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One Valley, Many Histories: Tohono O'odham, Hopi, Zuni, and Western Apache History in the San Pedro Valley

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AFTER WORKING in the San Pedro Valley for more than a decade and recording hundreds of archaeological sites, the staff of the Center for Desert Archaeology realized that they had amassed a great amount of scientific data but knew relatively little about the traditional history of this area. How descendant communities conceive of their ancestors, the cultural values these communities have for ancestral villages, and the historical narratives embedded in tribal traditions were all recognized as important elements in a humanistic understanding of the past and an equitable management of these sites in the future. This project was developed to address these issues through collaborative research with some of the tribes whose ancestors occupied the San Pedro in ancient and more-recent times.

With funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Center initiated a research partnership with the Hopi, San Carlos and White Mountain Apache, Tohono O'odham, and Zuni tribes to investigate tribal ethnohistories relating to the San Pedro Valley. The theme of the project was "One Valley, Many Histories," to recognize there are many interwoven histories of the San Pedro Valley. Each tribe designated a research assistant and a team of tribal members to work with Center scholars on the project. At Hopi and Zuni, tribal researchers were drawn from established cultural advisory teams; for the San Carlos Apache and Tohono O'odham, knowledgeable tribal members were selected to form research teams.

The project was designed with a flexible work plan that was adjusted to fit the needs and interests articulated by research participants. We began with a set of basic re-



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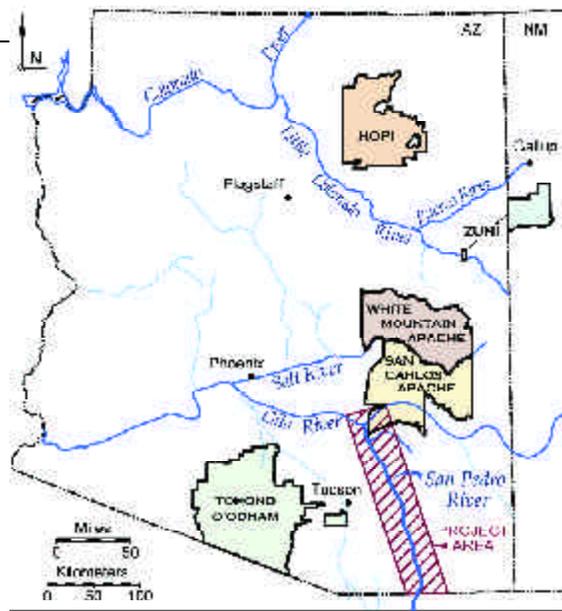
Reeve Ruin, on a mesa high above the San Pedro River, was the home of Western Pueblo immigrants between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Today, it is a place of deep meaning to many Native American groups.

search questions developed to elicit tribal histories through field visits to archaeological sites; museum research to study collections of excavated artifacts at the Amerind Foundation, in Dragoon,

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Arizona, and the Arizona State Museum, in Tucson; and oral history interviews with tribal members. During the project, the research design was modified to accommodate the suggestions and questions of different tribal research teams. Numerous meetings were held with tribal representatives to ensure the research was conducted in a culturally appropriate manner and to review project results. A longer technical report on the San Pedro Ethnohistory Project is being prepared and will be available in 2004.



landscape was used to talk about tribal history, how sites constitute monuments, and how artifacts are used to recall the past. Our colleagues in the tribal research teams explained how all these forms of memory create vital connections between past and present native peoples. These issues are woven together in this issue of *Archaeology Southwest*. Native American perspectives add an essential component to our knowledge of the archaeology and history of the San Pedro Valley, as well as to our understanding of why

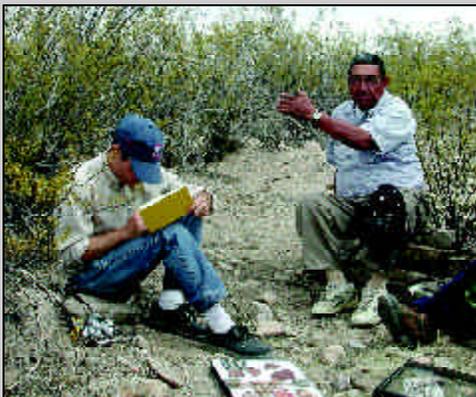
During fieldwork, close attention was paid to how the ancient sites are still important today.

A Mosaic of Land, History, and Culture

HOW CAN FOUR TRIBES all claim a historical and cultural connection to the San Pedro Valley? The more that archaeologists work in the Southwest, the more we are coming to understand that the inscription of the past on the land constitutes a complex mosaic of history and culture. Traditional concepts of archaeological cultures—revolving around the triad of Hohokam, Anasazi, and Mogollon—are proving too static to capture the dynamic culture history of past peoples. The idea that there were fixed cultures with circumscribed geographical boundaries does not give credence to the reality that past peoples sometimes migrated widely throughout the Southwest, moving across the boundaries of archaeological cultures, and intermingling culturally. The migration of a Western Pueblo population into the San Pedro Valley, seen at Reeve Ruin and the Davis Ranch site, exemplifies this process. We believe tribal traditions and histories provide a key source of information to augment an archaeological understanding of past cultures and social identity.



Hopi (below) and O'odham (above) advisors examine the multiple meanings of Reeve Ruin. (Photographs by T. J. Ferguson.)



The Hopi, for example, view themselves as a composite of peoples. They talk about the gathering of clans on the Hopi Mesas, with clans coming from different areas, each bringing a cultural contribution. The Hopi believe these ancestors lived in many areas of the Southwest and participated in many different archaeological cultures during their long migration to the Hopi Mesas. The Zuni recognize that, in the past, different peoples sometimes resided in the same villages, and they say this explains why different tribes share songs, religious ceremonies, and shrine areas. The Tohono O'odham acknowledge that there are several groups of O'odham-speaking peoples, some of whom lived in Hohokam great houses and platform-mound communities, and some of whom attacked those settlements. The Tohono O'odham today recognize both of these groups as ancestors. The Apache are known to have intermarried with other tribes, with girls captured during raids sometimes becoming wives. All of these social relations combine in the San Pedro Valley to create a diverse composition of separate but overlapping histories, with many tribes having cultural ties to several of the same places and landscapes. Thus, ancient and recent occupation of the San Pedro Valley forms a mosaic of land, history, and culture.

Archaeology of the San Pedro River Valley

Patrick D. Lyons, Center for Desert Archaeology

NEARLY 13,000 YEARS of occupation are reflected in the archaeology of the San Pedro Valley. Many important and well-dated Paleoindian sites (11,000–8500 B.C.) are found in this valley, including Murray Springs, Lehner, Naco, and Escapule. The Paleoindian period was characterized by a cooler, wetter climate, and the fauna included now-extinct animals such as mammoth, horse, sloth, and camel. Paleoindian groups lived in small, mobile bands, following herds of animals and gathering wild plant foods.

As the climate became warmer and drier, and the giant mammals died off, people hunted deer and smaller game, and wild plant foods became increasingly important. This lifestyle—which archaeologists call the Archaic period—flourished until approximately 1700 B.C. During this period, ground stone tools for crushing and grinding seeds and nuts, and roasting pits for cooking plant foods, became common. People began to move seasonally between the uplands and the lowlands to take advantage of different kinds of wild resources.

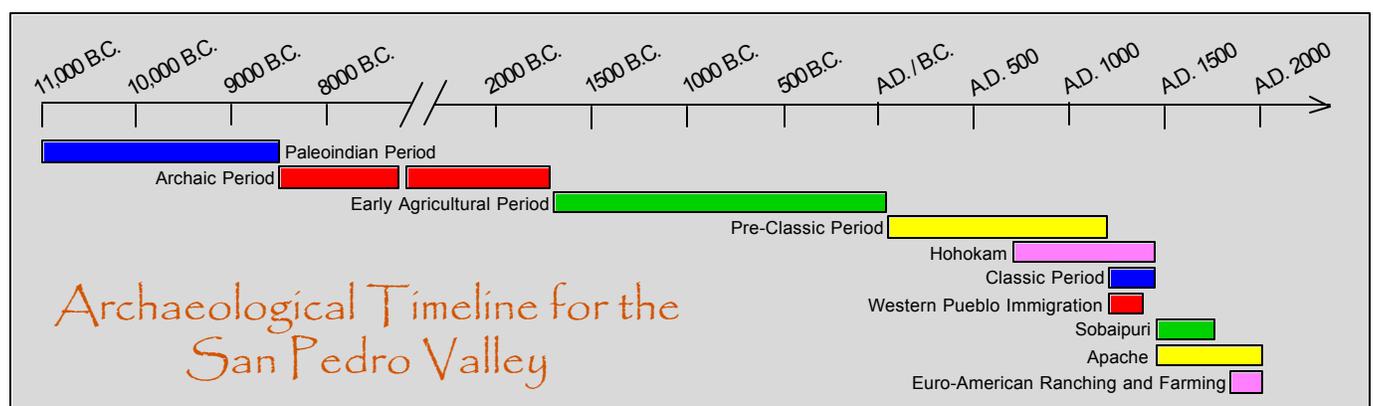
The Early Agricultural period (1700 B.C.–A.D. 50) is marked by the appearance of domesticated crops, includ-



ing corn, beans, squash, cotton, and tobacco. The construction of the region's first permanent, year-round settlements, formal cemeteries, and irrigation canals occurred at this time, and people began to make plain ware pottery. The transition from the atlatl (throwing board) and dart to the bow and arrow may have occurred during this span. The San Pedro phase (1500/1000 to 500 B.C.) of the Early Agricultural period is named for sites in the San Pedro Valley near Fairbank.

Between A.D. 50 and 1200—known as the pre-Classic period—groups became increasingly dependent upon agriculture and built large villages and extensive irrigation networks. Painted pottery was produced, and the exchange of pottery and shell jewelry intensified. North of Benson, sites of this period contain artifacts and architecture associated with the Hohokam archaeological culture of the Phoenix, Tucson, and Tonto basins. These groups lived in pithouses, manufactured red-on-buff or red-on-brown painted pottery, and built community structures called ballcourts.

During the late pre-Classic and the early Classic periods, immigrants from the Mogollon Highlands moved into the valley and began to make corrugated pottery. During the Classic period (A.D. 1200 to 1450), they constructed walled villages with aboveground



rooms—known as compound architecture—and flat-topped artificial hills—called platform mounds—like those of the Phoenix, Tucson, and Tonto basins. Platform mounds were probably used for the performance of religious ceremonies by local leaders. There are 11 platform mound villages in the San Pedro Valley, clustered in groups that may represent irrigation communities. By A.D. 1300, groups of immigrants from northern Arizona moved into parts of the valley, bringing distinctive Puebloan pottery and architectural traits. Two sites in particular—Reeve Ruin and the Davis Ranch site—provide compelling evidence of ancient migration. By A.D. 1450, the valley was

depopulated.

Sometime after 1450, but before the 1690s, Sobaipuri and Apache occupation is indicated by evidence found in both the archaeological record and in Spanish documents. The Sobaipuri spoke a Piman dialect related to those spoken by the Tohono O’odham and the Akimel O’odham. As conflict among the Sobaipuri, the Apache, and the Spaniards increased during the 1700s, the Sobaipuri relocated, joining the O’odham of the Tucson Basin and the Gila River Valley. Apache use of the area has continued to the present day. The San Pedro Valley is currently occupied primarily by non-Indian ranchers and farmers.

“Our Cousins to the East”: O’odham Traditions in the San Pedro Valley

DOZENS OF FADING VILLAGES with few material remains lie scattered along the San Pedro River. These are the homes of the Sobaipuri—the name recorded by the Spaniards to describe the O’odham-speaking peoples who lived on the empire’s northern frontier during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Today, few O’odham recognize this dated term, but many still speak about their ancestors who lived in the San Pedro, their “cousins to the east.”

When Father Eusebio Kino and his compatriots first visited the San Pedro Valley in 1692, they found thriving communities of farmers. At villages like Gaybanipitea and Quiburi, Kino saw networks of canals feeding lush fields bearing crops of beans, corn, squash, and cotton. The Sobaipuri lived mainly in brush houses, the remains of which are today marked only by the rings of rocks once used to anchor a framework of bent poles. O’odham people recognize these as temporary brush houses, used primarily for sleeping and shelter from rain and the blistering sun. According to the O’odham advisors, these villages were probably comprised of several families who planted crops and also traveled in different seasons over a wide area to collect wild plants and to hunt animals.

The Spaniards sought to assimilate the Sobaipuri into the colonial system, giving

them cattle to herd and encouraging them to build small adobe buildings to lodge itinerant priests. The European colonists were greatly interested in the San Pedro Valley, because it served as a buffer between militant Apache groups to the northeast and the Spanish settlements in Sonora. Several O’odham elders suggested that when the Spaniards arrived, the Indians were forced to decide between resistance and accommodation—between

Tohono O’odham elder José Enriquez explains that painted bowls may be used for serving food in ceremonies.



Tohono O’odham advisors discuss traditional games and races at the Soza Ruin ballcourt.

T. J. Ferguson



Bernard Stiqueros

warfare and incorporation into the Spanish system of government. These O'odham describe how, prior to the arrival of the conquistadors, the Apache and O'odham were on good terms. This fits nicely with early Spanish documents, which suggest alliances between Sobaipuri and Apache communities, our understanding of Spanish "divide and rule" political tactics, and Apache clan traditions that may include O'odham ancestry.

When the O'odham allied themselves with the Spaniards, they were soon ensnared in a cycle of violence against Apache groups that continued unabated until the late nineteenth century. In the 1760s, Spanish officials convinced the Sobaipuri in the San Pedro Valley to emigrate to the frontier villages of their Tohono O'odham (Papago) and Akimel O'odham (Pima) relatives, where they could bolster the population and augment the defense of the Spanish colony. As the years passed, the Sobaipuri from the San Pedro Valley remained on the Santa Cruz and Gila rivers, adopting the customs of their new home.

A complex of richly detailed O'odham oral traditions symbolically and historically connects their ancestors to the San Pedro Valley even further back in time. According to O'odham traditional stories, eons ago, a massive flood drowned the Indian people of the world. With the earth empty, the culture hero *I'toi* (Elder Brother) created the *Huhugkam* (Those Who Are Gone), who built and lived in the great adobe houses, such as Casa Grande. However, the *Huhugkam* were unhappy with *I'toi* and persuaded Buzzard to kill him. *I'toi* magically resurrected himself and went to the Underworld, where he recruited the *Wu:skam* (Those Who Emerged) to seek vengeance on his assassins. The army soon returned to the earth and vanquished the *Huhugkam*.

From different versions of this tale, some people believe that the O'odham were the conquerors, while others suggest they were the conquered. However, several O'odham elders say that both groups were ancestors, because, as Bernard Siquieros explained, "we were all created by the Creator, *I'toi*. We all came from the same place, and we went out with different languages . . . we were all created on this land, this earth. The respect we feel for the O'odham is extended to all people." Thus, Mr. Siquieros

The Village of Gaybanipitea

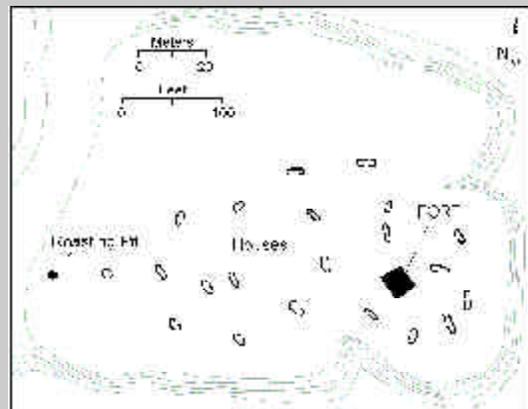
IN 1950 AND 1951, Charles C. Di Peso, of the Amerind Foundation, led the excavation of a village site revealing 21 houses; a roasting pit; Indian and Spanish tools; and a large, burned adobe structure. Although not all agree with his interpretation today, Di Peso thought this was the Sobaipuri village of Gaybanipitea, an important place that links O'odham history with the Apache and Hopi. Father Kino reported that on March 30, 1698, a coalition of 600 Apache, Jocome, Suma, and Manso men and women attacked Gaybanipitea at dawn. When O'odham warriors from Quiburi arrived to counterattack, the Apache

leader challenged the O'odham to a duel, 10 warriors on each side. When the fight began, the Sobaipuri so skillfully dodged the arrows that soon all 10 Apache were defeated. The elated O'odham then chased the Apache for miles, killing some 50 more women and men.

Nearly two decades later, Kino's successor Father Luís Velarde wrote, "as the old Pimas tell, the Sobaipuris have had a mutual communication with the Moquinos [Hopis] . . . that they held fairs together." Velarde reports that on one occasion, while the Hopi were visiting in the San Pedro at "Taibamipita" (possibly Gaybanipitea), they fought for some unknown reason. Although the Pima wished to resume trading, after the disagreement, Apache groups moved into the territory through which the trail passed, making such travel impossible.

reminded us, "With the Hohokam, they're gone yet we're still here."

Although the Sobaipuri left their villages on the San Pedro in the 1760s, they still considered the valley a place of spiritual and material importance. As Bernard Fontana observed in his book, *Of Earth and Little Rain*, "it is clear that 'abandoned' is a relative concept in the world of Papago culture." Over the years, O'odham women and children returned to the San Pedro as Apache captives,



Bernard Siquieros and T. J. Ferguson talk about farming and water at Gaybanipitea. (Photograph by Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh.)

and O’odham men traveled through the valley to raid Apache camps. Additionally, for generations, O’odham continued to revisit the San Pedro to harvest nature’s bounty. Akimel O’odham occasionally hunted on the San Pedro, but more regularly, Tohono O’odham gathered acorns, saguaro fruit, and mescal around *Babath ta’oag* (Frog Mountain), the Santa Catalina Mountains north of Tucson.

Driving along the northern edge of *Babath ta’oag*, Tohono O’odham tribal members Ida Ortega, Mary Flores, and Felicia Nuñez all recalled their families gathering beargrass and yucca for making baskets around the town of Oracle. Although in generations past families would linger for several days, Mary Flores recalled that, in her lifetime, her family could not stay overnight because they would be run off the land, so they left when early evening came.

Not having access to land means not being able to collect materials that foster traditional activities and sustain communities. When O’odham youth do not travel to traditional lands, they tend not to learn histories, explanations that order the world. Joseph and José Enriquez thus emphasized their hope that the younger generation has the chance of visiting—“actually seeing”—their traditional

landscapes. Because these places are so important for engendering O’odham identity and knowledge, elders are concerned about the way in which people care for artifacts and sites. They expressed anger and sadness at the widespread destruction of ancestral sites in the San Pedro Valley by vandalism and development. O’odham elders also conveyed a deep concern for the power entwined in artifacts like crystals and “lightning stones” that can bring fortune if given respect, but great sickness if mishandled.

For some O’odham elders, the San Pedro Valley—with running water, towering cottonwoods and saguaro, and abundant wildlife—is comparable with other rivers of the O’odham homeland such as the Santa Cruz. Today, however, the Santa Cruz is a dry wash struggling for survival. Looking at pictures of the San Pedro River, Anita Antone remarked nostalgically, “the Santa Cruz, it used to look like that, with willows and cottonwoods—where we used to rest under the shade.” Bernard Siquieros said that when he used to climb to the top of the Santa Catalina Mountains and look eastward, he would think, “This is where my ancestors’ relatives used to live.” But when he actually visited Sobaipuri and Hohokam sites, experiencing the valley firsthand, it was then that being in the San Pedro “felt like home, like being at home.”

The Lost Others: Zuni Ancestors Who Journeyed South

AFTER VISITING archaeological sites along the San Pedro River, Zuni cultural advisors affirmed their affiliation with the occupants of the Hohokam and the Puebloan villages in the valley. This historical connection is expressed in the unique traditional history of Zuni and affinities of material culture and language. The Zuni language is unrelated to any other spoken language in the Southwest. Today, the Zuni people reside in the Middle Place at Zuni Pueblo, but the saga of their ancestors recounts how they arrived there only after a long and arduous period of migration.

Zuni traditions of the *Atlashinawke* (ancestors)

are primarily retained and transmitted in the sacred chants of priests and religious societies, although storytellers also relate secular versions in Zuni homes. There are numerous levels of meaning inherent in the different versions of

the Zuni origin talk, many of which are entrusted only to initiates of religious societies as they demonstrate that they are ready to be entrusted with esoteric knowledge. All of the origin accounts describe how the Zuni people emerged at *Chimik’ yana’ka deya*, a deep canyon along the Colorado River. From here, the people began a long journey to the Middle Place. The people traveled together for much of this passage, sending out

T. J. Ferguson



Advisors compare an ancient agricultural field at Alder Wash with traditional Zuni farming techniques.

scouts to search the land as the *Atlashinawke* sought the center of the universe.

A full recital of Zuni origin and migration would take 12 hours or more to narrate. What is significant for understanding the San Pedro Valley, however, is one event that is

egg continued to move east toward the Zuni Valley. Although another group subsequently split off and trekked north and east to the Rio Grande Valley, they eventually turned back toward the west and rejoined their relatives at *Halona Itiwana*, the Middle Place.

Vandalism in the San Pedro Valley

THE MOST EMOTIONALLY WRENCHING moments in working with native peoples in the San Pedro Valley were hearing the grief they expressed about the vandalism of archaeological sites by pothunters.

“For me, it hurts,” said Hopi advisor Floyd Lomakuyvaya at Flieger Ruin. “The people buried here are our ancestors. So we should talk about it here, so they can hear us and know we care about them.” His fellow Hopi, Harold Polingyumtewa, told us, “Yes, to see people making money from us is bad.” Similarly, Joseph Enriquez, a Tohono O’odham elder, described how such damage “gives us a sad feeling.” When his brother José Enriquez was asked what he would tell the miscreants who illegally dig into sites, he said, “I’d ask them why they did it . . . It makes me mad.” Zuni advisor Leland Kaamase explained that, “These are important sites. They are who we are and no one else. We want them saved and not excavated or destroyed. We’d like to go about and walk around them.” Octavius Seowtewa, another Zuni, added, “We don’t have books; this is all we have left saying we were down there. And if it’s destroyed, then it’s destroying our history.” Octavius said that he knows a lot of archaeologists say these ruins have been “abandoned,” but, he explained, “they’re not because we still have the same spiritual ties to those places as our ancestors did . . . [They are] a shrine, even if it’s not been recently used, we still leave something that renews our ties to the place . . . So we keep ties—they’re still mentioned in songs and stories. So we want them protected for that.”



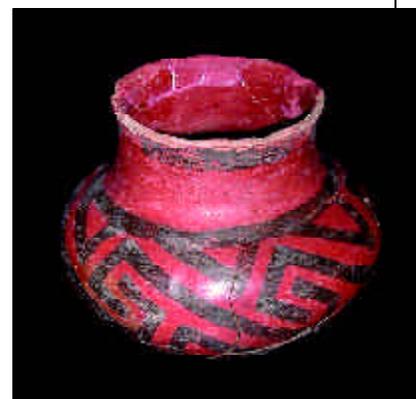
O’odham elders express dismay about illicit damage done to Flieger Ruin. (Photograph by T. J. Ferguson.)

said to have occurred at *Kumanch an A’l Akkwe’a* (Diablo Canyon), in the Little Colorado River Valley. Here, the people were given a choice of eggs. One group chose a bright, multicolored egg, from which hatched a raven. Another group chose a dull, plain egg, from which hatched a beautiful parrot. This second group was told, “*a’lahoankwin ta’hna ton a’wanuwa*”—“To the south direction you shall go,” and they left to travel south, never to return. Today, this group is referred to as the “Lost Others.” The main body of Zuni who had chosen the colorful

The Zuni referred to the history of the Lost Others while they stood atop the mesa where Reeve Ruin is located, looking across the San Pedro River to the nearby Davis Ranch site. The Zuni advisors said that the Reeve and Davis sites are unquestionably pueblos, with stacked masonry and contiguous blocks of rooms, kivas, and Puebloan-style ceramics. They were somewhat surprised to find pueblos in southern Arizona, and in thinking about their history, they suggested the Lost Others occupied these sites on their journey to the south. After a stop in the San Pedro Valley, the Zuni suggested these people continued traveling south to a location somewhere in Mexico—perhaps the country of the Tarahumara, or still farther south. Even though they lost contact with them, the Zuni count these Lost Others among their ancestors.

At the same time, the Zuni explained that after the migration culminated at the Middle Place, their ancestors used to go to southern Arizona to trade for macaws and other items available in the Sonoran Desert. They think that this travel is somehow related to the occupation of Hohokam sites in the San Pedro Valley, which the Zuni advisors said they call *Pimawavionana*, or Pima country. This resonates with the ideas of historical linguists such as Jane Hill and David Shaul, who report that the Piman loan words in the Zuni language indicate Zuni ancestors were once part of a multiethnic Hohokam interaction sphere. For example, *shiwanni*, the Zuni word for priest, has a historical association with the P i m a n word *siwañ*, which means chief, and is often associated with the people who resided atop Hohokam platform mounds.

A jar from the Davis Ranch site made with immigrant technological style.



T. J. Ferguson

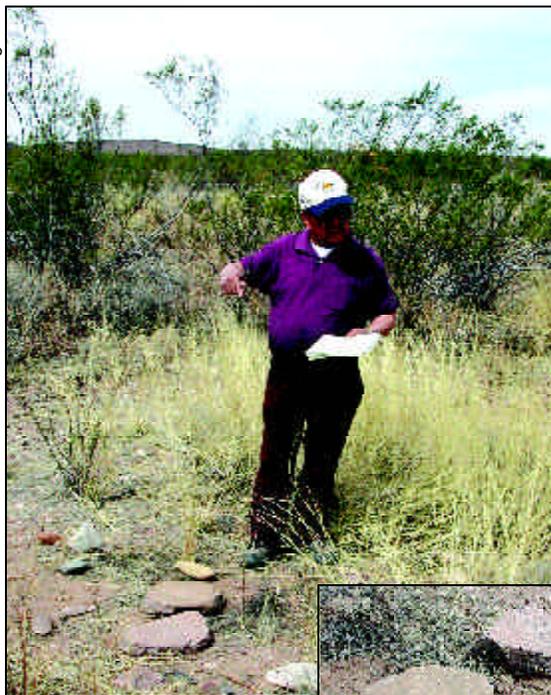


The ecological diversity important to the ancient inhabitants of the San Pedro Valley is evident at Second Canyon, a site on the knoll in the foreground, situated with access to the river bottom, foothills, and mountains.

Further evidence of a historical relationship between southern Arizona and Zuni is found in the numerous cremations that occur at the Zuni site of *Hawikku*, visited by Francisco Vasquez de Coronado during the Spanish entrada of 1540. Cremations are common in the Hohokam area, and most archaeologists think that migrants from the south introduced this burial practice at *Hawikku*. In addition, the chronicles of Coronado's expedition tell of a Zuni man residing in southern Arizona, and how Pimans who had been to Zuni to help with agricultural harvests had received gifts of turquoise from their hosts. There is still much to learn about the historical relationships among the Zuni, Hohokam, and Pima peoples, and the archaeology of the San Pedro Valley will play a key role in that research.

Experiencing the landscape and seeing religious items excavated from San Pedro sites in museum collections created new bonds between the Zuni advisors and their southern ancestors. Perry Tsadiasi referred to metates and other artifacts found at archaeological sites as "memory pieces" left behind so that people would know that they had been there. He explained how this experience provided a connection with the "people of before." Octavius Seowtewa said that it is good for the Zuni advisors to visit these sites because, "we've heard of places like this; now we see them. They are like

T. J. Ferguson



Perry Tsadiasi points to "memory pieces" at Gaybanipitea.



ancient sites at Zuni. We've heard these things from our grandfathers." He added, "We know about the migration and the people who went down south. This is the first opportunity to see these things. Now we can understand because we see these places and things. This project solidifies the knowledge that we got from our elders. Our elders never had the chance to be here, but they knew people were in the south, they just didn't know where exactly. It really helps us, because now we can say which routes they took and to where."

Although they were visiting the San Pedro Valley for the first time, the Zuni advisors were able to recall their traditions and associate them with a geographical location. In so doing, they engaged the landscape in an interpretive and historical exposition. As Seowtewa observed, "There's information about these sites but we've never visited them

and it allows us to make the spiritual and cultural connection between Zuni and here . . . The stories told to us by our ancestors weren't just myths because we've now seen these sites. Now we know our ancestors were here." The Zuni clearly felt an affinity with the ancient occupants of the Reeve and Davis sites, and they left religious offerings to them at both sites. "It makes us feel like the spirits are still here," Leland Kaamasee said.

After he returned home, Kaamasee informed us, "I told my family about it; they knew about the migrations, but not exactly. They were interested that pueblo people were down there. They were interested and became worried about the disposition of the sites. They were impressed there were so many sites." The San Pedro Valley is a place the Zuni recognize as a home of their ancestors and, because they still have connections with these people, it is a land they also now call home.

Landscapes of a Living Past: Places of Western Apache History

FOUR SACRED PEAKS bound the area where the Western Apache people emerged on this earth. These peaks are situated in what is now New Mexico (east), the Sierra Ancha, in Arizona (west), northern Mexico (south), and the San Francisco Peaks, in Arizona (north). The San Pedro Valley is thus a vital space, a thread inter-woven into the larger Apache cultural landscape. Although many bands, including those to the far north, traveled through and used the San Pedro, it was the *Tcéjîné* (Aravaipa) and *Tis'évàn* (Pinal) bands who lived there for generations. The San Pedro

was the beginning point for several clans, including the *Dáhàgòtsùdn* (Yellow Extending Upward People), whose origin is linked to the grassy southern plains of the river valley.

Eusebio Kino's 1696 map, *Teatro de los Trabajos Apostólicos*, one of the first detailed charts of the Pimería Alta, distinctly portrays Apacheria, a region east of the San Pedro populated by the Jocomé, Jano, and Suma. Many believe that these groups were the predecessors to later Apache bands that confronted Euro-American encroachment. The writings of seventeenth and eighteenth century Europeans, like Father Kino and Ignaz Pfefferkorn, make clear that the San Pedro Valley was a borderland, beyond which the Apache lived free from Spanish authority. After the emigration of the Sobaipuri in the 1760s, and the failed Spanish presidio of Terrenate, Apache groups gained a

firm hold on the San Pedro Valley that was not broken until the arrival of the U.S. Army in 1860.

Spanish chronicles frequently depict Apache people as savage, almost inhuman. But Apache people are keen to note that the Spanish explorers and missionaries were the invaders, intent on eradicating a "peril" that was created, in part, by European colonialism. Raiding became more profitable as the Spaniards concentrated people into villages and introduced cattle, new weaponry, and horses. Military expeditions promoted violence, rather than suppressing it, because the Apache could not adequately farm or hunt while they were constantly assailed. Apache warfare—revenge for unjust killings—became increasingly necessary as the Spaniards more regularly conducted ruthless military campaigns, murdering entire families and burning villages and fields. Apache elders today do not view their ancestors as aggressors but as the defenders of a revered homeland.

Although raiding was an integral part of their economy, the Western Apache also cultivated crops, hunted animals, and collected wild plants. Dozens of Apache place names in the San Pedro focus on sources of water and the flora and fauna found on the fertile mountain slopes, underscoring the importance of these life-sustaining places—places such as *Dzì Dasts'án* (Wild Grape Mountain), *Iyah Nasbas Sikaad* (Mesquite Circle in a Clump), and *Tûdol'ish Sikaan* (Blue Water Pool). The profusion of these names indicates that Apache groups were not "nomads" in the sense of homeless wanderers, but were traveling hunters and gardeners who synchronized their seasonal movements to familiar places, maximizing the fragile resources of a desert land.



San Carlos Apache elders Larry Mallow, Sr., and Jeanette Cassa explain the Apache tradition of grinding ancient ceramics into temper.

View of the lower San Pedro Valley, Nadnlid Cho (Big Sunflower Hill) to the left and Nadah Cho Das'un (Mescal Big Resting) to the right.



Naming Places

“IF PLACE-MAKING is a way of constructing the past, a venerable means of doing human history,” writes anthropologist Keith Basso in his book, *Wisdom Sites in Places*, “it is also a way of constructing social traditions and, in the process, personal and social identities. We are, in a sense, the place-worlds we imagine.” For Basso’s Western Apache consultants, the named locales connect them to their ancestors who first uttered the names, as well as the ancestral landscape itself, which is embodied in the name and preserved in the present topography. The named places of the Western Apache landscape inspire stories that are used to instill a sense of identity and belonging.

Early ethnographer Grenville Goodwin and the Place Name Project of the White Mountain Apache and San Carlos Apache tribes have identified more than 60 place names in the San Pedro Valley and Aravaipa Creek. Standing at one site in the Upper San Pedro, Apache elder Jeanette Cassa explained that, long before, “They had place names all along here, for the mountains and the rivers.” The depth of meaning of place names was made clear to us when we asked Ramon Riley, of the White Mountain Apache Tribe, if he felt that the San Pedro is a homeland for Apache peoples. Without hesitating, he responded, “I do,” and then he simply said, “all these mountains have Apache names—all the way to Mexico.”



Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh

Gashdla’á Cho O’aa (*Big Sycamore Stands There*).

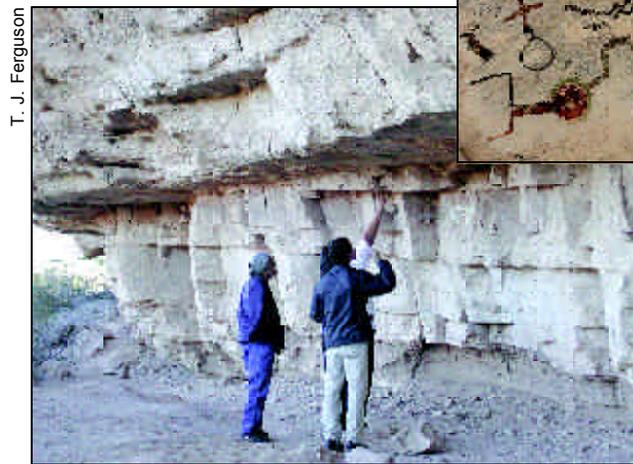
Over the years, leaders of the Aravaipa and Pinal bands sought peace with the Spaniards (1793), Mexicans (1836), and Americans (1869), but peace was always fleeting. In February 1871, following an especially harsh winter, several Apache bands surrendered as prisoners of war at Camp Grant, a U.S. army post located at *Lednlii* (Flows Together), where the Aravaipa Creek joins the San Pedro River in the heart of the Aravaipa homeland. The Apache were weary of constant attacks from the army and citizens. Between 1866 and 1875, in southern Arizona, the army killed 528 Apache in a campaign of extermination, and an additional 340 Apache were captured and removed from their homes. In contrast, the army suffered 42 war casualties during the same period.

The surrendered Apache camped at *Gashdla’á Cho O’aa* (Big Sycamore Stands There), where they

settlers easily trespassed on the southern portion of the newly established Apache reservation. The Apache leader *Haské bahnzin* (Eskiminzin) returned to *Nadnliid Cho* (Big Sunflower Hill) near Dudleyville on the San Pedro River in 1877. Ten years later, a mob of Tucsonans ran him off his land, stealing 32 cattle and 513 sacks of grain, destroying



T. J. Ferguson



Vernelda Grant and Jeanette Cassa emphasize pictographs near *Nadnliid Cho* (*Big Sunflower Hill*), are considered “holy ground” to many Apaches.

523 pumpkins, and taking his adobe house, equipment, and land. Captain Chiquito, in contrast, returned to *Gashdla’á Cho O’aa* after the massacre and began farming.

Despite threats and trespassing from neighbors, by 1916, he tended more than 25 acres of irrigated fields, fruit trees, dense mesquite stands, and numerous buildings made from log, cane, and brush. In 1919, the U.S. government allotted him his ancestral land.

Although few Apache families continued to live in the San Pedro

Valley after the early 1900s, it remained an essential place in the Western Apache cultural landscape. Numerous families continued to travel the well-worn trail—recalled by elders today and recorded in historical documents—from the Gila River to Aravaipa Creek, continuing onward to Oracle and the Galiuro Mountains to gather saguaro fruit, acorns, black walnuts, agave, and still other plants. Some years ago, a San Carlos Apache elder, Howard Hooke, Sr., tried to continue this family tradition, but a landowner brandishing a shotgun rebuffed his party of travelers, and they did not return.

The San Pedro is also significant to the Apache because the past generations of occupants remain in their ancient abodes as living spirits. These powerful forces permeate the valley and are focused in holy places, such as caves with pictographs. Those with special knowledge collect sacred objects like shells and arrowheads from archaeological sites. San Carlos elder Larry Mallow, Sr., said that he frequently gathers white and blue stone beads from a site near his home at San Carlos. He uses the beads to

“pray for young people, to keep the spirits away, to live peacefully, to leave their troubles behind.” Whether or not these things belonged to Apache ancestors (*nohwizá’yé*) or the ancients who preceded them (*nałkíde*), all of these places are important because they provide tangible and mystical links to those who have gone before.

As Apache groups lived along the San Pedro for centuries, the very geography of the valley became a part of the Apache people. The San Pedro Valley was not simply a space between points, but a shelter to generations. The places where people were born and died, and where they farmed, hunted, and gathered plants testify to Apache persistence and resilience. While Apache lives are recorded in a few artifacts and the remains of an occasional wickiup, the Apache presence in the San Pedro Valley vividly continues in the places themselves, both named and unnamed. As the past is ingrained in these places that continue in the present, the lives of the Apache ancestors never really vanish but form a living landscape upon which the Apache people still dwell.

Ang Kuktota: Hopi Footprints in the San Pedro Valley

A LONG THERE, MAKE FOOTPRINTS—*Ang Kuktota*. The Hopi were thus instructed by *Màasaw*, the owner of the Fourth World, when they entered into a

covenant wherein they would endure hardship and seek *Tuuwanasavi*, the Earth Center, to act as stewards of the world. In return, *Màasaw* gave them the use of his land. On their journey to *Tuuwanasavi*, on the Hopi Mesas, *Màasaw* told the Hopi to leave behind footprints as evidence they had fulfilled their spiritual responsibilities. These footprints today comprise the ruins, potsherds, petroglyphs, and other remains that many people now call archaeological sites. The Hopi

men who visited the San Pedro Valley in 2002 recognized the archaeological sites in the valley as Hopi footprints.

Hopi accounts of origin and migration are carried in the oral traditions of clans, the groups of matrilineal relatives that traveled together on the long journey from the place of emergence to the Hopi Mesas. Each clan has a *wu’ya* or *naatoyla*, a symbol or totem derived from some event that happened along the way. One group of people encountered a bear and became the *Honngyam* (Bear Clan); another group saw the sunrise and became the *Qalngyam* (Sun Forehead Clan). So, in turn, each of a multitude of Hopi clans was named. Clan histories are closely guarded at Hopi, intended solely for the spiritual education of clan members. The full history of a clan, with many variants to account for the specific travels of clan segments that settled in different Hopi villages, would take days to recount and these narratives are reserved for the exclusive use of the Hopi. Consequently, only abstracts and fragments of clan histories deemed relevant to the project were provided for use in research.

Hopi elders believe that their ancestors came from *atkyaqw* (from below), a multilayered concept referring geographically to the south and metaphysically to the underworld. Many non-Hopi have heard of a sacred place called *Sípàapuni* in the Grand Canyon and think that this



Hopi elder Dalton Taylor at Flieger Ruin.

A Ceremonial Kiva in Southern Arizona

EXCAVATING at the Davis Ranch site in 1957, archaeologist Rex Gerald found a suite of artifacts—ceramics, architecture, food technologies, and ritual objects—indicating that Western Pueblo people lived in the San Pedro Valley about 700 to 800 years ago. One of the most prominent features of the site is a large square subterranean room. Complete with a ventilator shaft, deflector, foot drum, bench, and loom holes, this space has been interpreted by most archaeologists as a ceremonial kiva. After visiting the site and carefully examining the artifacts stored at the Amerind Foundation, Hopi and Zuni cultural advisors verified that this was a ceremonial structure integral to their religious traditions. Given that the kiva and the other objects appear all at once and all together, we can reasonably conclude that these materials do not reflect exchange, but instead indicate the migration of Western Pueblo ancestors to the San Pedro Valley centuries ago.



The ceremonial kiva at Davis Ranch, after excavation in 1957.

is where the Hopi emerged from the underworld. However, some Hopi clans have traditions that identify the place of beginning of current life as *Yayniwpu*, believed to be near the Valley of Mexico. After leaving *Yayniwpu*, these Hopi clans traveled to *Palatkwapi*, which was dominated by ritual power. Eventually, social unrest beset *Palatkwapi* and a flood destroyed it. Hopi intellectuals caution that *Palatkwapi* may be an epoch as much as a specific place; its precise location is a matter of ongoing discussion. After leaving *Palatkwapi*, more than 30 Hopi clans began a long migration that eventually culminated at the Hopi Mesas, where they joined *Motisinom* (Our First People) clans that had established villages there. Together, these two sets of Hopi ancestors are known as the *Hisatsinom* (Our Ancient People).

The migrations of *Hisatsinom* clans are said to have inscribed complex spatial and temporal patterns on the

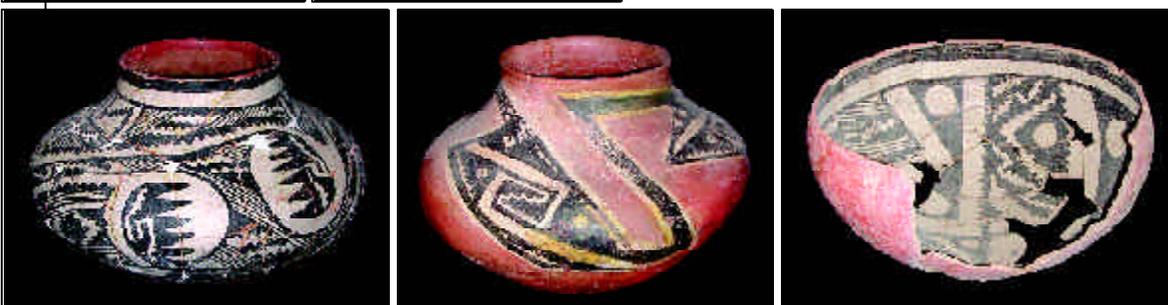
land, with many footprints left behind as testimony that Hopi ancestors had been there. Clans sometimes journeyed together; at other times, they split into smaller groups. Sometimes they regrouped. Some clans took the lead, and others followed. At times, part of a group was left behind as the rest traveled onward. The clans eventually coalesced on the Hopi Mesas, arriving from all directions. Each clan was admitted into a village only after producing a gift that would enhance life, such as ceremonies to bring rain or cultigens that added to the Hopi larder. Hopi people believe that petroglyphs depict clan symbols and migration spirals mark the routes their ancestors followed. Archaeologists have been tracing the archaeological evidence of these migrations for more than a century, but there is still much to be learned.

The San Pedro Valley lies between *Palatkwapi* and the Hopi Mesas, and is thus drawn into Hopi migrations. As migration traditions refer to events farther away from the Hopi Mesas in time and space, the geographical details tend to become more generalized. Thus, while extensive clan histories were not recorded for this project, many clans including the *Qa'öngyam* (Corn Clan) and *Piqösngyam*

(Bearstrap Clan), are said to have occupied the San Pedro Valley. These occupations were described in terms of the clans migrating northward to the Hopi Mesas. However, one tradition refers to a dispute between two brothers in the Corn Clan



The Hopi and Zuni see cloud and water symbols on these vessels from the Davis Ranch site that date to A.D. 1300-1375. (Photographs by T. J. Ferguson.)



when they lived at a village near present-day Globe, Arizona. Following this quarrel, one brother moved southward into the San Pedro Valley, while the other brother moved to the Salt-Gila Basin. There is also a tradition about *Yahoya*, a leader of the Gray Flute Society, who left Hopi and moved to southern Arizona, “where the cactus grew like people with arms up.” Thus, Hopi migrations in and around the San Pedro Valley recount the direction of movement as being both from south to north, and north to south.

The Hopi researchers who visited Hohokam and Pueblo archaeological sites in the San Pedro are certain that these are the footprints of their ancestors, representing different facets of Hopi migration. While the Hopi do not conceptualize the *Hisatsinom* as archaeological cultures, it seems likely that what archaeologists call Hohokam sites are associated with Hopi traditions of clans migrating from *Palatkwapi* northward. The Pueblo sites in the San Pedro are associated with southward migration events. What is abundantly clear is that the Hopi felt close to all of their ancestors in the San Pedro Valley. This was movingly illustrated during fieldwork, when Harold Polingyumptewa quietly entered the remains of the kiva at the Davis Ranch site and prayed to the ancestors.

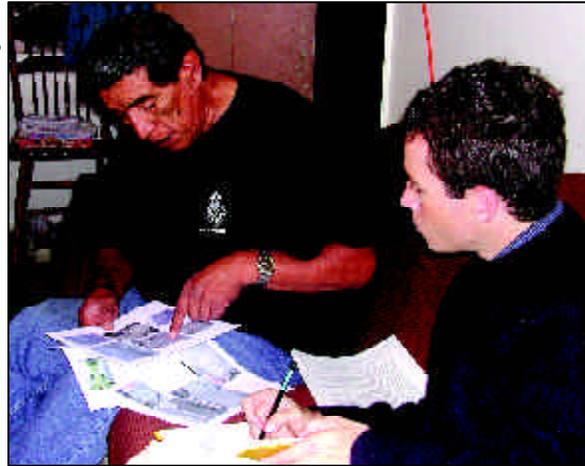
Hopi history in the San Pedro has become attenuated by time and distance. One indication of this is that the historically documented trade fairs between the Hopi and Sobaipuri in the early eighteenth century have faded from memory. When these fairs were discussed with Hopi researchers, they could do little more than suggest that their ancestors may have come to the San Pedro to trade textiles for raw cotton. (Cotton is prized by the Hopi because of its cultural significance and use in ritual gar-

ments and *paaho* [prayer sticks].) Other traded items might have been Hopi yellow ware vessels, which are found by archaeologists in southern Arizona, or agave, which is important in Hopi ceremonies and cuisine but does not grow on the Hopi Mesas.

In commenting on the Hopi’s research on the San Pedro Ethnohistory Project, Leroy Lewis observed that the landscape recalls songs, and therefore, history. He explained that while in the San Pedro, “my heart is open—air is flowing through it, and there is no burden . . . It feels good both because it’s ancestral and today because the archaeologists are documenting it.” Floyd Lomakuyvaya added, “Now that I know the San Pedro and all the sites, it’s a good feeling.

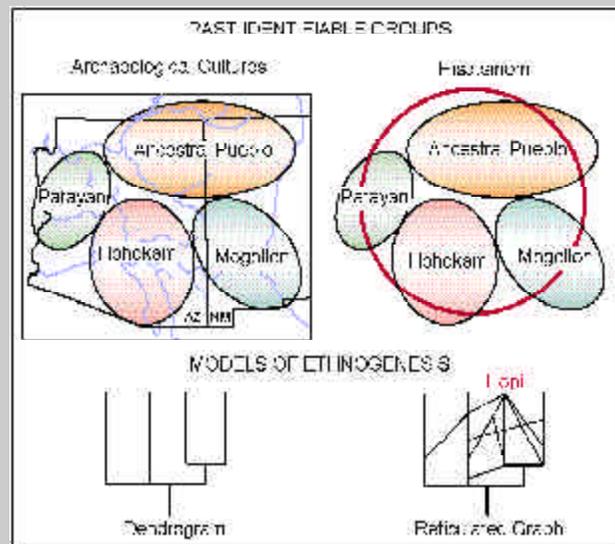
It’s good you found all the artifacts. It’s important because we’re Indian, we don’t write our history. These artifacts show our ancestors migrated through this area . . . When I go to a site, I don’t need anything to tell me it’s Hopi, I know it’s Hopi because of our teachings . . . I know you archaeologists can’t just say it’s all Hopi, but that is how I feel.”

T. J. Ferguson



Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh interviews Hopi advisor Harlan Williams in his home in Mishonghovi, Second Mesa, Arizona.

Models of Ethnogenesis



the past. A model of braided cultural transmission best fits the multiple tribal histories evident in the San Pedro Valley.

ARCHAEOLOGISTS view ethnogenesis—the origin of ethnic groups—in different ways. In one view, cultures diverge from one another in a treelike branching fashion with clear distinctions among groups. In another view, there is a braided transmission of culture that is based on a complex interplay of migration, intermarriage, and linguistic exchange. For instance, the Hopi see their *Hisatsinom* ancestors as having participated in all of the major archaeological cultures in

Remembering the Ancestors

THE STORY OF THE SAN PEDRO VALLEY, fashioned by archaeologists and historians over the last century, has given us unique insight into 13,000 years of human history. However, scientific accounts of the past are neither complete nor impartial. Collaborative ethno-historic research illustrates that the archaeological landscape is part of an ongoing cultural dynamic, a field of meanings that allows descendant communities to understand their past and who they are today.

The narratives shared by tribal researchers present fascinating explanations of past lifeways that historians are only beginning to unravel. Hopi and Zuni migration traditions are rich narratives that explain the complex movement of ancient peoples. While archaeological models often view migrations as simple one-way passages, Pueblo traditional history recounts a more dynamic coalescence and dispersal of people throughout the Southwest. O'odham oral traditions of *P'itoy* and his legion of *Wu:skam* offer a detailed portrayal of what happened to the people who once lived in the adobe great houses. Apache elders explained that archaeologists have not found Apache habitation sites in the San Pedro because they have concentrated their surveys in the river valley, instead of the foothills and mountains.

Scientific analyses are important for systematically recovering information embedded in artifacts and sites. But the scientific approach sometimes narrowly transforms human lives into detached objects of study. The Native American perspectives offered in this project inject a sense of humanity into the history of the San Pedro Valley. From the Apache viewpoint, their ancestors were not cruel prowlers, but instead the guardians of a homeland under siege, the victims of horrible killings that have not been forgot-

ten. O'odham interpretations of the Spanish arrival remind us that real people had to make difficult decisions about resistance and accommodation that would affect the generations that followed. Western Pueblo migration sagas relate how grueling and traumatic it was to constantly move to new lands, and to remain true to one's spiritual convictions.

Many Native Americans value archaeological sites as historical monuments that bear witness to the lives of their ancestors. Ancient villages, stones pecked with petroglyphs, and even artifact scatters are seen as integral parts of a larger landscape that unite the physical and spiritual, past and present. Places—as the Apache elders reminded us—were often named by ancestors to memorialize events or trace their presence on the land. When these place names are spoken today, they reconnect people to ancient landscapes, to their ancestors and spirits. Even at spots whose names are no longer recalled, tribal advisors explained how these places evoke emotion. Archaeological sites are living shrines that honor people of the past and inspire people in the present.

The San Pedro Valley is a very old place—home to generations of hunters, farmers, and traders. What emerges from our research is not one story or one collective value of place, but instead, a mosaic of histories and meanings. Each person left its own unique footprints, inscribing the land with distinctive stories. The descendants of the ancient peoples who lived in the San Pedro Valley have not forgotten their ancestors. The lives of these people are still recalled in stories, songs, rituals, names, and the objects they left behind. These ancestors, and the places they lived, are still cherished.

T. J. Ferguson



Zuni (above) and Tohono O'odham (below) advisors at the Davis Ranch site.

Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh



Acknowledgments

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Riley, Rosalie P. Talgo, and Stevenson Talgo. **Zuni:** John Bowannie, Leland Kaamasee, Octavius Seowtewa, Perry Tsadiasi, and Jerome Zunie.

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Some information provided by tribal researchers on this project is culturally sensitive, and we encourage scholars who intend to draw extensively on this work to consult the respective tribes to ensure appropriate and accurate usage.



See the Center for Desert Archaeology website for more information: <<http://www.cdarc.org>>

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Back Sight

WHO OWNS THE PAST? Our Western legal system addresses this question in too many ways to begin to detail them here. That legal system is often a battleground that generates bitterness because only one party comes out a “victor.” The San Pedro Ethnohistory Project highlights a much more productive approach.

Representatives from the four tribes that participated in this project worked separately with the anthropologists on the team. Therefore, field trips to visit sites in the San Pedro Valley were repeated four times. This provided ideal conditions for the discussion of issues that tribal representatives felt were most important to them, and it worked very well.

During the second year of the project, we began to receive questions from various tribal representatives who wondered what the other tribes were saying about their history in the San Pedro Valley. In response, a final session with representatives from all four tribes was added to the project work plan. Logistical complications resulted in only the Hopi and Tohono O’odham representatives attending the meeting, which was held in Tucson on November 6, 2003.

Nevertheless, that was a highly productive and gratifying day. Members of those two tribes sat around the table and described the traditions that they had learned since their youth. They commented on interesting parallels and

noted differences in their experiences and beliefs. What was most compelling was their willingness to share the past. The different traditions enriched their appreciation of the San Pedro Valley.

The Center’s Heritage Southwest Program is focused on “preserving the places of our shared past.” The perspective that the past is not owned exclusively by anyone or any group needs to be further cultivated. The expansive concept that the past is a shared human resource can motivate higher levels of stewardship, which is the ultimate goal of our Heritage Southwest Program.

Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh



Ida Ortega’s personal perspective on stewardship. As others departed from Reeve Ruin, Tohono O’odham advisor Ida Ortega (above right) lingered behind. Quietly, she left an offering of white corn. Her action acknowledged and honored the ancient people who once lived there—such as when the O’odham leave food and gifts at graves of family members. For Ida, it did not matter that this was a Pueblo site. “It’s important to respect them if they are dead,” she said. “That’s what is important.”

ardship, which is the ultimate goal of our Heritage Southwest Program.

*William H. Doelle, President & CEO
Center for Desert Archaeology*

back sight (băk sīt) n. 1. a reading used by surveyors to check the accuracy of their work. **2.** an opportunity to reflect on and evaluate the Center for Desert Archaeology’s mission.

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