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Those Who Sing of the Green Band

The Sobaipuri O'odham (soh-BY-per-ee, or sometimes pronounced soh-by-poohr-ee, and *AH*-tum)[1] were a principal force in Expeditionary and Colonial Arizona history and arguably the most influential and powerful Indigenous group in southern Arizona in the Terminal Prehistoric and Early Historic periods. They are also one of the least understood and lesser-known farming groups to have occupied the American Southwest. In the following pages I discuss their geographic distributions, way of life, and ethnic differences that have been clarified in the past few years through archaeological, ethnographic, and ethnohistorical research. The implications of some of this research are also discussed. With this exploration of Sobaipuri O'odham landscape use comes an understanding of the sources of and basis for many of the inferences drawn about this ethnic group in the past as well as where ideas stand currently. New readings of old sources combined with new archaeological evidence provide a baseline from which to discuss and revise our understanding of these people and their pivotal role in history. Conversations with the descendants of these historical people also provide a concurrent way to assess and interpret long held but poorly understood information.

The Sobaipuri O'odham were irrigation farmers, first and foremost, and so they occupied the verdant strips along southern Arizona's main rivers. They were Akimel or River O'odham. This may be a surprise to many because today they are not called Akimel

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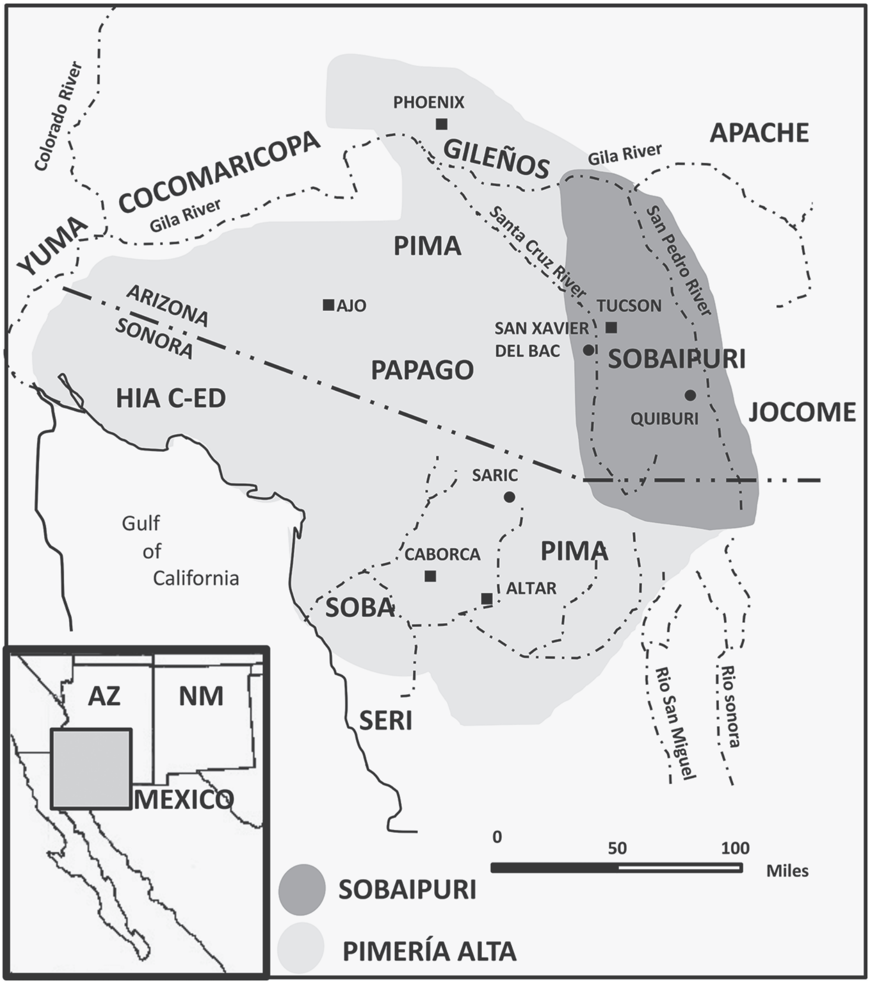

FIGURE 1.1. *Distribution of Sobaipuri in southern Arizona in the 1600s. Figure prepared by Deni Seymour.*

O'odham by outsiders, and in fact, other people are called Akimel O'odham. But historically the Sobaipuri occupied all the major rivers in southeastern Arizona, including a portion of the Gila River (figure 1.1; see chapter 3), and they were an archetypical and a quintessential River O'odham in the sense that they were year-round farmers with permanent settlements. The distinctiveness of the riparian zones of southeastern Arizona made the river margins a critical niche and consequently, their contrast to the surrounding desert has been recorded in traditional stories and songs. A Badger song,[2] collected from the Gila River O'odham, goes as follows:

> The land is parched and burning,
> The land is parched and burning.
> Going and looking about me
> I see a narrow strip of green.
>
> *(Russell [1908] 1975:322)*

This narrow band of green was the focus of Sobaipuri life and other O'odham who resided along the rivers, while those who lived in the desert, full or part time, would have come seasonally or periodically from the parched and burning land to these riverside oases. But not all portions of the river margin were equal with respect to resources, river flow, or other values important to the O'odham. Dependency on irrigation agriculture meant that the Sobaipuri selected suitable segments of these rivers for their occupations so that their villages were near—generally overlooking—their fields and canals (Seymour 1989, 1993a, 1993b, 2011a, 2020a; Seymour and Rodríguez 2020). Another implication for this choice of settlement location was that they were along travel and trade routes so the O'odham encountered people from all over their world (Seymour 2007a, 2008b, 2011a, 2020c; Seymour et al. 2022a, 2022b). They were the first to obtain information and new trade items, and to encounter trouble. Trouble came because they occupied the choicest land and produced bountiful harvests, making them the focus of both raiding and beneficial trading. Newcomers coveted their land and the coresident mobile peoples (Jocome, Jano, and Apache, among others) would have also valued the locations with reliable surface water and desired the stores of food that bridged the lean times. These factors required the Sobaipuri to defend their land and their supplies as well as their people—the warriors defending their women, children, and elderly. These factors also explain why the O'odham were notable warriors, consummate diplomats, and accomplished irrigation agriculturalists who lived in sizable permanent settlements.

Before initiating discussion about new understandings relating to Sobaipuri landscape use, this chapter provides some background information for those not familiar with the Sobaipuri and past research related to them. A revised baseline of understanding was included in the book *Where the Earth and Sky Are Sewn Together*, which was built on a quarter century of new and focused research on this group (Seymour 2011a). That book summarized past research and changes in understanding through time that influenced perceptions of the Sobaipuri, as well as research findings from work I had undertaken between

1985 and 2010. Like the current work, that book was based largely on my research because so few have studied, and currently no one else is studying, the Sobaipuri. Since then, I have continued investigations with a steady flow of new findings that are included in this book. I have made archaeological, documentary, and ethnographic study of the Sobaipuri my life's work, so I expect to continue to build on these results, revising ideas and correcting misimpressions as new data become available.

When I began my research, only five Sobaipuri sites were known (AZ BB:6:9, ASM; AZ BB:11:20, ASM; AZ BB:13:14, ASM; AZ DD:8:128, ASM; AZ DD:8:129, ASM; AZ EE:2:80, ASM; AZ EE:2:83, ASM; AZ EE:2:95, and ASM; AZ EE:8:15),[3] while a few others that were recorded as Sobaipuri have since been shown not to be Sobaipuri (Harlan and Seymour 2017:186n2; Seymour 1993a, 2011a, 2011b; Seymour and Sugnet 2016). Now over 110 archaeological Sobaipuri sites/components have been recorded, with many more O'odham sites known. These Sobaipuri village sites are situated along all the key rivers and tributaries in southeastern Arizona, with a couple in the foothills (e.g., at Barrel Canyon and Pima Canyon, not illustrated) and most cluster along certain river segments (figure 1.2). This increase in numbers of known sites and components is important from several perspectives, not least of which is that the twentyfold increase in sites allows us to understand more about Sobaipuri archaeology and the relationship between information conveyed in the documentary record and in archaeology and, consequently, more about the Sobaipuri themselves. In turn these data are regularly presented to descendant populations, who evaluate the information from their unique perspective and use this information to enrich their community. The strong correlation between landscape attributes and the distribution of Sobaipuri sites is both a product of this increase in archaeological sites and at the same time has contributed to the ability to predict where more should occur, thereby, through this process, strengthening the perception of the pattern. In turn, when this pattern was revealed, the many hints provided in documentary and ethnographic sources became apparent and relevant, providing an even richer understanding of the O'odham past.

This decades-long research has allowed a more faithful connection between the documentary and archaeological records than past efforts were able to achieve, as will be shown throughout the book. Most of the key places north of the international line visited by important historical figures—such as Fray Marcos de Niza, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, and Father Eusebio Francisco Kino—have been identified. What this means is that definite Sobaipuri sites have been found after extensive thematic-based survey that

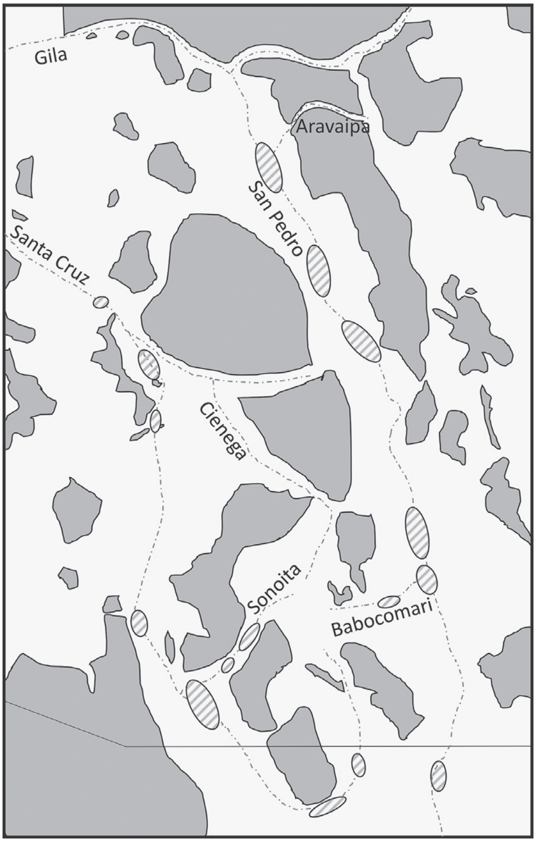

Figure 1.2. *Sobaipuri site distributions and historical clusters of known villages are grouped along certain river segments downstream from narrows and along wide expanses of arable land. Figure prepared by Deni Seymour.*

chronometrically date to the correct period, match the documentary record with respect to location, and contain artifacts and features diagnostic of the Sobaipuri; often, they reveal European items connecting them to the Expeditionary and Colonial periods. I have excavated a few of these sites as well, and through that process learned substantially more than was perceivable from surface evidence alone. While some of these place identifications remain controversial, it is important to understand that much of this debate is founded largely on rivalry rather than any consideration of the facts. In most instances there is only a single option when location, size, chronometric dates, and material culture assemblages are paired with texts and maps. There is no alternative data set by which to cogently dispute the known facts, and the existing data set improves and gains robustness each year as new data are contributed. Notably, this work has been undertaken in a systematic and targeted way, and, in most instances, I have resurveyed areas at least three times as conditions change (such as along the middle San Pedro and Santa Cruz Rivers, where erosion gradually exposes additional evidence). In light of this work, I invite you to consider the facts presented, based, not on outmoded expectations, ad hominem attacks, or political-factional considerations, but rather on what the record has available to present. As I have noted before, there can be substantial disjuncture between the meager and modest nature of the archaeological record and what researchers have expected based on later historical and earlier prehistoric manifestations, and also on the historical importance of the people who wrote about and visited these places.[4] In many instances, the importance of the places investigated would not be apparent were it not for the historical record.

The documentary record from the Colonial period in this area is extensive, but all accounts, and those from the Expeditionary period, are narratives, which many historians consider less than ideal for use in historical archaeological analysis (see Seymour 2009c, 2011a, 2012a, 2014, 2020a, 2020b, 2021). Nonetheless, this is the nature of the documentary sources available and, despite their issues, they have proven informative in the study of Sobaipuri archaeology and history. When paired with other forms of evidence, the meanings of documentary passages become apparent, often in surprising ways, bringing a richness to the study of the past and opening our analyses to new ways of thinking. Kino was among the first to leave extensive records of the area, being the most prominent Jesuit missionary among the Sobaipuri charged with their conversion. He first entered what is now Arizona in 1691 and thereafter ventured inland on fifty or more journeys, at least fourteen of which brought him into Arizona; during his travels he established several missions and visiting stations until his death in 1711 (Bolton [1932] 1986:52, [1936] 1960:588). His records have become some of the most important, in part because ethnohistorians have focused mostly on the discovery, translation, and retranslation of his accounts, making them available for study. Military figures, including Kino's escorts, also left important records, many of which have been translated, including those of Captain Juan Mateo Manje, Lieutenant Cristóbal Martín Bernal, Captain Diego Carrasco, among others (Kino in Bolton 1948:I and F. Smith et al. 1966; Carrasco in Burrus 1971; Manje in Burrus 1971; Karns 1954; F. Smith et al. 1966). Earlier, in the mid-sixteenth century, Marcos de Niza and Vázquez de Coronado passed through the Sobaipuri area in southeastern Arizona (see Flint and Flint 2005; Seymour 2008a, 2009b, 2011a, 2017a), and their actual route is being rediscovered as this book is published. In fact, the first Coronado-related site discovered in Arizona is at an important Sobaipuri village site. Other key documents are also available that are both contemporary with and after Kino. Other and later missionaries—such as Felipe Segesser, Jacobo Sedelmayr, Luís Xavier Velarde, Ignaz Pfefferkorn, Bartholomé Ximeno, Bernardo Middendorf, Diego Bringas, Joseph Augustín de Campos, and Ignacio Xavier Keller—left often-detailed accounts of the Indigenous peoples of this area and their cultural practices and the environment, as did later missionaries, military men, inspectors, and visitors.

Information contained in the ethnographic record has also been used to fill in many of the information gaps, but regrettably much of the work was carried out among neighboring O'odham with different histories and heritage, rather than among Sobaipuri descendants themselves (e.g., Russell [1908] 1975; Underhill 1938, 1939:41, 1946, 1968, 1969). While ethnographic analogy was commonly used as a way of understanding the then-meager archaeological record and deep past, researchers did not realize that an inappropriate ethnographic model was being applied, despite the fact that it was often contradictory. A substantial degree of inconsistency therefore arose when the direct historical approach was used to link past and present. The work of both ethnographers and archaeologists reflects this limitation as they tried to make sense of the larger picture but lacked sufficient data to seamlessly connect all the dots, with few data points there at the time. This deficiency continues to this day as absorption and acceptance of new archaeological and ethnographic findings lag years behind discoveries, as traditional knowledge from one area is uncritically applied by researchers to another, or, as occasionally occurs, O'odham in one area insistently urge that their point of view be applied to all. Some traditional knowledge from the past has been lost and continues to be lost, and so that knowledge retained in one area is sometimes transferred to another as an active part of the revitalization process and also as a demonstration of the living character of traditional practice. This transference is likely how it has always been, especially at those points in the prehistoric record at which fundamental shifts can be seen and are defined as phases or periods. In-depth scholarly studies or layperson familiarity with one area or cultural attribute, such as dialect, is all too often presented as if applicable to the O'odham in general, past and present without critical assessment. Many linguistic studies suffer from this practice, with translations and spellings from one area assumed applicable in the adjacent area (e.g., Geronimo 2012; Winters 2012). The lay public sometimes harvests information from the one O'odham they know, while not understanding the influence of geographic and cultural differences, subjects that should be more familiar to the anthropologist. In practice, someone asks for a translation or spelling from an O'odham they encounter (or perhaps someone they know), and the resulting answer permanently enters the record, whether that O'odham consultant is knowledgeable, from the correct area, conscious of the implications of their answer, or motivated by an undisclosed objective in their response. Sometimes this data-reporting practice is driven by the assumption that knowledge is limited and therefore must be collected in any form available. While this point may be valid, it does not justify uncritical acceptance of a practice or information as applying to all O'odham historically or presently. While it is true that knowledge is not always readily available and informants are not always forthcoming, the information collected from specific reservoirs of knowledge should be applied thoughtfully and appropriately after thorough analysis by the trained professional. Care taken in the collection and analysis of information might reveal that the O'odham consultant is not being asked if that is the way something is said locally or by all O'odham, but rather they are simply being asked what they think. This is a distinction they should not be expected to convey unless asked, often because they had not thought of it that way or do not appreciate the significance to scholarly investigation. The more in depth the interface and more focused the questions, the more likely these distinctions will become apparent or be revealed. When comfortable, O'odham individuals occasionally comment that they did not feel like explaining or they were just providing the response expected or one that they thought the questioner would understand. They recognize the difference between engaged investigation, curiosity, and hit-and-run data collection. The latter (hit-and-run investigations) being where the researcher comes into a community with a preexisting notion and leaves with the expectation fulfilled, regardless of the integrity of the information or the gradations discernable from more concentrated listening. Different answers sometimes result when the O'odham consulted assess that the effort to explain will be received, understood, or appreciated.

Early ethnographic studies, especially those of ethnographer Ruth Underhill, were oriented broadly and combined the practices of diverse O'odham groups, while for the most part studying deeply only those who practiced the two-village system. As Underhill (1939:v) wrote: "Most of the time was spent on the Sells reservation . . . though a few weeks were spent at San Xavier." The results were nonetheless extrapolated to the Sobaipuri (and their descendants at San Xavier del Bac), such that the Sobaipuri and their descendants became a political subset of the Tohono O'odham, rather than the Akimel or River People they were. To her credit, she did discuss the Sobaipuri at length in an effort to understand their seemingly anomalous history (1939:15–23).

By the 1930s the moniker "Papago" had already permeated perspectives others had of the Wa:k community at San Xavier del Bac and its Sobaipuri past. Underhill's work emphasized this "Papago" (now generally regarded as a derogatory term) or Tohono O'odham contingent within the community, probably as a result of the short time spent at Wa:k and likely also to the faction willing to converse with her during that two-week period (possibly the one that had the most to gain by broadcasting their story or who were related to people further west). This calculated eagerness for the ear of the ethnographer by factions is not uncommon when people of different backgrounds occupy the same physical and political space. Often one faction prevails, especially when a single cohesive narrative is sought by the community or the anthropologist, despite being among populations where multiple narratives have survived. Underhill's work among the O'odham further west was assumed, even by her, to also apply to those who initially resided further east along the San Pedro River and the Santa Cruz River and their tributaries, that is, the Sobaipuri. This approach was driven by a lack of comprehensive understanding of the fundamental differences between community clusters, differences that were based on the ways in which their lifeways were shaped by their specific connections to the land and were made distinctive by their geographic separation from one another. In her defense, she did acknowledge the greater complexity in the O'odham world, and she conveyed her partial understanding of the situation: "It is realized that to gain a full understanding of regional differences and therefore, perhaps, of the past history of these people, an even more intensive study should be made in each locality" (1939:vi). With this comment she was acknowledging the diversity within the O'odham area, while at the same time she recognized the impossibility of constructing a single cohesive representation: "As often as possible various people were consulted, and the variation in their accounts was usually found due to regional differences" (vi). She also wrote: "Even among the American Papago it was found that there were decided differences in dialect, customs and ceremonies and an effort was made to get data from each of the three important groups" (e.g., "American Papago" [mostly Tohono O'odham in the area surrounding Sells and also the "Hia C'ed," or "Sand Papago"], "Mexican Papago" [O'odham south of the border] and "Pima" ["Gila Pima"]) (vi). She noted, with reference to these three distinct groups, that "one of these was often completely ignorant of traditions known to the others, so that it was no uncommon experience to have an informant in one village deny with amusement the possibility of some practice which those in the next village acknowledged as traditional" (v). This is a common occurrence today as O'odham both from Wa:k and elsewhere laugh lightheartedly at the differences in practices between themselves. A good example of this is when an O'odham from Sells laughs at and disparages

Wa:k O'odham interpretation of the origins of the name "Sobaipuri" and the name of the village of Gaybanipitea.

Researchers also sometimes use the information to discredit the results of other researchers or engage their unsuspecting O'odham informants in an information war or influence/power struggle, a practice all too common today among research factions. In other cases, as noted in the preceding paragraph, O'odham engaged from one area convey their opinion or understanding while the investigator may neglect (or be unable) to place the information in the larger O'odham context. Ethnographic summaries sometimes describe practices or beliefs as if they are applicable to all so as to construct a satisfying and cohesive narrative at the expense of understanding the often-important distinctions between O'odham groups.

There are more than just the three divisions noted by Underhill, and since her time more communities or reservations have been distinguished. These new reservations and the many communities are an indication of the differences between geographic areas, and many more distinctions are warranted, according to individuals in various O'odham communities. The overarching political structure known today as the Tohono O'odham Nation was never a feature of O'odham life in the past, which seemingly explains its poor fit today. The farther from one's community an O'odham goes, the fewer distinctions seem warranted by them as outsiders because of lack of specific knowledge. One the other hand, the merging of distinct communities of practice within one O'odham's own area is a basis for much consternation. One way modern Wa:k O'odham view the organization is that there are the Gila and Salt River O'odham, formerly one group that split from the other. Ak Chin and San Lucy are two additional separate and distinct communities. Wa:k is its own community with its very unique heritage and history related to the Sobaipuri who dominated southeastern Arizona and is reflected culturally in so many ways (Seymour et al. 2022a, 2022b). Then from Wa:k's perspective there are those in the West (roughly equivalent to Underhill's Sells reservation) and those in the Far West (Hia C'ed). There are also those south of the border, who today correspond geographically with those on the north, who are Hia C'ed. Within each of these larger areas, however, there are smaller clusters of communities who share commonalities, including ways of thinking, traditions, and ceremonies, and who interact on a regular basis and therefore share dialect variations. Underhill's desire was to capture the past of a vanishing race, as was a common view at the time. What she attempted was to convey "a picture of Papago life as it must have been just before the coming of the White man. In many parts of Papago county, it is still very much like that, though changes are coming fast" (1941:7).

The academic and bureaucratic homogenization of O'odham south of the Gila River resulted as well from the assumption that the people closer to Tucson were "Papago"/Tohono O'odham and had simply lost their traditions and that those residing at Santa Rosa (Gu-Achi, "Place of the Burnt Seeds") and other villages in the vicinity of Sells represented a purer and more complete representation of the preservation of past ways (Underhill 1938:5, 1939:30, 1941:7, 1946:4–5, 1974:311–318, 1979:32). This assumption is conveyed by Underhill's conception of Santa Rosa as one of the most isolated and traditional villages on the reservation and her opinion that the center of the reservation was less changed than other areas, while also acknowledging that the O'odham were "by no means a homogenous group" (Underhill 1946:4; see also 1939:v, vi, 20, 30). This perspective of a more standardized version of O'odham that more purely reflected the past and the true O'odham way was reinforced by political factors originating in the federal government, wherein San Xavier was subsumed into the Tohono O'odham Nation (or, as Underhill referenced it at the time, the Sells Reservation). Placement of San Xavier (and other communities now referenced as districts) under Sells or Indian Oasis resulted from bureaucratic expedience that disregarded cultural differences noted by some government workers and academic researchers at the time (Seymour et al. 2022b). There were also both a misunderstanding that the people of Wa:k were "originally from [the] parent village [*sic*] of Santa Rosa and San Lorenzo" and an incorrect assumption that the designated grazing districts represented "ancient sub-divisional lines" (Collier 1936 in Fontana 1993; Hall 1936; McQuigg 1913, 1914; also see Fontana 1993:13–14, 22–23, 45–65; Hoover 1935:259–262; Underhill 1938, 1939:60–61). The narrative was strengthened when Robert Hackenberg (1974a:272,) citing Underhill (1939:23), incorporated research results into land claims testimony about the disposition of the Wa:k community, stating that the original Sobaipuri occupants had died out during an epidemic and by other means. This position of extinction was reiterated in newspapers and by later historians (e.g., Hackenberg 1974b:76, 272, 275; Joseph et al. 1949:22; "Last of Indian Braves Tell Story Out of Rich Long Life"; "Last of Sobaipuri Tribe Passes with 'Red Evening'"; "Soba Puris Once Ruled Tucson Area"; Underhill 1938:16, 1939:23; also see Seymour 2011a; Seymour et al. 2022a, 2022b). This perspective has persisted for decades, despite the fact that many of Wa:k's current residents can definitively trace their heritage to the Sobaipuri. This book will demonstrate that the Sobaipuri were not from the west but that they once occupied the margins of every river in southeastern Arizona.

This assumption about all those residing between the Santa Cruz River and Santa Rosa being essentially similar only confused the understanding further.

It ultimately led to archaeologist Emil Haury (1976) referencing the prehistoric Hohokam as Desert Farmers and using the Tohono O'odham analogy rather than one more appropriate to the Akimel O'odham. This confusion was so deeply embedded that it has persisted today because people have referenced the existing ethnographic material while not understanding how inappropriate and misleading it could be. One consequence of this is that up until recently there has been debate as to whether the Sobaipuri were year-round irrigation farmers or part-time farmers with a heavy reliance on wild foods. Thus, when scholars cited the earliest documentary evidence, they assumed that the mobile groups encountered (e.g., those small groups presenting gifts of little value, e.g., Seymour 2016a) were descriptive of the Sobaipuri, who, in contrast, practiced a very different lifeway as irrigation farmers and therefore left very different archaeological evidence. Because of the seeming contradiction in the records, Sobaipuri research remained at a stalemate with little progress until a sufficiently strong archaeological record began to serve as an arbiter (e.g., *Where the Earth and Sky Are Sewn Together*). The confusion was heightened because as a result of Apache attacks, Spanish policy, and disease, most of the Sobaipuri moved from their original villages to live at the Wa:k community at San Xavier del Bac. Furthermore, the baptismal records from 1768 document "Papagos," that is, Tohono O'odham, at Wa:k (Matson and Fontana 1977:148–150). This record indicates both that more Tohono O'odham were moving in (e.g., Matson and Fontana 1977:66, 72) and a seeming record of a shift in the way these villagers were perceived and referenced by outsiders. The term "Papago" gained prominence as the Franciscans took over after the Jesuit expulsion, apparently because these missionaries lacked the temporal depth of cultural understanding held by their predecessors or perhaps were more interested in acculturation than understanding distinctions. Formerly, such as in 1764, it was recognized that the "Papagos" inhabited "the sandy, barren plains of the northwest" or "the sterile wilderness" (Nentvig in Pradeau and Rasmussen 1980:54, 99), but shortly after the mid-eighteenth century, the missionaries were exploiting the political imbalance produced when Tohono O'odham moved into Sobaipuri settlements. As the O'odham were referenced, so they became, in name at least. Furthermore, assumptions introduced into the historic record and public opinion in the mid-1800s by rude and uneducated travelers, politicians, and land-grabbers contributed a great deal to defining who the Wa:k O'odham were from a public perspective. Yet, that they were not "Papago"/Tohono O'odham is reinforced by the report that when urged to be obedient in 1764 the Sobaipuri residents of Tucson commented: "Maybe you think we are Papagos?" (Pradeau and Rasmussen

1980:99). In the first third of the twentieth century Carnacion Mamake of the Wa:k community at San Xavier del Bac told stories about her Sobaipuri ancestors that other residents did not believe because by then, so many residents had been indoctrinated, taught in school and in public for decades. Yet, even the Tohono O'odham at Santa Rosa spoke of themselves as the "real Papago," which Underhill (1974:311) took to mean that "all others have elements of foreign or mixed blood." But rather, in fact, what they were likely saying according to today's O'odham is that the people to the far west and far east were a different kind of O'odham (and were initially referred to as such) than those from Santa Rosa, with different lifeways, more mobile and more sedentary, respectively. And of course, it cannot be denied that communities through the millennia tend to think of themselves as the true conveyors of their culture, being the only real people or the most traditional.

These are the ways in which the ethnographic record had been collected and incorporated into studies of the Sobaipuri. The fact that today we are able to incorporate but critically evaluate Underhill's important and monumental work is a testament to how much has been learned and to the congenial interface between O'odham and anthropologists who seek to understand the differences found throughout O'odham territory. As the Wa:k O'odham have stated, they knew they were different; they just did not understand why, in part because they were "brainwashed" (Tony Burrell, personal communication, 2018).

ARCHAEOLOGY COMES FROM BEHIND

The documentary record originally dominated study of the Sobaipuri because so few Sobaipuri sites (and O'odham sites in general) were known. What little archeological evidence was available for those sites thought to be Sobaipuri was contradictory, as initially each site documented as Sobaipuri presented quite different kinds of evidence. Yet, the astute reader will notice that one of the sites included in the list of five initially known Sobaipuri sites at the beginning of this chapter does include one recorded by Charles Di Peso (1953) of the Amerind Foundation. Di Peso can be credited with recognizing and recording the first-ever documented genuine Sobaipuri site (AZ EE:8:15, ASM; figure 1.3). At the time he thought he was investigating Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea, whereas, in fact, he excavated Santa Cruz del Pitaitutgam (Seymour 1989, 1990, 1993b, 2011a, 2014). Since then, the actual Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea village site has been identified. Indeed, it was the first of many sites I recorded along the middle San Pedro in 1985 and after (Seymour 1989, 1990, 1993b, 2011a, 2011b). Di Peso (1956) also erroneously recorded a prehistoric

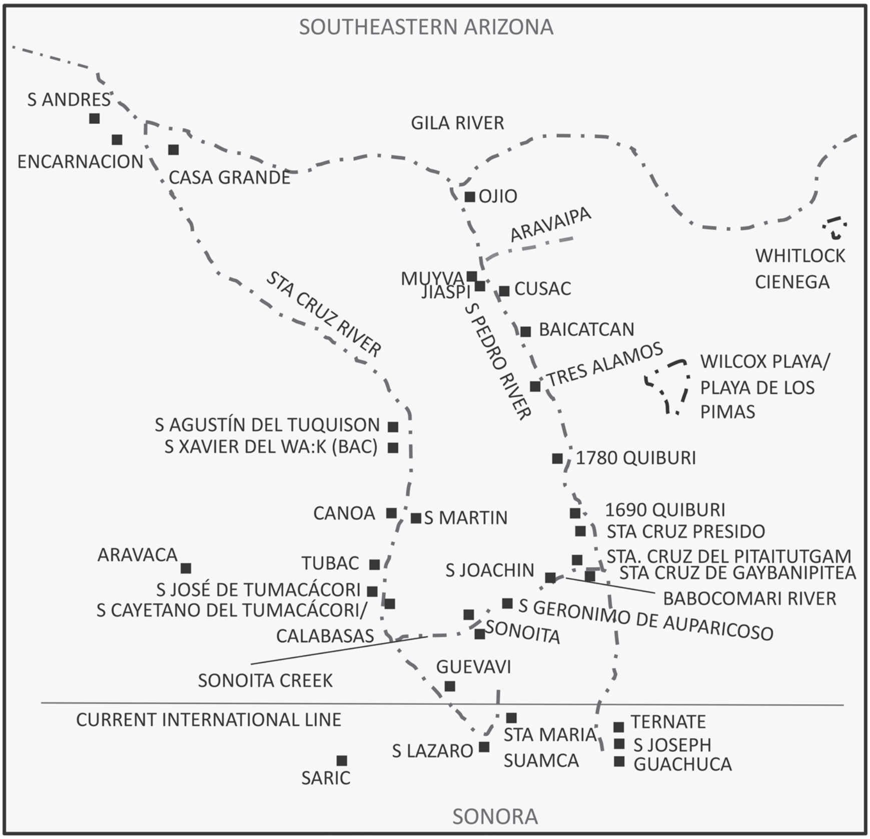

Figure 1.3. *Places mentioned throughout this book. Figure prepared by Deni Seymour.*

site with a late O'odham component as being the important Sobaipuri village of San Cayetano del Tumacácori. He also thought he had identified San Salvador del Baicatcan as being the archaeological site of Solas Ruin (Di Peso 1953), but this site has since been shown to be a prehistoric site without a Sobaipuri component, as I have inspected it more than once myself. He had assumed Kino's maps were wrong and that Kino had plotted Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea and San Cayetano del Tumacácori on the wrong side of a key tributary drainage and river, respectively. He assumed this error despite that Kino was an expert cartographer and his maps have been shown to be quite accurate, especially for the time, particularly with regard to the side of the river a village was on.

Di Peso (1953) also excavated Santa Cruz de Terrenate, a Spanish presidio occupied between late 1775 and early 1780.[5] At this place he also thought he had identified the important Sobaipuri site of Quiburi, visited by Father Kino in the 1690s. Yet, the material culture he identified and associated with the Sobaipuri at that site was indictive of later activity, and the occupational sequence was much more complex, with the much-later O'odham artifacts that dominate the record associated with the presidio. Organic-tempered O'odham plainware and redware do not appear on the scene until 1775 or so. Regrettably, many of Di Peso's inferences are propagated today by researchers not familiar with the history of ideas in this area (see discussion in Seymour 2011a). As Rex Gerald (1968) argued then, and as I have since shown, the setting of the presidio was never the location of Quiburi. No one today would make that association based on the documentary evidence now available, and, even at the time, some of the primary documentary evidence had to be dismissed to make that early argument for that location being Quiburi. The common practice at the time of ignoring inconvenient data that do not fit sometimes continues to this day.

Di Peso made the connection between the place (Santa Cruz de Terrenate Presidio) and the documentary record (Quiburi) for two key reasons. First, Bolton ([1936] 1960:361) had claimed that Quiburi was located at Santa Cruz de Terrenate, and so Di Peso accepted this inference and believed he had found supportive evidence (see chapter 9). Di Peso so readily accepted this inference most likely because the documentary record only referenced a handful of Sobaipuri villages. Kino's earliest map (*Teatro*) only showed four villages in this immediate area, and the textual record from the 1690s only mentioned two (see Bolton 1948:I; Burrus 1971; F. Smith et al. 1966). Consequently, it was a reasonable inference that if two of these sites had been found (Di Peso's Gaybanipitea [now Pitaitutgam] and this one), they must be these two Kino-period sites (Seymour 2011a). At the time it was also assumed that the Sobaipuri presence in the area had a shallow time depth, appearing right before Kino entered on the scene, but this assumption of a late arrival has since been discredited with abundant new chronometric evidence (Harlan and Seymour 2017; Seymour 1989, 2011a, 2011b, 2014; Seymour and Sugnet 2016). This assumption of a recent O'odham arrival also accounts for why it was at the time most reasonable to assume Kino's maps were incorrect with respect to the placement of Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea. It was not known that there were around three dozen Sobaipuri sites along this stretch of the river alone, something my research three decades after Di Peso would begin to reveal. Nor was it considered, and there was no real reason to think, that village locations shifted every couple of decades, leading to a proliferation of sites and components that could be associated with a single historically referenced placename. This trend was not ascertained until later when I published this as an explanation as to why there were so many Sobaipuri sites (see Seymour 1989, 1990, 1993b, 1997, 2003, 2007b, 2011a, 2011b), and later when J. Darling and others (2004) recognized the movement of villages—both they and I relying on Paul Ezell's (1961) seminal work along the Gila wherein he mentioned village drift (also see Segesser in Treutlein 1945:158; and regarding daughter villages, see Underhill 1938:16). Nor had it yet been revealed that not all the Sobaipuri moved out of the San Pedro Valley during their forced removal to Tucson in 1762 (Seymour 2011c; Seymour and Rodríguez 2020) and that a much longer, earlier and later, occupation could be demonstrated on the San Pedro and elsewhere.

As it turns out, my field excavations at Santa Cruz de Terrenate Presidio (1775–1780) revealed evidence of a Sobaipuri village. The material culture evidence matches that found at Santa Cruz del Pitaitutgam and Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea and all the other Sobaipuri sites now known. Yet, my excavations and documentary research indicate that the Sobaipuri village at the presidio was Santa Cruz, not Quiburi. This explains why the presidio was called Santa Cruz or Santa Cruz of/de Terrenate, with Terrenate referencing the initial presidio further south of the modern international line. Before that, Ternate was the name of a settlement near the headwaters of the San Pedro River. The Sobaipuri village at the Santa Cruz de Terrenate Presidio location (that preceded the presidio) was called Santa Cruz and was the successor of Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea, established and occupied after that village was attacked in 1698 and after the people from there and Quiburi moved for a few years to Sonoita (Seymour 2014; see chapter 6, this book). When the people from both villages returned to the San Pedro shortly after 1700, they reestablished their villages in new locations and Santa Cruz was placed at the future site of the presidio, while Quiburi was a bit north. This shift positioned both villages within earshot of one another, without a hill between them, so that if future violence erupted and either village was attacked, the warriors from the other village could easily and quickly come to the aid of the victims. Even in 1775, when Hugo O'Conor sighted the location for the planned presidio he noted that it was to be established in the location known as Santa Cruz. The criteria that made the location acceptable for a Sobaipuri village made it suitable for a Spanish fort and included that it be defensible with water, wood, and arable land (Croix in Thomas 1941; Seymour 2011a, 2023). Quiburi was never known as Santa Cruz, but rather Quiburi's daughter villages of Pitaitutgam and Gaybanipitea (derived from O'odham placenames) were prefaced by that saint's designation, as was the post-1700 village that preceded presidio construction. The village was sometimes called Santa Cruz of/de Quiburi because it was in the Quiburi Valley, along the river sometimes called the Quiburi River, and was a smaller settlement that was politically subordinate to Quiburi, and so was "of Quiburi." But Santa Cruz and Quiburi were always different places, which is why today no reputable scholar familiar with the documentary and archaeological records would suggest that Quiburi was at the later presidio location.

At the time, Di Peso was just beginning to define the material culture attributes of the Sobaipuri, and the available documentary record was not as extensive. Consequently, much of what Di Peso concluded has since been revised, despite the incredible importance of his work. Nonetheless, his collections provide valuable information that has since been used in concert with modern excavations to revise our understanding of this place. Material culture defined as Sobaipuri at the presidio that was actually Sobaipuri (such as Whetstone Plain pottery) has now been shown on the basis of its spatial distribution to be associated with the earlier Santa Cruz village that occupied only a portion of the presidio footprint (Seymour 2023). So, while there was a Sobaipuri village at the spot of the presidio, its historical identity was misinterpreted and the evidence for it was confused with artifacts from the later presidio occupation. One could argue that the now-identified Sobaipuri evidence that relates to Santa Cruz at the presidio could be included as evidence of a sixth Sobaipuri site attributable to this early period of knowledge (list provided toward the beginning of this chapter). But since the evidence and the placename were initially misidentified, the evidence was legitimately dismissed or at least questioned for decades by most knowledge scholars until the recent twenty-first century work conducted there produced definitive proof.

The purported Sobaipuri component at the four sites investigated by Di Peso in the late 1940s and early 1950s varied considerably, leaving archaeologists confused, without a clear material cultural basis from which to work. It was not until some quarter century after Di Peso's investigations at Santa Cruz del Pitaitutgam that the series of actual Sobaipuri villages (the second through the fifth) were defined (Doyel 1977; Franklin 1980; Huckell 1984; Masse 1980, 1981). For some time after this, and even when I first began work, scholars who expressed an interest in the Sobaipuri were few. Those who could recognize Sobaipuri evidence in the archaeological record could be counted on one hand and mostly included those just mentioned who had encountered Sobaipuri evidence in the field. Little has changed in this regard, to the detriment of the resources themselves. Components are usually found on larger multiple component sites, and these are routinely damaged and destroyed by archaeologists and historians who are unfamiliar with the subtle nature of the evidence and the specific ways in which they need to be recorded and excavated (Seymour 2011a, 2017b). Some researchers are also not interested in these late components and commonly disregard and therefore destroy them when looking for earlier material, despite their importance and rarity (Seymour 2017b).

Most of what we knew back in the 1980s (which was extraordinarily little) has since been revised in light of new evidence. The greatest challenge has been addressing the question as to how we would know the specified sites were Sobaipuri as opposed to some other group, such as Jocome or Apache. Some researchers even questioned whether the distinctive attributes were protohistoric because they were so often found as components on Hohokam sites, and chronometric dates sometimes placed them much earlier than the Kino period (Ravesloot and Whittlesey 1987). The logic at the time was that they might not be Sobaipuri and that they surely had not been proven to be protohistoric. Today the perspective has changed, and because of hundreds of carefully selected chronometric dates we know that the Sobaipuri pattern overlaps temporally with the Hohokam. The Sobaipuri were present much earlier than previously thought, long before the arrival of Europeans. Because of past confusion and doubt about the existing archaeological or material cultural definition of Sobaipuri, it became clear that in addition to correlating on-the-ground evidence with the Sobaipuri documentary record, it would be necessary to define the Jocome and Apache in the archaeological record. This took me on a decades-long search for evidence of these other groups, which resulted in the gradual definition of these other complexes (Seymour 1995, 2002, 2004, 2009a, 2011a, 2014, 2016a). The results of this effort established a basis to distinguish between Jocome, ancestral Apache, and Sobaipuri, and I was soon able to distinguish each, even on multiple component sites, because I had deconstructed their diagnostic assemblages throughout the greater Southwest. Originally, Sobaipuri experts thought that the small triangular indented- and flat-base points and fine-grained chert bifaces and stone tools were as diagnostic of the Sobaipuri as were their elongate stone-ringed houses (see Masse 1981; Seymour 1993b). Yet, many of these apparently diagnostic attributes that were once assigned to the Sobaipuri have since been shown to be Jocome, or Sobaipuri with an overlying Jocome component (see Seymour 2011a, 2014, 2016a). Some are even assignable to other groups, such as the Jano and Suma, which are among a number of mobile groups documented intermittently in this area. So, while many of these tool forms are distinctive and pertain to the "Protohistoric" period, these unique stone items found on Sobaipuri sites often represent a later Jocome occupation. This is apparent with the Jocome and Jano occupation at and near Sobaipuri sites in the vicinity of Quiburi that were mentioned in the documentary record from 1686 (AZ EE:4:36, 169, 178, 179, 181, ASM; see Seymour 2016a:166–167, 2020d) and one along Sonoita Creek (AZ EE:6:106, ASM; Seymour 2015a). Some of these items are found on Sobaipuri sites because they were weapons left on battle sites, such as at the 1698 battle at Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea (Seymour 2014, 2015b). The Bechtel burial encountered in Tucson (AZ AA:12:98, ASM; Brew and Huckell 1987) is another site defined as Sobaipuri that instead was likely Jocome.

Through concerted and ongoing efforts at defining all the primary groups known to have occupied southeastern Arizona in the early Historic period and before, it has been possible to isolate with certainty the Sobaipuri archaeological signature from that of the Jocome and ancestral Apache (Seymour 2002, 2004, 2009a, 2011a, 2012a, 2014, 2016a, 2017b). The Sobaipuri archaeological signature as previously defined was only partially correct. Foremost among the diagnostic attributes are the unique elongate rock-ringed house outlines, that are distinctive from the often-rounder ones used by more mobile people (figure 1.4). The Sobaipuri also covered their houses with mats and dirt or adobe, whereas those O'odham from the desert and mobile people of other origins tended to use only brush and poles or branches. The Sobaipuri-specific site layout, with houses paired and arranged in linear rows, is not known for any other groups, including their Tohono O'odham cousins. Whetstone Plain pottery is the hallmark type of the Sobaipuri but has been insufficiently studied to know whether other O'odham groups shared this technology and made similar wares and what the differences among them might be. Small triangular arrow points that were made on fine-grained material are also representative of the Sobaipuri, but these are A-shaped (with U-shaped and flat bases) rather than the many other forms that characterize other groups in the area at the time (for example the Eifel-tower-shaped ones of the Soto complex, which are probably Suma; Seymour 2002, 2014, 2017c; also see Harlan 2017). Some of the village sites that have produced chronometric dates from the Kino period and later have also revealed artifactual evidence that confirms these dates, including glass trade beads (seed beads and larger multifaceted glass beads), iron knives and crosses, and other gift and trade items (see, e.g., 2007b).

The distinctive Sobaipuri pattern continues into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when various aspects of their material culture are modified or are replaced with those of other groups. By 1775 manure-tempered plain- and redwares supplement Whetstone Plain, as do red-on-brown wares and other types produced for the tourist industry and for non-O'odham household use in the mid- to late 1800s. Nonetheless, luminescence dates on Whetstone

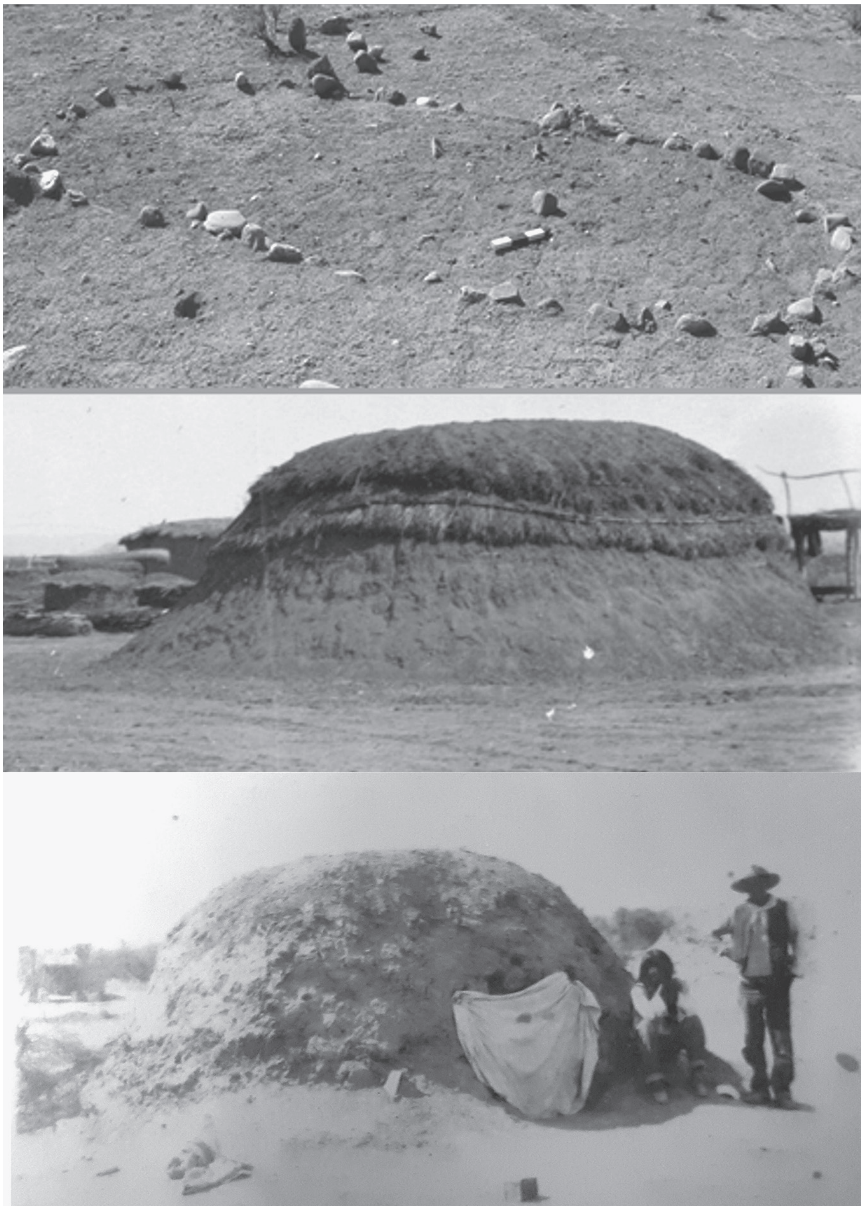

Figure 1.4. *Outline of Sobaipuri house after excavation and two historical images of River O'odham houses. Upper photograph by Deni Seymour. Middle photograph: Middle photo: National Anthropological Archives and Human Studies Film Archives, Smithsonian Institution, 2696-a-1; Arizona State Museum Photo Collections. Bottom photo: public domain.*

Plain indicate that this pottery type began at least as early as the late AD 1200s and continued in use well into the twentieth century. Their distinctive houses were gradually supplemented and then replaced with adobe-walled structures in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The addition of a robust archaeological data set has advanced our understanding of the Sobaipuri because it provides insights into information not available in the documentary record. There are many more sites than ever imagined. Sobaipuri occupation is temporally much deeper than originally thought and overlaps with the Hohokam, indicating that they played a role in the events that transpired within the Hohokam world. The archaeological record also provides information on the location of key historical places, which in turn allows us to understand so much more about how the Sobaipuri used the landscape, which is the focus of this book. Archaeological data provide a different perspective on what the documentary record might be conveying and a broader perspective from which to interpret the ethnographic record. Thus, rather than simply supplementing the documentary and ethnographic records, in this instance the archaeological record takes the lead in providing a context for understanding so much more about the Sobaipuri lifeway and for resolving conflicting evidentiary source materials. On-the-ground evidence so often provides explanations for something stated in the documentary record that was interpreted one way but was in fact meant in another.

In the following chapters, archaeological sites and ethnohistoric data are examined that relate to each of the primary drainages used by the Sobaipuri, addressing long-held notions and poorly understood aspects of Sobaipuri landscape use and settlement patterns. The reader will note that the chapters of this book cover topics not discussed elsewhere. I have continued to research the Sobaipuri O'odham since the 2011 publication of *Where the Earth and Sky Are Sewn Together*, which established a new understanding of the people called Sobaipuri. This current book relates some of the new findings, filling in some of the many questions that remained upon the writing of that book. A number of questions were raised decades ago, and only recently have data been available to answer them or to examine them in new ways. Each of the chapters addresses at least one of these questions. In fact, this book addresses some of the longest-standing questions for the Sobaipuri and reorients the discussion in new directions. This book may be viewed as an overview of current understandings of Sobaipuri landscape use, including their unique way of using the river valleys. We now have archaeological evidence of Sobaipuri occupation in the Sonoita Creek drainage and along the Babocomari River. We have dozens more chronometric dates for individual Sobaipuri sites and also dates that parse some of the complex building episodes and occupational sequences of mission and presidio sites. This book addresses the topic raised by prominent Borderland historian Herbert Bolton ([1936] 1960:248) years ago about the apparent dividing line on the middle San Pedro and Santa Cruz Rivers between Sobaipuri on the north and Pima to the south. It addresses the ethnic identity of people at the headwaters of the San Pedro and on the middle Gila. Placenames are positioned within the context of the larger O'odham landscape. The cumulative nature of occupation in Sobaipuri villages is discussed along with the complex chronometric results obtained from missions and presidios, the occupation of river valleys and places long after they were said to be abandoned, and, briefly, the way village movement has influenced a range of factors, including the final survey and ultimate land ownership within the San José de Sonoita land grant. Hopefully, new research will continue to fill in our understanding of these important prehistoric and historic peoples because this academically neglected group was critically important in the course of historic events and remains important to descendant populations.

NOTES

1. The words "Pima" and "O'odham" are used interchangeably in this book, though "Pima" is usually a general historical reference to the O'odham or today it specifically references the Salt River Pima.

2. A Badger song is one of many medicine songs, which is one of the principal groups of O'odham songs (Russell [1908] 1975:271, 322).

3. A reviewer requested a mention of how site numbers are designated within the state. The main repository that oversees the assignment of site numbers is the Arizona State Museum (ASM), affiliated with the University of Arizona in Tucson. As its web page points out: "The ASM site number system is a modification of the one originally developed by Gila Pueblo in the late 1920s. Both systems systematically and increasingly subdivide areas to ultimately designate site numbers. The ASM system uses a five-part designation that includes a political designation (e.g., AZ), a quadrangle designation (e.g., U), a rectangle designation (e.g., 15), a site-in-rectangle designation (e.g., 2), and a suffix (i.e., ASM). These examples would form site number AZ U:15:2(ASM)."

4. See discussion in Seymour (1989), for example.

5. Ternate should not be confused with Santa Cruz de Terrenate, though the original and subsequent presidios took their name from a location nearby that was sometimes spelled Ternate and so the same name is likely being transferred through time. Referenced here is to Ternate, which is not the later presidio.