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Levi, Jerome Meyer

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Wii'ipay: The Living Rocks— Ethnographic Notes on Crystal Magic Among Some California Yumans

JEROME MEYER LEVI

*To every vision must be brought an eye
adapted to what is to be seen.*

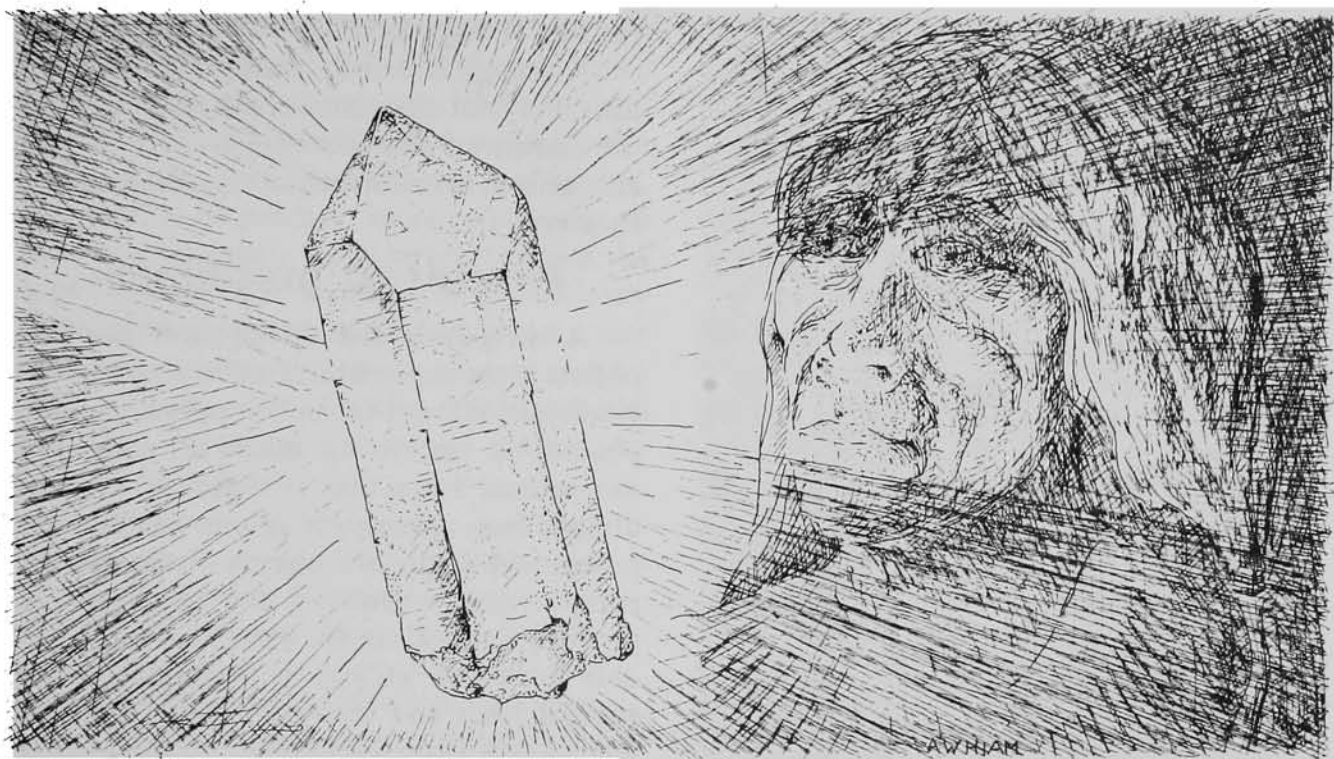
—Plotinus

THE use of rock crystals as charmstones is an integral feature of shamanistic practices and beliefs throughout western North America, especially in the general culture area of the Southwest. The practice is widespread and ancient. Unfortunately, detailed descriptions of crystal magic are scant in the ethnographic literature. The archaeological evidence indicates the antiquity of crystal usage. In California, they are commonly found in sites dating back eight thousand years (Clement Meighan, personal communication). Such rock crystals—frequently excavated in association with burial complexes—have been labeled charmstones. All too often, however, the archaeologist lacks ethnographic data to further document his findings. Therefore, an understanding of crystal magic would augment not only our inadequate knowledge of crystal power objects, but might also provide a basis for generalized archaeological interpretation. Although this paper attempts neither an in-depth analysis nor an exhaustive discussion of Yuman charmstone magic, it offers new infor-

mation on an old item in the cultural catalogue.¹

This study presents new ethnographic data on the use of rock crystals as power objects among several Yuman groups in northern Baja California and southern Alta California. The first section deals specifically with the physical and conceptual properties of the stones themselves. This discussion includes a general description of the stones through a linguistic, geomorphological, and conceptual exegesis. The second section describes the relationship between a crystal charmstone and its owner by discussing how the stones are acquired and used.

I have liberally punctuated this report with Native American consultant explanations. The consultant narratives included in this paper best document the way in which these crystals are spoken of, and illustrate how the people feel they must explain such topics to non-Natives. Except for several discussions with individuals in San Diego County, all of the data were collected during a series of field trips in 1974-1977 in the environs of Santa Catarina, Baja California Norte, Mexico. The Native American consultants with whom I most frequently spoke are listed below along with the ethnolinguistic groups of which they are mem-



bers: Rosalie Robertson (Kumeyaay), Ireneo Ceceñez (Paipai), and the late Rufino Ochurte (Kiliwa), Pedro Castro (Paipai) and Priscilla Flores (Ko'at). Needless to say, without their unfaltering patience and generosity with their extensive knowledge, this paper could not have been written.

LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION

The set of terms for crystal charmstones in the various languages is quite homogeneous. The crystal is called *wii'ipay* in Paipai, *wii'ipatt* in Kumeyaay and Ko'at, and *xwa'kwipay* in Kiliwa. Without exception, the name given to the crystals by each group translates as 'living rock' or 'live rock'. In Paipai, Kumeyaay, and Ko'at, *wii'* means 'rock'; *pay* (in Paipai) or *patt* (in Kumeyaay and Ko'at) translates as 'alive'. When speaking in Spanish the Indians call such a stone *pedra viva* 'live rock'.

Meigs (1939:64) lists the Kiliwa word for a crystal charmstone as *j-wa'kumesap* 'small white stone'. Mr. Ochurte, my Kiliwa consultant, felt that *xwa'kumesap* (or *j-wa'kumesap* in

Meigs' orthography) could be any 'small white stone' and not specifically a crystal charmstone. He specified that the correct designation of the crystal is *xwa'kwipay* (*xwa'* 'rock', *kwipay* 'live'). Hohenthal (1950:10) classifies the Diegueño word for crystal charmstones as *?ui?upat*, obviously the same word as the Kumeyaay and Ko'at forms.

Except when directly quoting consultants, the Paipai term, *wii'ipay*, will be used throughout this paper. This was an arbitrary selection made to facilitate linguistic consistency throughout the discussion.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Wii'ipay can be either quartz or tourmaline crystals. The quartz crystals are hexagonal, sometimes irregular, and usually finger-length or less in size. The ends are triangularly shaped in cross-section and the crystals occur in clear and darkened varieties. Secondary inclusions are manifested which cross-cut the inherent planes so that white light is refracted through the prism in such a way as to produce a visible



Fig. 1. Three rock crystals from Santa Catarina, Baja California Norte, Mexico.

spectrum of colors inside the crystal. Hohenthal (1950:10) noted that "if they are colored with lithia in tourmaline formations they are particularly esteemed by shamans . . ." He is referring to the crystals used by the Southern Diegueño; and it should be mentioned that when he speaks of color he is alluding to the shades of blue, red, black, and green that are a consequence of lithia-tourmaline. He also suggests that tourmaline from Pala and Mesa Grande (both reservations in San Diego County) may have been traded into northern Baja California. Because the most sought after crystals in Baja California must be colored, Hohenthal posits a highly plausible supposition regarding crystal trade channels. Among geologists, it is interesting to note that San Diego County is famous for its colored tour-

malines (Pough 1957:280).

Although abraded, reamed, graved, and drilled crystal charmstones are reported from the Southwest (Barnett 1973:46), my consultants offered no information regarding worked rock crystals.

CONCEPTUAL DESCRIPTION

A *wii'ipay* is one of the most powerful objects in the supernatural universe. Its unique vitality, its efficacy for individual gain, and its potency in malevolent magic all make it a paranormal force that is regarded with the utmost fear. Clearly, it is one of the most potent and distinctive objects in the witches' paraphernalia. Only in the hands of the properly trained can the otherwise unpredictable power of *wii'ipay* be manipulated for specific goals and then only if the necessary precautions have been taken. To the average and untrained individual the *wii'ipay* remains an object of danger and malice. Its mere appearance, whether in physical actuality or referred to in speech, is a symbol for evil, or at least powerful, conjuring. I was constantly reminded that *wii'ipay* are not "childrens' toys"; they are the powerful things of the *hechiceros*.²

The power from a *wii'ipay* is neither intrinsically "good" nor "evil." Rather, it remains the prerogative of the shaman to channel this power towards either beneficial or malevolent ends. Power is always dangerous—to both its possessor and others—but it can be manipulated. It seems that the power from a *wii'ipay* is not amenable to a classification into "good" or "evil" forms but is more accurately expressed in terms of "controlled" and "uncontrolled" states. For example, a shaman can possess a *wii'ipay* with reasonable safety because he is able to "control" its power. In the hands of a lay person, however, the power of a *wii'ipay* is "uncontrolled" and therefore a mortal danger to the stone's possessor and his family. Only after a *wii'ipay* has been thrown into a body of

water—thus nullifying its power—is the lay person rendered safe. Mr. Ceceñez informed me that once when he was young he found a female *wii'ipay*—one that had reddish veins inside the crystal—thrown down in a stream. Ignorant of its potency, he carried it back to show to an old man. Upon seeing the stone, the man ordered Mr. Ceceñez to immediately replace the object where he had found it and further instructed him to never again pick up such a rock. Mr. Ceceñez recounted the following regarding the use of *wii'ipay* by uninitiated persons:

It is said that many years ago there lived this man here. And this man had a large family. He used to carry one of these rocks. Then his children started to die. Finally, someone who knew about these things said to him, "Throw away your rock. This thing that you carry, it is not good. Your whole family will eventually be finished off because of your carelessness, as it is said that these things are jealous." And so there was this witch who knew well [and he was from] the other side above that cottonwood tree. This same *paisano*, he was a very old man. He said, "Hide your rock. Put it in the water so that your family won't die." But the other said that he would not, because there it was, there it was within the rock. And pointing to the witch he said, "How does he know?" So this man left and he took his rock with him. Yes, there were many people there, and still there went the man carrying his stone. Then this same witch said, "Throw away your rock. Things are not going to be good. You will become crazy." And then the man became crazy. He became lost and soon died—simply because he would not throw away his stone. Who knows why he wouldn't throw it away? And these things happened; but since we do not know these things we must see someone about how to carry it, how to keep it.³

Due to the exceptional nature of *wii'ipay* it is considered highly improper to discuss such

esoteric topics in the course of ordinary conversation. According to Mr. Ochurte, these subjects are properly only discussed at night. The people remain cautious on this topic, not just when speaking to outsiders, but even when talking among themselves. This is evidenced by the fact that several elderly and well respected individuals mentioned that even they did not like speaking to members of the community about shamanism—and especially about live rock crystals. They remarked that it always puts people ill at ease because it is such a disturbing subject. Similarly Owen notes:

One man even declined to look at a can of quartz crystals which had been sold to a member of the research team. After some time he came to handle them but with an obvious lack of enthusiasm—he remarked that none were truly of the potent variety. This same man, while discussing what had happened to the Cocopa who are becoming extinct around El Mayor, B.C., suggested that they had all killed each other with the *piedras* [live rock crystals]. He went on to say that possession and use of the stones had been prohibited long ago among the Paipai because of the number of deaths their use had caused [Owen 1962: 67].

Mr. Castro and Mrs. Flores both remarked that today the Cocopah are the ones who know best how to work crystal magic. Mr. Castro further commented that he did not know much about crystal charmstones because he came from a respectable family—one that never had such things lying about the house. Insofar as rock crystals are conceptually always associated with witchcraft, etiquette requires a heightened sensitivity during the course of conversations about them. If a traditional person were to admit an inordinate amount of knowledge concerning rock crystals it might be used as self-incriminating evidence that the individual is a witch. The mere possession of such knowledge invites accusations of witchcraft.

Wii'ipay are also alive. More precisely, they are like people. Although *wii'ipay* are like people, it should be understood that they are unlike ordinary people because the stones can tap, if not generate, cosmic power. Thus, a *wii'ipay* is more like a powerful Yuman shaman than it is like an average lay person. A *wii'ipay* can be male or female, indifferent or jealous; it can move about freely and is characterized by individual emotional disposition and independent wills; it can speak; it must be "fed" and given constant attention.

Not all crystals, however, are *live* crystals. Live crystals are designated as only those which have people inside them. Otherwise the crystal is an ordinary powerless rock:

There are some crystals that are just thrown down dead. They just lie around. No, these cannot do anything. But the ones that have people inside them, these ones, yes. To see the people, you look at it. They appear there. There is like a circle, and there are small ones and longer ones in the middle. Those that are in the exact middle—those that are alive—there you see the color of the person. It is like people inside. Only those with color inside are the dangerous ones, the others are nothing more than white rocks.

Nor are all crystals that are present in a geological matrix *wii'ipay*. As mentioned above, only those crystals that occur in the center of the geological formation are classed as *wii'ipay*. The crystal that is the longest and occurs in the very center of the matrix is termed the "chief"⁴ and is considered more potent than the smaller *wii'ipay* that surround it.

True *wii'ipay* may be identified in other ways. When live crystals are held in the hand, one can "feel" that they are alive. Moreover, the sensation makes the holder sweat. Mr. Castro stipulated that because *wii'ipay* are like people they are sometimes "baptized." Also, if a crystal is of the live variety, it should be able to orient itself vertically with respect to the

ground, in other words stand erect—as would a person. Because *wii'ipay* "eat needles," one can determine whether a crystal is alive by examining the endomorphology of the stone—thus noting the presence or absence of vein-like formations. (This may be a reference to rutilated quartz crystals.) According to Mr. Ochurte: "If you put a needle by one it will get eaten. It works like a magnet. These are the real live rocks. This is the test. There are others, but if they don't eat the needle, then they are nothing."

Live crystals are further categorized by sex and color. Both male and female crystals are recognized based upon the color of the *wii'ipay*. It was mentioned that one need not be a shaman in order to discriminate between male and female *wii'ipay*; all one has to do is peer inside the rock and make the confirmation. If the crystal is black and a small man appears, then the *wii'ipay* is classed as male. Correspondingly, if there are reddish veins throughout the rock, it is female because a miniature woman appears inside the crystal. It is significant to note that this same color-sex association of male/black, female/red is replicated in other realms of the cultures as well. Of the figures that are used in the commemorative image ceremony among the Diegueño, Kroeber (1925:716) says that the "faces of those (images) representing men are painted black, of women, red."

Male and female *wii'ipay* are each characterized by a different set of attributes based on their gender. For example, black (male) *wii'ipay* are considered extremely powerful and are certainly the most dangerous of all varieties. Usually, such crystals are employed exclusively in malevolent magic. Red (female) crystals easily become jealous and special precautions must be taken in order for the owner to sleep safely with his wife. Male *wii'ipay* are generally more indifferent than female *wii'ipay*. Hence, color indicates whether a crystal is live or dead, male or female,

exclusively evil or potentially good. (According to Meighan [personal communication], other California groups classify projectile points into male and female types.)

All live crystals can move by themselves. Mrs. Robertson explained that their movement was not unlike that of a slithering snake. She extended her index finger and moved it back and forth to better illustrate the manner in which these crystals move. Often one can notice the snake-like tracks of a *wii'ipay* left in the soft sand of the desert. If a crystal is ill-treated or otherwise improperly cared for, it will leave its owner and return to its "home." Mr. Castro mentioned that if a man does not have enough power to keep one of these stones, the rock will leave its owner regardless of how it is treated.

Frequently, a man will safely place his *wii'ipay* outside for the night (a necessary precaution), only to find that it is gone the next morning when he goes to fetch it. Other times the crystal will disappear right from the pocket of its owner. Several people felt that *wii'ipay* are capable of flight. A common feeling is that the crystals are able to bury themselves. Mr. Ceceñez recalled that some years ago when a friend of his was gathering piñon nuts in the mountains, he spied a curious glittering light—"something like a mirror"—off in the distance. Discovering that the shiny objects were actually a number of live rock crystals, he was afraid to approach them alone. Instead, he returned to Santa Catarina to bring someone back to see them. After relocating the exact tree, however, the crystals were not to be found. Mr. Ceceñez explained that because the *wii'ipay* had been startled, they had probably buried themselves someplace nearby or had moved off to a more inconspicuous locale. This independent ability to move further illustrates the anthropomorphic qualities of *wii'ipay*. In every sense, they are not thought of as rocks, but rather, they are perceived as an extraordinary kind of people.

ACQUISITION AND USE

The acquisition of live rock crystals is serious and dangerous business. Since the pursuit—essentially a dream quest—is a highly individualistic activity there is considerable variation, but a general pattern does emerge.

The first step in acquiring a *wii'ipay* is to have a series of dreams in which the spirit of a *wii'ipay* reveals itself to a selected individual. In this dream, the person is told that he is to become a shaman, is shown the exact location of his future *wii'ipay*, and is taught the proper way to extract it from the matrix. He is told to note the surrounding area so that he will be able to relocate the place when he goes in search of the foreseen *wii'ipay*. He cannot disregard these dreams. If he were to do so he might grow very ill and possibly die. Such dreams are believed to be windows into another world. They require attention and commitment.

A person does not choose to acquire a *wii'ipay* but rather is chosen. A spirit decides if a person is "strong enough" to carry a *wii'ipay* based upon an appraisal of that individual's actions and his personal power. Such spirit-induced dreams often begin in adolescence. Mr. Ochurte offered the following details:

Things about this magic—not one of us knows. But innately, we knew, in those times. There one could see. One could see if he was to become a witch. When someone is about fourteen years old, then they say they can tell if he is to become a witch. All the things that he does are seen. And the others would say to him, "You have it. There is something that you have." Then when he got bigger they would ask him if he could cure yet. And then another witch would come and say, "Now you have the power to become just like me." And thus it would go on, one by one. But not now, not today. Today that is all finished off.

Only after he has had these dreams can an

individual seek the tutelage of a shaman—and even then the shaman only acts as his “guide” because the “real teacher,” as I was so often told, is the spirit itself. In speaking of the innate quality of power, Mr. Ochurte commented further:

You will become [a shaman] naturally. No one else can teach you. But your spirit has to come in order to teach you first. Other people can't teach this, only the spirit. And you will know everything that you are going to see. This is something that if you are going to become one, you will become one naturally. Nobody can teach you this. You must first get yourself a spirit.

One seldom hears about the explicit contents of these dreams in which a novice is “introduced” to the spirit of the *wii'ipay*. The disclosure of such things is strongly tabooed. If one were to reveal his dream he would lose its power. However, when Mrs. Robertson asked her uncle how he came to be a shaman he told her because, as she said, he knew he was soon to die. Mrs. Robertson recalls:

This is what my uncle told me. “Now I'm telling you how I became a healer. But I won't be here long because I've talked about it.” And, you know, he died not long after that . . . But he told me, “I was picked in my sleep.” He had about three or four brothers, but this thing that came by through the night picked him. Took him into Mt. Signal, up here, in the desert. And he went in there and talked about what he saw. He was offered gold and silver, to be rich. But he didn't want it. He wanted the songs; he wanted to heal. And so he [the spirit] told him “You will die poor.” He said, “Well, that's the way I want it.” So they took him back, and he came up and sang that Wildcat [song].⁵

Later in the conversation, she added that her uncle was also invited

to eat a lot of meat—human bodies, meat hanging. He [the spirit] asked if he wanted

to eat this. “All you want.” And he said, “No.” And then, right in the middle there was a big hole, and all these songs were coming out. There were different types. So he chose Wildcat; that was the one he wanted.

Having been given these first dreams, shown the precise location of the *wii'ipay*, as well as the appropriate method of its extraction, the initiate sets out to find it. At all times the seeker must “have respect” and recall that he is courting death by placing himself in such close proximity to supernatural forces. Once he finds the *wii'ipay*, the novice then experiences a second series of dreams—all this occurs during one four-day long retreat in the mountains. He fasts (abstaining especially from salt and meat), ritually purifies himself by fumi-gating with the smoke from white sage (*Salvia apiana*), bathes, and prostrates himself “spread-eagle” on the ground at each sunrise. All this is done in an effort to encourage and augment the dreaming of *wii'ipay*. The whole affair, and above all the dream sequence, is perceived as a perilous journey in which an untutored and vulnerable neophyte is exposed to the ominous powers of the universe.

Because the master shaman is already familiar with the powers at hand, having himself once passed through this perilous maze, he is able to guide others. Yet he can only guide. He can counsel the initiate at times when his life may be in jeopardy and transmit the rudimentary tenets of *wii'ipay* care and shamanistic knowledge. He monitors his student's progress by having him perform successively more difficult feats to demonstrate his increasing power (e.g., curing people on his own, magically killing animals, transforming himself and others into other life forms). But ultimately it is the *wii'ipay* that actually conveys “power” to the novice and teaches him how to control it through the medium of his spirit-induced dreams.

Although the dreams are as unique as the

dreamers themselves, it is indispensable that the initiate have the same dream on each of the four days and he must remember this dream "for the rest of his life." As the dream unfolds, it is revealed to the novice in increasingly complex and expanded versions each time it is dreamt. Speaking on *wii'ipay* induced dreams, Mr. Castro said:

This is how the witches are. For example, I dream something in the night and I like it. Then I hope I have this good dream from the heart. And in another night you dream this same dream again and this is from the spirit. It is as if a devil were walking around the person. He wants to give you a spirit because it is something that he likes to give. It is given to the person purely in the dream. Then you dream again, and you like it, and you study your dream and you remember it all your days. This same dream, yes. Even when you are just walking around you will be thinking of it. It will seem as though you are seeing it, hearing it. Then you will be studying it, of what form and everything. And then in another night you dream another (more difficult) dream. Each night you dream higher and higher because you are always more preoccupied with the dream. You might dream what is to happen in the future. You do this with all the spirits. For example, a lock is closed on your house, but the spirit can open it and enter the house without anyone seeing or hearing him. Only the witch knows where the spirit is going. Dreaming requires hard work. Also, these dreams do not come from God, but from the Devil. This is really who gives it to you. You can harm people; you can kill too. If you feel sorry for someone you could heal them, and if you don't you could say that it would be better for him to die.

The apprentice learns his songs in these dreams and as noted, becomes increasingly obsessed by them. He cannot merely learn by rote the power songs of another shaman, for only when the song is "dreamed" by the

individual himself is it effective. Henceforth, whenever he invokes this song or recalls certain portions from the dream, he will be endowed with the power derived from it.

At this point, the would-be shaman has already had his initial encounters with supernatural dimensions of reality; he has experienced its forces and become acquainted with the benefits and restrictions, the powers and the hazards. Most importantly, he has been introduced to the spirit of his *wii'ipay*, has been taught how to dream, and since he has been allowed to progress this far, he has been favorably received by the *wii'ipay*. He is now required to make a deep psychological commitment to the alternate and intensely structured lifestyle of a shaman. For as long as he possesses a *wii'ipay*, he must order his mode of living according to the dictates of the stone.

Upon acquiring a *wii'ipay*, a man enters into a personal relationship with his crystal. Obviously, no one can ever really "own" or "possess" a *wii'ipay* in the sense that one can own an ordinary object because crystals always have a will of their own. All one can ever do is enter into a partnership with them. It is a pact, a reciprocal partnership whereby each party operates to insure the social and spiritual survival of the other.

Mrs. Robertson told of an incident that vividly documents the close bond existing between a man and his *wii'ipay*. As a girl, Mrs. Robertson once discovered her uncle's *wii'ipatt* (Kumeyaay for *wii'ipay*) that had dropped from his pocket and hid the stone in a hole in a tree near her house. Several days passed and her uncle—a powerful shaman—returned. He told her that his crystal had been calling to him at night. It appeared to him in his dreams and beckoned the shaman to come to its rescue. He stated that she need not bother to tell him the whereabouts of the stone because it had already directed him to its location. He then proceeded to march to the exact tree where she had hidden his charmstone and taking the rock

in his hand, he left.

As illustrated in this account, each works with, and takes care of, the other. It is a kind of supernatural symbiosis where the mutual obligations are explicit and lasting. A *wii'ipay* requires "food" in order to survive. It is "fed" so that it may thrive and maintain its potency. Also, like a person, it demands affection and attention. In return for this, it gives its owner "power". The shaman and his *wii'ipay* are associates who are bound to each other through a personalized alliance.

Once he has adopted this new mental attitude and adapted his life-style to it, the shaman is ready to begin working crystal magic. He either carries his *wii'ipay* in a small deerskin pouch or totes the stone loose in his pocket. Mr. Ceceñez stated:

In your dreams you do everything. When you carry that in your pocket, in your dreams it tells you everything, that *wii'ipay*. It tells you what you are going to do, what you ask it. And it gives you everything. You need to carry it in your pocket. Yes, if you want to be a *kusiyee* [Paipai for shaman] then you must do this.

If the shaman is married and has a family, and if he wishes to sleep with his wife, he is required to bury his *wii'ipay* outside for the night and to then summon forth the spirit of the crystal in his dreams. If this were not done—especially if the *wii'ipay* was a female, for they are the most jealous—the crystal might kill the shaman, his wife, or even his children. Yet the "power" that is bestowed upon the possessor of a *wii'ipay* more than compensates for the special care that these stones require. For instance, a *wii'ipay* can give a man the power to both heal and harm, to divine the future, to read minds, and have luck in gambling (particularly in the peon game). He can transform himself and others into animals, travel great distance instantaneously, and consistently be fortunate in love.⁶ A good *wii'ipay* can enable its possessor to become

invisible and will warn him of upcoming dangers. Mrs. Robertson has heard that they have even been used to "break broncos." Hence, the requisite precautions taken, a *wii'ipay* is efficacious in both spiritual and mundane matters. With equal facility, it accomplishes menial chores and super-human tasks.

CONCLUSIONS

Although perfunctory and descriptive in nature, this paper presents a body of data heretofore insufficiently explained. The study amplifies previous discussions of Yuman rock classification systems (Hohenthal 1950) and charmstone magic (Meigs 1939:64; Owen 1962:65). Furthermore, it broadens our understanding of objects associated with general concepts of power (Bean 1975) and dreaming (Devereux 1957) among the Yuman speakers of California. The widespread use of crystal power objects in western North America is well evidenced in the literature. In belief systems of the Southwest, rock crystals frequently symbolize fire, light, and, as a consequence, truth (Barnett 1973:46). The Navajo go so far as to incorporate them into the main body of their mythology (Reichard 1974:212). Quartz crystals have been excavated in Chumash burials (Clement Meighan, personal communication) and are "vomited up" by Kwakiutl shamans (Benedict 1934:214). Even Castaneda documents their usage among the Yaqui in one of his escapades with Don Juan (Castaneda 1974:202-206).

Obviously, similar data should be collected from other groups as well, thereby making possible additional analyses and comparisons. One wonders whether the crystal magic of the more distant Yuman groups in Arizona (e.g., Walapai, Yavapai) or that of the neighboring Shoshonean speakers to the north (e.g., Luiseño, Cahuilla) would be similar to the *wii'ipay* magic among the California Yumans discussed in this paper. Given the particulars of crystal

magic among these other two groups, we might be able to discover whether such knowledge is imbedded in a *linguistic* (i.e., Yuman) or a *regional* (i.e., Southern California) stratum.

This paper is presented as only a rude and inchoate version of a future study. Still, from this draft several general conclusions can be drawn. It is noted that *wii'ipay* furnish a conceptual link between the natural and supernatural spheres of reality. More specifically, they provide a way of controlling powers that normally are not controlled by men. Paradoxically, on one level of interpretation the possession of a *wii'ipay* constrains the possessor's behavior; on another, it gives the shaman power—power in both the spiritual and social realms. For not only can he influence spirits in the paranormal dimensions of reality, he can also coerce people in the social situations of everyday life (e.g., "Do this or else I'll make you sick."). In a very real sense, the possessor of a *wii'ipay* is powerful. He manipulates social and religious sanctions to achieve his own ends. Therefore, it is also seen that *wii'ipay* provide a means by which individual talents and abilities can be channeled towards power, status, and authority.

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*Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts*

NOTES

1. Throughout this report, the highland Yuman speakers on both sides of the United States and Mexico border and south to the thirtieth parallel will collectively be referred to as California Yumans. More specifically, this designation includes the Kumeyaay, Paipai, Ko'at, and Kiliwa groups that occupy the arid highlands of northern Baja California and southern Alta California. As the term is used here, it is not intended to include such lower Colorado River Yumans as the Mohave, Yuma, and Cocopah.

2. *Hechicero* is the Spanish term the Indians use to designate a shaman.

3. Portion of a taped conversation with Ireneo Ceceñez. All quotations in this paper, with the exception of those from Rosalie Robertson, are free translations from Spanish.

4. Since the conversation was in Spanish, the Spanish term *jefe* was used.

5. The Wildcat or *kunemii* song is a complex song cycle, associated with social dances, and sung to the accompaniment of a gourd rattle.

6. All of the aforementioned data corroborate Meig's information on the use of crystal charmstones among the Kiliwa.

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