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Delicate Diplomacy on a Restless Frontier

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SOBAÍPURI-O'ODHAM SOCIAL AND
ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN NORTHWESTERN NEW SPAIN, PART 2

Deni J. Seymour

Part 1 of this article focused on the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century documentary record and linguistic sources to establish a basis for a revised understanding of the role and nature of the Sobaípuris-O'odhams in historic times. The Sobaípuris were widely connected with their mobile neighbors and had alternately congenial and adversarial relations with them. Interaction between O'odhams and mobile groups probably led to the distinctive nature of the Sobaípuris or Soba Jípuris relative to other O'odham groups. Part 2 discusses the ethnographic and archaeological evidence relevant to Sobaípuris social and economic relations.

Archaeologist Deni J. Seymour, PhD is an Adjunct Researcher with the University of Colorado Museum, Boulder. She has been investigating the late prehistoric and historic periods since the 1980s, focusing specifically on the less-studied groups in the southern Southwest. Her field studies focus specifically on the Sobaípuris, the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apaches, and the various contemporaneous non-Athapaskan mobile groups. Seymour draws on data and insights from a variety of sources including archaeological excavations and survey and documentary, ethnographic, and linguistic history to understand this period. This research has been part of a focused research plan designed to define the basic material culture attributes and landscape use patterns associated with these groups. Her research highlights the interconnectedness of groups during this period while she traces their transformation from the pre-colonial period through the late 1700s.

Merging: Ethnographic and Historic Evidence

The relatively early ethnographies of the O'odhams and Tohono O'odhams, written by anthropologists Frank Russell and Ruth M. Underhill, provide numerous statements suggestive of a high degree of borrowing and intermixing with various groups. Both authors note the incongruence among certain rituals, practices, and beliefs consistent with a group that has been influenced by and perhaps incorporated members from many different groups. Scholars, for example, widely accept the *Wiikita* ceremony as indicative of Puebloan influence. Skull deformation among some of the Ventana Cave burials indicates a presence of a non-O'odham people. Likewise, the migration myths of thirty-one Hopi clans may suggest origins in southern Arizona for a contingent of that population.¹

Little serious consideration, however, has been given to this type of melding between the O'odhams and ancestral Apachean and non-Athapaskan mobile groups. The widespread study of Puebloan cultures combined with the survival of Pueblo descendants who practice traditions rooted in the past have allowed similarities to be traced through time; perhaps the inverse explains the lack of scholarly attention to this type of fusion with non-Puebloan societies. In comparison descendants of the contemporaneous Athapaskan and non-Athapaskan mobile groups became O'odhams, Apaches, or Tiguas. Consequently, the traditions introduced by these diverse mobile groups have become enmeshed in the customs maintained by these surviving tribes and are, therefore, generally considered characteristic of these remaining tribes, rather than being seen as originating from earlier distinct groups. Moreover, parallels between surviving groups are often overlooked because Apaches have come to be seen as traditional enemies of the O'odhams, rather than biological and cultural donors.

To her credit, Underhill commented on this very topic and noted potential connections between the Apaches and O'odhams. She alluded to the warlike nature of the Sobaipuris compared to O'odham groups farther west. The Sobaipuris demonstrated their skillful fighting ability at the battle at Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea in 1698, where they were victorious over the attacking mobile groups. Additionally, numerous passages in the documentary literature mention the Sobaipuris leading the Spanish to the enemy in battle and accompanying them in war.²

Many scholars attribute the Sobaipuris' aptitude in warfare to their spatial proximity to the Apache frontier and their pivotal role in resisting at-

tacks against Europeans. Underhill, however, insightfully uses evidence of this bellicose nature to question “[whether] this warlike people could have had an Apache mixture.”³ Her reference to the Apaches, instead of other mobile groups, largely reflects the fact that the Apaches were recognized as warriors and are known ethnographically. The character of contemporaneous mobile groups (many of whom were later transformed into Apaches) was not as well known. Therefore, Underhill’s suggestion of “Apache” can be taken here as a more general referent to Natives known to be hostile, warlike, and anticolonial.

Underhill further comments on how uncharacteristic aggressive behavior was for the O’odhams, who have been viewed as peaceful and docile in modern times (which my analysis indicates is likely a response to colonialism). In this example, Underhill references O’odham origin stories:

Its march of conquest is completely out of keeping with the peaceful and sedentary nature of the Pimans [O’odhams] and, particularly the Papago [Tohono O’odhams], who abhor war and lack any pattern for boasting over its exploits. It is true that the myth speaks of the houses as crumbling by magic rather than in battle but even the idea of leaving their homes to appropriate the lands of others is contrary to Piman [O’odhams] thought, and one wonders if it has not been borrowed from the annals of a more nomadic race.⁴

Here, she keenly questions whether the story has been “borrowed from . . . a more nomadic race.”

Similarly, Russell argued that the O’odhams were in the process of developing a war cult when historic events prematurely curtailed it:

The Pimas [O’odhams] were compelled to fight their own battles. In doing so they learned the advantage of concentrating their fields. They perfected a system of attack, appointed runners for bringing in assistance, and organized a fairly satisfactory method of defense. . . . They kept themselves constantly in fit condition by their campaigns, and even engaged in sham battles for the practice. . . . Their daily duties were ordered with reference to the possibility of attack. Their arts were modified by the perpetual menace. Their myths were developed and their religion tinged by the same stress. In short, the Pimas [O’odhams] were building up a war cult.⁵

Russell did not consider that the O'odhams might have been involved in an extant war cult that was more widespread and shared by a large variety of groups outside Spanish control. Traditions surrounding this war cult were seemingly waning when Russell observed them; its weak remaining representations account for Russell's interpretation that such a cult had not yet developed, whereas in fact its importance had probably already diminished. Many groups in Sonora were versed in the art of war and shared many of the same tactics and practices. In fact O'odham and non-O'odham groups in Sonora frequently used fighting practices and tactics long before the U.S.-Apache wars that have often been attributed to the Apaches.⁶ These observations lend to the argument that substantial changes had occurred through the centuries that neutralized the war cult among some groups and intensified it among others. Although they aptly defended themselves, those O'odhams who chose the European way perhaps became more docile while this cult fell from use. The O'odhams who evaded European control, however, participated in warfare as a resistance mechanism and ultimately became Apaches. Over time these groups presented their adopted battle tactics as distinctly Apachean traits.

O'odhams' espousal of Apache characteristics seems apparent when O'odham bands sported "Apache" war caps near Los Santos Angeles de Guevavi in 1754.⁷ Additionally, traditional O'odham stories convey that the human creator known as Elder Brother (Pitoti) taught the scalp ceremony during the march of conquest from the Benson area in present-day Arizona.⁸ The battle at Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea in 1698 was initiated by a duel of champions, which is a formal challenge and fight by selected champions and a more widespread practice found on the Plains and in Mexico.⁹

More direct evidence of the processes behind and results of ethnic and identity transformation are provided by data from the realms of kinship and social organization. The origin story of the Flat Topped People clan of the Western Apaches implies that ancestral O'odham or Tohono O'odham blood exists among the tribe.¹⁰ Perhaps this blood mixture resulted from raiding or recruitment practices of other forms. Moreover, Apache clans exist among the Pueblos, Pueblo traits survive among the Tohono O'odhams, and Apache blood exists among the O'odhams.¹¹

Pueblo-like traits are also apparent among the Tohono O'odhams as exemplified by the presence of moieties. These moieties have largely lost their function but convey important information about the past. Moieties characterize a society divided into two parts determined by descent or other

organizational features. As early as the 1930s, when ethnographers recorded these remnant systems, the Tohono O'odhams no longer needed this social and functional mechanism. Early on when various groups merged with the O'odhams, these moieties would have provided a cohesive mechanism for community living, especially important if people of different backgrounds lived together. The term *Sobaipuri*, or Soba and Jípurí according to interpretation of historical documents, represents the merging of two groups. Alternatively, if these moieties were exogamous, they may have facilitated the symmetrical exchange of marriage partners between kin and affines. This system would have offered a structure for ancestral Apaches and other mobile groups to intermarry and live with the O'odhams as they became relatives. Later these moieties fell from use because no real differences among people were remembered—integration was complete or identity transformation had sufficiently progressed. Miscellaneous aspects of this two-section system, however, remained embedded in the O'odhams' traditional organizational structure.

Even Russell, who wrote an early ethnography of the O'odhams in the early 1900s, commented on this moiety system:

The Red [or Vulture] People are said to have been in possession of the country when Elder Brother brought the White [Coyote] People from the nether world and conquered them as described. . . . There were more than two gentes of the White People, but Coyote laughed too soon at them and the earth closed before the others got through. The author suspects that this division signifies that the tribe was formed by the junction of two peoples, the only trace of the original groups being the names and the maintenance of laws of vengeance.¹²

The ethnographer's statement "the tribe was formed by the junction of two peoples" is suggestive given that Underhill arrived at a similar conclusion. Referencing the Legend of the Emergents, Underhill noted, "It seems obvious that two myths have been joined to produce the narrative," which occurs when oral traditions of two or more groups merge into one history.¹³

Deférence to two early ethnographers leads to the inference that the O'odhams incorporated many organizational features, traits, and stories from other groups. Thus, many of the traits and organizational features that are considered "traditional" for the O'odhams represent the culmination of a series of transformations that, both ethnographers believe, involved the

merging of groups in some cases and the simple borrowing of concepts and traits in others. Several lines of evidence converge to suggest more than casual contact through trade alone. This notion is consistent with the archaeological and historical records, which suggest people intermixed as part of O'odham ethnogenesis on a local scale.

Archaeological Evidence of Changing Alliances

The historic, ethnographic, linguistic, and oral-historic evidence presented in the preceding pages, including part 1 of this essay, suggest some degree of collaboration between mobile groups (and Puebloan groups) and the O'odhams; the degree of interaction and intermixing likely accounts for what made the Sobaipuris distinct from other O'odhams. This perspective sharply diverges from current notions in the archaeological profession. This departure derives from the incorporation of ethnographical, historical, and archaeological data from a deeper temporal, broader social, and wider geographic context than that found in previous studies of the Sobaipuris.

The archaeological record allows an evaluation of the frequency and nature of this interaction with mobile groups. The following sections will consider the issue of mobility and interaction with mobile groups from an archaeological perspective, the nature of the material culture associated with each of these groups, and some of the archaeological correlates of intermittent visitation versus cohabitation. In the discussion of relevant archaeological data and ensuing interpretations, it will be useful in each case to mention the state of existing knowledge because the perspective of this current work differs from existing notions.

Questions of Mobility

The earliest seventeenth-century references to the Sobaipuris mention that some raided with mobile groups, lived with them in large settlements while participating in raids, joined in battles with them against the Spanish, and resided peacefully with mobile groups on river margins. Europeans gathered knowledge of these relations shortly after the Pueblo Revolt. The temporal correspondence of these European observations, with events occurring in this larger theater, is perhaps relevant. Alternatively, the record of Sobaipuri mobility and raiding may simply highlight "atypical" behavior. The historical record does not comment on whether this practice was new for the

Sobaipuris, although documentary sources from Franciscan friar Marcos de Niza suggest that the San Pedro Sobaipuris were sedentary agriculturalists in the mid-sixteenth century. Other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century references indicate that the Sobaipuris produced sufficient corn and surplus to trade with their western neighbors and New Mexico colonists. When Fr. Eusebio Francisco Kino and Juan Mateo Manje visited the friendly Sobaipuris, floodplain fields and irrigation canals existed. Likewise, many of these settled Native farmers joined the Spanish in battle against the mobile groups and sometimes ventured out on their own.

These contradictory observations regarding the Sobaipuris' way of life support the notion, as discussed in part 1, that factionalism prevailed among the Sobaipuris with respect to alliance choices. Moreover, lifeway changes likely occurred through time. The decision to affiliate with a mobile group translated into choosing a mobile lifestyle over a sedentary one. Some Sobaipuris may have chosen mobility, thereby eventually being subsumed into the Apache lifeway. Still, in many instances, the choice of one option did not likely preclude later practice of the other. Throughout the historic period when reduced O'odham groups became fearful, heard rumors of danger, or wanted to carry out traditional ceremonies, they fled to the hills, sometimes moving between ranges, only to be gathered up again by persuasive missionaries. This record reflects situation-specific transitory patterns of temporary mobility and sedentariness. Ample reference is made to entire villages shifting back and forth between riverside mission sites and mountain safety zones in times of stress.

When viewed from a more local perspective, it is perhaps reasonable to suggest that the reports of raiding versus agriculture reflect seasonal differentiation in settlement patterns and subsistence activities. Luís Xavier Velarde noted, "They live in one community together in the winter, and in the summer each one in his hut."¹⁴ His statement may explain the numerous small sites along the San Pedro River.¹⁵ Underhill later described the Tohono O'odhams' seasonal practice of shifting between field and well sites.¹⁶ This strategy involved the practice of agriculture during the rainy season and use of wild resources in the foothills during the dry. Some of the Sobaipuris and certain other O'odham groups may have chosen a combination of farming and raiding to fulfill seasonal variations in resource availability.

The question of mobility is important because the Sobaipuris' material culture assemblage is an inexplicable mix of what would be expected for mobile and settled groups. Given that the documentary record mentions

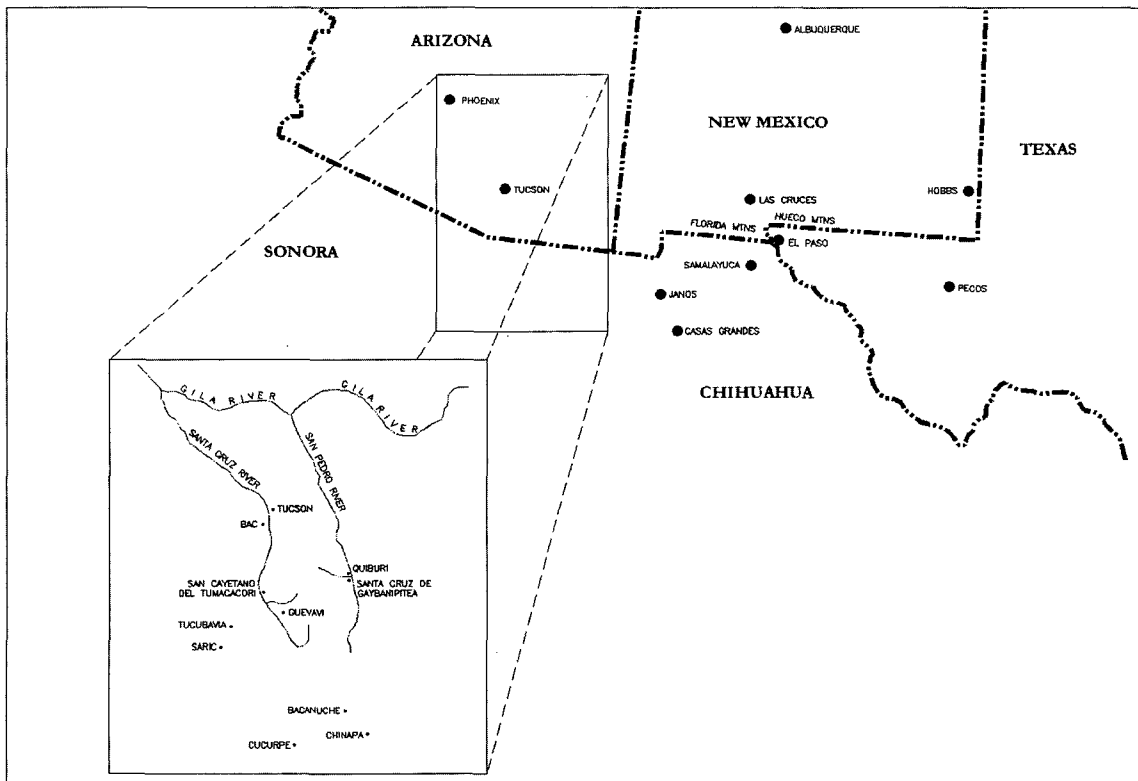


FIG. 1. MAP OF SOBAÍPURIS IN THE SOUTHWEST
 (Map courtesy Deni J. Seymour, draft by Erick Querubin)

use of irrigation agriculture, most archaeologists regard the Sobaipuris as largely sedentary agriculturalists. In contrast historians tend to think of the Sobaipuris as hunter-gatherers, perhaps following Herbert Eugene Bolton's inference that they were the "poor Indians" encountered along the southern portion of the San Pedro River in 1540.¹⁷ The limited number of archaeological sites, the low density of material culture and paucity of trash middens, the lack of deep stratification, and the insubstantial nature of some of the architecture on some sites have indicated some degree of residential movement as an indigenous trait.¹⁸ A portion of the flaked-stone technology is typical of highly mobile groups as well. These archaeological data, coupled with the ethnographic and historical information regarding Sobaipuri behavior in the 1680s and 1690s support the idea that the Sobaipuris, or likely a subset of them, may have been seasonally mobile during the late seventeenth century and enjoyed the same widely ranging lifestyle as their neighbors. A point to be reiterated here is that these combined sources indicate that the Sobaipuris were not united regarding alliances or lifestyle, and some of them seem to have remained stationary while others became fully mobile.

An alternative perspective suggests that the Sobaipuris were relative newcomers to the San Pedro and Santa Cruz valleys, accounting for the lack of material-culture buildup. Yet absolute dates from a Sobaipuri site near the mouth of Sonoita Creek near the Santa Cruz River place the Sobaipuris in the Santa Cruz Valley at least as early as the 1500s, possibly even in the 1400s. Archaeologist Charles C. Di Peso's Santa Cruz del Pitaitutgam has also since produced dates in the 1500s along the San Pedro.¹⁹ Elsewhere, I have suggested that shifts in settlement locations through time might account for this pattern of numerous small sites with low levels of trash accumulation. While long-distance settlement shifts would have been incompatible with irrigation farming, short movements along the river margin would have allowed occupants to maintain a connection to their fields. Both Underhill and archaeologist Paul H. Ezell, and more recently Seymour, as well as other scholars, have described the migration and splintering of Tohono O'odham and Akimel O'odham settlements. This village drift would account for an archaeological pattern that appears, from survey data, to be in many cases low-intensity and short-duration use combined with episodic reoccupation of certain sites.²⁰

Yet, this low-intensity and short-duration use pattern is not apparent across the board. Not all sites are small, lack accumulations of material culture, or consist of widely scattered houses. Specifically, some sites show evidence of

repeated episodic use. The excavations that I have conducted on historically referenced sites along the Santa Cruz River indicate inhabitants commonly rebuilt structures in the same location within a settlement, superimposing one on another and recycling building materials. The creation of formal work areas in and adjacent to the structures maximized space use to the degree that some houses are formally partitioned and work areas are highly predictable with respect to location and contents.²¹ Artifact densities are low in habitation areas seemingly because the Sobaipuris—living on steep-sided terraces and hills—tossed their trash over the side, producing an effect like a high-rise trash chute. Survey data from the San Pedro Valley confirm this pattern as well, including perhaps in the prehistoric period.

This archaeological work also shows that the elongated, rock-ringed huts were not as flimsy as archaeologists initially thought. Some of the structures at the Sonoita Creek Site that date from AD 1424 to 1524 and others from the late 1600s and 1700s are relatively deep and rectangular and were apparently covered with adobe but still outlined with rocks.²² These houses were not surface structures as previously inferred. Evidence for several successive floors (or intramural occupation surfaces) suggests repeated use of some of these locations over time. Superimposed structures, reuse of fire-pit rocks for walls, interior partition walls, and regularized arrangements in the use of intramural space on some sites indicate intensive use and relatively long-term occupation or episodic reoccupation. These substantial structures are not what one would expect with a highly mobile population.

When combined these data indicate differences among the Sobaipuris regarding lifestyle choice and how to relate to other groups.²³ It seems that when noted by the seventeenth-century Spanish, the Sobaipuris participated to differing degrees in divergent lifeways. Soon after sustained contact, Sobaipuris, both as communities and households, had to decide with whom they would ally. Shortly thereafter it seems that those who retained or chose a settled village life based on farming remained or became Sobaipuris (or O'odhams). Situated along the open banks of the river in their settled villages, these groups were especially vulnerable to the Spanish and mobile groups alike. Apparently, sedentariness meant some degree of submission and skilled diplomacy. Those who adopted or maintained a mobile and raiding lifeway, outside European infringement, eventually stayed or became Apaches, who remained largely in opposition to the Spanish.

Some Aspects of Material Culture and Site Structure

Many scholars believe that the nature of Sobaípurí material culture has been known for some years as a result of the important work undertaken by Di Peso and subsequent work by archaeologists David E. Doyel, W. Bruce Masse, Bruce B. Huckell, Hayward H. Franklin, and Deni J. Seymour.²⁴ Yet, archaeologists John C. Ravesloot and Stephanie M. Whittlesey changed the milieu in which studies of this group are undertaken. Although they provided no guidance or approach, Ravesloot and Whittlesey questioned acceptance of conventional knowledge regarding the archaeological signature of the Sobaípuris and raised the important point that definition of Sobaípurí material culture must occur in the context of understanding the material culture of contemporaneous groups.²⁵

Even so most discussions of Sobaípurí flaked stone are reduced to a dialogue about projectile points because many, including Masse, consider these to be the most diagnostic Sobaípurí artifact.²⁶ Yet, these points represent but a small fraction of the flaked-lithic artifacts. One reason for this focus on projectile points is that many of the earliest excavated sites attributed to the O'odhams (including the Sobaípuris) revealed an expedient flaked-stone assemblage plus projectile points.²⁷ This restricted perspective led scholars to focus on the projectile points as the singularly most diagnostic tool because the expedient elements of the assemblage were not too dissimilar from those found on earlier Hohokam sites and agricultural sites occupied throughout the Southwest. The flaked stone was therefore considered relatively unremarkable and not especially distinctive except for the projectile points.

Compared to the rest of the flaked-stone assemblage and earlier forms, the projectile points seemed unique. These arrow points occur with a grouping of other traits conventionally inferred to be diagnostic of the Sobaípurí or Cayetano complex (e.g., elongated rock-ring structures and Whetstone Plain). My investigations, however, indicate remarkably similar, small, triangular, basally indented or notched points throughout a broad geographic area stretching from the Tohono O'odham Reservation near Tucson, Arizona, to Big Bend, Texas, and south into northern Mexico.²⁸ The points throughout this area represent a relatively smooth series punctuated by point forms archetypal of specific geographic areas. Based on documentation and measurement of approximately three thousand points and observation of thousands more in museum and private collections, the variant largely

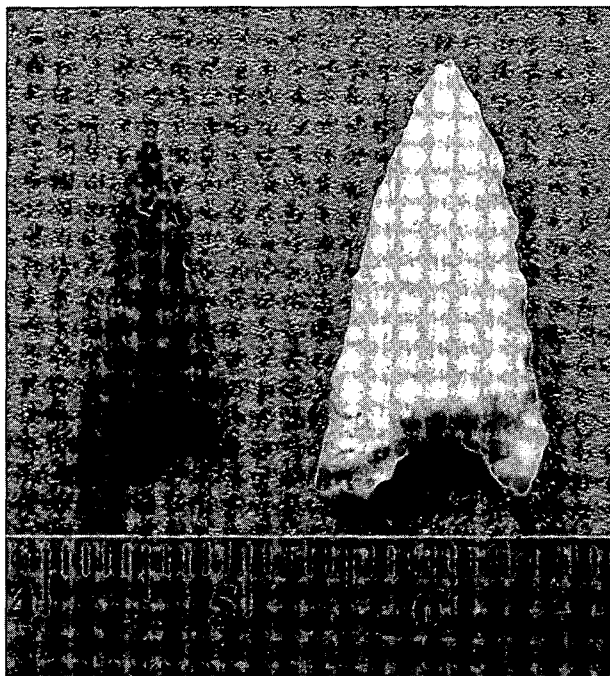


FIG. 2. HUACHUCA PROJECTILE POINTS
(*Photograph courtesy Deni J. Seymour*)

restricted to areas inhabited and traversed by the Sobaipuris seems to be somewhat distinctive.²⁹ Its straight, lateral margins and tangs seemingly make this Huachuca point unique (fig. 2), but it otherwise shares the characteristics of many other forms in distant locales. All these forms were likely produced as lethal weapons intended for use in warfare as suggested by the documentary record.³⁰

Geographic clusters can be defined because of the distinctive attributes of other small, triangular, basally indented points that may generally correspond to the heartlands of other historically referenced and unreferenced groups. These distributions occur far outside the Sobaipuris' territory and raiding sphere and are not attributable to the Cayetano complex. A one-to-one correlation of ethnic groups and material culture is not expected, but scholars cannot ignore that no fewer than twelve ethnic groups—including the disenfranchised Nixoras or slave class, Yaquis, and others—are mentioned in southern Arizona historical documents during the 1700s, contributing to a mixing of material culture in specific geographic areas. Just as these ethnohistorical and ethnographical distributions can be mapped, so

too can the archaeological distributions be documented. The inferences drawn from these are a more complex matter.

A second and distinct archaeological complex containing flaked-stone tool forms, such as projectile points similar to those found on Sobaípurí sites, further complicates the problem because this complex is distributed throughout northern Chihuahua, southern New Mexico and Arizona, and West Texas.³¹ The flaked-stone tool kit represents the most diagnostic characteristic of the artifact assemblage, which I have referred to in the Southwest as the Canutillo complex. This artifact assemblage is associated with distinctive types of small, circular, rock-ringed surface structures and, occasionally, brownwares.³² Among the stone items in this complex are the Plains-style or steep-edge-end scraper; a stylized, formal graver or perforator; various thin, finely retouched, side scrapers; a variety of distinctive, symmetrical, bifacial knives known variously in other regions as the Plains or Harahey knife or Covington blade; and small, triangular, basally notched or indented projectile points. I describe this assemblage in detail elsewhere.³³ This Canutillo complex is inferred to relate to one or more of the many non-Athapaskan, resident, mobile groups that occupied these areas at contact and in the centuries preceding European presence. Some chronometric dates fall in the AD 1400s, but the distinctness of this complex does persist beyond the 1700s.

These tool forms sometimes occur at Cayetano-complex Sobaípurí sites, but I have also found them on sites clearly not attributed to the Sobaípuris and ones located far beyond the Sobaípuris' territory. Moreover, other tool forms not attributable to the Sobaípuris but occasionally found at the Cayetano-complex Sobaípurí sites resemble those documented on ancestral Chiricahua Apache sites in the Dragoon, Peloncillo, Whitlock, and Chiricahua mountains and at ancestral Mescalero sites near present-day El Paso, Texas, and Las Cruces, New Mexico. These forms include side- and tri-notched projectile points and distinctive styles of scrapers, knives, and perforators. The Cerro Rojo complex, described in other forums, seems to represent the early Athapaskan assemblage manufactured before Athapaskan-speaking groups differentiated as a result of divergent adaptations.³⁴

The early O'odhams' Cayetano complex, the early Canutillo complex, and the early Athapaskan Cerro Rojo complex establish a baseline expectation for the nature of flaked-stone assemblages on late prehistoric and early historic sites in the area. Which of these three complexes is present depends on the degree of mobility of the particular group and corresponding

need, or lack thereof, for durable stone tools, as well as the extent and nature of interaction with other groups. The associations of flaked-stone artifacts from each of these distinctive complexes with unique house forms (and occasionally pottery), on sites that occupy dissimilar topographic settings, together provide a basis for distinguishing each complex as an identifiable archaeological culture group. The geographic distributions of these complexes relative to documented historical placements for various groups establish a foundation for inferring identities at some general level. Importantly, many other criteria that cannot be discussed here have been applied to build these inferences regarding the associations and origins of these complexes. Still, a direct correspondence between historically referenced groups and archaeological complexes is not expected or implied.³⁵

Clearly, however, the Canutillo complex occurs throughout a broad geographic area outside Sobaípuri territory and is also found on Sobaípuri sites. Thus, Cayetano-complex Sobaípuri sites routinely contain evidence of two distinct technological traditions—an expedient assemblage expected for settled agriculturalists is based on a core-flake technology, and another, associated with the Canutillo complex, is consistent with technologies that characterize mobile groups in the Southwest before the advent of ceramic-period sedentism and in other regions where mobility prevailed as a way of life. These technological traditions represent two entirely different approaches to flaked-stone tool manufacture.

Recognition of the co-occurrence of these two different technological traditions is relevant because Masse, Huckell, and Seymour have noted that the presence of fine-grained materials including chert, silicified limestone, and basalt; well-crafted unifaces; and distinctive projectile points characterize the assemblages on many Sobaípuri sites.³⁶ The large, leaf-shaped “projectile points” reported by Franklin at Second Canyon Ruin in the San Pedro Valley—a site long considered to have a Sobaípuri component—are actually bifacially prepared knives identical to those of the Canutillo complex.³⁷ These bifaces at Second Canyon came from surface contexts. Franklin, therefore, considered them of uncertain association and, at the time, not representative of a protohistoric occupation. Not until later did archaeologists consider that the finely flaked unifaces and Huachuca-like points at this site were indicative of a Sobaípuri presence.

Susan A. Brew’s and Huckell’s description of a burial assemblage further fueled the discussion centered on the association of formally prepared tools with the Sobaípuris.³⁸ This burial assemblage contained a single, small, finely

crafted biface; unifacially prepared tools; and small triangular points with indented bases, as well as other items.³⁹ Brew and Huckell, perhaps incorrectly, inferred that this burial and its artifacts were characteristic of the Sobaipuris because the artifacts resembled archaeological material previously considered to be Sobaipuri.⁴⁰

More important the Canutillo complex had yet to be defined as a distinct and more widespread development.⁴¹ Within this conventional wisdom, researchers reasonably assumed that artifacts of this finely worked, formally prepared technology indicated a Sobaipuri presence. Contrary to this interpretation, however, the commonly cited historical records revealed a sedentary lifestyle for the Sobaipuris centered on irrigation agriculture whereas the flaked-stone assemblage suggested a highly mobile adaptation, thus establishing incongruence between archaeological theory and the inferences drawn.

The combination of data from my examination of museum-curated assemblages; the evidence from sites I recorded on the San Pedro, Santa Cruz, and Babocomari rivers and Cienega and Sonoita creeks; and the data from excavations on Sobaipuri sites at the upper Santa Cruz have confirmed a correspondence between fine-grained materials and formally worked tools in many Sobaipuri, but not all O'odham, contexts.⁴² This work has also pointed out the association of these formal bifacial knives with other items that together constitute the Canutillo complex as opposed to the Cayetano complex of the Sobaipuris. It also makes apparent that while Canutillo-complex tool forms routinely occur on sites conventionally attributed to the Sobaipuris, the Canutillo complex also has a much wider distribution coterminous with the territories of the wide-ranging mobile groups. Canutillo-complex tool forms appear on sites clearly related to mobile-group occupation and far beyond the distribution, territory, or raiding sphere of the Sobaipuris.

Broad-based archaeological studies indicate that technologies similar to this Canutillo complex in Arizona arise at about the same time among mobile groups that occupied northern Mexico, the southern Texas Plains and Hill Country, and the area known as the Gran Chichimeca, which includes the northern portions of the Chihuahuan and Sonoran deserts. Accordingly, the widespread nature of this technological change might be considered a horizon style. Yet, attributing this change to a horizon style does not explain its distribution but rather simply acknowledges that it is added to existing traditions.⁴³ The horizon style is "a specialized cultural continuum represented

by the wide distribution of a recognizable art style. . . . The horizon styles are the horizontal stringers by which the upright columns of specialized regional development are tied together in the time chart." They indicate a rapid spread of new ideas over a wide geographic space, usually indicative of an intrusion or trade. Horizon styles, however, only describe rather than explain a distribution.⁴⁴

Fundamentally, this point raises the following question: Does this distribution fit the definition of a horizon style and represent an expansion of technology that overlies or replaces an existing tradition among the indigenous populations or does it signify a movement of people? My data suggest that both processes seem to have been in effect. First, mobile groups were present at historic contact. The Canutillo complex appeared throughout the area where these mobile groups were mentioned. Artifacts and features indicative of this complex occur on single- and multiple-component sites dated at least as early as the AD 1400s. This suite of material culture traits is not present in preceding periods. On these sites, Canutillo-complex material does not seem to intermix with an existing tradition but rather overlies much earlier ones. Thus, evidence from these sites seems to imply a movement of people into the area with their distinctive technology.

Second, portable elements of the Canutillo complex occur on sites that contain Sobaípuri houses, pottery, and distinctly Sobaípuri site structure in predictable Sobaípuri site settings. These incidences require a different explanation than that of the first case. In these instances, the presence of Canutillo-complex material seems to represent an admixture with an existing O'odham tradition. This fact deserves additional consideration using other types of archaeological data.

This co-occurrence of implements and debris from two technological organizations on Sobaípuri sites will lead scholars to question whether all these Sobaípuri contexts are simply multiple component, Sobaípuri and Canutillo complex, or if they represent something other than Sobaípuris, such as a variant of the Canutillo complex mistakenly attributed to the Sobaípuris. The correspondence of "Sobaípuri" locales to historically documented settings addresses this latter issue. Association of documentary records with on-the-ground data, along with other evidence, suggest that most of the traits traditionally attributed to the Sobaípuri manifestation do in fact represent the Sobaípuris. However, some of the tools alleged to be diagnostic of the Sobaípuris are in fact diagnostic of the Canutillo complex. They are sometimes found on Sobaípuri sites for a number of different reasons.

Certainly on some Sobaípurí sites, Canutillo-complex items are present because of reoccupation by a different, later group, namely the mobile bearers of the Canutillo complex. On the Sharples Site (AZ DD:8:44, ASM), for example, a separate occupation by a Canutillo-complex mobile group has been documented as overlying the prehistoric component, and at Di Peso's site (Santa Cruz del Pitaitutgam) on the San Pedro River, the Sobaípurí component overlies and underlies occupations by other groups.⁴⁵ At the Sharples Site as well as others, the Canutillo-complex-mobile-group occupation does spatially overlap, but is not entirely coterminous with the earlier contexts. These Canutillo-complex materials can be stratigraphically separated from the earlier occupation (if mere fractions of centimeters count as stratigraphy). Likewise, artifacts are found in association with distinctive Canutillo-complex features including structure rings, hide-working stones, and so forth. Thus, Canutillo-complex materials are known from Sobaípurí sites, from Sobaípurí and prehistoric sites reoccupied by mobile groups, and from single component Canutillo-complex sites.

Canutillo-complex materials are also sometimes situated in clear Sobaípurí contexts on sites that indicate a Sobaípurí occupation because they contain the distinctive Sobaípurí elongated or rectangular, rock-ringed structures and Whetstone Plain. Tools—complete, reworked, and damaged from use—and their debris are found in Sobaípurí houses, storage areas against walls, and extramural work areas directly associated with and in patterned relation to Sobaípurí structures. Stratigraphic data and several dates obtained from multiple contexts within these structures signify their use in Sobaípurí contexts and a relative contemporaneity of contexts from which these artifacts derive. Canutillo-complex tools were mostly made of local materials found within a several-hundred-mile radius and not brought-in from other, more distant areas, such as the Texas Plains and Hill Country. Mobile groups that resided in areas adjacent to Sobaípurí settlements or with the Sobaípurís possibly crafted the tools, or perhaps the Sobaípurís made these themselves. This raises the question as to whether individuals who had been mobile (and who made these tools) coresided in these Sobaípurí settlements, gradually altering their way of life. A decrease in the manufactured quality of these same tool forms on Sobaípurí sites through time indicates that perhaps their use within the Sobaípurí lifestyle waned, and, therefore, less effort was invested in tool production and transfer of knowledge regarding their manufacture as the mobile way of life was forgotten.

Until recently archaeologists did not know the characteristics of the material culture associated with these mobile groups. Consequently, they could not discern which sites mobile groups occupied or whether other groups occupied distinctive sectors of Sobaípuri sites as the documentary record implies. Likewise, researchers could not confirm with archaeological evidence the presence of mobile groups. Today, however, mobile-group presence can be identified archaeologically and is found in a wide range of contexts. Still, the presence of Canutillo-complex tools on Sobaípuri sites alone does not comprise sufficient evidence of cohabitation or even mobile-group occupancy. The presence of portable Canutillo-complex tools on Sobaípuri sites may indicate either that these mobile groups resided in the farming communities or traded these tools, along with hides and skins, in exchange for agricultural products. The historical record provides for each of these possibilities, both with respect to the specific area in question and with regard to mobile-group behavior in general as it relates to settled agricultural societies.

Consequently, the question remains: Is archaeological evidence of other types of amiable interaction available that would indicate the habitation of mobile groups at Sobaípuri sites either for a short-term visit during a trading expedition or over a longer term, during which they would have cohabited and intermixed with their hosts? The challenge becomes distinguishing between these possibilities on specific sites.

Parsing Reoccupation, Cohabitation, and Visitation

Sites produce evidence indicative of three possibilities: reoccupation after Sobaípuri abandonment, visitation on a short-term basis while a host group occupied a settlement, and cohabitation with the resident Sobaípuri population. Consequently, the record reflects a complex range of behaviors. Fortunately, reoccupation looks different archaeologically and spatially from cohabitation and visitation.⁴⁶ The nature of features present provides one line of evidence to address each of these possibilities while site structure and the spatial relations among nearby sites render another.

Evidence of a discrete mobile-group occupation is provided by their houses in association with diagnostic artifacts. The distinctive, small, circular, rock-ringed surface structures and structural clearings associated with the Canutillo complex are more diminutive and expedient than any associated with the Sobaípuris. Other unique feature types, particularly hide-working stones, also

indicate the actual presence of a different group. The occurrence and placement of these mobile-group features relative to Sobaípurí ones provide the needed evidence to discern if mobile groups have integrated in the community, overlaid their occupation over it, or set up residence nearby. One pattern that seems apparent is that when fully integrated, once-mobile groups adopt the house style of their hosts, whereas visitors and later occupants retain their distinctive house styles.

Supplemental evidence of a later occupation by bearers of the Canutillo complex is provided by the integrity of the distribution of features and artifacts that holds them together as a component (as at the Sharples Site, AZ DD:8:44, ASM). Structures are clustered together in many instances, as are work areas containing groundstone, hide-working stones, anvil stones, and artifacts. Overlap with distributions from earlier inhabitants occurs, but the dispersal of features and artifacts is not entirely coterminous with the prior occupation; each component adheres to a different organizational layout. In some clear cases, the artifacts and features overlie earlier ones; for example, post-occupational fill of prehistoric features contain Canutillo-complex tools and debris. Also, prehistoric walls are overlain with Canutillo artifacts. Sometimes, the walls of earlier structures and compounds have been modified to incorporate walls of these distinctive rock-ringed surface structures. Features and artifacts also occur at the fringe and outside the earlier occupation. Occasionally, these later groups used foundation stones from abandoned prehistoric structures as cores.

In comparison potentially contemporaneous occupations by mobile groups visiting the host Sobaípurí may be visible near Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea (AZ EE:8:283, ASM) and at the Tinaja Canyon Site (AZ DD:8:128, ASM).⁴⁷ Round rock-ring structures and artifacts representing the Canutillo complex at the Tinaja Canyon Site, for example, are situated hundreds of meters from the elongated structures that define the O'odham locus. This site is also situated across the Santa Cruz River from a key historical site, San Cayetano del Tumacácori (AZ DD:8:19, ASM), suggesting that perhaps Canutillo-complex-using mobile groups and O'odham visitors to this important settlement temporarily occupied these distinct loci.⁴⁸ Mobile-group structures located near Sobaípurí sites on the San Pedro River are similarly positioned at a distance from the host village often at a lower elevation, below the terrace. In the Salinas Pueblo area, at Pecos Pueblo, in the Galisteo Basin, and at Paa-ko Pueblo in New Mexico, visiting traders' structures have been identified adjacent to host pueblos but situated at a

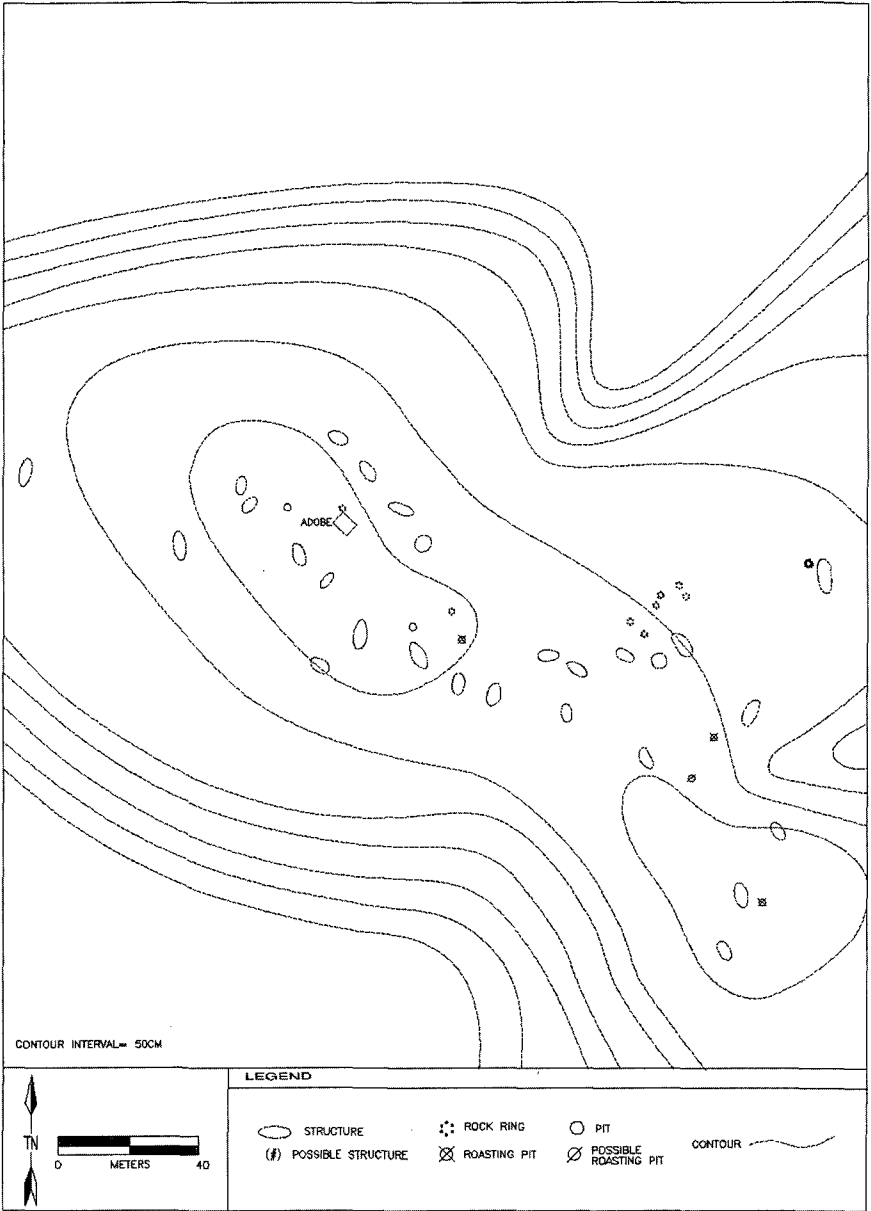


FIG. 3. LINEAR ROWS OF STRUCTURES AT SANTA CRUZ DE GAYBANIPITEA
(Map courtesy Deni J. Seymour, draft by Erick Querubin)

safe and respectable distance. This placement suggests that mobile visitors throughout the Southwest observed a widely practiced visiting protocol rather than camping in or next to the host village as would more familiar guests.⁴⁹ An example of the third process—that of cohabitation of O’odhams and mobile groups—is indicated by differences, and perhaps changes through time, in the layout of structures on Sobaípurí sites.

Excavations and intensive mapping indicate that Sobaípurí sites through time consist of an elongated or rectangular structure paired with a second functionally distinct structure.⁵⁰ During the AD 1424 to 1524 period on the Santa Cruz River, paired structures may have occurred in single linear arrangements, end-to-end, as at the Sonoita Creek Site (on a tributary of the Santa Cruz) and as was noted by Doyel for England Ranch Ruin (AZ DD:8:129, ASM); also on the Santa Cruz.⁵¹ Paired structures are spaced five to ten meters apart and approximately ten to twenty meters from the next closest pairing.

In comparison archaeological data from Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea (AZ EE:8:283, ASM) in the 1690s show that this larger site contains several structure pairings that are formally arranged with considerable distance (ten to thirty meters) between each set (fig. 3).⁵² Structures are linearly aligned and arranged in two parallel rows; they are not situated end-to-end but are mostly arranged side-by-side so that doorways presumably faced each other. Di Peso’s site of Santa Cruz del Pitaitutgam (AZ EE:8:15, ASM) and a site I consider a likely candidate for Quiburi (AZ EE:4:25, ASM) also contain paired structures that are arranged end-to-end in multiples of two parallel rows, similar to those at Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea.⁵³

The arrangement visible at Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea and other villages is a settlement pattern that would be expected where a village-wide organizational system existed that was perhaps divided into two parts. As noted a remnant moiety system survives among the O’odhams; so it is reasonable to suggest this social organization might be expressed in this two-part site layout, consistent with the historical mention of “a settlement of Jocomes and Pimas intermingled.”⁵⁴ Thus, the archaeological record may provide evidence of this remnant kinship-system feature. Similar to the artifactual data, this spatial evidence suggests that some Canutillo-complex mobile groups (and perhaps Puebloans) resided among the O’odham groups, forming the Sobaípuris. Other O’odhams in this area, however, likely remained apart, inhabited the surrounding areas, and ultimately became Apaches.

The unique Canutillo-complex tool kit and site structure on Sobaípurí sites provide probable evidence of mobile- and settled-group interaction, potential Plains-Southwest dealings, and perhaps involvement in the hide trade between cultivators and hunters. These relationships were likely solidified through a variety of means, including cohabitation and marriage. Contrary to Manje's and Kino's pleas concerning the group's lack of interaction with hostile mobile groups, the Sobaípuris interacted with the groups around them and likely emerged as a distinctive group from the consolidation of O'odham and non-O'odham groups, some of which were initially mobile. The historically recorded incident in which the Spanish found the Jocomes or Janos at Quiburi possibly reflects the closeness of this relationship, which persisted until the Spanish presence made it untenable. Those mobile groups that intermarried with the O'odhams became Sobaípuris, and by extension O'odhams. Data from a variety of sources, including the archaeological record, hint strongly at this relationship.

Conclusion

The archaeological record pertaining to the Sobaípuris provides a basis for emphasizing and accepting certain aspects of the documentary record over others. Archaeology also contributes data, filling in gaps on lifeways and relationships that existed outside the knowledge of Europeans. The Sobaípuris, so far, have played a minor role in researchers' interpretation of events effecting Spanish control of northern New Spain given that sustained contact with the group occurred relatively late. Yet, combining the archaeological and ethnohistorical records allows scholars to see interrelationships among groups prior to and shortly after the entrance of Europeans and Apaches.

Numerous small, localized groups or *naciones* (nations) inhabited the southern reaches of the United States and northern portions of Mexico. The Spanish influenced the ultimate disposition of these *naciones*, but during and seemingly prior to the early portion of this revolutionary contact, indigenous groups often had amiable relations. The advent of sustained European intrusion may have contributed to interdependence among these groups, or this incursion may have truncated intergroup interaction; this is a topic for future research. Nonetheless, a shared point-style tradition and the widespread occurrence of the Canutillo-complex tool kit reflect interdependence among many of the localized groups. These mobile groups (and prob-

ably the ancestral Apaches) were instrumental in transmitting this technology throughout a broad geographic area. Their extensive territories encompassed the area from the Texas Plains and Hill Country to the lush river valleys and rugged mountains of southern Arizona. These mobile groups shifted the focus of the Southwest farther east and south than was the case prehistorically and ultimately broadened interaction in an east–west direction.

By engaging the Sobaipuris in a trade network similar to that enjoyed by the eastern Pueblos, Jumanos, and Plains Apaches, the mobile groups sustained a mutually beneficial relationship that helped stay the effects of famine and provided a substitute for raiding. Inter-marriage between O'odhams and mobile groups solidified this economic relationship. One such alliance led to the formation of the Sobaipuris or Soba Jipuris. Ultimately, the Spanish intrusion and the Sobaipuris' conscious choice to ally with the Europeans halted new relationships between these settled farmers and mobile raiders. That decision wrote one of the first chapters in the final volume on the existence of all these "indigenous" groups except for the Apaches and O'odhams, who were transformed by this series of events and therefore continue into the modern era. The combined archaeological, ethnohistorical, linguistic, and ethnographic records offer a new understanding of the Sobaipuris' important role during these tumultuous times. Not so isolated from the events in New Mexico that resulted in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the Sobaipuris were late participants in this theater of conquest, cultural dissolution, and ethnogenesis.

Notes

1. Ruth M. Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians* (1939; repr., Brooklyn, N.Y.: AMS Press, 1969), 11; Norman E. Gabel, "The Skeletal Remains of Ventana Cave" in *The Stratigraphy and Archaeology of Ventana Cave, Arizona*, ed. Emil W. Haury (Tucson: University of Arizona Press; Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1950), 500; and Roger Anyon and Micah Lomaomvaya, *Migrations in the South: Hopi Reconnaissance in the Barry M. Goldwater Range* (Kykotsmovi, Arizona: Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, 1999), 32.
2. 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), 151, 313.
3. Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, 16–17.
4. *Ibid.*, 11.
5. Frank Russell, *The Pima Indians*, rev. ed. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975), 204.

6. Ignaz Pferfferkorn, *Sonora: A Description of the Province*, ed. and trans. Theodore E. Treutlein (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949), 207–12; and Deni J. Seymour, “Sexually Based War Crimes or Structured Conflict Strategies: An Archaeological Example from the American Southwest,” in *Texas and Points West: Papers in Honor of John A. Hedrick and Carrol P. Hedrick*, ed. Regge N. Wiseman, Thomas C. O’Laughlin, and Cordelia T. Snow (Albuquerque: Archaeological Society of New Mexico, 2007), 117–33.
7. John L. Kessell, *Mission of Sorrows: Jesuit Guevavi and the Pimas, 1691–1767* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970), 122, 132.
8. Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, 11.
9. *Ibid.*, 251.
10. Grenville Goodwin, *The Social Organization of the Western Apache* (1942; repr., Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1969), 611.
11. Russell, *The Pima Indians*, 186.
12. *Ibid.*, 197.
13. Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, 12.
14. Rufus Kay Wyllys, ed., “Padre Luis Velarde’s *Relación* of Pimería Alta, 1716,” by Luis Xavier Velarde, *New Mexico Historical Review* 6 (April 1931): 134.
15. Deni J. Seymour, “Sobaipuri-Pima Settlement along the Upper San Pedro River: A Thematic Survey between Fairbank and Aravaipa Canyon” (report, Bureau of Land Management, Sierra Vista, Ariz., 1990); Deni J. Seymour, “The Dynamics of Sobaipuri Settlement in the Eastern Pimería Alta,” *Journal of the Southwest* 31 (summer 1989): 214–18; and Deni J. Seymour, “Sobaipuri-Pima Occupation in the Upper San Pedro Valley: San Pablo de Quiburi,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 78 (spring 2003): 148–50, 155–58.
16. Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indian*, 57–58.
17. Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Coronado: Knight of Pueblos and Plains* (1949; repr., Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 100. This divergence between archaeologists’ and historians’ perceptions of Sobaipuri mobility is an example of how a single assumption derived from emphasis of a particular textual passage can influence perceptions, focus investigations, and lead interpretations down narrow paths for decades. My research indicates that these “poor Indians” were likely Canutillo-complex mobile groups rather than Sobaipuris. Kessell, *Mission of Sorrows*, 12; and Mark R. Barnes, “Mission Los Santos Angeles de Guevavi Site: National Register of Historic Places Registration Form” (Tucson, Ariz.: Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service), 5.
18. Seymour, “The Dynamics of Sobaipuri Settlement in the Eastern Pimería Alta,” 220.
19. Charles C. Di Peso excavated AZ EE:8:15 (ASM) and referred to it as Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea, even though it was situated north rather than south of the Babocomari River. Since then Seymour (1989, 1990) identified a site in the correct geographic location that matches Fr. Eusebio Francisco Kino’s maps and is of the right size that fits descriptions provided in Kino’s and Juan Mateo Manje’s journals. This site (AZ EE:8:283) is now referred to as Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea.

20. Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, 58; 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), 110; Seymour, "The Dynamics of Sobaipuri Settlement in the Eastern Pimería Alta," 214–20; 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): 249–52; Deni J. Seymour, *Piman Settlement Survey in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley, Santa Cruz County, Arizona* (Phoenix: Arizona State Parks, 1993), 47–50; Seymour, "Sobaipuri-Pima Occupation in the Upper San Pedro Valley," 163; and J. Andrew Darling, John C. Ravesloot, and Michael R. Waters, "Village Drift and Riverine Settlement: Modeling Akimel O'odham Land Use," *American Anthropologist* 106 (June 2004): 282–95.
21. 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.
22. W. Bruce Masse and I have previously considered Sobaipuri structures as constructed on the surface using branches and brush and occasionally mud-covered mats. W. Bruce Masse, "A Reappraisal of the Protohistoric Sobaipuri Indians of Southeastern Arizona," in *The Protohistoric Period in the North American Southwest, AD 1450–1700*, ed. David R. Wilcox and W. Bruce Masse, Arizona State Anthropological Research Papers, no. 24 (Tempe: Arizona State University Press, 1981), 32–37; and 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.
23. Differences also seem apparent in the lifeways and degree of sedentism between O'odham groups who resided along rivers and those nonriverine O'odham groups who did not heavily rely on agriculture.
24. 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); David E. Doyel, *Excavations in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley, Southwestern Arizona*, Contributions to Highway Salvage Archaeology in Arizona, no. 44 (Tucson: Arizona State Museum, 1977); Masse, "A Reappraisal of the Protohistoric Sobaipuri Indians of Southeastern Arizona"; Deni J. Seymour, "Sobaipuri Settlement along the Upper San Pedro River Valley, Arizona" (paper presented at the fifty-third annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Phoenix, Ariz., 1988); Seymour, "The Dynamics of Sobaipuri Settlement in the Eastern Pimería Alta"; Hayward H. Franklin, *Excavations at Second Canyon Ruin, San Pedro Valley, Arizona*, Contributions to Highway Salvage Archaeology in Arizona, no. 60 (Tucson: Arizona State Museum, 1980); and Bruce B. Huckell, "Sobaipuri Sites in the Rosemont Area," in *Miscellaneous Archaeological Studies in the Anamax-Rosemont Land Exchange Area*, ed. M. D. Tagg, R. G. Ervin, and Bruce B. Huckell, Arizona State Museum Archaeological Series, vol. 147, no. 4 (Tucson: Arizona State Museum, 1984), 107–30.

25. John C. Ravesloot and Stephanie M. Whittlesey, "Inferring the Protohistoric Period in Southern Arizona," in pt. 2 of *The Archaeology of the San Xavier Bridge Site (AZ BB:13:14) Tucson Basin, Southern Arizona*, ed. John C. Ravesloot, Arizona State Museum Archaeological Series, no. 171 (Tucson: Cultural Resource Management Division, Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, 1987), 81–98.
26. Masse, "A Reappraisal of the Protohistoric Sobaipuri Indians of Southeastern Arizona," 39.
27. Di Peso, *The Sobaipuri Indians of the Upper San Pedro River Valley*; Doyel, *Excavations in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley*; W. Bruce Masse, "The Peppersauce Wash Project: Excavations at Three Multicomponent Sites in the Lower San Pedro Valley, Arizona," ed. Gayle Harrison Hartmann, 1980, manuscript on file, accession 2610, Arizona State Museum Archives, Tucson; and Masse, "A Reappraisal of the Protohistoric Sobaipuri Indians of Southeastern Arizona."
28. Deni J. Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment: After the El Paso Phase on Fort Bliss: An Archaeological Study of the Manso, Suma, and Early Apache* (Fort Bliss, Tex.: Lone Mountain Archaeological Services, 2002), 266–73, 358–59. Also Gordon L. Fritz and Masse had previously suggested their similarity to Soto points which are also a subset of this kind of point. Gordon L. Fritz, "The Ecological Significance of Early Piman Immigration to Southern Arizona," *The Artifact* 27, no. 1 (1989): 51–109; and Masse, "A Reappraisal of the Protohistoric Sobaipuri Indians of Southeastern Arizona," 40.
29. 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.
30. Theodore E. Trettlein, trans. "The Relationship of Philip Segesser," *Mid America: An Historical Review* 27, no. 3 (1945): 202–3.
31. Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*, 276–83; Seymour, "A Ranchería in the Gran Apachería"; and Deni J. Seymour, "The Canutillo Complex: Evidence of Protohistoric Mobile Occupants in the Southern Southwest," *Kiva: The Journal of Southwestern Anthropology and History* 72 (forthcoming).
32. Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*; Deni J. Seymour, "The Sobaipuri-Pima Settlement Pattern On the Upper San Pedro: A Thematic Survey" (report, Bureau of Land Management, Sierra Vista, Ariz., 1990), 147–66; Seymour, "A Ranchería in the Gran Apachería"; and Seymour, "The Canutillo Complex."
33. Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*, 276–83; Seymour, "A Ranchería in the Gran Apachería"; Deni J. Seymour, "Before the Spanish Chronicles: Early Apache in the Southern Southwest," in *Ancient and Historic Lifeways in North America's Rocky Mountains: Proceedings of the 2003 Rocky Mountain Anthropological Conference, Estes Park, Colorado*, ed. Robert H. Brunswig and William B. Butler (Estes Park, Colo.: National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 2004), 120–42; and Seymour, "The Canutillo Complex."
34. Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*, 276–83; and Seymour, "A Ranchería in the Gran Apachería," 170–76.
35. Extensive work has been conducted over the past several years to define these complexes. I have pursued several lines of inquiry in an effort to address the cultural

- affiliation of these Athapaskan and non-Athapaskan assemblages. For definitions of these assemblages and a discussion on how I inferred cultural affiliation, see Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*; Seymour, "A Ranchería in the Gran Apachería," 176–81; and Seymour, "The Canutillo Complex."
36. Masse, "A Reappraisal of the Protohistoric Sobaipuri Indians of Southeastern Arizona," 40; Huckell, "Sobaipuri Sites in the Rosemont Area," 125, 127; Seymour, *Piman Settlement Survey in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley*, 53; Seymour, "In Search of the Sobaipuri Pima," 3; Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*, 290–91; and Susan A. Brew and Bruce B. Huckell, "A Protohistoric Piman Burial and a Consideration of Piman Burial Practices," *Kiva: The Journal of Southwestern Anthropology and History* 52 (spring 1987): 171.
 37. Franklin, *Excavations at Second Canyon Ruin*, 162; and Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*.
 38. Brew and Huckell, "A Protohistoric Piman Burial and a Consideration of Piman Burial Practices," 163–91.
 39. These are referred to as Huachuca points in an effort to separate the material culture description from the ethnic identifier. This point's name is based on a local geographic feature consistent with convention. This name distinction is important because the Sobaipuris did not make some of the points that occur on Sobaipuri sites. Likewise, points of a widespread, small, triangular, indented-base tradition that encompass Huachuca points occur on sites affiliated with other culture groups.
 40. Although Brew and Huckell documented the presence of a single bifacial knife, this tool form was not considered one of the hallmarks of Sobaipuri material culture. I initially made this connection of formally prepared bifaces (and other tool forms that are also sometimes attributed to the Sobaipuris) to the Canutillo complex when the latter was being defined in southern New Mexico and southwest (Trans Pecos) Texas. This led to inspection of museum-curated collections from sites previously attributed to the Sobaipuris where additional examples of this tool form were encountered along with other contemporaneous tools and debitage. Still, the protohistoric association of these knives has not been widely recognized.
 41. For a description of the Canutillo complex, see Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*; Deni J. Seymour, "Archaeological Evidence of the Protohistoric Manso, Suma, Jano, Jcome, and Apache" (paper presented at the seventy-fifth annual Pecos Conference, Pecos Pueblo, N.Mex., 2002); Deni J. Seymour, "Advances in the Study of Protohistoric and Early Historic Groups of the Southern Deserts" (paper presented at the 2002 Society for American Archaeology Meetings, Denver, Colo., 2002); Deni J. Seymour, "Recent Archaeological Findings on the Protohistoric and Early Historic Manso, Suma, and Apache" (paper presented at the El Paso Archaeological Society, El Paso, Tex., 2003); Seymour, "Before the Spanish Chronicles"; Seymour, "A Ranchería in the Gran Apachería"; Deni J. Seymour, "New Perspectives on the Protohistoric and Late Prehistoric Periods in the Southern Southwest" (paper presented at Center for Desert Archaeology and Arizona Archaeological Council Conference, Tucson, Ariz., 2004); Deni J. Seymour, "The Myth about the Hohokam-Piman Continuum" (paper presented to the Arizona

- Archaeological Society, Sierra Vista Chapter, Sierra Vista, Ariz., 2005); Deni J. Seymour, "The Hohokam-Pima Transition and Other Matters Relating to the Protohistoric" (paper presented for Mary Estes, Site Steward Program, Ajo, Ariz., 2005); Deni J. Seymour, "Material Culture Consequences of Kinship and Residence Patterns in the Protohistoric Southwest" (paper presented at the Society for American Archaeology Conference, Salt Lake City, Utah, 2005); Deni J. Seymour, "Beyond Married, Buried, and Baptized: Exposing Historical Discontinuities in an Engendered Sobaipuri-O'odham Household," in "Engendering Households in the Prehistoric Southwest," ed. Barbara Roth (forthcoming); and Seymour, "The Canutillo Complex."
42. I have documented over thirty Sobaipuri sites in these various drainages (most have been assigned Arizona State Museum [ASM] numbers) and more than one hundred sites related to the Athapaskan and non-Athapaskan mobile groups throughout the southern Southwest. For documentation of some of these sites, see Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*; Seymour, "In Search of the Sobaipuri Pima"; Seymour, "Sobaipuri-Pima Settlement along the Upper San Pedro River"; Seymour, *Piman Settlement Survey in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley*; Seymour, "The Dynamics of Sobaipuri Settlement in the Eastern Pimería Alta"; and Seymour, "Sobaipuri-Pima Occupation in the Upper San Pedro Valley."
 43. Seymour, "The Canutillo Complex."
 44. Gordon R. Willey and Philip Phillips, *Method and Theory in American Archaeology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958), 32.
 45. Seymour, "The Canutillo Complex."
 46. Deni J. Seymour, "Stranger Sojourners: Spatial Indications of Mobile Group Visiting Protocol" (working paper, in author's possession); Deni J. Seymour, "Apache Presence in the Pre-Spanish Era on the Eastern Pueblo Frontier" (working paper, in author's possession); Deni J. Seymour, "Degrees of Intimacy and Involvement: Modeling Inter-Group Interaction in the Protohistoric and Early Historic Southwest" (working paper, in author's possession); and Deni J. Seymour, "Pliant Communities: Seasonal Mobile Group Visitation at the Eastern Frontier Pueblos" (paper presented at the 2008 conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Albuquerque, N.Mex., 2008).
 47. Doyel, *Excavations in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley*, 62–94. Doyel recorded the Tinaja Canyon Site initially but not this locus, which may be considered a distinct site.
 48. Seymour, "A Syndetic Approach to Identification of the Historic Mission Site of San Cayetano del Tumacácori," 275.
 49. Seymour, "Stranger Sojourners"; and Seymour, "Pliant Communities."
 50. Seymour, "The Dynamics of Sobaipuri Settlement in the Eastern Pimería Alta," 214–18; Seymour, *Piman Settlement Survey in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley*, 44–46; and Seymour, "The Sobaipuri Settlement Pattern on the Upper San Pedro."
 51. Doyel, *Excavations in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley*, 130.
 52. AZ EE:8:283, ASM represents one of many sites that I have recorded along the upper San Pedro River as part of a thematic, research-oriented survey conducted in

the 1980s designed specifically to locate Sobaípurí sites and correlate their locations to historically documented settlements. Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea was the first site at which the author noticed this layout after carefully mapping the site with Charles Sternburg in the 1980s with the aid of an Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society grant. This pattern was not initially visible at Di Peso's site of Santa Cruz del Pitaitutgam (AZ EE:8:15, ASM) because of mapping errors.

53. I have previously argued, based upon survey data, that only one site (AZ EE:4:23, ASM) was large enough to be the historically referenced Quiburi, perhaps with others positioned to the south. Since then excavations along the Santa Cruz River have shown that, despite their shallow-looking character, Sobaípurí sites have significantly more houses than the few visible on the surface. Re-inspection of AZ EE:4:25, ASM after nearly two decades of erosion has revealed additional houses at this site. The larger Sobaípurí sites, including this one, possess the unique layout discussed in the text, making them distinctive from the smaller ones. Because AZ EE:4:25, ASM exhibits this layout, has at least one hundred houses, and is in the correct position with respect to league distance from Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea, I now believe that this is the best candidate for Quiburi.
54. Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1960), 247 n. 3.