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Delicate Diplomacy on a Restless Frontier: Seventeeth-Century Sobaípuri-O'odham Social and Economic Relations in Northwestern New Spain, Part 1

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SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SOBAÍPURI-O'ODHAM SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN NORTHWESTERN NEW SPAIN, PART 1

Deni J. Seymour

Historians and archaeologists have traditionally viewed the Sobaípuri-O'odhams as minor players in the history of northern New Spain.[1] Yet, new research indicates that these occupants of the upper San Pedro and Santa Cruz river valleys in present-day southern Arizona (fig. 1) actually assumed an influential role in seventeenth-century regional social and economic relations. While sustained Sobaípuri written history begins relatively late in the sequence of historical events—the Pueblos had already expelled the Europeans—activities surrounding the Sobaípuris provide crucial links between hitherto disparate historical facts. Combined archaeological, ethnohistorical, linguistic, oral historic, and ethnographic data indicate that the Sobaípuris were more directly involved in northern New Spain frontier social relations and economics than historians and archaeologists previously thought.

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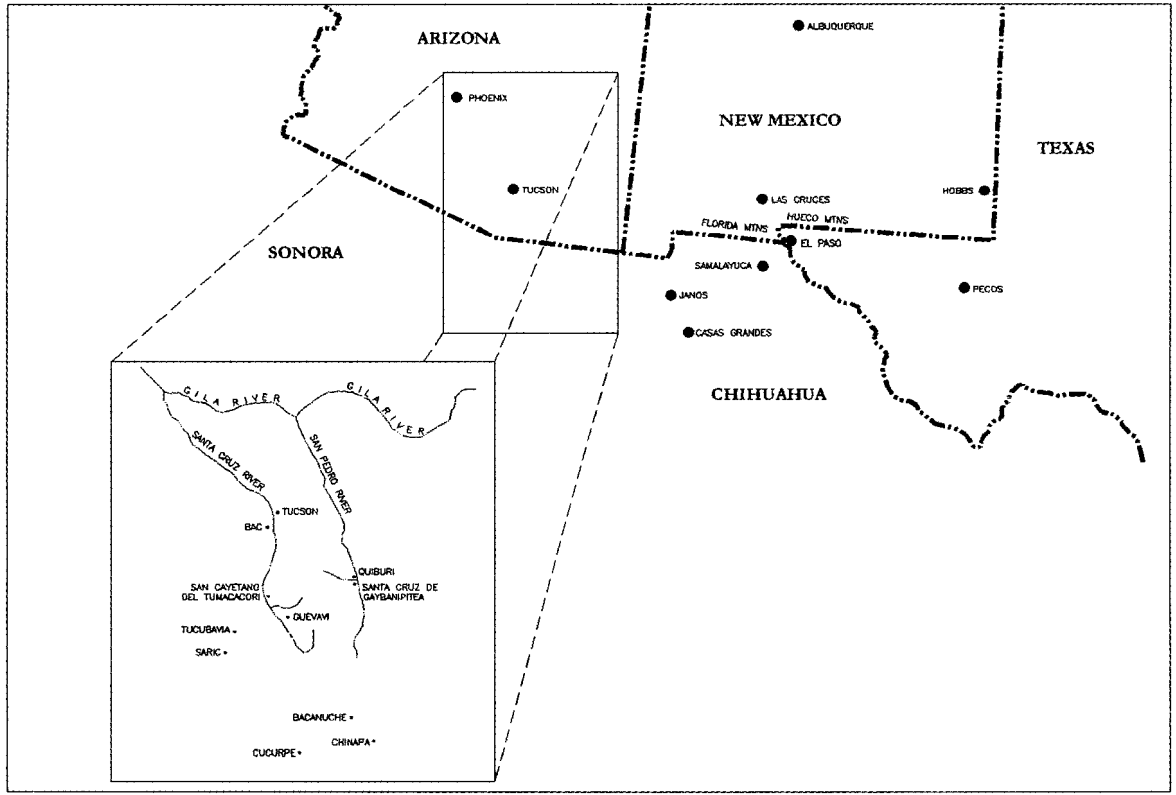

FIGURE 1. MAP OF SOBAÍPURIS IN SOUTHWEST
(Map by Erick Querubin)

Data converge to suggest that mobile groups (Athapaskan and non-Athapaskan) engaged the Sobaípuris in a pan-regional trade network. In this way, the mobile groups sustained a mutually beneficial relationship that discouraged famine and initially—and intermittently—substituted for raiding. This economic relationship was sometimes consummated through intermarriage between O'odhams and mobile groups. One such coalition led to the formation of the Sobaípuris or Soba Jípuris, who apparently maintained friendly relations with mobile groups. Yet when key factions of the Sobaípuris decided to ally themselves with the Europeans, these amiable relationships between settled farmers and mobile raiders who remained at large were truncated. The consequences of this division ultimately led to the demise of all these "indigenous" groups, except the Apaches and O'odhams. The latter two groups continued on, although substantially transformed. Substantiation of this role the Sobaípuris played in New Spain's frontier society includes early raiding-oriented settlements that the Sobaípuris shared with resident mobile groups outside the group's territory. Changes in Sobaípuri site structure hint at intergroup relations as well. Also in evidence are the arrow points with which the Sobaípuris defended themselves during the decisive battle at Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea, an important Sobaípuri village along the San Pedro River, in 1698.

Modern conceptions about historic O'odhams and Apaches are often based on an excessively specific and a narrowly synchronic perspective with evidential sources from centuries collapsed into a timeless narrative. Consequently, conceptual models and historical reconstructions are frequently incongruous with the archaeological data. They also sometimes fail to characterize accurately the processes underway and neglect evidence of cultural change; in the quest for coherency they become homogenized and essentialized. The Sobaípuris, for example, were not always focused cultivators but instead practiced several different ways of life—if even for short periods of time when neighboring groups drew them away from agricultural pursuits into mobile raiding. In addition the O'odhams and Apaches were not traditional enemies since the beginning of their collective past. Although author David H. DeJong refers to the Apaches as the "traditional enemy" of the O'odhams and photographer Edward S. Curtis calls these two groups "hereditary foes . . . from earliest tradition," other accounts suggest they were simply longtime or old enemies.[2] Anthropologist Edward H. Spicer also refers to them as "implacable enemies." Likewise, historian John L. Kessell notes that the O'odham word for *enemy* is synonymous with the

word *Apache*.[3] Anthropologist Frank Russell comments that these groups were engaged in constant warfare, and historians Ernest J. Burrus and Charles Polzer label the two tribes as "declared enemies."[4] Finally, anthropologist and archaeologist Paul H. Ezell states that O'odham-Apache relations were consistently hostile from the beginning of the historical period.[5]

An equal number of sources refer to friendly relations between the O'odhams and Apaches. Some scholars, such as historian James E. Officer, comment that the Apaches and Sobaípuris may have "enjoyed peaceful relations until disturbed by the Spaniards in 1692."[6] Historian Donald C. Cole mirrors this perspective when he notes that the O'odhams claim to have experienced raids by Apaches only after the Spanish established missions among their peoples.[7] Prior to the historical period, relations between the Athapaskan groups (later to become the Apaches) and O'odhams were often friendly as noted by Father Luís Xavier Velarde.[8] What seems apparent is that relations between the Apaches and O'odhams changed over time, as did interactions between the Rio Grande and Salinas pueblos and the Apaches. Dealings among mobile groups and specific settled villages varied as well.[9] An early O'odham myth recounts the establishment of friendship and peace with the Apaches after a battle that followed the kidnapping of an O'odham baby at an unspecified time in the past.[10] Ethnographer Ruth M. Underhill has suggested that, based on ethnographic evidence, there might have been an Apache admixture in the Sobaípuris and noted that the Sobaípuris and a mobile group (Jocomes, known to be allies with the Apaches) were living together at first Spanish contact.[11]

Many of the traditions now attributed to the O'odhams (and Apaches) seem to have been established late in southern Arizona, probably in the 1680s, 1690s, or later. Prior to this time period, the historic, ethnographic, and archaeological records indicate that the Sobaípuris routinely interacted with Athapaskan and non-Athapaskan mobile groups (Janos, Jocomes, Mansos, Sumas, and others). As middlemen in an expansive trade and social system, the O'odhams networked with other Native groups on several levels. This interaction took place locally, on a community-to-community basis; so it is misleading to refer simply to the Apaches and the O'odhams as singular, sizable, uniform entities whose members acted in accord. Moreover, through accidents of history, strategic alliances, and colonial devices, only the Apaches and O'odhams survive today as recognized tribal entities; but all these earlier relationships that included the Janos, Jocomes, Mansos, Sumas, and other groups were important in configuring modern-day O'odhams and Apaches.

These events and relationships helped to construct the Sobaípuris as a historically referenced group before they became so recognizably O'odham with respect to modern notions.[12] In this context, the Sobaípuris interacted with mobile groups (including the Athapaskans) on a friendly basis—sometimes raiding and probably intermarrying with them—resulting in the distinctiveness of this particular O'odham group.

The incorporation of an archaeological perspective to the study of the O'odhams highlights some of the shortcomings and inconsistencies of modern conceptions that derive from the use of historic and ethnographic records alone. Sometimes archaeology enhances these sources, providing data that address longstanding questions. Archaeology also underscores the need to seriate the historical record in a way that distinguishes passages that represent snapshots through time. In fact data obtained from on-the-ground investigations require that renewed credibility and broader contextualization be given to earlier recorded events.[13] Many of these intermediate period records are unfamiliar to many O'odham scholars because these sources emphasize mobile groups rather than the O'odhams and focus on events taking place outside the geographic area of interest. Historian Jack D. Forbes, recognizing the importance of early intergroup interaction, compiled an abundance of data relevant to this issue.[14] Documents written before and after 1690 record differences in Sobaípuri behavior, reflecting what I believe to be significant changes in intergroup relations, just as records from 1539 present an entirely different view.

The joint use of archaeological data with the historical and ethnographic records allows for a revised perspective of the early history of northern New Spain. This approach also helps correct a record that is inherently imperfect. As Spicer has noted, the record of early events in the Spanish colonial period is incomplete and unbalanced: "For the most part there is really no history of the Indians, only the history of the Spaniards in their contacts with the Indians."[15] In this respect, archaeology can be an effective way to supplement the pages of history and is particularly useful in the absence of oral histories from this time period.

Methodological Considerations

This paper includes liberal reference to data, including unpublished materials, that I have accumulated over the past twenty-plus years from my research on the Sobaípuris, ancestral Chiricahua and Mescalero Apaches, and various resident non-Athapaskan mobile groups (Janos, Jocomes,

Mansos, Sumas, and others).[16] This article represents a partial synthesis of these findings from the southern Southwest in the late prehistoric and early historic periods.[17] This research involves thematic or purposive surveys along major rivers and mountain ranges in southeastern Arizona, New Mexico, and southwest Texas. More in-depth data have been gathered by the author through recent excavations and chronometric sampling undertaken over the past seven years on several Sobaípuri and mobile group sites in these areas. This broad geographic focus is beneficial because it highlights the events occurring and people present in New Mexico, West Texas, and northern Mexico and their effect on Arizona long before sustained European contact in the 1690s.[18] This extensive geographic area proved to be a requisite to distinguishing the archaeological signature of the Sobaípuris and contemporaneous groups. The wide-ranging geographic and cultural focus for this period clarifies the interconnection between peoples in far-reaching areas that were not as disparate as they were in the prehistoric period. People as social units, rather than simply task groups (such as traders), were moving across vast expanses of the landscape either as a way of life or as mobile interludes in an otherwise fairly sedentary existence. Anything short of an expansive geographic view falls short of capturing the essence of this time period.

The archaeological record of this era can be especially difficult to recognize and understand because of the light imprint and the drastic change in lifeways from the preceding ceramic period. In neighboring south Texas, the Archaic Period continues up until the late prehistoric; so late mobility is not as difficult to comprehend. In the Southwest, sedentary farming societies inhabit the region between the Archaic and the later part of the prehistoric period, which has tended to deflect focus from the more transient forms of existence. For these reasons, the historic record is helpful because it tells us that people were present who have not been seen or considered archaeologically.

Archaeologists by their intellectual heritage are encouraged to incorporate data from a variety of sources to enrich understanding of the incomplete record of the past. It is for this reason that I use a syndetic approach to the study of these historically referenced groups, which is similar to the "archaeohistorical" approach used by Charles C. Di Peso, the multi-evidential approach of Kathleen A. Deagan, and the holistic approach used by Kent G. Lightfoot.[19] Even though my method transcends disciplinary boundaries to use data generated by other specialists, it differs—methodologically, theoretically,

practically, and with respect to the goals of research—in fundamental ways from the work conducted by historians and ethnohistorians. As such it must be evaluated differently. In this research scheme, archaeology becomes at once an independent line of evidence, a source of external criticism for ethnohistoric documents and ethnographic literature, and a testing ground for and font of archaeological method and theory. The historical and ethnographic data points also become threads by which to link archaeological data to inference.

One of the most essential aspects of this approach is that written documents are not privileged over archaeological remains.[20] Although it is most common for written documents to be used to interpret or elaborate on the archaeological record, the latter can also be effectively used to evaluate and fill out the historic record. This distinction acknowledges the role of archaeology as an independent evidential source and in doing so provides the basis for understanding that arguments are not circular and uncritical. The material and spatial data contained in the archaeological record and the historical chronicle of a place are independently constituted.[21] When archaeological and historical content converge they provide two different and independent perspectives of the behavior or acts that occurred at a specific place. Convergence of data from two or more different sources provides reasonable expectation that their content is an accurate representation of a past phenomenon as narrowly defined by the content of those data points. The more data points, generally the stronger the inference, unless of course all the data points have been obtained through biased sources.

This type of integrative approach is often mistaken for the direct historical approach, which is ahistorical and stresses conservatism.[22] This misconception can be dispelled by understanding that the methodology entails comparing and contrasting a number of independently constituted lines of evidence (archaeological, ethnographic, ethnohistorical, and linguistic) in a diachronic framework, rejecting the assumption that "traditional" implies persistence outside the historical process. Lightfoot, when describing philosopher of science Allison Wylie's contribution to this idea, likened diachronic research to moving "back and forth between the source and subject in a temporal framework, identifying similarities and anomalies."[23]

Lack of diachronic perspective and an assumption of continuity can be especially insidious, lulling researchers into common sense streams of logic. Decisions as to which historical passages to emphasize and how they should be weighted are often made on the basis of how commonly their content is

repeated in the texts and how complete and consistent the narrative is. An assumption is that the frequency of historical mention equates to the importance and accuracy of statements. Alternatively, repetition of concepts presented in a document or series of sequential documents can mean stasis in the observed world or perceived stasis (perhaps something the narrators clung to as an unchanging fact in a confusing world). On the other hand, an incongruous citation may be indicative of change underway rather than the inaccurate conveyance of information. An effective way to discern these differences is to obtain greater temporal vision and consult external sources, including the archaeological record. When placed in a wider context it is possible to see that change was underway among the Sobaípuris in the 1680s and 1690s and that this was a critical juncture in time.[24] When archaeology is used as an objective measure of choosing which textual fragments to emphasize, a new picture emerges. This diachronic perspective provokes us to consider those earlier portions of the historic record, when the Sobaípuris maintained cordial relations with mobile groups.

Instead, in an effort to focus on internal cohesion and consistency, the active and changing aspects of the record are often deemphasized. Ethnohistoric and ethnographic observations are often collapsed into an ahistorical framework, assuming a persistence of cultural traditions. One result is that those practices widespread and entrenched in ethnographic populations are often mistaken for ancient traditions.[25] Consequently, those text passages that fit preconceived notions are included even though this conceptual framework derives from modern lifeways of groups. These recent observations seem to fit relatively well with the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century historic record; so this rendition is assumed to be more accurate than the fragmented and incomplete record immediately preceding it.

Relative to most other areas of northern New Spain, a sustained documentary history of the Sobaípuris begins rather late; so treatment of it occurs as if it represents (from start to finish) a fairly cohesive and uninterrupted record. Moreover, some semblance of continuity is apparent between these later historic statements and the ethnographic present; so authority and accuracy are imparted to this post-1690s record. Yet, one should not assume an identifiable traditional baseline in the written record—a time of the pristine Sobaípuris—because change was underway locally and pan-regionally. It is useful, however, to conceive of a stepping-off baseline in the late seventeenth century that can be used as a new point of departure for investigation that delineates this group differently than centuries later. If this baseline is

chosen carefully, it can provide a relative gauge of the magnitude and nature of change. The earliest extensive records of the Sobaípuris were made just after the Rio Grande Puebloans had expelled the Europeans (1680) and before the Spanish were able to reassert their authority (1692). Marcos de Niza likely encountered the Sobaípuris in the San Pedro in 1539 but does not mention them by name. The Suma revolts (1684, 1686) and O'odham Revolt (1688) soon followed that of the Rio Grande Puebloans, with local natives feeling empowered in their expression of aversion to the intruders. Although the O'odham Revolt is seen as having been precipitated by a specific event—a slave raid on a peaceful O'odham village—this event was but the tipping point for processes already underway.[26] Thus the pre-1690 accounts of the Sobaípuris have the ability to convey an entirely different perspective than those recorded following the 1690s because of the rapidity and pervasiveness of change. Given the narrow time frame in which observations were recorded and the few chronicles produced, we have but a glimpse of conditions prior to this divide except through the addition of archaeological evidence.

When ethnographic and historic data are placed in a diachronic perspective and temporally ordered, along with archaeological data, insight is provided into culture change. Tangible material evidence infiltrates the interstices between textual pages so that transformations can be accessed that make both the direct historical approach and ethnographic analogy problematic. When a disruption in continuity is indicated, as many are for the O'odhams and Apaches, a diachronic-syndetic approach can prove invaluable for linking past to historic to present and for understanding processes of cultural transformation. Archaeological data are especially helpful in this regard, because they can extend deeply into times before the written word. This back sighting or upstreaming into prehistory is sometimes eschewed because of the pitfalls previously encountered in use of the direct historical approach. Moreover, the substantial changes occurring at contact are presumed to have truncated wholesale connection to the prehistoric. As historian and anthropologist Jan Vansina notes, however, comparative reference to a present informs our knowledge of the past.[27]

To effectively undertake this interdisciplinary approach, it is helpful to incorporate the hard-won work of other specialists, including the analyses of historians, ethnohistorians, linguists, sociologists, geographers, and ethnographers, from their unique and informed perspectives. To this end, it is often necessary to work with existing translations so that focus can proceed on isolating, searching for, and understanding the archaeological correlates present in the documentary content. It is also useful to work with a range of

ethnographies—analyzing individual elements—and to seriate the ethnographic sources, understanding that cultures are in perpetual transition.[28] While some practitioners prefer to collapse into a single cohesive narrative the rich temporal depth and spatial breadth of ethnographic sources and oral historic stories that derive from several informants, this sterilizing procedure decreases their value for use in archaeological efforts. Temporal and source collapse of Native accounts, oral stories or ethnographies, robs the content of their contribution by essentializing and homogenizing the message.

As an independent line of evidence, archaeology provides a basis for critically assessing those parts of the documentary record that have material and spatial correlates. Such an approach acknowledges this vital limitation, accepting that access to the past through archaeological inquiry is restricted to the physical manifestations left by tangible acts of behavior. This may be why it sometimes looks like archaeologists have assumed "that what parts of the documentary evidence to take seriously and what parts to discard were easily determined by common sense."[29] The only common sense aspect is that archaeologists focus only on that which leaves tangible material and spatial residues. It is an inherent understanding of our discipline that a fundamental distinction is made "between what is being said and how it is articulated," just as there is a distinction between what we see in the ground and the behavior that created it, although we do not articulate this contrast at every turn.[30]

Archaeology provides a way to "stand back" from the text—which is a distorted reflection of a past behavioral system—to see how it works, as advocated by Patricia Galloway.[31] Archaeology provides grounding in reality like no other line of evidence and presents a sign post for interpretation. By these means, archaeology can often impart information that is relevant to the interpretation of certain passages and help discern which ones to use. This process can turn an anecdotal historical passage into a significant arbiter in the interpretation of the past. Archaeology also establishes a separate mechanism by which to consider the authenticity and accuracy of what was recorded, and interpret what the written word meant. This characteristic is particularly important when errors have been introduced, alternate meanings suggest themselves, or other interpretations have not even been considered. It can also help ascertain which passages might have been mistaken views, politically motivated, or patently untrue.

A basic interest is in examining the ways and degree to which the evidence or primary data sources—textual, ethnographic, oral historic, and archaeological records—are coterminous, where they correspond in paral-

lel ways, where they are complementary, and where they contradict. The next step is interpretive as is illustrated by a line of inquiry into the late seventeenth-century Sobaípuris' settlement of Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea on the upper San Pedro River in southern Arizona. A long list of distinguished historians and ethnohistorians made the mistake of taking references to "Santa Cruz" at face value. Only two Native settlements (Santa Cruz and Quiburi) were mentioned in the early Kino-period documents, and so historians assumed that there were only two archaeological sites along the segment of the river. My survey has shown that there are many more Sobaípuri sites present—twenty-four to be exact.[32] Also, the distribution of archaeological sites and chronometric dates obtained from them suggest that "Santa Cruz" references not one but two sequentially occupied Native sites that share this same prefix but are situated in two different locations. Given the pervasiveness of the mistakes surrounding "Santa Cruz," it is reasonable to say that neither of these issues is apparently resolvable by reanalysis of the texts in the absence of archaeological data, thus confirming that "documentary evidence is seldom exactly what it seems to be."[33] It is also fair to say that neither of these issues would have been considered but for input of new archaeological data. In such cases, archaeology can be more effective at discerning the "fundamental distinction between what is being said and how it is articulated" than can repeated analysis and comparison of different texts in the absence of external sources of evaluation.[34] Archaeology can be powerful when used as an independent source with which to analyze critically selected types of content found in the documentary record. In this respect, mine is a complementary approach that provides an entirely different set of useful results from a distinct standpoint that is as close to being removed from the biased and culturally contingent as is possible.

The historic record suggests intergroup strife and alliances, information that might be missed or misinterpreted when accessing only the archaeological record. At the same time, the archaeological record provides subtle clues to these historical events and sometimes unexpected evidence that is relevant to interpretation. Ethnographic data enrich the record with a perspective that is as close to Native views as an outsider can be, while oral historic data capture a modern conception of the Native past from a Native standpoint. Critical use of data from all these sources can be used to fill in the story of survival and transformation in the face of initial Spanish conquest and then of the decline among the Sobaípuris, Janos, Sumas, Mansos, and Jocomes.

The Transformation and Entrenchment of Identities

When the Spanish first documented their travels in northern New Spain, they referred to dozens of distinct, non-Athapaskan groups known as *naciones* (nations). These groups, whose ranges fell within the adjoining Sonoran and Chihuahuan deserts, included, among others, the Mansos, Sumas, Janos, Jocomes, Conchos, and Chinerras. By the end of the eighteenth century, the naciones had mostly disappeared. Also inhabiting the region were the Apaches. The Spanish based these ethnic distinctions primarily on linguistics and geography.[35] Yet, as Underhill makes clear in her work on the Tohono O'odhams, scholars must be cautious of this type of evidence because groups who share closely related dialects may exaggerate differences in an effort to separate themselves from their neighbors.[36] Also, mobile groups move across vast geographic expanses, potentially resulting in the assignment of more than one name for a single group. Furthermore, despite linguistic differences and spatial separation, many groups may share a similar material culture.

Native peoples who inhabited the Sonoran and Chihuahuan deserts north of the current international boundary during the late seventeenth century eventually coalesced into three primary groups: the O'odhams, the Apaches, and the Ysletans or Tiguas (initially composed of the Piros, Tompiros, and the Tiwas who moved to El Paso during the Pueblo Revolt). Intermarriage, adoption, and other forms of recruitment as well as population decrease and reshuffling that resulted from captivity, disease, warfare, and the slave trade contributed to a loss of identity for these earlier distinctive groups. When conflict occurred between neighboring groups, captors often traded their captives as slaves to Native peoples living on the Plains or in the Southwest as well as to the Spanish.[37] As a result of this rapid and thorough ethnogenesis, few people recognize the names of these mobile groups today and, until recently, little has been known about their archaeological footprint. Because they remain one of the more obscure historical groups that inhabited the Southwest, it is useful to characterize the Sobaípuris in the context of these neighboring mobile groups.

Spanish military auxiliaries and Jesuit clergy frequently mentioned the Sobaípuris when they encountered them during their ventures into what is now southern Arizona. The Sobaípuris represented the northeastern group of the Pimas or O'odhams, who occupied the San Pedro River valley from Fairbank, Arizona, north to the Gila River junction, and the Santa Cruz

River valley north to Picacho in present-day Arizona.[38] The Sobaípuris, a distinct dialect group according to Fr. Eusebio Francisco Kino and Fr. Jacobo Sedelmayr, practiced a different way of life than the Tohono O'odhams and were more warlike than other O'odham groups.[39] The Sobaípuris' material culture, consistent with their distinctive social and economic systems, differed as well.

The origin of the name *Sobaípuri* provides one explanation for the difference between the Sobaípuris and other agriculturally based O'odham groups and their dissimilarity to the Tohono O'odhams. Three alternative, but not mutually exclusive, theories centered on the derivation of this term impart clues to Sobaípuri beginnings. Underhill was probably the first to point out that the O'odhams living on the San Pedro and Santa Cruz rivers were listed by the Spanish as the Sóba Jípuris, sometimes spelled Soba y (and) Jípuris.[40] Underhill notes that the word *Sobaípuri* cannot be literally translated, but she acknowledges that a western O'odham group "called Sobas and Jípuri may have been an old descriptive term."[41] Subsequently, historian Herbert Eugene Bolton, perhaps deriving this notion from Underhill, also suggested that *Sobaípuri* is a combination of the names Soba and Jípuri. Bolton notes that Kino and his contemporaries referred to these Indians as the Soba y Jípuris as well as the Sobaípuris, which indicated that after uniting these two groups were in the process of becoming one.[42] More recently linguists David L. Shaul and Jane H. Hill inadvertently provide linguistic evidence to support this claim from a slightly different slant. They note that *-buri* is plural, perhaps suffixed to the element *obai* for person.[43] Thus, in this construction, if *peoples* references the merging of two or more groups, it would support the position of earlier scholars. Notice that this pluralization of people conjures *more than one* distinct peoples as opposed to the notion of *numerous* people, as in *Quiburi* translated to mean "place of many houses."

Many other forms of interaction occurred between groups that did not initially result in loss or reformation of identity. *Rancherías* formed temporary coalitions to increase warrior strength and forestall dangerous alliances that might otherwise be created with the opposing side. Distinct groups came together because they shared common conceptions of the need to defend their own territory, religious beliefs, and political autonomy. The participation of two or more groups in warfare or raids, a widely practiced strategy during the late prehistoric through the historic period, demonstrated

an alliance against common enemies. Even southern Texas groups routinely asked the Spanish to assist them in battle as a demonstration of friendship.[44]

Sometimes several groups temporarily resided together in multiethnic settlements to plan a raid. The Cerro Rojo Site (FB 9609), located in the Hueco Mountains in southern New Mexico where over two hundred structures are distributed across the mountain, fits the description of this settlement type. Here, housing clusters demarcate distinctive sectors that may represent different bands or local groups. Most have Athapaskan material culture associated with them, but one sector has a unique set of artifacts indicating the presence of one or more of the non-Athapaskan mobile groups from different backgrounds (perhaps Janos, Jocomes, Mansos, and Sumas) coalescing into one.[45] This settlement, similar to those mentioned in the historical record, likely housed a thousand people or more when occupants came together for planning or ceremonies.[46] Other comparably large ancestral Athapaskan sites in southern Arizona, New Mexico, and West Texas demonstrate that these settlement types were not unusual; inhabitants selected many alternate locations for large group meetings. The Spanish documented a thousand enemies or more who moved together throughout the territory.[47] In some cases, Sobaípuris and other O'odham groups participated in these raid-oriented gatherings, and the Spanish saw them in settlements as far east as Casas Grandes/Janos and the Florida Mountains, perhaps explaining the Sobaípuri-like material culture and sites with material from many contemporary groups in these zones.[48]

Although forbidden by the Spanish, indigenous groups also came together intermittently to maintain trade relations. In 1664 Gov. don Diego Dinisio de Peñalosa Briceño y Berdugo banned trade between the mobile groups and the Pueblos in New Mexico—a decree that had far reaching affects.[49] Spanish officials did not restore open trading until after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Gov. don Diego de Vargas did not repeat this mistake during the Spanish Reconquest of 1692 and officially granted permission to trade in 1694.[50] Shortly after the suspension of authorized trade, specifically in 1667 and during the famine that lasted from 1666 to 1671, conflict between the Apaches and Spanish intensified.[51] Clearly, the participants valued these trading relations, and warfare and trade suppression and resumption proved to be of consequence for all the involved groups, including the Sobaípuris. The mechanisms by which these groups established and maintained trade relations are fundamental for understanding social and economic relations in this area of New Spain.

Traders likely moved north and south along the major river valleys, often cited as travel corridors in prehistoric times, but east-west travel across the mountains and valleys also gained importance through time. Anthropologist Carroll L. Riley has previously noted that during the sixteenth century the Upper Pimas were important middlemen in four major trade routes.[52] New corridors, however, opened through alliances with mobile groups and new enclaves of foreign colonists who had access to regions farther east. Spanish settlers living in the Santa Fe area traded with certain sedentary groups, including the Sobaípuris, from whom the colonists could not exact tribute. The San Pedro River Sobaípuris received Spanish traders from New Mexico in the decades following colonization in 1598.[53]

Meanwhile, some mobile groups (Apaches and probably Janos and Sumas) traded with the Sobaípuris, Spanish, and the New Mexico pueblos. This exchange may have occurred largely during periods of drought or represented a routinely used supply line that filled coffers possibly intended for the far-eastern pueblos, providing fuel for the Plains trade and commerce along the Camino Real. Jumano and Apache traders traveled west annually or more frequently to some of the Salinas and Galisteo Basin pueblos and Pecos Pueblo to trade bison products in exchange for corn and manufactured items.[54] My survey data from that area indicate that early Athapaskans, some likely from adjacent mountain ranges, also participated in this eastern Pueblo exchange forum and traded with a wide range of pueblos, including Abó, Quarai, and Paa-ko. Traders to these pueblos created a much lower profile than at some pueblos by visiting in smaller groups. A wide range of Athapaskan and non-Athapaskan traders attended popular and high-profile trade fairs at Taos, Picaris, and Pecos pueblos.[55] Father Kino specifically mentioned that Tohono O'odham traders, who had travelled east to the San Pedro Sobaípuri ranchería of Quiburi in 1698, were present when a sizeable mobile force, comprised of Janos, Jocomes, Mansos, Sumas, and Apaches (or some variation thereof) attacked Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea.[56] In 1716 Father Velarde noted that the Sobaípuris of Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea had recently severed ties with the Hopis, who previously participated in large trade fairs on the San Pedro River.[57]

Exchange of goods and cooperative raiding did not constitute the only reasons for the coalescing of people from different groups. People also labored for food, sought refuge during inclement weather, adopted new subsistence practices, and moved into new settlement locations. Tohono O'odham work parties visited O'odham settlements on the Gila River, and

people traveled from distant areas to work at Zuni Pueblo.[58] In the 1540s, the Teyas stayed at Pecos Pueblo during the winter to avoid the severe weather that often plagued the Plains.[59] Archaeological evidence suggests that this type of cooperation among groups also occurred at some of the Salinas Pueblos, such as Tabirá or Pueblo Blanco (LA 51), where inhabitants dug mobile group structures into the hillside for a long stay.

These intertribal interactions perhaps occurred for a variety of reasons. At times they likely included marriage between groups to solidify trade partnerships and battlefield alliances or to salvage dwindling bloodlines. The Jumanos seem to have used both of these strategies.[60] A faction of the mobile Janos or Jocomes obtained agricultural land from the Sobaípuris at Quiburi in the 1680s, settling into a more stationary lifestyle.[61] Archaeologically, the formality of the site layout at Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea and other San Pedro River sites and newly constructed structures at the edge of existing villages indicate these types of settlement shifts. In other cases, mobile-group sites are positioned at some distance from host villages suggesting temporary visits among trade partners. This pattern exists among the eastern frontier pueblos of New Mexico and along the Santa Cruz River across from San Cayetano del Tumacácori, where presumably contemporaneous mobile-group sites were situated at least two hundred meters from the host villages.

A variety of mechanisms, many of which can be archaeologically documented, often occurred simultaneously and put different groups in contact with each other, contributing to a complex archaeological record. Groups established relations on a much smaller scale than did Europeans. Ranchería was united to ranchería within any one group and between groups of various sizes. As later ethnographies clarify, these historically referenced groups were composed of many autonomous entities and were not unified social and political units.[62] Contrary to the Spanish, who saw groups with a common name or language as unified amalgamated political bodies, local groups usually operated independently of each other and managed intergroup relations at a relatively close level.[63] This is not to say that larger aggregations were not formed, but generally rancherías and distinctive local groups, solidified by intermarriage or exchange partnerships, formed alliances. Given the historical trajectory resulting in the survival west of the Rio Grande of only the O'odhams and Apaches as distinctive modern-day groups in this southern portion of the American Southwest, the mobile groups that intermarried with the Sobaípuris soon adopted the ways of their allies, just as those that were incorporated into the Apache lifeway became Apaches.[64]

Many other partnerships, however, were transitory and situational. For example interaction between Sobaípuri and Jocome rancherías might occur for a specific undertaking, such as a ceremony, hunt, raid, or battle. These relations would not have been viewed as a breach of Sobaípuri alliances with those who were enemies of the Jocomes in general, but only with those who were adversaries of that specific local group and their immediate supporters. Possibly providing an explanation for the attack on Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea in 1698, the actions of one faction likely influenced the proceedings of another and sometimes pitted families against each other but in other cases served as a basis for confederacy. Similarly, agreements made with one Spanish group (e.g., those in Janos) were not necessarily viewed by the Native groups as relevant to relations with other Spanish groups (e.g., Spanish settlers in a different area, such as Sonora) because the Natives thought at a more local level.

When dealing with Native peoples and pursuing disparate goals, the Spanish military and missionaries displayed a similar outward stance of factionalism. Thus, when Kino disputed the relationships between the Sobaípuris (and other O'odhams) on the one hand and hostile mobile groups on the other by recitation of the atrocities committed by the Jocomes and Pimas/O'odhams against one another, his perspective was based on those with whom he had contact. He likely viewed this relationship and the agreeable position of those friendly to him as characteristic of the group as a whole.[65] Although large groups sometimes came together for raids or revenge, many more forays were undertaken by small ones. Given this scenario, it is inappropriate to say the Janos or the Apaches attacked a settlement. Rather, it is more appropriate to specify which groups were involved, for example, Apaches from Siete Rios or Janos from the Guzman Lake area. Yet, most historical sources refer to more general associations because this is how the chroniclers understood them. Not surprisingly, then, Kino and the military possessed conflicting perspectives on Native involvement and alliances.

Sobaípuri history, initiated in earnest in the 1680s, begins by revealing the complexity of intergroup and intragroup relations. The briefly recorded history at the end of the seventeenth century indicates that the Sobaípuris allied with hostile groups and the Hopis but later rejected these relationships in favor of one with the Spanish. The Sobaípuris also broke and then mended relations with their northern Sobaípuri brethren, and they were at odds with many of their southern O'odham kindred, who were attempting to throw off the yoke of Spanish dominance.

Shifting alliances among the Sobaípuris were hardly new in northern New Spain. Groups often lived, fought, and raided together and then later became enemies. The Sobaípuris and other O'odham groups in the region sometimes joined forces with ten or more groups to create a league that brought warriors from distant naciones, such as the Conchos in northeastern Chihuahua, to remote locales including Samalayuca and the Chiricahua Mountains in southern Arizona.[66] People of the same ethnic group found themselves on opposite sides in a civil war, which Forbes insightfully calls the Great Southwestern Revolt.[67] Viewing this uprising from a southern perspective, historian Max L. Moorhead labels it the Great Northern Revolt and notes that by 1683 this unrest had spread to the Mansos, Sumas, and Janos.[68] This strife resulted from Spanish presence, greed, and Inquisition-era intolerance and the movement of numerous, distinct Native groups into and across the region. The unrest first erupted in the province of New Mexico in 1680 and spread west in 1686, engulfing most of the groups, such as the Sobaípuris and other O'odhams, in northern New Spain.[69] Newly formed alliances temporarily brought farmers and raiders together against a common enemy, but the Spanish proclivity to pit groups against each other and the Native tendency to factionalize ultimately led to deep rifts between former allies.

For example, Captain Coro of the Sobaípuri faction that inhabited Quiburi and the Santa Cruz segments of the upper San Pedro Valley were at odds against Captain Humari and another group of Sobaípuris who lived farther north. Capt. Juan Mateo Manje, who accompanied Father Kino on many of his expeditions, noted in 1697 that settlers recently abandoned the villages north of Quiburi because of the strife between these two Sobaípuri factions. Apparently, a relative of one of the leaders had been killed.[70] Some, however, believe the northern Sobaípuris maintained a pacific relationship with the hostile mobile groups longer than did their brethren farther south and west, which caused friction between the two Sobaípuri groups.[71]

Spanish chroniclers divide into two camps on this latter issue: those who believed the Sobaípuris and other O'odham groups cooperated with the mobile groups and those who thought the groups were innocent of this charge. Reports from Janos Presidio affirmed a relationship in several accounts, but Kino and Manje repeatedly argued for no such connection.[72] Historians, geographers, and archaeologists alike remain separated on this issue. Forbes and geographer Carl O. Sauer accept this association while Spicer rejects it.[73] Di Peso acknowledges, "At times certain intercourse other

than that of a bellicose nature occurred between the two groups."[74] Undoubtedly, the Sobaípuris' relationships with other groups changed over time. Even so this question remains, and it cannot be resolved on the basis of texts alone. The chroniclers inadvertently convey the self-interest of each camp and undeniably derive some information from testimony given under duress. Consequently, this makes every statement questionable on its face. Taken as a body of evidence, however—especially in the context of archaeological data—the majority of information supports the perception of the presidial soldiers: mobile groups and some of the O'odham groups formed alliances and more enduring relationships.

The record from the 1680s indicates that some Sobaípuris and other O'odhams united with the Jocomes, Janos, Sumas, Mansos, Conchos, and Gila Apaches. This alliance occurred at least as early as 1688, the year of the O'odham Revolt, if not before.[75] Some Sobaípuris aligned themselves with these mobile groups in battle against the Spanish and their allies. As the archaeological record hints, the Sobaípuris also probably participated in key trading relationships and intermarried with the same mobile groups. Near the time of Kino's work among the northern Sobaípuris in Arizona, the affiliation between many groups ended. This termination of alliances suggests that reports and arguments from both camps have merit as relationships changed over time, depending on the circumstance and the people involved.

In 1686 a letter written by the Spaniard Francisco del Castillo Betancourt and used in the criminal trial of O'odham "chief" Canito stated that the Sobaípuris and Janos began living together in the Quiburi region of the San Pedro Valley when the Janos had been given land to plant.[76] Apparently, Capt. Pacheco Zevallos broke up this "threatened alliance."[77] Both archaeological data (part 2 of this article presents the archaeological data) and historical reports from other sources point independently to the credibility of this claim. Still, as Burrus and Polzer point out, Spanish officials exaggerated the role of Canito, because the O'odhams did not have a tribal leader but only men who exercised influence over their local group. This embellishment of Canito's power demonstrates how the Spanish viewed leaders as more influential and representing a larger political body than was the case.[78]

This relationship between various O'odham and mobile groups apparently continued despite concerted efforts by the Spanish to break up these alliances. In April 1691, Blas del Castillo, alcalde mayor of Sonora, reported: "It is declared that in some rancherias of Quiburi [on the San Pedro River]

that the Suma, Jacome, Xano, Apache, Manso, and Pima nations are united with the determination of coming to assault the pueblos of Theuriache, Bacuachi and Valley of Bacanuchi, and the mines of San Antonio and Nacosari."[79] This report is important because it provides further evidence supporting an alliance between the Sobaípuris of Quiburi and certain mobile groups and reinforces the notion that only some rancherías united. Equally significant is that Sobaípuri material culture (including houses) is expected to occur, as has been found, throughout a much broader area than in the group's historically recorded homeland.

The next year Juan Fernández de la Fuente noted three hundred Pimas, Janos, Jocomes, Sumas, Apaches, and Mansos near the Janos Presidio where they engaged the Spanish in battle near the mobile-group ranchería.[80] Fuente's sighting reaffirms the confederacy and supports the notion that evidence of Sobaípuri or O'odham material culture is expected in this area. Mixing of the two groups' material culture is also likely. A letter written in February 1693 provides further evidence of this association when it reported that the rebel Apaches, Janos, Sumas, Jocomes, and others "began to convoke the nations of Sobaguipuru [the Sobaípuris], a great part of the Pimas, and others, and all together, in the month of November, they carried away from the frontiers of Bacanuche, San Antonio de la Natividad, mining towns, and the pueblo of Chinapa, all the horses and mules that there were."[81]

Forbes recognized that prior to 1693–1697, the O'odhams and Sobaípuris were friends and allies of various Apache and other mobile groups. By 1697, however, the Spanish had won the allegiance of the upper San Pedro Sobaípuris at the expense of this former relationship.[82] The Spanish stopped the association among the upper San Pedro Sobaípuris and the Jocomes, Janos, and others sometime between 1695 and 1697. The lower San Pedro Sobaípuris, who resided farther north and out of more frequent Spanish reach, abandoned their alliance with the Jocomes even later.[83]

Yet as early as 1691, the Santa Cruz River Sobaípuris, who lived farther west, traveled south to the Saric and Tucubavia to beg for a visit from Kino.[84] Sobaípuris from "San Xavier del Bac and San Cayetano del Tumacacori came carrying crosses, and, pleaded on their knees, that they would also visit their settlements."[85] During this ambassadorial trip, the Europeans visited San Cayetano del Tumacácori and Guevavi, both large Upper Piman settlements on the Santa Cruz River.[86] Thus, it seems that the Santa Cruz Sobaípuris asked for a relationship with the Spanish before those on the upper San Pedro did. The occupants of the lower San Pedro accepted this

relationship last. The Sobaípuris north of the current international boundary decidedly split into at least three factions on the issue of the Spanish incursion, although individuals and divisions of each of these groups probably allied themselves anew with hostiles during O'odham rebellions.

After 1697 the upper San Pedro Sobaípuris accepted gifts of livestock, grain, trinkets, and baptism from the Spanish, solidifying the Spanish-Sobaípuri relationship. The Sobaípuris notified the Spanish of pending ambushes arranged by their mutual enemies and accompanied them on campaigns, perhaps only as guides and spies but nonetheless on the side of the Spanish. Mobile hostiles undoubtedly recognized the Sobaípuri scouts, driving a wedge deeper between the two groups. This shift in allegiance became clear when the Sobaípuris were found by the Spanish dancing around the scalps, bows and arrows, and other spoils of the Apaches (and possibly the Jocomes and Janos according to some accounts) after one successful fight initiated in the absence of the Spanish.[87]

The written record is equally explicit about the alliance between the Jocomes, Apaches, Janos, Sumas, and Mansos—the mobile groups unwilling to surrender to Spanish authority. The broken federation among the Sobaípuris and hostiles and the continued coalition among the untamed mobile groups caught the Sobaípuris in the middle of the hostilities. The historical record notes that the Apaches, Sumas, Mansos, Jocomes, and Janos, or some subset of these groups, attacked the Sobaípuris' settlement of Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea in 1698.[88] This decisive, violent episode among the Sobaípuris and many of these mobile groups sharply contrasted with their formerly friendly interaction and bespoke much more about events than scholars generally recognize.

Trade between Cultivators and Nomads

Prior to 1664, mobile hunters and raiders traded frequently with the settled agriculturalists in portions of New Mexico where the Spanish had traveled. The best-documented cases of this exchange are the Plains groups who dealt hides, skins, and meat to Pecos and Las Humanas pueblos for corn, cotton blankets, and other goods. Transactions of this nature were documented as early as Francisco Vázquez de Coronado's expedition to the Rio Grande Valley in 1540.[89] Most interpretations indicate that the Pueblos valued these trading relations as much as the mobile groups because each group lacked key resources it obtained through these partnerships.

Providing an alternative to hostilities, trading also offered a way to redistribute food and material resources without bloodshed.

Settlements along the distant San Pedro and Santa Cruz rivers, however, were considered relative backwaters during this time. Isolated by hostilities surrounding them, these communities, it was thought, were not connected to a larger trade network. Spicer, for example, comments on the Apaches:

> From the beginning, [they] classed all the sedentary Indians to the south of them—Pimas and Opatas—as fair game and raided them equally with the Spaniards. Thus, they isolated themselves by high walls of hostility from all neighboring Indians. It is true that they maintained trading relations with Pueblo Indians of the northeast, such as Zuni and Isleta, but these were occasional and not very influential contacts. With their closest neighbors [Pimas and Opatas] they were not on a basis of friendly interchange.[90]

Yet, the Sobaípuris, like the Pecos Puebloans, possessed corn and cotton as well as tepari beans, jojoba, and other items. Mounting evidence suggests that the Sobaípuris may have served in a complementary role with the mobile groups in an expansive trade network. The historical record notes that O'odham groups, perhaps Tohono O'odhams, came from the west to barter for corn at the Sobaípuris' site of Quiburi along the San Pedro River in 1698.[91] These "Pima from the west" probably traded salt and "chamois skins which they have and cure very well because in their land the hunting of deer is more common."[92] Later, Tohono O'odhams traveled to the Gila River and Mexico to work in exchange for food, a practice that continued into the ethnographic portion of the historic period.[93] Father Velarde wrote in his earliest *Relación* (1716): "in the past few years, as the old Pimas tell, the Sobaipuris have had a mutual communication with the Moquinos [Hopi], with the good fortune that they have held fairs together."[94] A possible, tiny Hopi orange ware sherd found on one Sobaípuri site (possibly Quiburi, AZ EE:4:25, ASM and AZ EE:4:5, ASM) farther south on the upper San Pedro River may provide evidence of this relationship and could, with further research, establish a relative termination date for this contact. As Di Peso points out, the Sobaípuris may have maintained a relationship with the Zunis as well. He cites Frederick W. Hodge's interpretation of Fray Marcos de Niza's journal of 1539, which documents Sobaípuri contact with the Zunis.[95] Di Peso also references Adolph F. Bandelier, who notes that the Sobaípuris participated in commerce with some of the northern pueblos.[96]

The Spanish apparently partook in this exchange network as well.[97] Kino indicates that before the Pueblo Revolt the Spanish colonizers in New Mexico would "come by way of the Apacheria to these our most remote Pimas Sobaiporis [*sic*] to barter hatchets, cloth, sackcloth, blankets, *chomites*, knives, etc. for maize."[98] Commerce between 1598 and 1680 linked these discrete regions, established the basis for interaction with the post–Pueblo Revolt missionaries, and created or maintained a legitimate route for obtaining European items. The Europeans enjoyed Sobaípuri agricultural and ranching surpluses just as the Apaches and their allies did at an earlier time. Describing Manje's visit with the Sobaípuris at Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea in 1697, Burrus remarks: "The native's [*sic*] cultivated the rich land in the valley; irrigation ditches distributed needed water. They reaped bountiful harvests, from which they generously regaled the explorers."[99]

The San Pedro Valley, a major population center and key trade route, provided a reliable source of commerce for the southern mobile groups. This trade may have been initiated early on during the movement of mobile groups who brought a new technology (Canutillo complex; see part 2 of this article for discussion of this new technology) to the western longitudes.[100] Radiocarbon and thermoluminescence dates from sites containing items from this tool kit indicate an AD 1400s or earlier timeframe for this entry. The widespread presence of a new technology seemingly geared toward the hide trade suggests that the exchange network was more extensive than the historical documents denote. Spicer believed that among the Indians of northwestern New Spain in the 1600s "trade goods were rarely in food or basic tools, but rather luxury and ceremonial items. Rather than a regularized system of exchange of food products and handicrafts, trading was a small-scale and rather sporadic enterprise."[101] The historical and archaeological records hint otherwise. Similar to the interaction between the Pueblo and Plains groups, the exchange between the Sobaípuris and mobile groups may have played a key role in the subsistence and social systems of the participants. Such trade would have simultaneously created a mutual reliance that allowed for relative peace as it did farther east. The Sobaípuri system may have also been analogous to the one practiced by settled peoples in the La Junta de los Ríos area of southern Texas and northern Chihuahua. There, mobile and settled groups participated in a comparably small-scale trading network in which mobile groups provided tanned skins in exchange for agricultural products, rawhide bridles, and broken horses.[102]

Conclusion to Part 1

The preceding section has brought together documentary and linguistic sources to establish a basis for a revised understanding of the way O'odhams and mobile groups interacted during a segment of the historic period. This meager textual record from the 1680s and 1690s is emphasized because it hints at processes that (based upon archaeological data) seem to have been underway for some time. Fundamental and rapid changes took place in the first few decades of persistent European presence. This transition is narrowly captured in the content of the documentary record. When considered with archaeological data, these initial records explain some of the reasons for the lack of continuity between these early Sobaípuris and ethnographically described groups and the basis for many modern-day misconceptions.

In part 2 of this paper, ethnographic and archaeological data are integrated in a way that highlights other aspects of this relationship between the Sobaípuris and mobile groups. Each source contributes evidence from a different perspective. Through use of this holistic approach, a series of new questions arise about Sobaípuri-mobile group interaction that elucidates the intricate nature of O'odham transformation and will hopefully encourage scholars to abandon notions of cultural conservatism that tend to dominate O'odham studies.

Notes

1. The term *O'odhams* is a general reference to the people in the historic record who were referred to as Pimas or in southern Arizona as the Upper Pimans. When in quotations, Pima or Upper Pima should be read O'odhams. With respect to the author's usage, sometimes this term is a general referent to include all branches of the O'odhams, including the Sobaípuri-O'odhams, Tohono O'odhams, and Akimel O'odhams. In this sense, the term *O'odhams* is used to subsume the many O'odham subgroups, just like the *Apaches* is used as an inclusive term, rather than specifying individual groups (e.g., Chiricahuas, Mescaleros, Westerns, Jicarillas). At other times, *O'odhams* is employed to remain intentionally imprecise, either owing to a lack of specificity in the documents as to the precise subgroup being referenced or to indicate a practice that applies to all O'odham branches. Sobaípuri-O'odhams and Sobaípuris reference the same group, which is a now-extinct subgroup of the O'odhams.
2. David H. DeJong, "'None Excel Them in Virtue and Honesty': Ecclesiastical and Military Descriptions of the Gila River Pima, 1694–1848," *The American Indian Quarterly* 29 (winter/spring 2005): 32; and Edward S. Curtis, *The Pima. The Papago.*

The Qahatika. The Mohave. The Yuma. The Maricopa. The Walapai. The Havasupai. The Apache-Mohave, or Yavapai, vol. 2 of *The North American Indian, Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing the Indians of the United States and Alaska*, 20 vols., ed. Frederick Webb Hodge (Cambridge, Mass.: The University Press, 1908), 8. Available at Northwestern University Library Digital Collections, "Edward S. Curtis's The North American Indian," http://curtis.library.northwestern.edu.

3. Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533–1960* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), 21–22; and John L. Kessell, *Mission of Sorrows: Jesuit Guevavi and the Pimas, 1691–1767* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970), 14.
4. Frank Russell, *The Pima Indians*, rev. ed. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975), 23 n. a; and Charles Polzer, trans., and Ernest J. Burrus, ed., *Kino's Biography of Francisco Javier Saeta, S.J.*, Sources and Studies for the History of the Americas, vol. 9 (St. Louis, Mo.: St. Louis University; Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1971), 59.
5. Paul H. Ezell, *The Hispanic Acculturation of the Gila River Pimas*, Memoir of the American Anthropological Association, no. 90 (Menasha, Wisc.: American Anthropological Association, 1961), 21.
6. James E. Officer, *Hispanic Arizona, 1536–1856* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987), 339 n. 25.
7. Donald C. Cole, *The Chiricahua Apache, 1846–1876: From War to Reservation* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 7.
8. Harry J. Karns, trans., *Unknown Arizona and Sonora, 1693–1721; From the Francisco Fernández del Castillo Version of Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, by Juan Mateo Manje (Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1954), 247; and Rufus Kay Wyllys, ed., "Padre Luís Velarde's *Relación* of Pimería Alta, 1716," by Luís Xavier Velarde, *New Mexico Historical Review* 6 (April 1931): 138.
9. Curtis F. Schaafsma, "Pueblo and Apachean Alliance Formation in the Seventeenth Century," in *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt: Identity, Meaning, and Renewal in the Pueblo World*, ed. Robert W. Preucel (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 198–211.
10. Donald Bahr et al., *The Short, Swift Time of Gods on Earth: The Hohokam Chronicles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 277.
11. Ruth Murray Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians* (1939; repr., Brooklyn, N.Y.: AMS Press, 1969), 16–17.
12. Historically referenced groups have utility as a category of study in their own right. By virtue of their historical note, these groups have a tangible quality of their own and should be studied as distinct from other human social and behavioral categories. These historically referenced groups do not necessarily correspond to ethnic groups or archaeological culture groups. Recognition and use of the information conveyed by study of them distinguish this as an area of investigation.
13. This paper focuses on the 1680/1690 period, which represents a cross section in time. Earlier records provide a different perspective while later records similarly give a different impression. The first documentary records relating to the Sobaípuri are supplied by Marcos de Niza in 1539.

Many historians, including Herbert Eugene Bolton, have attributed the difference in records to the dissimilar objectives of and jealousy between the military and clergy. Both wanted to control labor and souls and maintain, if not increase, support for their causes. Such factors undoubtedly played a role, and it is likely that each faction emphasized conditions that fit its perspective and agenda. Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer* (1936; repr., New York: Russell and Russell, 1960).

14. Jack D. Forbes, *Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard*, Civilization of the American Indian (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960). The majority of scholars have rejected Forbes's perspective because he conflated the presentation of these data with his interpretation that many of the mobile groups (Janos, Jocomes, Mansos, and Sumas) were Athapaskans—an inference that now seems unwarranted. Despite this point, the value of his work and the broader perspective brought to bear should not be overlooked.
15. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, 127.
16. Some of the data are published in reports that are available through regional libraries, museums, and site files and are more readily available than many obscure archival materials, theses, dissertations, and lesser-known journals accepted as appropriate for citation in refereed journals. For a more in-depth treatment of these topics, see Deni J. Seymour, "The Dynamics of Sobaipuri Settlement in the Eastern Pimeria Alta," *Journal of the Southwest* 31 (summer 1989): 205–22; Deni J. Seymour, *Sobaipuri-Pima Settlement along the Upper San Pedro River: A Thematic Survey between Fairbank and Aravaipa Canyon* (Bureau of Land Management, Sierra Vista, Ariz., 1990); Deni J. Seymour, *Piman Settlement Survey in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley, Santa Cruz County, Arizona* (Phoenix: Arizona State Parks, 1993); Deni J. Seymour, "In Search of the Sobaipuri Pima: Archaeology of the Plain and Subtle," *Archaeology in Tucson: Newsletter of the Center for Desert Archaeology* 7 (winter 1993): 1–4; Deni J. Seymour, "Sobaipuri-Pima Occupation in the Upper San Pedro Valley: San Pablo de Quiburi," *New Mexico Historical Review* 78 (spring 2003): 147–66; Deni J. Seymour, "Finding History in the Archaeological Record: The Upper Piman Settlement of Guevavi," *Kiva: The Journal of Southwestern Anthropology and History* 62, no. 3 (1997): 245–60; Deni J. Seymour, "A Syndetic Approach to Identification of the Historic Mission Site of San Cayetano del Tumacácori," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 11, no. 3 (2007): 269–96; and Deni J. Seymour, "Beyond Married, Buried, and Baptized: Exposing Historical Discontinuities in an Engendered Sobaípuri-O'odham Household," in "Engendering Households in the Prehistoric Southwest," ed. Barbara Roth (working manuscript).
17. Chronometric data indicate that the groups historically reported in the region were present since the late prehistoric, thereby eliminating the need for the intermediate phase which is often referred to as the "protohistoric."
18. Brief encounters occurred during the Fray Marcos de Niza and Francisco Vázquez de Coronado expeditions and seventeenth-century exchange with New Mexico colonists.
19. Charles C. Di Peso, *The Sobaipuri Indians of the Upper San Pedro River Valley, Southwestern Arizona*, Amerind Foundation Publication, no. 6 (Dragoon, Ariz.:

Amerind Foundation, 1953); Kathleen A. Deagan, "Neither History nor Prehistory: The Questions that Count in Historical Archaeology," *Historical Archaeology* 22 (winter 1988): 7–12; and Kent G. Lightfoot, "Culture Contact Studies: Redefining the Relationship between Protohistoric and Historical Archaeology," *American Antiquity* 60 (April 1995): 199–217. I have used this cross-disciplinary or multi-evidential approach for a number of years, including encouragement of collaboration between disciplines for the Transition to History Conference I organized in Albuquerque in 1998. The results of this type of transdisciplinary research can be found in previous publications. See Seymour, "The Dynamics of Sobaipuri Settlement in the Eastern Pimeria Alta"; and Deni J. Seymour, "A Ranchería in the Gran Apachería: Evidence of Intercultural Interaction at the Cerro Rojo Site," *Plains Anthropologist* 49, no. 190 (2004): 153–92.

20. Lightfoot, "Culture Contact Studies," 205, 206, 211; and Ann Brower Stahl, *Making History in Banda: Anthropological Visions of Africa's Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 15.
21. Lightfoot, "Culture Contact Studies," 199, 202, 205, 211; and Ann Brower Stahl, "Concepts of Time and Approaches to Analogical Reasoning in Historical Perspective," *American Antiquity* 58 (April 1993): 235–60, 250.
22. Robert Ascher, "Analogy in Archaeological Interpretation," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 17 (winter 1961): 317–25; T. H. Charleton, "Archaeology, Ethnohistory and Ethnology: Interpretive Interfaces," in *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, 4 vols., ed. Michael B. Schiffer (New York: Academic Press, 1978), 4:129–76; and Lightfoot, "Culture Contact Studies," 204.
23. Lightfoot, "Culture Contact Studies," 205; and Allison Wylie, "'Simple' Analogy and the Role of Relevance Assumptions: Implications of Archaeological Practice," *International Studies in the Philosophy of Science* 2 (July 1988): 134–50, 142.
24. Three key periods of archaeological change seem to be the 1400s–1500s, 1680s/1690s, and the 1770s.
25. Stahl, "Concepts of Time and Approaches to Analogical Reasoning in Historical Perspective," 246, 249.
26. Forbes, *Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard*, 210.
27. Jan Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforest: Toward a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990).
28. Stahl, "Concepts of Time and Approaches to Analogical Reasoning in Historical Perspective," 249; and Jan Vansina, "Deep-down Time: Political Tradition in Central Africa," *History in Africa* 16 (1989): 341–62, 346.
29. Patricia Galloway, "The Archaeology of Ethnohistorical Narrative," in *The Spanish Borderlands in Pan-American Perspective*, vol. 3 of *Columbian Consequences*, 3 vols., ed. David H. Thomas (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 455.
30. Galloway, "The Archaeology of Ethnohistorical Narrative," 456.
31. Ibid., 457.
32. Seymour, "The Dynamics of Sobaipuri Settlement in the Eastern Pimeria Alta"; and Seymour, *Sobaipuri-Pima Settlement along the Upper San Pedro River*.

33. Galloway, "The Archaeology of Ethnohistorical Narrative," 453.
34. Ibid., 456.
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64. Notwithstanding the Yuman and Shoshonian groups that live with the O'odhams (Maricopas) or that border various O'odham groups on the west and north, this was the process.

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74. Di Peso, *The Sobaipuri Indians of the Upper San Pedro River Valley*, 5.
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96. Adolph Francis Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the United States Carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885*, Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America: American Series, no. 4 (Cambridge, Mass.: John Wilson and Son, 1892), 476; and Di Peso, *The Sobaipuri Indians of the Upper San Pedro River Valley*, 6.
97. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 428; and Ezell, *The Hispanic Acculturation of the Gila River Pimas*, 28–29.
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100. Deni J. Seymour, "The Canutillo Complex: Evidence of Protohistoric Mobile Occupants in the Southern Southwest," (working paper); and Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*, 276–96.
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