by individuals through mimesis of the socio-cultural surround. On one side, it is the "historical and cultural production of individual practices" - it is these "contexts, laws, rules and ideologies" which "all speak through individuals, who are never entirely aware that this is happening." On the other, it is "the individual production of practices – since the individual always acts from self-interest [Webb Schirato & Danaher 2002:15]." Quoting its main developer, Pierre Bourdieu, it is "history turned into practice" involving the "unconscious...forgetting of history which history itself produces by incorporating the objective structures it produces", described also as our "second nature [17; Bourdieu 1996]." This "social reality" is "twice" formed: "in things and in minds, in fields and in habitus, outside and inside of agents...the world encompasses me... but I comprehend it... precisely because it comprehends me...because the world

¹³ For example, in the Brazilian ayahuasca religions and the Native American church.

¹⁴ That is, both powerful and personal experience requiring introspection to interpret, together with a sense of commitment to other beings in the worlds of one's environment.



has produced me, because it produces the categories of thought that I apply to it, that it appears to me as self-evident [Webb Schirato & Danaher 2002:18; Bourdieu 1996].”

Habitus ranges: From the socio-cultural exchange of the handshake to the tendency of London grime artists to ‘kiss their teeth’ by a sharp intake of breath through the incisors; from the priestly gesticulations of the baptismal rite to the ‘please’ and ‘thank you’ at the marketplace. Basic givens, such as the habitus, are more obvious to individuals under the influence of psychedelics: some psychedelic users recall forgetting or becoming aware of basic things such as tying shoelaces to the need to “pretend to be normal” in public, indicative of increased awareness of habitus. The sensorium has been defined as the “emotions, capacities of aesthetic appreciation and state of moral attunement or being [6].” Psychedelics also affect aesthetic preferences and tendencies - much has been written about psychedelics’ influence on creativity. Some rave attendees describe MDMA as reprogramming their brains to enjoy electronic dance music, triangulating Melanie Takahashi’s essay, ‘The Natural High.’ She argues that many seasoned ravers have aesthetically-provoked flashbacks and cease to need the drug to ‘get into’ the music experience and “feel the vibe (2004).” Their sensorium shifts because what was not previously enjoyed becomes - not only beautiful but - even a route back into an altered state. This does not preclude the existence also of negative triggers such as in the example of Hallucinogen Persistent Perception Disorder (HPPD) (Irvine & Luke 2022) [7].

Furthermore, the interpretation of vomiting by the Santo Daime and Native American Churches, that one is ‘getting well’ by purging one’s regrets or sins through the physical act, implies a moral appraisal of the life of those around one, as well as oneself. This often takes the form of realising and coming to terms with things which the practitioner’s inner life has chosen to ignore for a long time. Moral-somatic processes such as blushing, laughing, crying - things which seem to hit us from the socius without much choice in the matter - can all be included under the term ‘sensorium’. They are unchosen aesthetic and moral reactions, they are not even semi-conscious but unconscious. This is not to say that they are uncultivable.

Plausibility structures, according to theologian and anthropologist of Mormonism, Douglas Davies, develop as children are “socialized” into a “system of symbols” and “core values”. Culture becomes “plausible”. Religious traditions speak of “discontinuity between the ordinariness of things and some other domain.” This is the intellectual domain of “superplausibility” which provides “a way of accounting for ideas of salvation” which are “awakened” by those with charisma, for instance, prophets.

“Sacrosanctity” is an ‘emotional knowing’ of what is superplausible [2009: 242].” Humans settle not only in “geographical domains” but are also involved in creating “imaginary worlds”, selecting “certain places as portals from the one to the other.” Perhaps stemming from “animal drive[s] to investigate new potential habitats” we require new spiritual-intellectual regions, resulting in “transformations in values and emotions” acquiring “a sense of what we have called superplausibility [245].” “Christianity is to Judaism as superplausibility is to plausibility”; in the US, Mormonism is the “new superplausible [2009: 243-4].”

Moments of “alterity” can “influence and help transform a person’s identity in processes deeply that are touched by emotion... [creating]...new mood bases for ongoing life [2009: 234].” Whether considered completely ‘alternative’ or simply ‘altered’ states of consciousness, psychedelics can provide these “portals” to “alterity.” By loosening plausibility structures psychedelics increase the superplausibility of the psychedelic-taker’s worldviews. This has been documented in the case, for example, of metaphysical belief, and with so-called ‘ontological shock’ (van der Braak 2023) [7,8].

The ethos and the worldview of a culture hinge around the things which individuals feel there is little choice about: embodied reactions to goodness and beauty (sensorium), skills and etiquettes (habitus), and what humans think is im/possibly ‘real’ (super/plausibility structures). People’s perceived spirituality fundamentally impacts and is impacted by these ways of understanding human cultural life. Psychedelics can dissolve as much as create new epistemic structures and ethical strictures. This leaves us with a question: when and why are structures are dissolved and recreated by psychedelics? I now turn to three case studies where these social theories interrelate and articulate the functional interaction of rituality and psychedelic use.

Application 1: When people were ‘getting saved from the sixties’

The first application is a comparative ethnography uncovering the meaning crisis which many members of the counterculture faced. Stephen M Tipton’s comparative

ethnography elucidates a historical reality that the human relationship with psychedelics does not inevitably involve a ritual. The solution to this crisis for people who left the movement was to join ethically or ritually stringent religious communities. According to both ethnographer and his interlocutors, ex-counterculture members had gone to “Make moral sense of their lives”. Analysed in the context of the above theory, the psychedelic experience of the individual became the telos, rather than the route to a changed and other-centred self, and the focus of sacred labour was focussed centrifugally, that is, inwards. Resultantly, the sensoria, habiti and plausibility structures were in a state of rapid flux in the countercultural communities, based on a felt sense of “authenticity” of feeling over and above the needs of others, leading to a sense of moral chaos. The tastes and fashions of the social ethos, as well as their worldview, were in a rapidly and constantly changing state of flux. It was the absence of structure and rituals as decorated portals of entrance and exit for the psychedelic experience - together with what Tipton identifies as the vaguery of the cardinal virtue, “authenticity” (responding truthfully to one’s own impulses and feelings, showing up at whatever time, with whichever drugs, with whomever) - which precluded the real possibility of living together for these ex-members of the counterculture.

Tipton studied three religious institutions which were largely populated by ex-hippies: A millenarian Christian sect, a zen Buddhist temple, and a human potential training organisation. Spending time with them to understand why they had joined these ritually stringent communities after the bliss of hippydom, he concluded that they had gone to “make moral sense of their lives (1982, p. xii+232).”

Tipton found that “the coherence of social life rests on the convictions we share about its moral meanings.” (p. xiv) and thus “the constellation of symbols which hold moral ideas together.” (p. xv) The sixties, he concludes, involved a “crisis of culture” concerning the “different styles (not contents) of ethical evaluation.” A “style of ethical evaluation” (hereafter SEA) is not a normative or even metaethical philosophical position, but the stance and posture which a culture encourages individuals to have when positioning themselves to make ethical decisions. SEAs are “empty analytical categories” which “take on substance” upon being applied to “different layers of moral meaning that make up social life.” They thus include “cultural-historical patterns” and the “social attitudes” towards moral decision-making (p. 280). As with language, moral decisions involve reception and production: one must have a disgust or aesthetic-style reaction towards a situation, and act within it accordingly. An SEA is thus a complex commingling of sensorium (receptive response), habitus ((re)active response), and a vision of what world ought to look like (conscious choice to act).

Tipton’s qualitative analysis revealed that sixties youth inherited a schizoid and contradictory dual-SEA of (1) ‘regulated authoritarianism’ involving obedience to superiors, and (2) ‘individualistic-consequentialist’ involving cost-benefit analysis from their parents. Their solution was an ‘expressivist’ ethic. Under the authoritarian SEA, the act is right or wrong in itself, based on Biblical, state, or some other canonical authority (e.g., capitalist profit or the party-line). For the individualistic-consequentialist, there is a cost-benefit calculation. In the former you ask, ‘what does God want?’ or, ‘what does the law say?’ In the latter you consider first, ‘what are my interests?’ The only commonality between these SEAs is that everyone has the same standard of judgement (they are ‘universalizable’, to use a Kantian term, and collectively shared). Where “for Luther all men are equal by virtue of their relation to the highest authority, god. For Hobbes all men are equal by virtue of their highest relation to the most basic drive, self-preservation.”

The countercultural or ‘hippie’ SEA implicitly critiqued “larger society’s failure to enact these values in its public policy or bureaucratic structure...[charging]... their parents with hypocrisy for failing to enact the values they espoused in the home once they went outside” the home. (pp. 26-7) The solution for these youths was the alternative ethic proposed. So, what was the “expressivist” SEA? And more to the point, why did it implode for its espousers who make up this ethnography?

The cardinal virtue of the hippie’s new SEA was authenticity. This opposed the cost-benefit calculation of the consequentialist-individualist and the rule-following of the biblical/authoritarian-ethical decider. Hippies, attempting to radically redefine what was good, “rejected key elements of ‘the good life’ of middle-class society as ends good in themselves.” Critiquing the culture of their parents as disabling the “experience of what is intrinsically valuable” they redefined it instead as “love, self-awareness, intimacy with others and nature (p. 18).” Their new ethic relied on “an intuitive, affectively centered self-awareness, an empathic feeling for others and a relaxed, nonanalytical attention to the present situation (pp. 15-6).” Below is a table which typologises SEAs. The first three rows are what the hippies inherited from the generation above; the bottom row represents the hippies’ proposed solution.



Table 1: Adapted form Ralph Potter’s Nuclear Dilemma, c.f. [9].

| Dimension/ Style | Oriented to | Mode of knowledge | Discourse | Right-making characteristics | Virtue |
|------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|-------------|
| Authoritative | Authority – e.g. God/ Marx | Faith/conscience | What is written/what does God command? | Commanded by God/the Party | Obedience |
| Regular | Rules | Reason | What is the relevant rule/principle? | Conforms to rules | Rationality |
| Consequential | Consequences | Cost-benefit calculation | What do I want/will most satisfy? | Produces most good consequences | Efficiency |
| Expressive | Self and situation | Intuition/feelings | What’s happening? | Expresses self/responds to situation | Sensitivity |

Such a solution seemed a perfect answer to hypocrisy, but the pragmatic problems are exposed here by informants in retrospect, "...what we didn't count on was that everybody's personality was changing, because of drugs...So you would start off knowing you all understand each other, then...start wondering if maybe you just think you know that person, and he just thinks he knows you and you know him, but it's just in your head. It's not real (p. 40)." And, "I never forced anything on anybody...I was considerate of the next person. If she didn't want to do it, or he didn't want to talk about it, it was OK. It's funny. I thought I was free and easy, but actually I was hard a lot of the time, because I cut people off. I didn't show my real feelings to them when they '... didn't feel the same way (p. 42)."

The combination of "ethic of impulse" and "situational appropriateness" as a SEA is thus problematized by informants. Although ideally "self-expression" replaced "self-interest" (p. 15), "mixed meanings make up the world in which the counterculture's individual lives, and a "...mixed moral logic governs her actions in it." (p. 13) And so this "structural and moral fragility also contributed to its downfall...rely[ing] on unregulated feelings to realize its values, it could not institutionalize them stably (p. 29)." What all of this points to is a shift in the plausibility structure of the moral universe and its logics, with an inconsistently morphing personalities and reactions to what was good, true, and beautiful: in three words, sensoria, habiti, and structures of plausibility. Specifically, this ethnography pinpoints ethics at the core of a meaningful universe. In their new communities, the moral universe of these ex-flower-children stabilised. Eighty percent of the 'Living Word Fellowship', a conservative Christian evangelical church, had previously experimented excessively with LSD. Use "quickly turned regular and heavy" and "was no intermittent assist in the pursuit of meaning or recreation but a central focus of life," in many cases it was taken "hundreds of times (p. 36)." Entheogen-states became the goal in these contexts, divorced from entheogen-rituality "(see this proposed distinction in Postscript)". Altered states alone were prioritised over community living and ritual activity. In such a situation, the moral and aesthetic style and mood of the community was subject to constant change: people's non-voluntary reactions to beauty and goodness, such as sexual attraction and action, or what constitutes the good life for members of a society, thus hyper-individualised into an de-structured expanse.

Speaking from the comfort of a stable community, ex-counterculture members' pasta were reported to Tipton as a time of "puzzlement and anguish" in "a world of moral ambiguity and relativism whose tolerance masks either egoism or normlessness." Contrastingly, "in the Word of God we've got a rock to stand on" without the counterculture's "inner contradictions" whose only consistency was "antagonism to mainstream culture." "[L]iving it out was impossible (p. 37)." New communities of collective worship and Bible study or meditation meant that their spiritual universe (which compelled their morality) made sense and was meaningful. Other culture-carriers of this trajectory include the author Philip K Dick, whose novels often consider the confused relationship between spirituality and hedonism. Dick ended up as a born-again Christian. Counterculture standard bearer, Dr Timothy Leary's reflection by the early 80's compounds this critique: "[The sixties were]...a naive romantic time... excited by the notion that we humans could fly, cut loose from the synaptic cords that held us to low levels of mentation, [we] soar[ed] into uncharted realms of the brain... [But] [w]e were on our own...We had no rituals, traditions, or comforting routines to fall back on [5]."

The Toronto psychologist John Vervaeke has also diagnosed a "meaning crisis" for humans which lies at the heart of the crises we face as a planet: Ecological global heating, inequality and greed, and extractivist limitless growth ideologies all stem from this. If stringent ritual communities allowed those who left the hippy movement

for its perceived anomie to live self-described meaningful lives, this begs the question of what rituals themselves did and do with regards to values, to sensoria, habits of action, and beliefs about what it possible. Further, it brings us to the question of 'moral enhancement'.

Application 2: Psychedelic moral enhancement – A discourse ignoring the sociality of morality

If the good life is the life worth living, how and when can psychedelics lead to "moral enhancement"? So far, the discourse on this question seems limited to the individual – how to improve "motives" and "willpower" to act on those motives. But morals are socially defined, judged, and maintained. The relationship between ethics and morals take the form of reception – sensoria – and production – habitus. I.e., what it is that individuals' motivations are emerges from the 'scenius' (the collective inspiration) [10] as much as the 'genius' (the individual inspiration). This means that morals can emerge from the physical, locational, and locutional ethical culture surrounding individuals: The art on the walls, the linguistic systems used, the various taboos which are or are not in place. Given that psychedelics amplify context, these features of setting are internalised into the set. Not only music taste – e.g. MDMA opening one up to trance and techno music – but one's image of the good life – e.g. the visceral realisation of those whom one has wronged, or that one's job is meaningless in terms of what it offers society – Can radically shift according to the type of ritual container of the psychedelic experience. Reactions to goodness and beauty are not chosen by individuals alone – they are also socially inculcated through, among other processes, ritual and ceremony.

Thomas Douglas defines 'moral enhancement' as an act or process – including bio-physical alterations, such as a chemically induced altered states (2008, p. 233) – resulting in the improved motives of the individual. (p. 228) Douglas' problematisation of this position – summarised in the question, who decides what good motives are? – is beyond the scope of this essay. The point is that things like "attenuating...impulses toward violent aggression" or "strong aversion towards certain racial types" (p. 230), for example, would result in a "morally better future" (p. 228) on the level of individual acts.

Contrastingly, Brian Earp defines "agential moral enhancement" (2018, p. 422) not as an improvement in motives themselves but an improved willpower to act on motives, through "providing or fostering the recognition of insights into oneself and one's inner workings" (p. 436) such as "decreasing irrational fear responses to perceived emotional threats (p. 433)." He prescribes psychedelics as "serv[ing] a facilitating or adjunctive role, rather than determinative one (p. 425)." MDMA could be used "as an adjunct to moral development" in combination with "non-superficial engagement [with] intentional moral learning (p. 435)."

These conceptions of moral enhancement are not mutually exclusive: one need not choose between them. David King's proposal that psychedelics are 'epilogens' in the sense that they aide us with forming and selecting choices is consonant with this [11]. An optimally enhanced person would in theory have both better motivations and willpower to act on them. But such theorisations have their limits. While Douglas' prescription is other-orientated, it remains in the sphere of the individual mind deciding. And while Earp's concedes that "the drug should not be doing all the work" (2018, p. 435), the rest of the work for him/her should still be the individual, educating the self. In Erik Davis' words, one cannot risk "simply feeding into the self-improvement logic that increasingly underscores capitalist subjectivity, and that has already shown



a remarkable capacity to absorb, defang, and redirect...transformative practices" (p.93). Moreover, as Jules Evans maintains, it could risk encouraging a narcissistic spiritual evolutionism (2023). A myopic focus on chemicals, biological mechanisms, and individual psychologies ignores at least four fifths of the 'preparation, dosage, set, setting, and integration' paradigm.

Both Douglas and Earp, from the disciplines of moral philosophy and cognitive psychology respectively, are compelled to limit their definitions to the individual response to the world. Ethics, however, are necessarily social: socially enacted, socially judged and socially defined. Moreover, truly difficult ethical decisions are often the result of non-voluntary disgust or moral-somatic reactions – sensoria – as well as the breaking of unconscious habits, furthermore, they are based on the consideration of plausible transcendants, such as God or ideologies, cannot be falsified in traditional formal logical terms: ethical decisions in a crisis world involve an imaginal, and a creativity with regards what actually becomes possible. It is to the complex and difficult matter of the use of ayahuasca in the conflict situation of Israel-Palestine that I now turn.

Application 3: Peace building

Haifa's Nadeem Karkabi and Imperial's Leor Roseman and have engaged in ethnographic study of Palestinians and Israelis taking ayahuasca together in rabbinical ayahuasca contexts. The former researcher is Palestinian, the latter is Israeli. This contemporary conflict zone is a very different context to the luxuries of 1970's middle class hippydom. But in choosing a very different application I am not comparing apples and pears. What both *Getting Saved from the Sixties* and Roseman and Karkabi's research exemplify is the way in which psychedelics amplify both a ritual and non-ritual environment. Thus, comparing them through the lenses of sensorium, habitus and plausibility structure contributes to knowledge of what rituals and psychedelics do to the process and system of value generation individuals and cultures. Using Badiou's set theory from being and event as a heuristic and hermeneutic, Roseman and Karkabi discovered that ayahuasca can act both as a catalyst to maintain political status quo, preventing revelation of excluded elements, but ayahuasca can also act as a motivating agent to change the social structure by including what is unconscious of the situation – That is in this case, by making participants aware of what is ignored in the operation of the current cultural state. Thus ritual can both be an opiate, but also a place where, echoing both Alain Badiou and Walter Benjamin, Roseman and Karkabi say "a truth from the void can occasionally break through."

–Roseman, Leor & Karkabi, Nadeem. 2021. 'On Revelations and Revolutions: Drinking Ayahuasca Among Palestinians Under Israeli Occupation' in *Frontiers in Psychology* Vol 12

Specifically, in one case the rituals emphasised what is included in the set – Arabs' and Jews' shared religious heritage as "Abrahamic" – and were unconscious of what was not shared, namely, claims to land. In another case, the rituals dealt with the real and military trauma of these events and the difficulty of sharing land and resources. What is included in the set – understood both in terms of set theory (humans in sets or groups, included or not, and mindset (their attitudes towards land ownership, semitic or Abrahamic identity, others with the same claims, etc.) – led to very different outcomes for individuals. In the former, where communality was subject to emphasis and the conflict subject to taboo, the habitus of invader and the status quo of this ethos was not able to be transformed. The water of social cohesion here took the easy albeit temporary path: Colloquially, 'we share a God, we share a patriarch, even a religious heritage, so we might as well get on in the here and now for the purposes of this ritual'. The rituals were centrifugally focussed on individual healing, AND spiritually bypassed the political trauma of invasion. In the latter, where the difficulty of the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians was explicitly elocuted and not considered taboo, changed habitus and views of the plausible came into fruition. Members of the two groups were encouraged to bond through difficult questions such as, 'who gave you your name?', 'what does living on the land mean to you?', 'what have been your experiences of conflict?' Hebrew and Arabic languages co-wove in the music which was contributed and performed. Resultantly, individuals went back into their world and changed their actions, not only refuting divisive rhetoric but actively rejecting job offers which would prevent them from interacting in Israeli-Palestinian peacebuilding. "Spiritual bypassing" in rituals has real consequences on the way in which psychedelics can or cannot change the worldview and ethos of individuals, through their ethical motivations and views of the possible. The nature of the ritual is the definitive moment here, for, as Jewish Mystic Abraham Joshua Heschel wrote, "it is not the things that add significance to moments, but the moments that add significance to things."

–Roseman, Leor. 2019. 'Palestinians, Israelis, and Ayahuasca: Can Psychedelics Promote Reconciliation?' Lecture for Breaking Convention 2019

Psychedelics and ceremony – The invention of tradition

In a psychedelic state, it is not only the case that one is more suggestible, but also more suggestive. Furthermore, the space between stimulus and response widens. They have been called epilogens, or choice-formers, for this reason [12,13]. This means that ceremony can take on a participative power beyond the autopilot of blind rule-following. When songs are sung, they have a particular perlocutionary force. The *Hinario* (Hymnbook) of Daime's founder, Mestre Irineu, identifies love of God with love of nature, as see in number 110:

From afar, I come from afar
From the waves of the sacred sea
To know the powers
Of the forest and to love God

I follow on this path
I walk on it for whole days
To know the power
And the holy light of the True God

In the power of the True God
It is necessary for us to have love
In the stars of the firmament
And in everything that God created¹⁵.

Haraway advocates *Staying With the Trouble* "not as a vanishing pivot between awful or Edenic pasts and apocalyptic or salvific futures" but instead "promiscuously plucking out the fibres in clotted and dense events and practices" with a view to "the thing that is not oneself but with which one must go on" (2016 pp.1+3) – and without which one cannot go on. The others in need of change – that is, the dividual trees, rivals, community members, and species who need us to transform, and the types of beings who are in need themselves - alternate in differing times and places. Frederico Camagne evokes this for us, "...Each fragment of reality emerges as a map traversed by several intersections across dimensions. Prophetic awareness moves across these interstices like a bird would jump between tree branches. From each of them it observes reality from a unique angle, where different dimensions become variably near or far, and where the definition of what an awareness reclaims as its own body, varies according to its own cosmological position."

In his comparative philosophy of prophecy, Campagne typifies four types of thinking: the metaphysical, the shamanic, the mystical, and the prophetic. The metaphysician's world is a well-ordered assortment of categories, an oiled machine, perfectly explicative if imperfectly applicable. The shaman, by contrast, understands that categories are fluid and moves between them, shape-shifting and travelling between them. The mystic recognises the fundamental eternity underlying all change, the interconnectedness, and in this sense oneness, of all. The prophet, Campagne maintains, takes all these experiences into account but admits that those born now come into world where the logic of the future no longer makes sense. Therefore new frames of sense are required to be imagined within the ashes of the old. The prophet is borne between worlds. As the Hebrew prophets cry, the health of a society is measured by the way it treats its orphan and widow, its most vulnerable¹⁶. In our world, this *mishphat* (justice) is a critical requisite anchoring and questioning the machine of extraction and profit which has led us to this place. Campagne continues, "No longer confined within the worldly location of consciousness, a prophetic awareness can inhabit those positions which are usually assigned to other dimensional beings, like

¹⁵ De longe, eu venho de longe
Das ondas do Mar Sagrado
Para eu conhecer os poderes
Da Floresta e Deus amar

Eu sigo neste caminho
Ando nele dias inteiros
Para eu conhecer o poder
E a Santa Luz de Deus Verdadeiro

No poder de Deus Verdadeiro
É preciso nós ter amor
Nas estrelas do firmamento
E em tudo que Deus criou

¹⁶ This concern for social justice can be epitomised in the Hebrew word, *mishphat*.



divinities and angels, or, to abstract processes, like grammar and death. By moving across these different cosmological locations, a prophetic awareness engages in a constant journey within each fragment of reality. During its travel to the limits of imagination, like a protagonist in a Bildungsroman, awareness learns the different breath a limits of each vision of reality, and the taste of their specific sadness, all the way to the limits of nonrelationality, and back home to consciousness...ever dislodging (emovens) itself out of itself, following the paths of compassion (enduring-together) that traverse and bind together the imagination of reality. In this consists the emotional work of the prophet, and the substance of their cultural legacy (2021, p.73)."

Campagne concludes that syncretism and cultural mixing is what allows new and constructive imaginations – as well as critiques – of the world to be borne. For example, Mestre Irineu Africanised [14] and Christianised [15] ayahuasca-use. Such cultural mixing afforded a widening of the sensorium the sensorium of ayahuasca and rendered the religion more inclusive – more comprehensible to different cultures of people: witness now its global expansion [16] (Blainey 2021). Psychedelics help to invent new traditional ritual forms which expand the plausibility structure.

In resonance with Campagne's comparative prophetology, but from the empirical social sciences, in *The Dawn of Everything*, David Graeber and David Wengrow expose Enlightenment Politics' ideological debt to the "indigenous critique". The notions of liberty, fraternity, and equality are not solely and autochthonously Western but derive as much from cultural dialogues interactions with the Northeastern Forest cultures of America, such as the Iriquois, as they are from Classical authors and impulses. Further, looking at the archeological evidence, they suggest that seasonal political experimentation was once the cultural cornerstone of our species, and being stuck in any one form of hierarchy is actually a historical curiosity, a peculiar product rather than an inevitable apex or conclusion of cultural possibility.

Following on from this, it is noteworthy that Herbert Marcuse too saw the "kernel of truth" in psychedelic research as regarding the cultivation of a new sensorium, (37) a new "second nature" (11) wherein our culturally learned emotional reaction (what he terms our 'biology' (10)) is radically shifted. In his study of the counterculture, *An Essay on Liberation*, this shift would occur to the point where the new (Marxian) base created by technocratisation (the new mental labour force) has cultivated "qualitatively different needs and aspirations" [52] to those provided by consumer culture and monopoly capitalism. The new base will see its own contradictions – the insistence on "clean clothes for dirty deals" (28), the "debilitating competition for social survival and advancement" (5) the libidinal and aggressive tie to the commodity form (11) – as contingent rather than necessary.

Mark Fisher's contemporary rendering in the unfinished *Acid Communism* describes the countercultural hope as the "realisation of the spectre of a world which could be free", maintaining, "what if the sixties were only a stumbling beginning, rather than the best we ever hoped for?" (2016[2018]) One might decry such hope given what has not happened. And yet the commodification, not just of the sixties counterculture to what Fisher terms "gimmicky soundbites", but nowadays even of the drugs themselves which catalysed such an aesthetic-cum-political revolution/political-com-aesthetic involution might entail an immanent paradox – can one really pay for transcendence? In this way theological notions of idolatry (as the worship of self-constructed entities) can become a critical tool: if the culture is isolated to a financial transaction and industrial relationships for fleeting feelings of freedom, we might end up with soma rather than moksha medicine.¹⁷

Centripetal or centrifugal psychedelic praxis can lead to a different relationship

¹⁷Two contrasting works of theory-fiction have lit the fuse. Huxley's *Brave New World* imagined a socially-accepted drug – Soma – providing an artificial and escapist hedonia for individuals where 'a gramme is better than a damme'. By contrast his later novel, *Island*, written after his mescaline and LSD experiences, imagined a world where a 'moksha medicine' mushroom helps to integrate individuals into society. In the former we have a drug of solipsistic escape from a valueless social space; in the latter we have a sacrament where individuals are inspired to exist together. Clearly the latter ideal-type is only desirable if we have a society in which it is worth living. Both of these ideal-types as elaborated in the narrative involved ceremonies of a sort – but the values in each widely diverged.

between the culture and the individual – one of rebellion and rejection on the one hand, integration and acceptance on the other. In reality, because both centripetal and centrifugal praxis are concurrent, traditions are being melded and syncretised, variously more or less critical of the hegemonic super structure. Scholar of religion, Professor Sondra Hausner, has helped to typify "rituals of rebellion" which transcend the standard anthropological splitting of rites into cohesive and divisive – rights which bring the socius into greater unity and rights which function to define and exclusivise group loyalties. Though some have seen these two views as dialectical, for "ritual proclaims alterity even as it consolidates community" some rites advocate for a "larger...more expansive social order that includes the thorn rather than excludes or tries to pluck it out." What results is an accordion motion where the "periphery and its formerly oppositional center find a way to act together as a revitalised, integrated social unit of their own, sometimes in opposition to a larger center still." (p.14-6+195) To conclude this section, ceremonies not only define and establish norms and obligations, but also change them¹⁸.

Conclusion

"It is finished in beauty in the as above; it is finished in beauty in the so below...for all our relations!"

– Native American Church/Red Road Closing Prayer

The ethos and the worldview of a culture can be viewed through the aesthetic and ethical tastes (sensoria), the unconscious ways of acting (habitus), and the consideration of the possible state of reality (plausibility structure) within and among individuals. Psychedelics' operation on individuals is on these three social factual levels, and ritual functions to focus either the maintenance or redefinition of the ethos and worldview in this way. Western psychedelic praxis has often tended towards the 'centripetal' (inwards) rather than 'centrifugal' (outwards) form of praxis, terms developed by Chris Partridge, leading to detraditionalization and retraditionalisation respectively. Both can lead to a different relationship between the culture and the individual – one of rebellion and rejection on the one hand, or of integration and acceptance on the other. Understanding and including an account of the surrounding rituals is central to the 'preparation, set, setting, and integration' paradigm – and thus to any account of psychedelic phenomenology. It also allows for a critique and a program in consonance with what the world needs in an era of ecological breakdown, species chauvinism, and brutal human conflict. I conclude with Frederico Campagna's recent work that the development of new syncretic traditions is inevitable. Careful thought must be given to this for, in the words of Donna Haraway, it "matters what worlds world worlds".

If it is the case that psychedelics fundamentally effect our involuntary reactions to beauty and goodness (sensorium), our ways of being and acting in the world (habitus), and what we think can be the case about the world ((super-)plausibility), then the ritual becomes part not just of the setting element of the preparation-mindset-setting-integration paradigm, but three fourths of that life – with the mindset undergoing fundamental changes in will-reaction. These fundamental changes might include a last laugh to Nietzsche's satire: one may be able at last to want what it is that we want.

Ceremonies enhance the power ethical norms by giving the community values to which they can aspire and celebrate; psychedelics increase the pattern-breaking, spirit-perceiving tendency of individuals. Without the crucible of ritual this metaphysical freedom can lead to the experience of moral chaos, as Tipton has evinced. Rituals by the same token and in the wrong hands can be deeply manipulative of people's sense of consensus reality. Nevertheless, feelings of collective discovery replace the onus on the individual to create their spirituality. While individuals alone with the drug are left to be creative with their the spiritual world which compels their ethical willpower and motivation, groups together with the plant teacher in ritual are left to discover a shared spiritual world where mutual obligations become basic wants. As a Daimista told me once, "we are there for each other's healing."

¹⁸Williams MT (2022) Why black people should embrace psychedelic healing: Reclaiming a cultural birthright' in psychedelic justice: Toward a diverse and equitable psychedelic culture. Synergetic Press, UK.



References

- Kelly JD (1991) Review: Maurice Bloch on Ritual. *Journal of Ritual Studies* 5(1): 133-135.
- Turner V (1969) Liminality and communitas. In: Lambek M (Ed.), *A reader in the anthropology of religion*. Blackwell Publishers, USA, pp. 1-25.
- Rappaport RA (1999) *Ritual and religion in the making of humanity*. Cambridge University Press, USA.
- Rappaport RA (2008) Enactments of meaning. In M. Lambek (Ed.), *A Reader in the Anthropology of Religion*. Blackwell Publishers, Singapore.
- Partridge C (2018) *High culture: Drugs, mysticism and the pursuit of transcendence in the modern world*. Oxford University Press.
- Hirschkind C (2008) Passionate preaching, aural sensibility, and the Islamic Revival in Cairo by Charles Hirschkind' originally from a chapter titled, 'The Ethics of Listening: Cassette Sermon Audition in Contemporary Cairo'. In: Lambek M (Ed.), *A reader in the Anthropology of Religion*, Blackwell Publishers, Singapore, pp. 1-545.
- Argyri EK, Evans J, Luke D, Michael P, Michelle K, et al. (2024) Navigating groundlessness: An interview study on dealing with ontological shock and existential distress following psychedelic experiences. SSRN, pp. 1-60.
- Timmerman C, Kettner H, Lethby C, Roseman L, Rosas E, et al. (2021) Psychedelics alter metaphysical beliefs. *Scientific Reports* 11(1): 22166.
- Tipton SM, Robert N. Bellah (Foreword) (1982) *Getting saved from the sixties: Moral meaning in conversion and cultural change*. Wipe & Stock Publisher, pp. 1-382.
- Brian E (1996) A year with swollen appendices. In the appendix of a letter sent by Brian Eno to Dave Stewart.
- King D (2015) Epilogenesis: A dose by yet another name. In: King, Luke D, Sessa B, Adams C, Tollan A (Eds.), *Essays on Psychedelics from Breaking Convention*.
- Falcon J (2017) *The ethical import ofentheogens*. FIU Electronic Theses and Dissertations.
- King D (2015) Epilogenesis: A dose by yet another name. In: King D, Luke D, Sessa B, Adams C, Tollan A, (Eds.), *Essays on Psychedelics from Breaking Convention*.
- Assis GL (2022) A black man who changed the history of Ayahuasca' in psychedelic justice: Toward a diverse and equitable psychedelic culture. Synergetic Press, UK.
- Schunemann MJ (2020) Replanting christ: A theological and socio-cultural comparison of the ethos and worldview of Santo Daime and Native American Church. *Psychedelic Press Journal Issue*.
- Dawson A (2013) *Santo Daime: A new world religion*. 1st (Edn.), Bloomsbury Publishers, UK, pp. 1-240.
- Jesse R (2012) *Testimony of the Council on Spiritual Practices. Entheogens and the Future of Religion* Park Street Press, USA, pp. 1-11.
- Eriacho B (2022) Considerations for working with indigenous people in psychedelic spaces & guidelines for inclusion of indigenous people in psychedelic science conferences' in psychedelic justice: Toward a Diverse and Equitable Psychedelic Culture. Synergetic Press, UK.
- Negrin D (2022) Colonial shadows in the psychedelic renaissance. *Psychedelic Justice: Toward a Diverse and Equitable Psychedelic Culture*. Synergetic Press, UK, pp. 1-65.
- Cavnar C (2022) 'Can Psychedelics "Cure" Gay People?' *Psychedelic justice: Toward a diverse and equitable psychedelic culture*. Synergetic Press, UK.
- Walsh C (2022) Beyond prohibition of plant medicines. *Psychedelic Justice: Toward a diverse and equitable psychedelic culture*. Synergetic Press, UK, pp. 1-178
- André B (2023) *Ayahuasca as liquid divinity: An ontological approach*. Lexington Books, USA, pp. 1-240.
- Calabrese J (2013) *A different medicine: Postcolonial healing in the Native American Church*. Oxford University Press, USA, pp. 1-254.
- Campagne F (2021) *Prophetic culture: Recreation for adolescents*. 1st (Edn.), Bloomsbury Academic Publishers, UK, pp. 1-280.
- Davies D (2009) *Emotion, identity and religion*. Oxford University Press, USA, pp. 1-334.
- Douglas T (2008) Moral enhancement. *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 25(3): 228-245.
- Durkheim E (2008) *Elementary forms of the religious life*. In: Lambek M (Ed.), *A Reader in the Anthropology of Religion*. Blackwell publishers, Singapore.
- Earp B (2018) Psychedelic moral enhancement. *Royal Institute of Philosophy Supplement* 83(1): 415-439.
- Evans J (2023) 'More evolved than you': Evolutionary spirituality as a cultural frame for psychedelic experiences. *Frontiers in Psychology* 14: 1103847.
- Fisher M (2016) *Acid communism*. K-Punk: The collected and unpublished writings of mark fisher: The collected and unpublished writings of Mark Fisher (2004-2016). Repeater Books, UK.
- Haraway DJ (2016) *Staying with the trouble*. Duke University Press, USA, pp. 1-312.
- Hausner S (2016) *The spirits of crossbones graveyard: Time, ritual and sexual commerce in London*. Indiana University Press, USA, pp. 1-238.
- Horgan J (2004) *Rational mysticism: Spirituality meets science in the search for enlightenment*. HarperOne Publishers, USA, pp. 1-292.
- Kaplan DE, Marshall A (1996) *The cult at the end of the world: The Incredible Story of Aum*. UK.
- Marcuse H (1971) *An essay on liberation*. Beacon Press, pp. 1-104.
- McKenna T (2012) *Psychedelic society*. In: Forte R (Ed.), *Entheogens and the future of religion*. Park Street Press, USA.
- Myerhoff B (2008) Jewishness comes up in you from the roots. In: Lambek M (Ed.), *A reader in the anthropology of religion*. Blackwell Publishers, Singapore.
- Nemu D (2016). *Neuroapocalypse*. 1st (Edn.), Psychedelic Press, UK, pp. 1-370.
- Pace B, Devenot N (2021) Right-wing psychedelia: Case studies in cultural plasticity and political pluripotency. *Frontiers Psychology* 12: 733185.
- Pini M (2001) *Club cultures and female subjectivity: The move from home to house*. Palgrave: Basingstoke, USA, pp. 1-204.
- Pitre B (2017) *Jesus and the Last Supper*. Eerdmans.
- Reynolds S (1998) *Generation Ecstasy: Into the world of techno and rave culture*. 1st (Edn.), Routledge Publishers, USA, pp. 1-480.
- Rietveld HC (2004) *Ephemeral spirit: Sacrificial cyborg and communal soul*. 1st (Edn.), *Rave Culture and Religion*, Routledge Publishers, USA, pp. 1-16.
- Rushkoff D (2003) *Rave Culture and Religion*. (2004). In: St John (Ed.), *Routledge Advances in Sociology*, Routledge Publishers, USA, pp. 1-347.
- Ruck CAP, Jeremy B, Danny S, Jonathan O, Gordon WR (1979) *Entheogens*. *Journal of Psychedelic Drugs Issue* 11(1-2): 145-146.
- Ruffell S, Netzband N, Linton S, Tsang WF, Woolf T (2018) Modulatory effects of ayahuasca on personality structure in a traditional framework. *Psychopharmacology (Berl)* 237(10): 3161-3171.
- Roseman L, Karkabi N (2021) On revelations and revolutions: Drinking ayahuasca among palestinians under israeli occupation. *Frontiers in Psychology* 12: 718934.
- Schunemann MJ (2018) The dark side: Sociality and friendship as crucial determining factors. *Beyond Psychedelics*.
- Smith H (2000) *Cleansing the doors of perception: The religious significance of entheogenic plants and chemical*. 3rd (Edn.), Sentient Publications, USA, pp. 1-173.
- Takahashi M (2004) *The natural high: Altered states, flashbacks and neural tuning at raves*. *Rave Culture and Religion*. St John (ed.) Routledge Publishers, USA, pp. 1-352.
- Vayne J (2017) *Getting higher: The manual for psychedelic ceremony*. Psychedelic Press, UK, pp. 1-140.



Postscript

Entheogens?

When Carl Ruck, Jeremy Bigwood, Danny Staples, Jonathan Ott and Gordon Wasson first coined 'entheogen' and 'entheogenic' in 1979, the motivations were clearly political as well as categorical. Though clearly dissatisfied with the falsity implied by 'hallucinogenic', theirs was also an active attempt to dissociate from the political dirt associated with psychedelic. A new term was required, they said, because "[w]ords were manufactured, and in their making they betrayed the incomprehension or prejudice of the times." They therefore proposed, "A new term that would be appropriate for describing states of shamanic and ecstatic possession induced by ingestion of mind-altering drugs... In a strict sense, only those vision-producing drugs that can be shown to have figured in shamanic or religious rites would be designated entheogens, but in a looser sense, the term could also be applied to other drugs, both natural and artificial, that induce alterations of consciousness similar to those documented for ritual ingestion of traditional entheogens (1979)."

It is significant that even they distinguish the "strict" and the "looser" sense: The former for rites, the latter for alterations to consciousness even from artificial and non-ceremonial settings. But these senses actually are quite fundamentally different. Since the introduction of the term, many publications have used the term in the "stricter" sense, what I call 'ritual-entheogens' [17-19]. Others, and sometimes the same person within the same publication, have used the term in the looser sense – 'entheogen-states', practices which grant one access to states of consciousness interpreted as relating to divinity [17,20,21-51].

About Author

Mark Juhan Schunemann has been studying the sacramental drug-culture relationship for seven years, having presented his research in Tallinn, Harvard as an Emerging Scholar, Breaking Convention and Prague. His interests span natural and revealed theology, philosophy, critical theory, medical anthropology and feminist literature: he looks at the relationship between measurable exteriorities, immeasurable interiorities, ritual and value generation, and comparativism. He is especially interested in the ways in which ritual, rave, and medical cultures potentiate the psychedelic state, and in the philosophy of cognitive liberty. Having studied at Oxford (BA First Class Theology and Religion) and Durham (MA Religion and Society), Mark is also a published poet and is pursuing a PhD at Exeter University, in comparative drug culture and philosophy with Prof Christine Hauskeller, Dr Leor Roseman, and Dr Luis Eduardo Luna.