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Pipes and Tobacco Use Among Southern California Yuman Speaker

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An article was recently published here (Schaefer 2000) describing a cremation feature at the Elmore Site, CA-IMP-6427. This was a relatively small, well preserved habitation site near the southwest corner of present-day Salton Sea. The cremation feature was interpreted by means of early ethnographic accounts of the southern Yuman speakers. However, in classifying a Yuman bow pipe as a ceremonial object, the article underscores a source of some confusion among contemporary Southern California archaeologists. While the published ethnographic record is rather thin, a careful reading leads one to conclude that tobacco was sometimes used in shamanistic curing ritual, however, tobacco was not commonly used in ceremonial contexts and it did not have symbolic or spiritual significance among Yuman speakers. Tobacco was sacred among Shoshonean speakers and was used ceremonially. Archaeological research suggests they did have the bow pipe, but evidently, this type of pipe was not used ceremonially. To consider the bow pipe a ceremonial object is inconsistent with the ethnographic record.

Recently, Jerry Schaefer (2000) wrote a thoughtful article dealing with a Late Prehistoric Period clothes burning feature at the Elmore Site (CA-IMP-6427). This site, dated to between approximately A.D. 1663 and 1798, is located along the western recessional shoreline of ancient Lake Cahuilla (Laylander 1994; Schaefer 2000). It is near the southwestern shore of the present-day Salton Sea in Imperial County, California. The article integrated ethnographic accounts and archeological evidence utilizing the direct historical approach (e.g., Steward 1977:205) to provide an explanation of a rare, if not unique feature in the archaeological record of the Colorado Desert. While informative and interesting, the article underscored some apparent confusion among Southern Californian archaeologists about the ways that pan Yuman peoples used tobacco and whether the Yuman bow pipe should be classified as a ceremonial item. As a minor point in the paper, Schaefer (2000:190) simply comments in passing that: "Ceremonial items were rare except for a single nearly complete Tizon Brown Ware bow-shaped flanged ceramic pipe."

This statement stuck me as curious and may reflect a common misconception among archaeologists practicing in Southern California about the secular status of tobacco use among Yuman speakers. Therefore, it might prove useful to review the ethnographic record relating to tobacco use and the ceremonial life of Yuman people as a way of illustrating the problem and resolving this confusion.

The Yumans consist of a number of groups that live in upland Arizona, along the lower Colorado

River, and on the coast and in the mountains of San Diego County and northern Baja California. They speak (or spoke) languages of the Yuman family of the Hokan language stock (Kroeber, 1925; Shipley 1978:86). The southern Yuman speakers, who form the focus of this paper, are the Kumeyaay, Kamia, Cocopa, and Quechan. Of particular salience for this paper are the Cocopa, Kamia, and Kumeyaay.

Schaefer evidently endorses the working hypothesis of Rosen (1994) that the Elmore Site may have been occupied by Cocopa. This is based on the abundance and type of Olivella beads recovered there (Schaefer 2000:191). Be that as it may, the site is located within the loosely-defined territory of the Kamia, (Gifford 1931). At the time of contact, the Kamia lived primarily along the Alamo and New Rivers, in the southern Imperial Valley and in northern Baja California Norte, where they practiced flood plain horticulture much like the Quechan and Cocopa. The Kamia, however were quite flexible and mobile in response to the rather undependable water resources of the area (Gifford 1931:2-8).

The vicinity of site CA-IMP-6427 may have been inhabited at some times by Kumeyaay, who had more of a foothill rather than desert orientation. In the 1920s, Gifford's informants classified the Kane Springs vicinity as Kumeyaay. Site CA-IMP-6427 is approximately six miles east of Kane Springs (Schaefer 2000: Figure 1) When Francisco Garces visited the Kane Springs/San Sebastian area in 1774, he found both Kumeyaay and Kamia there. In fact, he became re-acquainted with some Kamia that he had previously met in Baja California in 1771 (Bolton 1930(2):280). Evidently boundaries between the Kamia and Kumeyaay were quite porous and fluid. Gifford explained in his 1931 ethnography, "I have not attempted to draw the boundary on the accompanying map (pl.1), as such probably never existed in the sense in which we conceive boundaries." (1931:2).

Spier (1923: 300, 304, and Figure A) suggests that the Kane Springs area was the territory of the *Litc* gente (Gifford 1931 calls them clans), whose territory basically consisted of the San Felipe Creek drainage. They were also said to have

once lived north and west of the Vallecitos area. Southwest was the *Tumau* gente of the Kamia (1923:301). They lived north and west of Brawley and west to the northern foot of the Superstition Hills. The site area lies between the two and is not attributed to either on Spier's map (1923: Figure A). *Litc* gente territory is within Southern Diegueno or Tipai territory (Luomala 1978:593). With regard to Rosen's working hypothesis, there is nothing in the ethnographic record to suggest that the Cocopa ever lived anywhere near CA-IMP-6427 (e.g., Gifford 1933, Kelly 1977).

CEREMONY

For the purposes of this discussion, it might be helpful to clarify the concept of ceremony. Ritual and ceremony have been used interchangeably, but here we would like to draw a working distinction. A ritual is defined here as stereotypical behaviors or routines (Bird 1980). This can vary from the mundane and secular to the spiritual. One might think of any number of modern American personal or familial activities that have ritual aspects: making the morning coffee, sitting down for a few minutes with one's daily planner, a daily meditation, having a glass of wine before dinner, or saying grace. The term ritual as used here is reserved for observances or symbolic activities that take place in relatively private settings with little or no significance for the wider society. Ceremonial activities, on the other hand, are defined here as public performances. In contemporary American society, examples might be singing the national anthem; religious services; swearing in ceremonies; parades, marriages, funerals, and half-time shows. The way we use the term, ceremonies are performance acts which typically reinforce group membership and community solidarity through what Durkheim called "collective effervescence" (Durkheim 1926). In other words, for the purposes of this research, ritual is private and lacks social salience; ceremony is public and has wider social significance.

Likewise, it is often useful to separate medicine and religion in cultural analysis while acknowledging that these are often rather

intertwined in small scale, pre-scientific societies, and in non-scientific or anti-scientific segments of contemporary societies. These distinctions, like many in social science, are mostly useful in a macro sense. When the study requires close examination, however, ritual and ceremony or medicine and religion are seen as interrelated in complex ways rather than being discrete and mutually exclusive phenomena.

ETHNOGRAPHIC VALIDITY

When comparing ethnographic sketches from different time periods (i.e., Spanish padres of the 18th century, Mexican and American explorers of the 19th century, ethnographers of the 1920s and 1930s, and contemporary interviewers) one is struck by what might be called the acculturation-validity irony. In general terms, the earlier the ethnographic account, the more validity it has for the re-construction of pre-contact culture. This is of great import for those employing the direct historical approach to prehistory, that is those trying to proceed from the ethnographic known back in time to the prehistoric unknown (e.g., Steward 1977; Strong 1935; Wedel 1936).

However, early padres and explorers were not anthropologists. They were focused on other activities, e.g., Christian proselytizing, exploration, military domination, etc. Their ethnographic perceptions were processed through the prism of their economic and political goals, and their ethnocentric and pre-scientific religious beliefs. Their ethnographic observations were typically incidental to their main goals. Valuable as these ethnographic sketches are, the padres and explorers who wrote them, understandably, did not ask the kinds of detailed questions that would be most helpful to contemporary ethnographers and archaeologists (e.g., details of the settlement and economic systems, details of material culture, religion and the relation to the natural landscape, etc.). These kinds of questions are more often addressed in the ethnographies of the 1920s and 30s, and of course, by today's ethnographers and ethnoarchaeologists. Today, interest in ethnographic reconstruction of rapidly fading

Native American culture is high, both among ethnographers and many Native Americans. Ironically, resources for ethnographic study are more available today through environmental mandates.

Another part of the tragic acculturation-validity irony is that today there is much less information to gather. With the passage of every year, there are fewer and fewer tribal elders alive who have valid information to share about traditional tribal life. This is most tragically true for Southern California coastal people. Over three generations ago, William Duncan Strong decried the decay and cultural loss that he witnessed in California in the introduction of his 1929 monograph: "The following pages represent the partial gleanings of a field whose full harvest might only have been gathered a century and a half ago" (1929:1). Since he did his fieldwork, the time of full ethnographic harvest has retreated to 2.2 centuries ago. The ethnographic gleanings are, of course, ever more meager.

A related point about ethnographic accounts is the question of how to interpret them. This is rather problematic and subjective. Early padres such as Garces, Eixarch, and Crespi, were reasonably good observers and they had among the first and last opportunities for observing Native cultures functioning more or less as they had prior to European influences. However, their views were partially distorted by 18th century Christian zealotry and Eurocentric racism, so their comments about religion, race and related matters are not particularly reasonable or helpful. However, their descriptions of other aspects of culture and material life may be considered quite valid. By the time of the major ethnographic work of Kroeber and his students in the early 20th century, many of the major racist questions had been resolved. Indians were finally considered, at least by anthropologists, full-fledged members of the human race, and anthropology had developed the concept of culture and was asking reasonably consistent questions, later codified by the University of California culture element lists (Drucker 1937, 1941).

However, most of the salvage ethnography of the 1920s and 30s was based on astonishingly brief

amounts of fieldwork and very few numbers of Indian informants. The most egregious example is found in the work of Leslie Spier. He produced a major ethnographic contribution on the Diegueño (Tipai or Kumeyaay) on the basis of discussions with only one Kumeyaay consultant which took place within a 12 day period (Spier 1923:297). Since the society was organized on the basis of independent, localized, patrilineal bands with no unifying tribal organization (Gifford 1918:167), it is likely that there was considerable variability from band to band. It is difficult to imagine that all the information gathered by Spier is valid for the Kumeyaay as a whole or that the full range of variability could have been recorded. Spier's work remains, however, one of the most complete works on traditional Kumeyaay culture.

To summarize, ethnographic validity for reconstructing traditional culture in this region requires a rather subjective balance between a number of factors. One of the most important of these is an explicit statement about how the ethnographic material was collected. Based on such statements one can then consider other validity issues. Sometimes one must reconstruct the ethnographic field context from hints in the narrative. *Ceteris paribus*, older material ought to trump more modern accounts because of acculturation issues. The longer a researcher (or explorer or padre) spent with the people, the better in terms of ethnographic validity.

THE ETHNOHISTORIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC RECORDS

The Cocopa

The most thorough early account of the Cocopa is by Gifford (1933). This was based on fieldwork in the winters of 1916/1917, 1921/1922, 1926/1927, and 1929/1930. He mentioned tobacco only briefly. At the time of Gifford's visits, tobacco was acquired by the Cocopa from the Paipai who lived in the mountains to their west. In the 1820s, Hardy noted that Cocopa were growing tobacco (Gifford 1933:269). Gifford summarized tobacco use in the following brief passage. Note that he and a few others of the period sometimes wrote in what they called the telegraphic style, i.e., they

left out some articles, and conjunctions that they thought were superfluous. These sound like telegrams or memos.

Tobacco smoked in cane pipe or corn husk wrapper, by men for pleasure, by shamans (male and female) in curing. Pipe ca. 3 in. long Through diaphragm near mouth end, small perforation admitted smoke (1933:269-270).

Shamanistic practitioners could be men or women among the Cocopa. Shamans tended to run in families, but the powers of the shaman were not inherited. They were acquired in dreams which occurred in normal nighttime sleep, not vision quests. In these dreams, which initiated one's career as a shaman, one typically visited a animal spirit on a spiritually significant mountain top. This spirit became the shaman's spirit helper or familiar.

There were different types of shamans for different kinds of disorder, and some types of shaman had a certain animal as a spirit helper. For example if one dreamed of a roadrunner, one might become able to treat snake bite, since roadrunner was the spirit helper of snakebite shamans (Gifford 1933:309). Since curing techniques were learned in dreams, there was some individuality and flexibility in technique and variability from one shaman to the next. However, a general cultural pattern was followed. After initially dreaming of acquiring the power or potential power to heal from a spirit helper, a shaman sought out the helper in dreams for guidance. The spirit helper was thought of as a teacher or counselor rather than a god (a megamother or meta-father) from whom one asks favors or forgiveness (Gifford 1933:309).

Gifford does not suggest that shamanism had a particular religious aspect among the Cocopa other than the dream experience and the spirituality that was deeply woven into pre-scientific causal explanations and daily life. While he does not explicitly mention whether curing takes place in public or in private, he seemed to be writing about a relatively private interaction between doctor and patient with a few close family

members in attendance.

He is quite clear about the function of shamanism among the Cocopa (1933:310):

Prime business of shaman curing... In treating patients, shaman generally dreamed. Good dreams indicated cure, bad dreams reverse.... In most sickness, as with Yuma [Quechan], tobacco smoke blown on patient. Curing performed by rubbing, sucking, blowing frothy saliva, blowing tobacco smoke. Blood sucked from body of patient. Shaman sometimes cut before sucking. Blowing to cool body of patient. Eye doctor did not use tobacco, but stuck her tongue in eyes.

To summarize Gifford's (1933) observations of the Cocopa, tobacco was smoked primarily for pleasure, by men and by both men and women shamans in curing. There is no reference to ceremonial use of tobacco, however, it was often used in shamanistic curing. Curing rituals were sometimes attended by family members, but were not public ceremonial performances. Dream-based spirituality or animism figured prominently in shamanistic curing among the Cocopa, however Gifford implies that shamanism was primarily a medical, not religious practice. Tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe formed by a small segment of cane into which tobacco was stuffed or a cigar made of corn husk. There is no mention of the "Yuman" bow pipe.

A more modern ethnography of the Cocopa was written by William H. Kelly in 1977. His fieldwork consisted of a total of 10 months of fieldwork during five separate visits from 1940 to 1952 (Kelly 1977:v). His treatment of shamanism was rather brief. He included the use of tobacco as one of a variety of treatment methods:

The usual cure consisted in alternate singing and manipulation. The following methods were used by various shamans for various diseases: body pressing, rubbing, brushing with a feather, saliva blowing, sucking, sucking an incision to draw blood, blowing accompanied by a verbal *ah-h-h*, and blowing cigarette smoke (Kelly 1977:74).

The Cocopa at the time of Kelly's work often used Pima shamans. He apparently witnessed three curing events, two by Pima and one by Cocopa shamans. From his description, these events appeared to be attended by some friends and family (1977:74-75), but were not public ceremonial occasions. There is no mention of the "Yuman" bow pipe.

The Quechan

Among the earliest accounts of tobacco habits and paraphernalia among Yuman speakers was that of Eixarch, a Franciscan priest who along with Garces, stayed among the Quechan in the vicinity of present-day Yuma, Arizona in the winter of 1775-76. Garces and Eixarch had come with the second Anza expedition as far as the river and stayed on to proselytize the natives. Eixarch suggested that the Quechan had a great fondness for tobacco, which they smoked for pleasure. At one point he mentioned his frustration with the Native fondness for Mexican tobacco:

...I thought that by moving from the other house to this one I should not be so much molested by the Indians, but just the contrary has happened; for if formerly they used to come for a short spell, now it is for the whole day. I said *molested* not because they anger me, for I love them greatly, but because it is necessary to have a great quantity of tobacco and other things to give them, whereas I have very little. I infer that during the first years after missions are founded, it will be necessary for each minister to have a load of tobacco to give them, for aside from continually asking for it, they put the tobacco in a reed as thick as the finger, to fill which a good handful is necessary, and so they smoke, for they are not satisfied with a cigarette" (Bolton 1930:351).

Eixarch also provided an account of shamanistic curing by Pablo, chief of the village of Xuksil near at what is now Andrade, Mexico, near Pilot Knob: "Last night I heard this fellow chanting a canticle very deliberately and

melancholic, having a sick man in his house to whom he gives such rubbings of the belly with sand that only a brute would be able to stand it. He blows on him many times and then blows against the wind" (Bolton 1931). This passage is among the earliest relating to curing among Yuman speakers. It suggests that curing rituals were not public ceremonials. No mention was made of tobacco use in curing ritual or public religious practice among the Quechan in other ethnographic available sketches at the time of Euroamerican contact in the 18th century (e.g., Garces, Juan Diaz, Eixarch, de Anza).

The most extensive and detailed ethnographic account of the Yumans was the ethnography of the Quechan (then called the Yuma) by Daryll Forde (1931). Gifford and Forde, both students of Kroeber, actually conducted research together among the Kamyá (now spelled Kamia) in 1928. Forde then worked among the Quechan in December 1928 through January 1929 and again in September and December 1929 (Forde 1931:86). Gifford published an ethnographic account of the Kamia in 1931.

Forde (1931:117) suggests that the Quechan made limited use of the local wild tobacco, but preferred tobacco obtained in trade from the Kumeyaay and Paipai (then called the Akwa la). Forde (1931:117) also describes the Yuman bow pipe.

The smoking of tobacco in cane tubes was also noticed on the Lower Colorado by Alarcon in the sixteenth century. These tubes are about six inches in length and cut from withered canes. They are known as *axta' ak'sa'* (soft cane). Clay pipes (*melxo*) were used in the past. Steve [one of Forde's Quechan consultants] described them as from four to six inches in length, swelling and curving up slightly at the end into which the tobacco was placed. They were baked like pottery. Although used by doctors in their curing, tobacco had little esoteric significance and no restrictions associated with its use were known to my informants.

Forde (1931: 185-195) provided an ex-pansive

discussion of shamanistic curing among the Quechan in which he defines six broad types of disorder, each of which called for different types of treatment by different shaman specialists. Treatments are understood to be relatively private rituals typically attended by family. Tobacco typically figures in two of these types. As suggested above, there was some variability in the ways individual shamans worked.

1. Sickness from natural causes, e.g., fractures, food poisoning. Treatment consists of massage and blowing of saliva on the injured part.

2. Dream poisoning by spirits. Treatment consists of sucking out the poison by the shaman.

3. Soul loss. This is caused by a blow on the head or the efforts of spirits of the dead. Treatment consists of blowing tobacco smoke and spraying of frothy saliva into the patient's mouth.

4. Bewitchment, an iatrogenic or doctor induced disorder. Treatment consists of singing and sucking, blowing saliva. Forde relates a treatment that was watched by approximately a dozen friends of the patient (1931:194), suggesting again that curing would best be thought of as a relatively private ritual rather than a public ceremony.

5. Snake bite. Snake doctors tend to poke, jab and suck the bite site and sing special songs.

6. Drought. While not a personal illness, drought and treatment by rainmaking shamans is included in Forde's list of shamanistic activities. Drought might best be thought of as a community or environmental disorder. The rainmaking account provided by Forde consisted of smoking tobacco out of four cane tubes in a dramatic, ritual fashion and making a speech in front of a large crowd. Turtle was the spirit helper of this rain shaman. If one might generalize from this, it is the only

class of shamanistic event that addressed a community-wide problem rather than personal disorder and it is the only one that employed a public ceremony. Ritual tobacco use forms the mainstay of the ceremony, but the bow pipe was not used, at least in the performance witnessed by Forde.

To summarize Forde's accounts of tobacco: the Quechan evidently smoked as an individual recreational activity out of cane tubes, but also sometimes utilized the "Yuman" bow pipe. Since it was not recorded in the several Spanish Period accounts, one might posit that the bow pipe was a historic period innovation. Tobacco figured in two of six types of shamanistic treatments related by Forde. In the case of drought, the only one that could be classed as a community rather than a personal, disorder, the rainmaker shaman's treatments were public ceremonies. Tobacco smoking was the major focus of the ceremony, but cane tubes, not bow pipes were used.

The Kamia

Gifford wrote the major ethnography of the Kamia (1931) or desert Kumeyaay. Fortunately for modern readers, he did not write this one in telegraphic style. He states:

Tobacco (*op kamiyahí*) was not grown by the Kamia, but was obtained from the Diegueño [*kamiyahí* or Kumeyaay]. No pottery, stone, or carved wooden tubular pipe was used. A 4-inch length of cane served as an intermediate between the tubular pipe and the cigarette. Tobacco was not eaten or chewed (1931:25).

Gifford suggests that Kamia shamans, like the other Yumans, got their power from dreams. He also described a shaman's technique:

Curing shamans sucked their patients. Beans [one of Gifford's Kamia consultants] said he had seen shamans suck patients on the breast and belly for 10 or 12 nights. Pressing with the hand and blowing of frothy saliva over the affected part were also practiced.

Scarification with a sharp stone was not practiced. Singing by the shaman for about half an hour always preceded treatment. He employed no rattle. Shamans who treated the sick were men. They also cured arrow wounds" (1933:73).

To summarize, for the Kamia, Gifford does not mention tobacco use in shaman curing ritual. Neither does he mention a ceremonial or religious context for tobacco use, nor does he mention the "Yuman" bow pipe.

The Kumeyaay

The group today known as the Kumeyaay consisted of independent, localized patrilineal clans. Differences in dialect distinguish the northern Kumeyaay or Ipai from southern Kumeyaay or Tipai (Luomala 1978) and from the Kamia. Desert areas in the vicinity of present-day Borrego and Kane Springs were in Tipai territory (Luomala 1978:593). Although the Kumeyaay were mentioned in several early Spanish accounts (e.g. Costanso, Crespi, Garces), the earliest ethnography of the Kumeyaay is the work of T. T. Waterman (1910). It is not clear how long he spent with informants, or where his research was conducted. From the places mentioned in the text, he seems to have worked primarily in the northern Kumeyaay or Ipai village of Mesa Grande with visits to Santa Ysabel, Los Conejos, Capitan Grande, and Campo. Evidently the only Tipai or southern Kumeyaay village he visited was Campo, so his work should be viewed as primarily Ipai ethnography. In the same sense, Leslie Spier's work (1923) should be viewed as a Tipai ethnography, as Spier explicitly states. Apparently the Ipai were highly influenced by their Taki-speaking neighbors to the north and east, viz., the Luiseño, Cupeño, and Cahuilla.

According to Waterman's informants, disease was caused by substances actually entering the body, often through sympathetic magic. A piece of hair or nail clippings could be used for casting an evil spell on someone, so all such things were hidden or destroyed. The role of the shaman was to remove these substances (1910:279-280). This

was sometimes accomplished by sucking or blowing tobacco smoke. "The writer was told by one informant that the people at Mesa Grande were not accustomed to dancing as a cure for disease, but instead, blew tobacco smoke over the sufferer" (Waterman 1910:280). Waterman also mentions that only men were allowed to be shamans among the Kumeyaay (1910:284).

Waterman suggests that tobacco was used in some important ceremonies: the girl's puberty ceremony, the eagle ceremony and the so-called war dance. In the girl's puberty ceremony, for example, he says:

The girls are then brought to the edge of the pit and seated, in the presence of all the people of the village. At a signal the entire company motion upward three times, expelling the breath each time. The leader then fills a basketry cap, *npurl*, with water, and mixes in it crumbled native tobacco, up. Each girl then takes a large drink of the liquid" (1910:286).

He implies that tobacco in this ceremony may have only been used among the northern Kumeyaay or Ipai: "It is denied in the southern region that the girls were given the tobacco-water to drink, as was the case among the Luiseño and the northern Diegueño (1910:292). Similarly, the Ipai, but not the Tipai seem to have used tobacco in the Eagle Ceremony:

On the third evening, toward nightfall, an extra large fire was kindled, and for two or three hours the old men danced the *Horloi*. The final part of the dance was, however, omitted. The dance-circle was then cleared, and one of the oldest men announced: "All will sit down and smoke tobacco." After some time an old man, said to be called the *kaponil*, who sat on a stool to one side, exclaimed, "mwau." Several others then went to the middle of the dance-circle and motioned upward three times, grunting as they did so (Waterman 1910:315).

In this ceremony, after several days of dancing, speechmaking and singing, the eagle is killed in

the dance-circle. Tobacco was used in the Ipai version of the Eagle Dance at the end. Just before killing the eagle, several of the old men brushed the head of the eagle with a feather and blew tobacco smoke over the bird (Waterman 1910:317) Likewise, tobacco was used in the *Horloi* or War Dance. Waterman observed this dance several times in the fall 1907 (1910:320).

Several times in the course of this ceremony a man who seemed to have no other duty raised a saucer full of tobacco in his two hands. As he did so he pronounced "mwau" in what resembled a tone of surprise or astonishment. The dancers always responded with an upward gesture and an expulsion of the breath. This was repeated three times, the third repetition consisting of two expulsions. Between times this man sat motionless near the women. He was said to be called the "*Tatahuila*," in Diegueño *kaponaiL*. The tobacco thus held aloft was afterwards smoked by the old men (Waterman 1910:322-323).

Waterman summarized the role of tobacco for the people he called the Diegueño, however, I would argue this applies only to the Ipai and was derived from interaction with their Takic neighbors to the north:

While the Diegueño do not seem to attach much ceremonial importance to plants, there is a definite religious feeling associated with tobacco. The shape of the Diegueño stone pipe... indicates that tobacco was used by them primarily in a ceremonial way. This pipe was not adapted for ordinary smoking, since it is a short, thick cylinder in outline. In smoking it has to be held in a perpendicular position with the head tipped back and the face turned upward (Waterman 1910:335).

The short stone pipe that Waterman saw being used in a ceremonial context was actually a Takic-style pipe (1910: Plate 21). For example, Sparkmen (1908:210), working among the Luiseño said:

Tobacco pipes, *hukapis*, were usually made

of clay, and had no stem, a person, it is said, lying down to smoke. One kind of a pipe had a stem, but this seems to have been used only at religious festivals.

This stemmed type pipe may derive from Euroamerican styles. Rogers (1936:21) also points out that the Luiseño pipe was straight. Bean and Shippek (1978:553) also describe a short tubular pipe of pottery or soapstone among Luiseño. It was used by shamans to smoke tobacco or to suck disease from patients. This would also have to be smoked lying down or with the head canted far back. Bean and Shippek (1978:553) also mention a pipe with a cane stem among the Luiseño.

Tobacco was indeed an important part of the ceremonial life of Takic speakers north and east of the Ipai. For example, tobacco and pipes were among the first things Mukat, the creator in Cahuilla mythology, made when the world was created. In fact tobacco and pipes were made by Mukat before the earth (Hooper 1920:318; Strong 1929:130-143). Tobacco and pipes also figured prominently in a number of ceremonies among the Luiseño and Cahuilla (Strong 1929). Both Hooper (1920) and Strong (1929) mention tobacco as a sacred plant and point out that pipes are typically found in the sacred bundle of the Cahuilla. The pipes they describe are made of stone (Hooper 1920:327; Strong 1929:61), and presumably of the Shoshonean style, since bow pipes are made of clay.

The cultural relationship of the Tipai or Southern Diegueño and their neighbors was articulated by Spier (1923:327): "The cultural position of the Southern Diegueño in ceremonial matters is clearly one of dependence on the northern groups, both their relatives [i.e the Ipai or Northern Diegueño] and the Shoshonean Takic-speaking tribes" This statement lends credence to the notion that ceremonial use of tobacco derives from the Shoshoneans or Takic-speakers and that tobacco use became more secular as one moves deeper into Kumeyaay territory or southeast toward the Colorado River.

Spier (1923:315) working among the Tipai (Southern Diegueño or southern Kumeyaay), mentions tobacco only briefly:

Cigarettes (*ilwitca'tc*) are made from short lengths of elder (*kopol*), from which the pith is removed. One end is plugged with a little ball of milkweed fiber and the tube loaded with tobacco by lilliping the side with the finger nail. One smokes such cigarettees to cure a cold or cough, singing the following song four times, by which time the pain and mucus have disappeared.

Spier (1923:348) also provides a rather ambiguous description of a pipe, which appears to describe a Yuman bow pipe, although the "sharp angle to the stem" is problematic:

Clay pipes have the bowl bent at a sharp angle to the stem. A nipple is formed below the bowl to facilitate holding. The stem is always of clay, pierced with a twig, never of reed. The pipe is about 12.5 cm in length. Neither the straight tubular pipe nor one of stone is in use. Sections of cane are also used for cigarettes (page 315)...Smoking was appropriate at any time of the day.

Rogers mentions pipes in his monograph on Yuman pottery (1936:19). He carried out ethnographic research in 1928 among both Southern and Northern Diegueño, Luiseño, Cupeño Kamia, Yuma, and others.

They [Yuman pipes] are always bowed, never straight. On the outer side of the arch and midway between the ends, the pipe is equipped with a flat triangular projection which serves as a handle. This handle, in most instances, is pierced with a small hole through the center to allow for insertion of a carrying thong. Sometimes the handle-tip is slotted, which gives to the handle in profile a resemblance to a bird's head (Rogers 1936:19).

For the Southern Diegueño, he says: "Pipes (*mokwin*) are no longer made, but their construction is yet understood by a few potters. They are always bowed, never straight." He also describes Takic pipes as straight, but acknowledges that bow pipes are occasionally

found in archeological sites within traditional Luiseño and Cahuilla territory (e.g., Campbell 1932). He suggests (1936: 21) these may or may not be a result of trade, but his Luiseno and Cahuilla informants made the short, straight, Takic style pipes. Evidently, bow pipes are always made of clay, while the Takic style pipes may be made of either stone or clay.

Waterman mentions a short cylindrical pipe among the Ipay (Northern Diegueño), and not the Yuman Bow Pipe. In contrast, Rogers (1936:21) suggests for the Ipay (Northern Diegueño), "Pipes... were more common, and the bow-type pipe seems to have originated among the Northern Diegueño." True (1966:239-240), based on archaeological evidence, argues that the bow pipe was a Yuman trait, while the short, straight pipe is Takic. However, Laylander (1993), suggests this distinction is not so clearly demonstrated in the archaeological record. Schaefer (1995:IX-49) documents that both "Yuman" bow pipes and Shoshonean straight pipes were being manufactured of clay during the Late Prehistoric Period in Tahquitz Canyon, near Palm Springs in Cahuilla territory. Additional archaeological research will be required to resolve questions about the distribution and origin of the bow pipe.

SUMMARY

To summarize, tobacco use was largely secular and personal among the Cocopa, the Quechan, the Kamia and the Tipai or Southern Diegueño. It was also used by some, but certainly not all shamans during some curing rites among these peoples. Dreaming was the source of curing power, while tobacco was not characterized as sacred or a source of power. Tobacco does not figure prominently in Yuman mythology. When tobacco was used in curing, cane cigarettes were noted, not "Yuman" bow pipes. Shamanistic curing among Yuman speakers was primarily a private interaction between the shaman and the patient with some family members in attendance. With the exception of the rain-making rite among the Quechan, curing rites were not typically public ceremonies with wider socio-cultural salience. Waterman, working among the Ipay, or

Northern Diegueño showed that tobacco was viewed as a sacred plant with an important role in many ceremonials. This ceremonial use of tobacco is consistent with and probably derives from Takic people to the north (e.g., Spier 1923:327; Strong 1929).

The Elmore Site, CA-IMP-6427, is near a traditional boundary between the Tipai and the Kamia (Gifford 1931; Spier 1923). Neither the Tipai nor the Kamia used tobacco in a ceremonial way, nor did they view tobacco as a sacred plant as did the Takic speakers. Based on the work of Gifford, apparently the Kamia did not use tobacco in curing rites.

The "Yuman" bow pipe was mentioned in ethnographic accounts for the Tipai or Southern Diegueño, but is also found archaeologically in traditional Ipai or Northern Diegueño territory and Takic territory to the north. It was also mentioned for the Quechan, who apparently acquired it from the Tipai or Southern Diegueño during historic times. One might expect Kamia to have acquired these pipes in the same fashion from time to time. The Ipai did use tobacco in ceremonials (Waterman 1910) probably as a result of their propinquity to the Luiseño, Cupeño, and Cahuilla. However the pipes Waterman saw in ceremonial contexts were the short Takic style, not bow pipes (1910: 344, Plate 21)

Among Takic speakers, tobacco is certainly considered a sacred plant. It figures prominently in Cahuilla mythology, for example, and is also mentioned in a variety of ceremonies (Hooper 1920; Strong 1929). One might think it might make some sense to consider "Yuman" bow pipes as ceremonial objects when found in Takic territories, as Schaefer (1995) has done in his work in Tahquitz Canyon near Palm Springs since tobacco is a sacred plant among Takic speakers. However, while both Hooper (1920) and Strong(1929) mention tobacco as a sacred plant and point out that pipes are used in Cahuilla ceremonials, the pipes they describe are made of stone (Hooper 1920:327; Strong 1929:61). Bow pipes are made of clay. As far as I have been able to discern, there are no ethnographic descriptions of Yuman bow pipes being used in Takic medicine bundles or Takic ceremonials.

We must conclude that it is inconsistent with the ethnographic record to characterize "Yuman" bow pipes as ceremonial objects for the Qucchan, Cocopa, Kamia, and southern Kumeyaay or Tipai. Early accounts suggest tobacco was not a sacred plant among these groups, as it was for their Takic-speaking neighbors.

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