



MEMORANDUM

Date: November 13, 2001

To: The Honorable Chair and Members
Pima County Board of Supervisors

From: C.H. Huckelberry
County Administrator 

Re: **People and Places: Cultural Landscapes and Pima County**

In May of 1999 the outstanding team of Linda Mayro and David Cushman issued the first of what has become a long line of remarkable studies about the cultural and historic resource base of Pima County. The attached study entitled *People and Places -- Cultural Landscapes and Pima County* continues the tradition and introduces the work of Mr. Roger Anyon, who joined the Cultural Resources Office less than one year ago.

People and Places successfully makes this point: in order to communicate effectively about land use in Pima County, we must understand that different individuals and groups of people have assigned meaning to places and landscapes in Pima County in accordance with their experiences and their mode of communication. For example, one group has viewed and experienced the Santa Catalina Mountains in a way that inspires them to assign a name that translates approximately to Frog Mountain. Another group has referred to the same mountains as La Iglesia in honor of their memory of a cathedral from their homeland. Reflecting the highly individual ethic of still another group, the summit of the range is named for a person -- Sara Allen Plummer Lemmon, the first woman of a more recently settled culture who climbed to its top. Further complicating understandings of what landscapes mean to the various residents of Pima County is the fact that some cultures might prefer to express such meaning in the form of a story, while others might stake it out with one word on a map. Finally, methods of partitioning land itself are different according to time and culture. The Tohono O'odham Nation might partition the landscape according to natural and cultural features, while Spanish land grants corralled resources within areas of individual domain, and the United States overlaid an orderly grid across the landscape with almost no regard for natural landscapes.

Ten different cultures and their landscapes are described in *People and Places: Cultural Landscapes and Pima County*. The study provides a fascinating summary of the history of each group in the area, and along the way it conveys a message that is relevant today. "It is not that any one way of constructing a cultural landscape is better or worse than another," Mr. Anyon writes. "The point is that they are different, and it is best to understand these differences if we are to communicate effectively about land use in Pima County."



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INTRODUCTION

When we view a landscape what do we see? What do we think? What visions are conjured up, for example, when we drive along Swan Drive or Kolb Road and we look at the imposing mountain skyline to the north? In summer, we may have thoughts of the cool pines, or hope that the rain clouds will descend on the city bringing much needed moisture. In winter, we may think about playing in the snow. Or it may be that our mental image is a momentary appreciation of the vast, open, wild, space towering above the crowded, busy city streets.

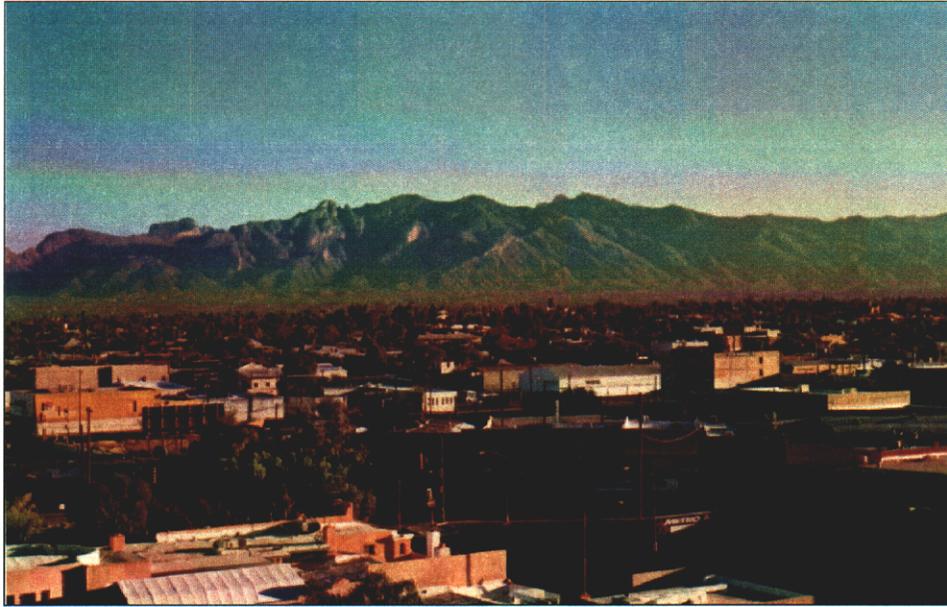
When we look at these mountains, what do we call them? Do we merely think of them as “the mountains?” Or do we mentally refer to a name: Mount Lemmon, the Santa Catalina Mountains, or Babath th’oag?

The name of a place gives it meaning. To the Tohono O’Odham and Akimel O’Odham, the skyline as seen when driving along Swan or Kolb is Babath th’oag, which in English roughly translates into Frog Mountain. Many O’Odham stories are associated with Babath th’oag. Perhaps the story of Little Yellow Bird, the girl who disobeyed her mother, comes to mind. Perhaps the story of Ho’ok, a monster who terrorized people, is evoked. To the early Spanish explorers these mountains were called La Iglesia because of the resemblance to the facade of a great cathedral. Thinking of them as the Santa Catalina Mountains may inspire religious thoughts. Certainly, the saintly appellation was integral to Christianizing the land and its people, a task of considerable import to the Spaniards. The English language name, Mount Lemmon, may evoke little or no meaning, except that this is an individual’s name. Naming a place after a prominent secular person not a saint is a particularly American trait reflecting the individualistic nature of American society. Mount Lemmon is named for Sara Allen Plummer Lemmon, the first white woman said to have reached its summit, a fact probably not known to most people.

The names we give to places reflect our cultural values, our philosophies, and our understanding of the world around us. People from different cultures view the landscape in different ways. And, it is this cultural diversity that makes Pima County such an interesting and unique place.

Purpose of this Document

This report is about people and places, what places mean to people, and how these places relate to cultural landscapes. We discuss a range of American Indian cultures with ties to Pima County. Two of these cultural groups, the Tohono O’Odham and Yaqui, presently reside in Pima County. Others, while they do not reside here today, have cultural connections to the land and places. They are the Akimel O’Odham, the Apache, the Hopi, and the Zuni.



Santa Catalina Mountains as seen from Tucson
(Photograph by Jessica Levy)

The majority of this report is about American Indian cultural landscapes and traditionally important places. The explanation for this is simple. Although the Yaqui are relative new comers to Pima County, American Indians have lived here for thousands of years, and their descendants continue to live in Arizona and New Mexico today. By contrast, the Spaniards began to settle in Pima County a little over three hundred years ago, and the Americans arrived about 150 years ago. American Indian cultures have a much greater time depth in Pima County than non-Indian cultures, and their ties to the land and places are correspondingly more intricate. Despite the short time frame of non-Indian historic settlement, some places have acquired value as locales of traditional importance.

This report is written for a public audience. Our purpose is to provide a general view of the relationship between people and places, and between cultures and landscapes, using examples as illustrative foci. Archaeology and history are adjunct to our purpose, even though they are important ways to inform us about places and their meaning. Our research sources are published and publicly available documents. Many of these are listed at the end of this report for the reader who wishes to delve more deeply into the topics we discuss.

This report is not a comprehensive explication of cultural landscapes in Pima County. Neither is it an exhaustive catalog of places important in traditional cultures. A more technical work will be required in the future to provide this detail.

What are Cultural Landscapes and Traditional Cultural Places?

Cultural landscapes allow people to situate themselves in time and space. People consider their history to place themselves in time, and root the present with reference to the past. They use their knowledge of place to situate themselves in space. When time and space intersect to form a seamless web, a cultural landscape is created. In effect, a cultural landscape can be thought of as a vast ocean. The ocean depths represent the depth of time and history. Places that have traditional cultural value within the landscape may be thought of as islands within the ocean.

Cultural landscapes are fashioned from a natural landscape by cultural groups using their cultural values and beliefs to give meaning to what they see. People understand the landscape in light of specific events and cultural conditions. As a result of their creation by people, cultural landscapes have complexity and power. They reinforce the values, beliefs, and historical memory of people belonging to a specific culture and community.

Traditional cultural places are locales within a landscape that have special meaning. They are the islands, the fixed points within the ocean. Places have importance because they are associated with important events, important people, or important resources. For example, Waw Giwulk is an exceptionally important place for the Tohono O'Odham. It is the home of I'itoi, Elder Brother, creator of the O'Odham. In English, Waw Giwulk translates into Constricted Rock. Waw Giwulk is also known as Baboquivari Peak. El Tiradito, located in downtown Tucson, is a shrine of cultural importance to the Hispanic community, a place where petitions are made by people in need. Fort Lowell, a military outpost of the United States located at the confluence of the Tanque Verde and Pantano Washes, is an important place in American history in Pima County. Fort Lowell played an important part in the American consolidation of political and military power in southern Arizona. Each of these places has different significance and meaning to different cultural groups. And, each has a role in the history of Pima County in the context of the varied cultural values ascribed to the landscape.

Thinking about different cultural landscapes requires that each of us conceptualize the land and its natural resources in new ways, if we want to understand the meaning of the land to other people. It is often difficult, if not impossible, to have a complete understanding of a cultural landscape from another cultural perspective. Even so, gaining an appreciation of the variety of cultural views allows each of us to better comprehend why others may see the land differently than we do. We hope that this report will give the reader greater appreciation of the complex mosaic of cultural landscapes within Pima County.

How People Conceptualize their Cultural Landscapes

Many of us think of the landscape in terms of maps, transportation routes, and modern conveniences: stories do not as readily come to mind. We think of highways, towns, national parks and forests, restaurants and the like. Rarely do we

think of ancestral burial grounds from the distant past, places to collect saguaro fruit, or springs where life-giving water is found. Our concepts of the landscape are framed and conditioned by our cultural values, the resources that are important to us, and our understanding of the natural and constructed world.

Without doubt, there are fundamental differences between the American Indian and European based ways of conceptualizing cultural landscapes. To American Indians, the traditional cultural landscape is a storied landscape. Place names have stories associated with them. These stories influence how people view themselves, and form a template for transmitting cultural traditions. American Indians have maps as memories, memories that are maintained in their minds. And these memories are, more often than not, stories about supernatural and other events that make the landscape come alive with meaning. In effect, past and present co-exist, as ancient stories are one with current existence.

People with traditions based in European values represent landscapes as a surface inscribed with named places and landmarks, in other words the European tradition of making written maps. This is a very different way of memorializing the landscape. In this cultural tradition, maps represent memory. Maps allow people to transmit knowledge of places about which the reader may know a great deal or almost nothing. In addition, the reader may never have visited nor seen the landscape being depicted.

The difficulties non-Indians may have in relating to American Indian conceptualizations of landscape is aptly captured by Keith Basso in his extraordinary book called *Wisdom Sits In Places*. He states, "one must acknowledge that local understandings of external realities are fashioned from local cultural materials, and that, knowing little or nothing of the latter, one's ability to make appropriate sense of 'what is' and 'what occurs' in another's environment is bound to be deficient." It is not that any one way of constructing a cultural landscape is better or worse than another. The point is that they are different, and it is best to understand these differences if we are to communicate effectively about land use in Pima County.

Why Place Names Are Important

Babath th'oag, the Santa Catalina Mountains, Mount Lemmon: the naming of places is important. As Keith Basso says, "place-names are arguably among the most highly charged and richly evocative of all linguistic symbols." It is telling that each culture imprints its values on the landscape by layering its place-names onto existing names. In Pima County, we find numerous instances of renaming places, first a name in the language of the O'Odham, then a Spanish language name, and most recently an English language name. In many ways, naming places is a primary means of appropriating physical environments.

In some instances, place names are modified by different cultures. A prime example is Tucson, the seat of Pima County government. Originally, the Tohono O'Odham named this place Chuk Shon, loosely meaning at the base of the black

hill. This became Tucson in the Spanish language, pronounced *tuc-son*. The name has been retained by English speakers, but is pronounced *too-sahn*.

There is a fundamental difference between O'Odham place names and those given in European languages, as James Griffith notes in *Beliefs and Holy Places*. O'Odham place names occur in and refer to only one place in the world: southern Arizona and northern Sonora. These O'Odham names contrast markedly from those in the Spanish and English languages. European language place names tie the land to other places, other philosophies, other religions, and other cultures, which had their origins and developments elsewhere in the world.

Place names transmit a great deal of information. They help define the cultural landscape, and define the cultural context in which the landscape is perceived.

CULTURE, HISTORY, LANDSCAPE AND PLACE

Cultural values and history exert enormous influence on the roles of landscape and place for individuals and for ethnic groups. How a culture uses a landscape, how long a history of use that culture has, and the technology brought to bear on landscape use, all affect how cultural landscapes are constructed.

Consider, for example, the value of the natural environment. Perceptions of the natural environment will be very different depending upon your circumstances. If you are totally dependent upon the local natural environment for your food, clothing, and shelter, your values will be quite different to someone who depends upon food shipped from California and Mexico, clothes imported from Asia, and house framing from the Pacific Northwest. Protecting the natural environment can be an important cultural value for both of these people, but for very different reasons. Of course, today there are no residents of Pima County who are completely dependent upon the local environment. Even so, a culture with roots here and with a history of living off this land in the past will provide a different perception of the land and its resources than a culture forged in other parts of the world that has little knowledge of the scarcity and bounty of the land. On the other hand, a culture from afar may place value on the natural landscape because it is different, unique, and a stark contrast to existing knowledge. Thus, both cultures may prize the saguaro and value its protection, but for very different reasons. In one case the cactus fruit provides a reliable respite from an annual time of hunger. In the other case the cactus is a symbol of a new and unique environment.

Culture and Diversity

It is often said that cultural diversity is a great strength of Pima County. And this may well be true. But when people think about other cultures and cultural diversity we can be sure that not all perceptions are the same.

In the modern urbanized community, economics often color perceptions of cultural diversity. New subdivisions and streets are given Spanish names, commonly with little meaning to the residents and with little relationship to the landscape upon which the development is located. Many people may know of the Pascua Yaqui and Tohono O'Odham because of their casinos. Commercials on local television and radio, advertising Casino of the Sun or Desert Diamond Casino, announce the tribal presence on a daily, if not hourly, basis. Hearing the Yaqui language and seeing English subtitles on a TV commercial for Casino of the Sun may have limited direct communicative value to a Pima County resident who speaks only the O'Odham or Spanish language. But, one message is clear, one that may not be quite as direct: the Yaquis live here, they speak their own language, they contribute to the economy, and they are undeniably part of Pima County's culturally diverse population.

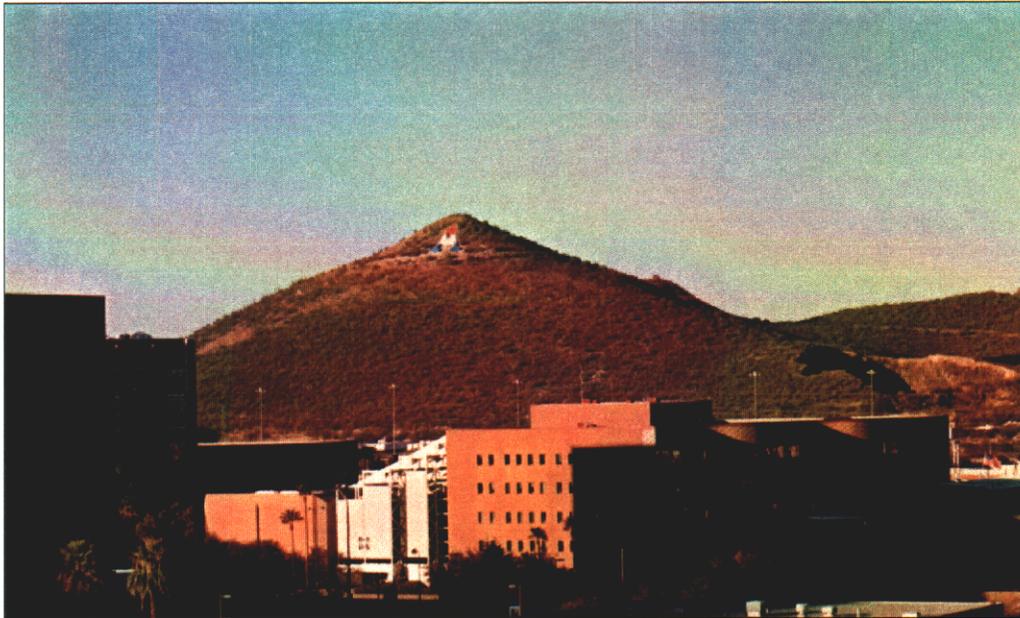


Tohono O'Odham Casino looking toward Santa Rita Mountains
(Photograph by Jessica Levy)

There is, of course, much more to cultural diversity in Pima County than the everyday trappings of development and economics. The Tohono O'Odham engage in their annual celebrations of the saguaro fruit harvest that begins their New Year. The Yaquis conduct their renowned Easter rites, the most important event of their yearly calendar, and invite visitors to attend. Hispanics, Tohono O'Odham, Yaquis, and others, many of them from Pima County, make the early October pilgrimage to Magdalena, Sonora, for the Fiesta de San Francisco. A more recent cultural tradition, the United States Independence Day, is part of annual life for all Pima County residents, including, for many, the fireworks display on A-Mountain, also known as Sentinel Peak, the namesake for Chuk Shon (Tucson).

History and Scales of Cultural Landscapes

American Indians have by far the longest history of residency in what we now call Pima County. How long they have been here is an open question. According to the Tohono O'Odham, they and their ancestors were created here by I'toi (Elder Brother) and they have lived on this land since time immemorial. According to archaeologists, American Indians have lived here for about 12,000 years. Today, lands controlled by the Tohono O'Odham Nation encompass only a fragment of the landscape once occupied by their ancestors. Consequently many cultural landscapes and places that are important to the Tohono O'Odham people are found throughout Pima County, an example of which is Babath th'oag. To the Tohono O'Odham, this landscape is central to their identity as a people and the focus of their cultural values.



A-Mountain seen from downtown Tucson
(Photograph by Jessica Levy)

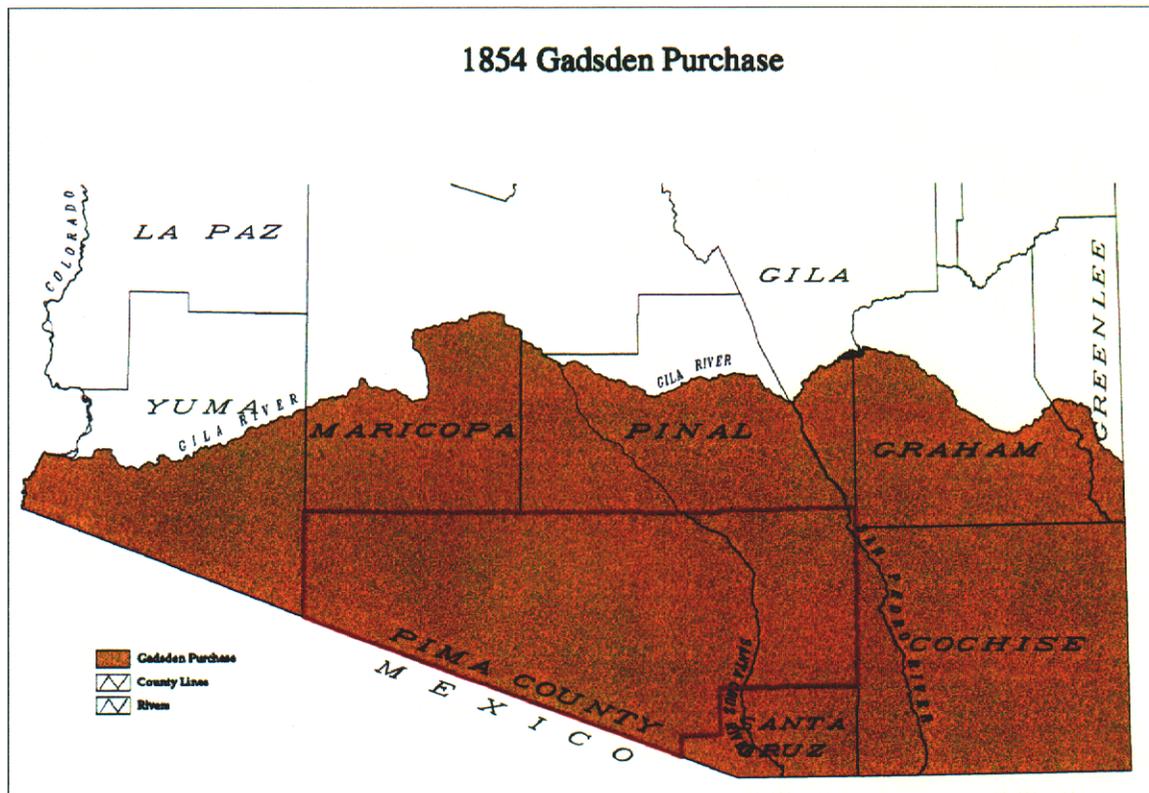
To the Spaniards, this land was the northern extremity of their imperial conquests in Sonora, the very edge of what they considered civilization. In fact, even in 1852 this was still the case, as noted by John Russell Bartlett who says, "Tucson is the most northern town in Mexico, and a very old place." Two expeditions, one in 1539 and the other in 1540, began Spanish exploration in this area. Both these expeditions were on their way to Zuni villages in New Mexico. On their journeys the Spaniards may well have traveled along the San Pedro River Valley and passed by a place in Pima County that we now call Redington. Almost 150 years elapsed before the next substantive Spanish incursion, when Father Kino began his missionary activities in this area. Missions, mines, and military presidios were the foci of Spanish occupation, and also of the subsequent Mexican occupation in this part of northern Sonora. In general, the cultural landscape of the Spaniards and Mexicans was focused on relatively small segments of the land. Settlements were consolidated for protection, and knowledge of the landscape much beyond these outposts was correspondingly limited.

It was the Apaches who moved into the area as other people's settlements were consolidated. While they are typically renowned for their raiding, the Apaches also farmed, gathered wild foods, and hunted. In fact, some Apaches lived side by side with the Spaniards and Mexicans near the presidios, at least for a time. One such Apache settlement, consisting of several hundred men, women, and children, was located just north of the Tucson Presidio. Others preferred more traditional ways. They lived a mobile life, using vast swaths of land to gather, hunt and farm. Raiding was also practiced, and for most of the 19th century it was the Apaches who controlled much of Pima County, even as Spain, Mexico, and the United States

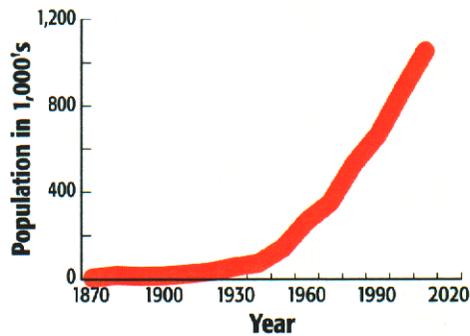
claimed sovereignty. The long history of Apache occupation and use of this land means that the landscape is part of the greater cultural landscape of Apache people, and that there are places of cultural importance to Apaches in modern Pima County.

To the Americans, the area we now call Pima County was the far southwestern edge of their new acquisitions. Even after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, which terminated the Mexican-American War and transferred huge tracts of land to the United States, Pima County remained a part of Mexico. Only with the Gadsden Purchase in 1854 was the present day international boundary established. And, even then, initial American occupation of the area was limited to mines, towns, and an occasional ranch. Large-scale water delivery systems and the advent of air conditioning in the 20th century have brought major changes to Pima County. Since 1900 the population has increased almost 70-fold.

Partitioning the natural landscape is common to all cultures. Our methods of partition can, however, be remarkably different. In general, American Indian cultures partition the landscape using a combination of natural and cultural features. For example, in the Indian Land Claim cases almost all tribes in the Southwest described the extent of their lands at the time the United States assumed control by identifying mountains, rivers, or places such as shrines. In the case of the Tohono O'Odham, Picacho Peak is a point on the northern boundary while the crest of the Rincon Mountains is part of the eastern boundary. The Hopi Tribe uses a series of



Gadsden Purchase (Map drawn by Mark Probstfeld)



Pima County Population Growth

shrines in northern Arizona that are visited on certain important pilgrimages as landscape markers. Some of these are located on culturally and naturally prominent mountains, such as the San Francisco Peaks near Flagstaff.

Spanish methods of dividing the land were based on both the use of natural points, and the use of somewhat arbitrary rectilinear areas especially for laying out land grants. The land grants were designed to incorporate important resources such as water and grazing, and would be oriented whichever way suited the needs of the person claiming the grant area.

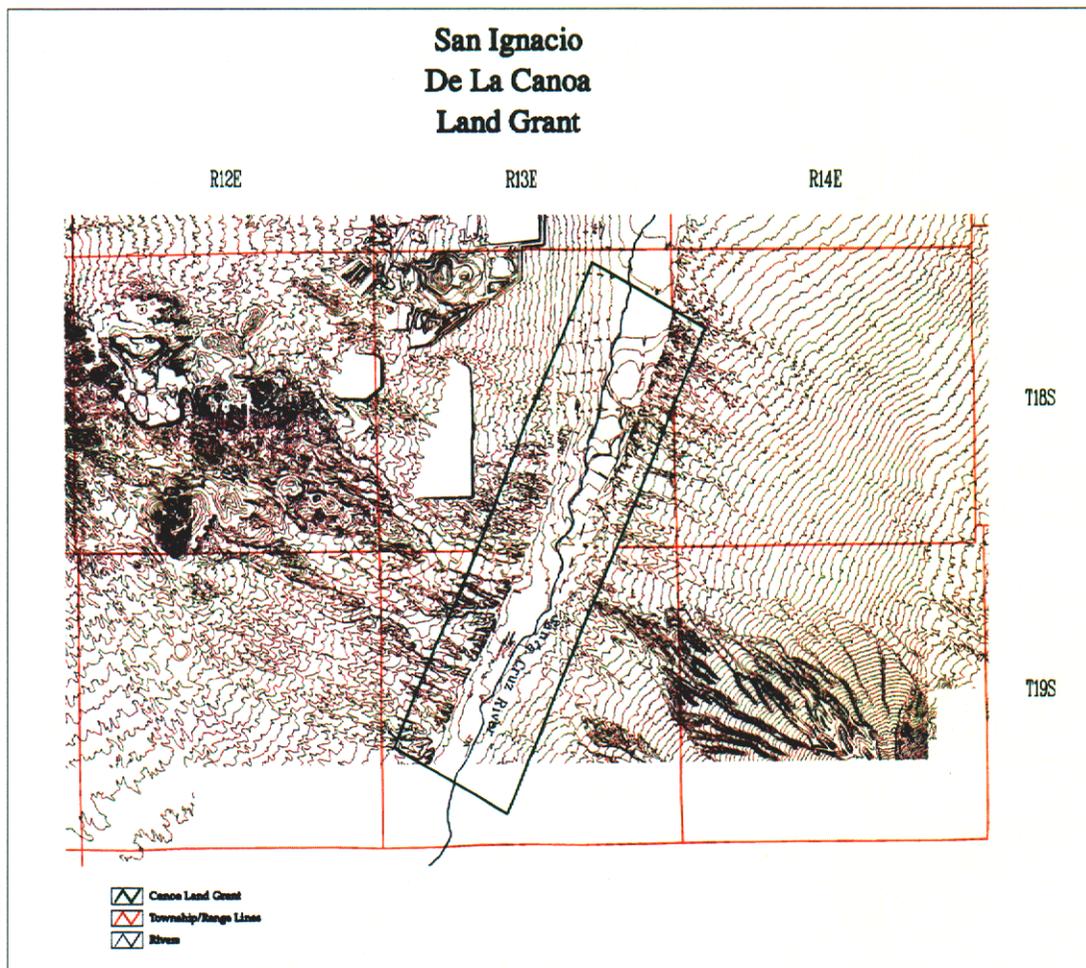
The United States introduced an entirely revolutionary means of dividing up the land. This method, which derived from the idea of city grid plans, was begun between 1785 and 1796 on the banks of the Ohio River. Intersecting lines along the cardinal directions, north to south and east to west, were laid out. These arbitrary lines cut across mountains, river drainages, prairie, and desert all the way to the Pacific Ocean, including Arizona. This system of land division is based on squares that measure 6 miles on a side. Each square is numbered, with Township as its north-south designation and Range as its east-west designation. Within each Township Range are 36 sections, each one square mile or 640 acres. Each section is divided into sixteen 40-acre blocks. Pima County is carpeted with these arbitrary lines and orderly blocks, a system that takes no account of the natural landscape. Such landscape fragmentation creates special challenges for the reconciliation of landownership needs and the protection of the natural and cultural landscapes that underlie this web of lines.

Ironically, in one of the few instances where a boundary based on natural topography has been established by the United States, the boundary line slices through a traditional cultural place of central importance to the Tohono O'Odham people: Waw Giwulk (Baboquivari Peak). That the spiritual home of I'toi, creator of the Tohono O'Odham people, is divided by this line could be regarded as a paradoxical farce were it not such a somber reminder of how a boundary can

artificially carve up a cultural landscape and detract from the holistic qualities of a place.

Role of Place in Landscape and Lives

Cultural landscapes are full of significant places. These places can be important for many reasons: they can be the home of a supernatural being, the setting for a traditional story, the location of a notable historical event, or where a loved one was lost to an accident. A significant place may be central to the identity of an entire cultural group, or may have importance to certain members of a cultural group in a way that reinforces their cultural identity and the identity of the group as a whole.



Topography at Canoa Ranch showing Spanish Land Grant along the Santa Cruz River and American Township Range Land Divisions
(Map drawn by Mark Probstfeld)



©Adriel Heisey, Photograph of Rancho Vistoso
(Courtesy Adriel Heisey)

Examples of significant places abound in Pima County. Waw Giwulk is but one. It is, however, a prime example of a place that is fundamental to the cultural identity of an entire cultural group, the Tohono O'Odham people. The peak itself rises vertically out of the Baboquivari Mountains like a majestic spire. It is visible for great distances in all directions, like a beacon to all who see it. I'toi is believed to reside in a cave on Waw Giwulk.

San Xavier Mission is a prominent historic and spiritual place of central importance to the people of Pima County. In fact, the south facade of San Xavier Mission serves as the focus of the seal of Pima County. Tohono O'Odham people provided the labor to construct this northern outpost of Spanish missionary activities, and have protected it over the centuries. Tohono O'Odham, Yaqui, Hispanic, and Anglo people celebrate religious rites here. Thousands of tourists from around the world visit San Xavier Mission each year. San Xavier is an important place for its history, its spiritual values, and its value as a focus of Pima County identity.

Each of us has our sense of place when in familiar surroundings. We often take these surroundings for granted, and give little thought to the role of the landscape and places that anchor our daily lives. When we are dislocated from these places we feel a sense of loss. When we travel, we may temporarily take pleasure in new surroundings, but when we return we feel relief that once again we are within a landscape to which we relate in subtle and meaningful ways, unlike our relationship with the distant places from which we have just returned. When significant places are physically modified or destroyed it makes us feel dislocated and disoriented, giving us a sense of unease and loss. Places are important to all of us. It is also critical that we have some understanding of how places are important to other people as well as to ourselves, and it is this topic that is addressed next.



San Xavier Mission (Photograph by Roger Anyon)



Pima County Seal

AMERICAN INDIAN CULTURES AND LANDSCAPES

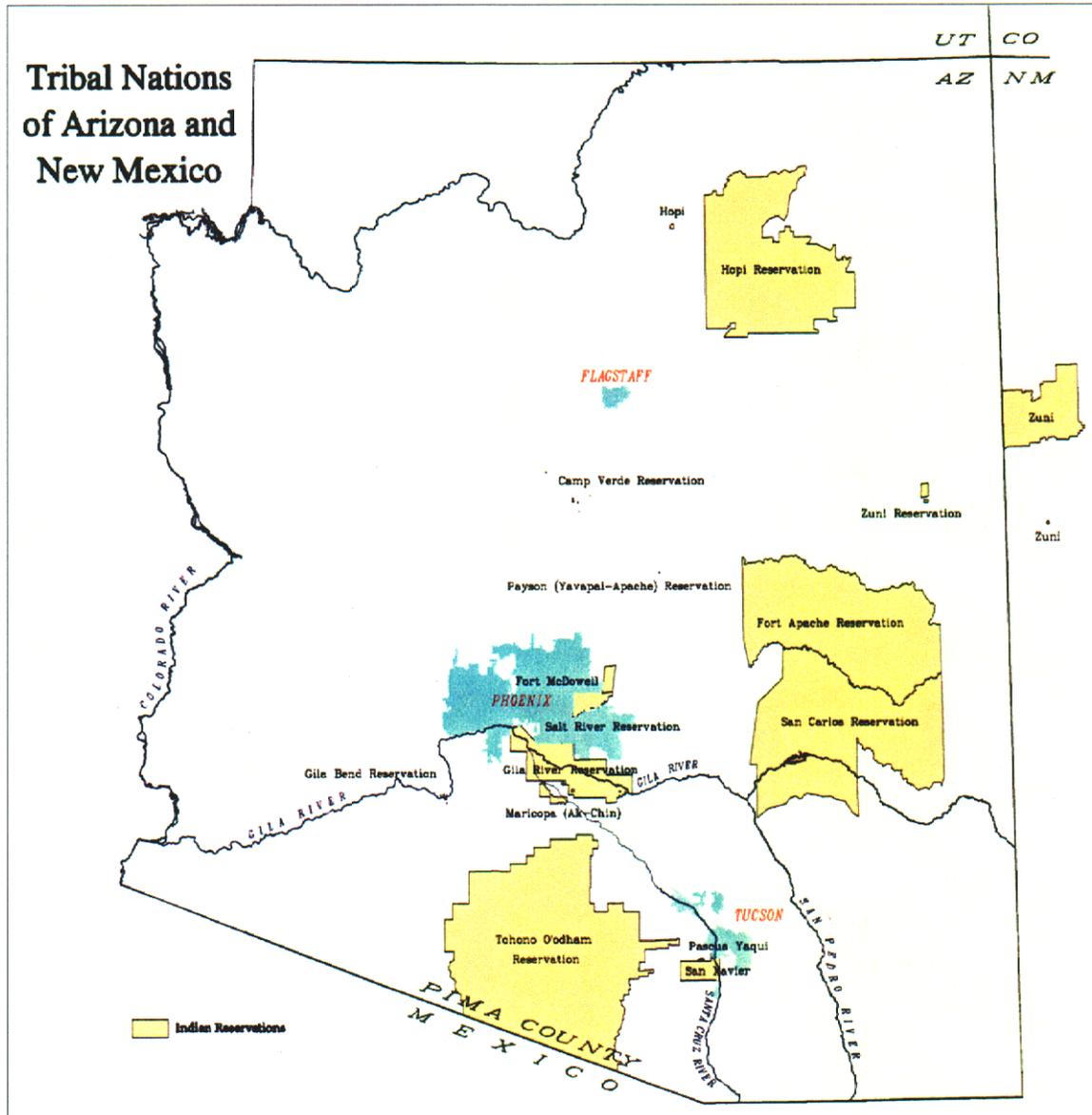
A number of American Indian cultures have remarkably intricate relationships with the land and resources in Pima County. In this chapter we discuss six American Indian cultures: Tohono O'Odham, Yaqui, Akimel O'Odham, Apache, Hopi, and Zuni. The Tohono O'Odham and Yaqui have reservation lands in Pima County, the other tribes do not. At first glance it may seem strange that tribes now resident in locations beyond Pima County could have any cultural connection to the landscape here, but history tells us otherwise. Each of these tribes has its own dynamic and fascinating history that connects it with Pima County.

Each of the six American cultures described here is distinct from the others. Obviously, the most closely connected are the Tohono O'Odham and Akimel O'Odham, previously known as the Papago and Pima tribes, that have similar culture and language. The O'Odham have recent, historic, and distant past relationships to cultural landscapes in Pima County. Hopi and Zuni are both Puebloan cultures, and even though they are more similar to each other than to the other tribes, they are in many ways quite distinctive. Their connections to Pima County relate to the migrations of their ancestors in the distant past. Apaches primarily have historic connections to Pima County. The Yaquis are the most recent American Indian arrivals in Pima County, having fled persecution in Mexico in the 19th and 20th Centuries. The history and culture of each tribe is a unique story and each must be told separately.

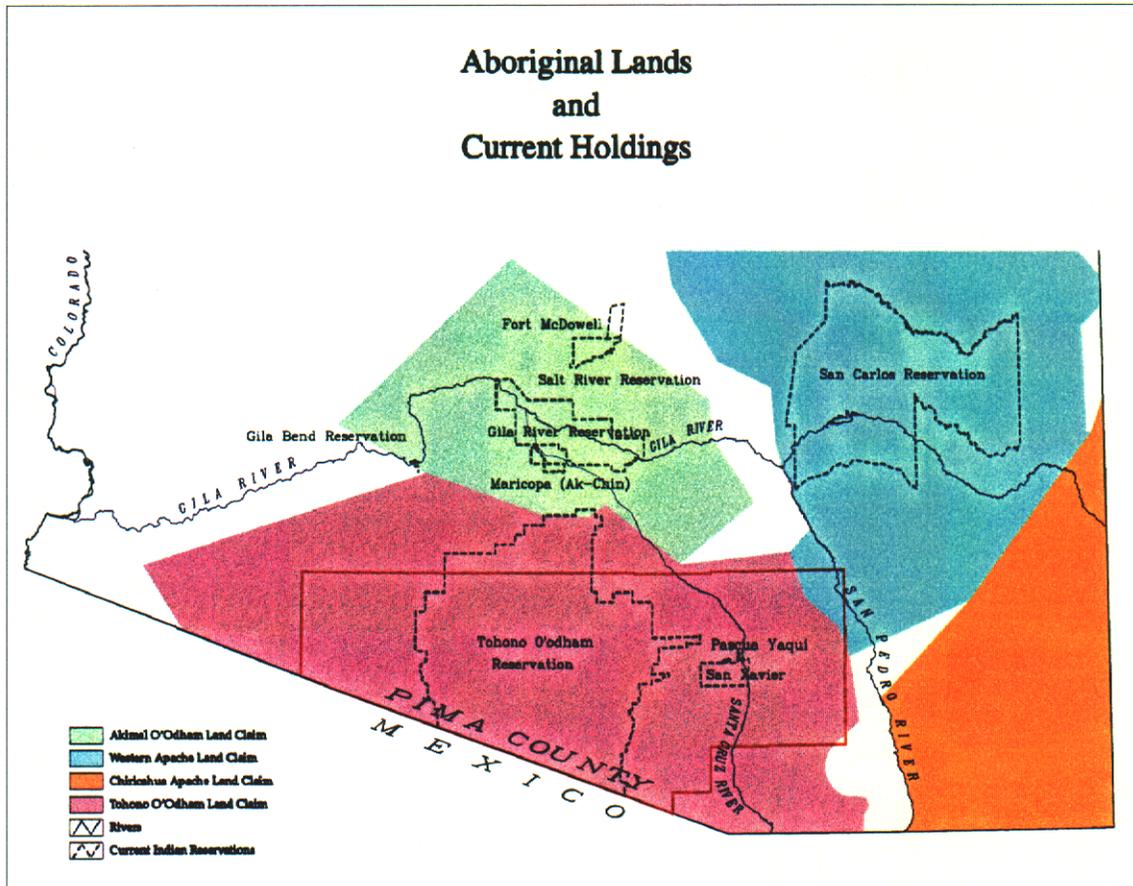
A word of caution is in order here. These six tribes are not individual monolithic entities. What we regard as a tribe today is a result of a combination of tribal history and the political impositions of the Spaniards and Americans. Take, for example, the Hopi Tribe as it is defined today. The Hopi Tribe is, in fact, comprised of dozens of clans, each with its own traditions and history about how it came to reside on the Hopi Mesas. In addition, part of the Hopi Tribe consists of people who live in their own village, called Tewa Village (or Hano), who are speakers of the Tewa language and who emigrated to the Hopi Mesas from northern New Mexico about 300 years ago. This means that while we may discuss tribes as single entities in a report such as this, we must remain aware of the reality that each tribe is internally complex. Different social groups within each tribe often have different histories and traditions to explain their origins and who they are.

When we discuss American Indian cultural landscapes in this report we refer to three types of landscape: ancestral, aboriginal, and recent. These are somewhat arbitrary temporal divisions, but they serve the useful purpose of allowing us to differentiate between different important periods. When we talk about ancestral cultural landscapes we are talking about the distant past to relatively recent times. In fact, ancestral landscapes cover the period from the earliest occupations in Pima County to the time the United States assumed sovereignty of this area in 1854. By the term aboriginal landscape we mean an area that was determined by the Indian Claims Commission to have been exclusively occupied and used by a tribe at the

time the United States assumed sovereignty. The Indian Claims Commission was established in 1946 by the United States Government to determine compensation to Indian tribes for lands that were illegally taken from them after these lands became part of the United States. Archaeological, anthropological, and historical information were part of the information used by the Commission. The area determined by the Commission is known as tribal aboriginal land. A recent cultural landscape is one of the more recent-past. It includes the late 19th century through to the present day.



Modern Reservations of Tribes with Cultural Landscape Ties to Pima County
(Map drawn by Mark Probstfeld)



American Indian Aboriginal Lands in and near Pima County
(Map drawn by Mark Probstfeld)

Even though we temporally divide American Indian cultural landscapes into ancestral, aboriginal, and recent, this does not necessarily reflect any difference in significance of these landscapes to the present-day tribal members. In fact, in ceremonial and other cultural contexts the ancestral landscape may have more present-day importance than the aboriginal and recent cultural landscape. The relative cultural importance of places and landscapes is, to a large degree, dependent on the specific context within which the place and landscape is perceived.

One final point should be kept in mind by the reader. This report is being produced as part of the Sonoran Desert Conservation Plan. This effort is focused on Pima County, but does not include Indian reservation lands. Consequently, we do not discuss the traditional cultural landscapes and many traditional cultural places of the various tribes that are located on their reservation lands. Our focus is on the portions of Pima County outside reservation lands.

Tohono O'Odham

Today, the Tohono O'Odham live on three separate parcels of reservation land. The largest of the three comprises about 2.7 million acres, situated between the Baboquivari Mountains and Organ Pipe National Monument, and the Mexican border and Interstate 8. The San Xavier District, located south of Tucson, contains about 71,000 acres, and the San Lucy District, which is just north of Gila Bend, is about 10,500 acres. These lands were set-aside for the Tohono O'Odham by the United States government at different times. San Xavier was established as a reservation in 1874, the San Lucy District followed in 1882, and finally the main reservation was initially created in 1916. Over the years, changes have been made to the reservation boundaries, some diminishing parcel size and others enlarging Tohono O'Odham Nation lands. Most of the Nation's lands are within Pima County.

Tohono O'Odham population is presently about 24,000 strong. The O'Odham language, continues to be spoken by most tribal members. It is one of many within the large Uto-Aztecan family of languages that are found throughout much of the western United States, Mexico, and Central America. Five dialects of Tohono O'Odham are spoken, and each dialect is concentrated in a different part of the reservation.

The people live in villages of scattered residences, often called a rancheria type of settlement. Certain villages have a round house that is used for community ceremonial events and meetings. Before the advent of stores and modern highways, the Tohono O'Odham lived off locally available resources. They farmed, gathered wild foods, hunted, and traded with nearby tribes. Those who lived along reliable water courses tended to have one village where they lived for most of the year, and practiced irrigation farming. In areas with less surface water, the people depended less on farming and collected more wild foods, and moved seasonally between winter and summer villages.

Gathering plants was critical during lean times, especially during Ko'ok Mashath ("Painful Month") that occurred about May. With the ripening of the saguaro fruit in June, immediately before the summer rains, food became plentiful. The annual saguaro wine festival, that continues to this day, celebrates the availability of the fruit and the immanent life giving rains: it signals the beginning of the Tohono O'Odham New Year.

Relatives constitute the core social group. The line of descent for children is reckoned through the father. Individual Tohono O'Odham belong to one of two complimentary subdivisions of the tribe, called moieties, either the Buzzard or Coyote moiety, although today these divisions are not as important as they were in the past. Influential individuals within a village were the shaman, and leaders of ceremonies, the hunt, for war, and so forth.

Since 1937 the Tohono O'Odham people have elected tribal government officials to represent their interests, when the tribal political organization was restructured under the Indian Reorganization Act. But, this imposed and foreign

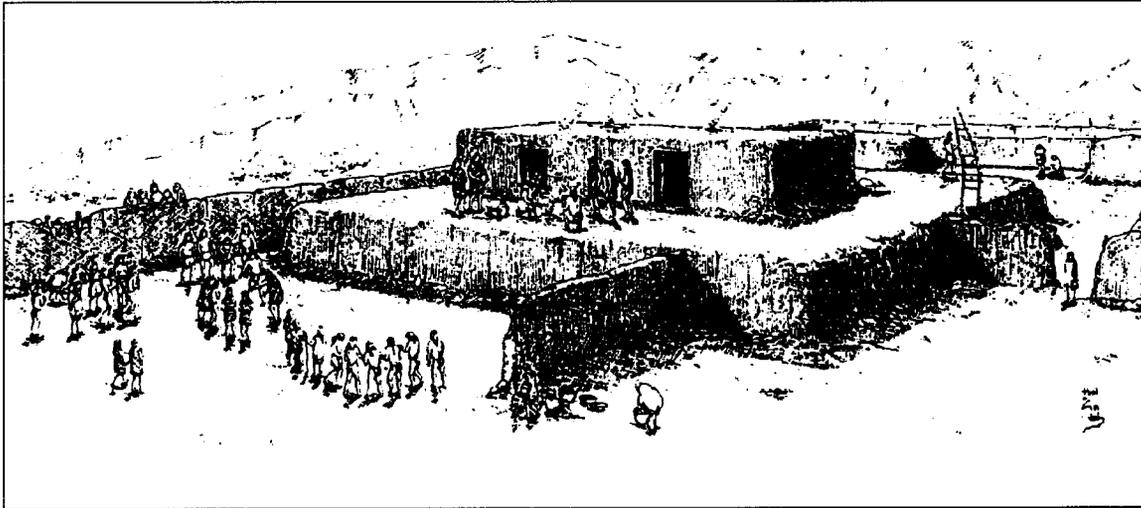
concept of representative government has only become generally accepted since the 1970s. With the recent success of its gaming operations, the Nation has established itself as a major economic and political force in Pima County.

Ancestral, Aboriginal, and Recent Cultural Landscapes

Eons ago, according to one version of the Tohono O'Odham origin narrative, Earthmaker and Yellow Buzzard created the earth. They created mountains, each with a shaman and with bird down (clouds) on their tops. I'ittoi was formed from the union of sky dome and the edges of the earth. Coyote was also created and became the messenger for the supernatural beings. Together, they then created the rivers, the heavens, and people. But the people did not die and they resorted to murdering each other. Because of this, I'ittoi caused a baby to be born, who cried after being abandoned and whose tears caused a great flood from which only the supernatural beings and a few people saved themselves. Some of the people who were lost in the flood are now turned into stone, as can be seen in the Superstition Mountains near Phoenix. Earthmaker, Coyote, and I'ittoi made new people but only those made by I'ittoi were human. In anger, Earthmaker sank below the earth and left behind disease. I'ittoi taught the Tohono O'Odham many things, then retired to Baboquivari Mountain, occasionally assisting the people with problems they encountered. Eventually I'ittoi became hostile to the people, and, with assistance from Yellow Buzzard, the people killed I'ittoi. But I'ittoi came back to life, and enlisted the help of the underground people, who emerged and swept westward sending the former inhabitants fleeing north and south. The Tohono O'Odham then returned home where they live today.

This exceptionally brief and compact version of the creation narrative is only the bare essence of this story. Complete versions are told as a combination of story and song, and may only be told in winter. The creation narrative not only explains the origin of the Tohono O'Odham people, but it also connects them to the land through their history, it elucidates how some significant features on the landscape came to be, and it tells where some super-natural beings live. This particular narrative suggests that it was the Hohokam who were scattered by the people from the underground. Other versions relate how the Tohono O'Odham are descendants of the Hohokam. It was the Hohokam who inhabited the many ancient villages that are found throughout Pima County, and who comprise an integral element of the Tohono O'Odham ancestral cultural landscape.

By the time the Spaniards arrived, to establish missions and settle in Tohono O'Odham lands, the Hohokam villages were no longer occupied. Instead, people were living in scattered rancherias. Many of these rancherias were located along major water-courses such as the Santa Cruz and San Pedro Rivers. For example, over 2,000 Sobaipuri Indians are reported to have lived along the San Pedro River Valley in the late 1600s, but within 100 years these villages had been deserted because of Apache incursions. Many of the San Pedro Sobaipuri moved to San Xavier and became part of that Tohono O'Odham community, where their descendants live today. Consequently, the San Pedro Valley is an integral part of the Tohono O'Odham ancestral cultural landscape.



Artists Reconstruction of a Classic Hohokam Village Platform Mound
(Drawing by Ziba Ghassemi. Courtesy, Center for Desert Archaeology)

In December 1846, when Lieutenant Colonel Cooke led the Mormon Battalion through the San Pedro Valley, he made no mention of any inhabited villages. A few years later, John Russell Bartlett reported finding a recently deserted Tohono O'Odham agave gathering camp near the San Pedro River. This camp consisted of 20 or 30 houses and a large roasting pit. This village shows Tohono O'Odham land use beyond the eastern edge of Pima County several years before the Gadsden Purchase. According to the Indian Claims Commissioners, the eastern boundary of exclusive Tohono O'Odham aboriginal use and occupancy in 1854 was along the ridge of the Rincon, Whetstone, and Huachuca Mountains, an area that excludes the San Pedro River drainage.

One consequence of the Gadsden Purchase, in 1854, was the arbitrary division of Tohono O'Odham lands between the United States and Mexico. Even so, for many decades little changed in terms of peoples' movements and traditional land use patterns. Many Tohono O'Odham continued to farm, hunt and gather on large swaths of the open, unfenced landscape. The resources that had sustained the Tohono O'Odham people for centuries remained available for their traditional uses despite Apache raids and growing immigration. By the time the main reservation was created by the United States government in 1916, the Tohono O'Odham found themselves increasingly restricted in their traditional land use. Today, many places of traditional cultural importance are inaccessible to the Tohono O'Odham people as a result of fencing and explicitly delineated land ownership.

Important Places and Resources

The Tohono O’Odham see the land as a place of beauty and life, unlike others who may see it as desolate and barren. Their culture is structured in ways that provides the flexibility to adapt to the desert, in which one must work with the environment rather than against it. Places of cultural significance to the Tohono O’Odham include a wide range of resources. Mountains, rivers, and springs, are natural features with cultural importance, at least in part because of their association with life-giving waters. Caves also have cultural significance. Many species of plants and animals have cultural uses and often have associated oral traditions that explain their origins and how to care for them, so they can continue to provide for the people. Ancient villages, rock art, burials, and campsites are believed to be edifices of the ancestors. Here, we consider only a small portion of these significant places and resources to illustrate their variety.

In a landscape such as southern Arizona, any place where water is found has inherent importance. Mountains are regarded by the Tohono O’Odham as the locations of rainhouses, positioned in the cardinal directions, which have all the trappings of rain – winds, clouds, and rainbows. It is undoubtedly no coincidence, for example, that Babath th’oag, or Frog Mountain, is named for an animal so closely associated with water (although this may also be an illusion to toads whose breeding is intimately linked with the summer rains). In certain ceremonial contexts, reference to the western rainhouse is associated with wild plants, whereas reference to the eastern rainhouse is associated with cultivated plant life. These references allude to the gentle winter rains that come from the west and result in desert wildflowers, in contrast to the downpours of summer rains that originate in the east and result in the growth of crops. The importance of water is exemplified in a report made by an early Spanish explorer, Juan Bautista de Anza, in which he notes that the Tohono O’Odham would pile mountain sheep horns by water holes as a measure to prevent evaporation.

Caves are imbued with cultural significance for the Tohono O’Odham, some of which have special significance. A cave on Waw Giwulk (Baboquivari Peak) is identified as the home of I’itoi. Other caves act as shrines, and when shrines are visited offerings such as an arrow or tobacco are left. A number of caves in southern Arizona have their own microenvironments, with constantly cool temperatures and reliable water, two notable attributes in the Sonoran Desert environment.

Water availability was one of the factors that traditionally dictated when the Tohono O’Odham people living away from major rivers would move from their winter to summer houses. Winter houses were located in mountain foothills, adjacent to springs. Summer houses were situated near the mouths of washes, where runoff would debouche from the mountains onto the plain, and could be manipulated to provide moisture for crops. This is the so-called ak-chin method of farming, for which the Tohono O’Odham are well known. Cultivated food, such as corn and beans, was an important part of the Tohono O’Odham diet. Winter wheat,

introduced by the Spaniards, also became an important source of locally grown food.

Tohono O’Odham reliance on the natural environment for sustenance is reflected in their annual calendar. In general, the Tohono O’Odham calendar can be equated with the months of the Julian calendar that is familiar to all of us. It is important to understand, however, that the Tohono O’Odham calendar reflects the timing of activities that occur at certain times of the year. Consequently, the actual dates that each Tohono O’Odham “month” occurs will differ in different places as the seasons progress. The calendar is entirely rooted in the climate and environment of southern Arizona, and a brief description tells us a lot about the relationship of the Tohono O’Odham with the environment. The Tohono O’Odham New Year and calendar begins with the ripening of the saguaro fruit:

Hahshani Bahithag Mashath (June) “Saguaro Cactus Fruit Month” is first month of the new year when people go to their saguaro fruit harvesting areas and camps.

Jukiabig Mashath (July) “Rainy Month” is when most crops are planted, and in previous decades people would move to their field homes to prepare for planting.

Shopol Eshabig Mashath (August) “Short Crop Month” is when the late summer rains end and short season crops are planted.

Washai Gakithag Mashath (September) “Dry Grass Month” is when the harvest is finished, and in previous decades people would move to their mountain homes near their winter water supply.

Wi’ihanig Mashath (October) “Gleaning Month” is when left over fruits, acorns, and tubers are gathered for winter food.

Kehg S-hehpjig Mashath (November) “Fair Cold Month” is the deer-rutting season.

Ge’e S-hehpjig Mashath (December) “Extreme Cold Month” is the month of the winter solstice, which is why it is also known as *Eda Wa’ugath Mashath* “Backbone Month.”

Gi’ihothag Mashath (January) “Weight Loss Month” is when game animals lose their reserve of flesh.

Kohmagi Mashath (February) “Grey Month” is when vegetation is scant and trees are bare.

Chethagi Mashath (March) “Green Month” is when the mesquite trees leaf out.

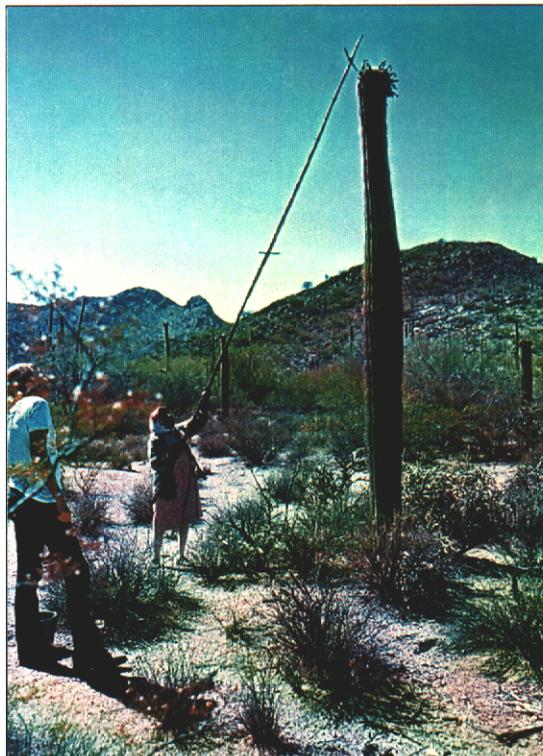
Oam Mashath (April) “Yellow Month” is when trees begin to bloom, beginning with the mesquite.

Ko’ok Mashath (May) “Painful Month” is given this name because it was a time of hunger.

The saguaro is such an important resource for the Tohono O’Odham that it occupies a central role in a body of oral tradition and ceremonial activities. How the saguaro came to be on the landscape is explained in oral tradition. Here, we provide two slightly different versions of this tradition. One version is as follows. One day, Turtle was taking the seeds of the only saguaro, which he owned, to the ocean, with the intent of throwing the seeds in the water so the cactus would not spread

on the land, as it was dangerous. Coyote tricked Turtle into showing him the seeds and then scattered them all over the land where they now grow. Another version of this tradition was told at the saguaro fruit gathering camp. A baby, who was deserted by his mother and never nursed, sank into the earth and came up on a mountain slope as a saguaro. The people made saguaro cactus fruit wine, but they abused the fermented wine and quarreled. Consequently, I'toi sent Badger to dispose of all the saguaro seeds in the ocean, but along the way Badger met Coyote who tricked Badger and the seeds fell out of Badger's hands in clumps. The wind, being from the south, deposited the seeds on the southern side of hills, where this cactus now grows.

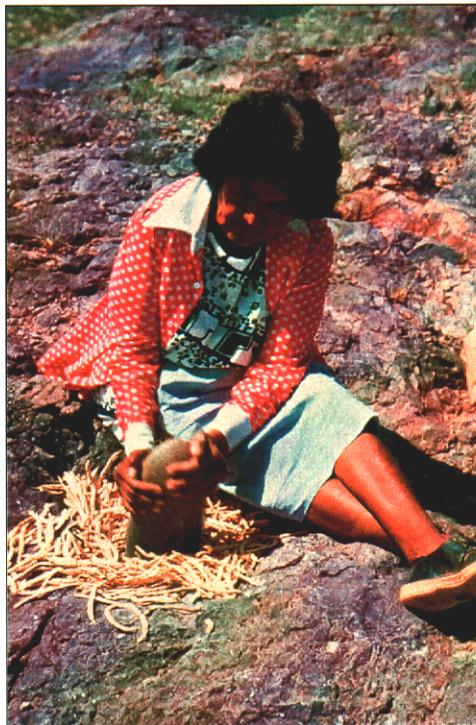
Traditionally, the saguaro had many uses, and still does. The fruit can be eaten raw, boiled and strained through a basket to make syrup, or dried and stored as cakes for future use. The syrup can be used as food, or be fermented into wine for ceremonial occasions. The saguaro fruit seeds are used for their oil or made into flour. The needles of this cactus were used for tattooing. And, saguaro ribs are used in construction, to make house elements, doors, shelves, racks, cages, burden basket frames, and so on.



Saguaro Fruit Gathering
(Photograph by Helga Teiwes. Courtesy Arizona State Museum)

Of course, the Tohono O'Odham have a myriad traditional uses for a wide range of wild plants and animals. Obviously, providing a catalog of these plants and animals is far beyond what we can do here, but a few examples give an idea of Tohono O'Odham ingenuity. Agave provides food, fiber, cord and soap. Mesquite is a source of food, gum, medicine, and is used for making baskets, houses, fence posts, as well as the kick-ball that was used to pace running during travel. Sage provides food, tea, and medicine. Yucca and beargrass are important for making baskets. Rabbits were hunted in annual drives, providing food and skins for clothing. Deer and antelope were sources of food, skins, fat, and sinew. The larvae of the Sphinx Moth, available following the rainy season, were highly prized as a source of nutritious food.

Besides plant and animal resources, other natural materials such as minerals were collected and used by the Tohono O'Odham. The area around Ajo, for example, was a source of red oxide and green carbonate for body paint. Quartz crystals, regarded as the solidified saliva of I'toi, have power and have religious use.



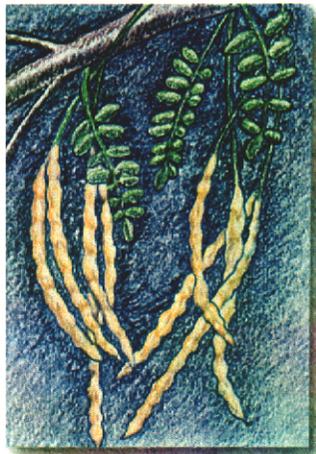
Processing Mesquite Beans
(Photograph by Helga Teiwes. Courtesy Arizona State Museum)

Examples of places where the Tohono O'Odham and their ancestors lived and camped abound in Pima County. Ancestral Hohokam villages, petroglyphs, camps, and shrines are found throughout the County. The Santa Cruz River Valley was

heavily populated with rancheria settlements, where houses were scattered along the valley in loosely organized clusters, when the Spaniards arrived. During the latter half of the 1700s and the early part of the 1800's, the Tohono O'Odham are reported to have occupied and used all of Pima County, intensively hunting and gathering in the mountains as well as the valleys. Following Mexican independence, Apache raiding increased, and even though this curtailed Tohono O'Odham land use it did not prevent it, as the settlement noted by Bartlett in 1852 near the San Pedro River attests. The area around Arivaca, called Ari Bac (Place of Small Waters) or Al Wahpuk (Little Reeds), was settled and used by Tohono O'Odham. Apparently it was, to a large degree, depopulated immediately following a revolt in 1751, but the area had continuing Tohono O'Odham use and occupation after this date. In 1860, Rafael Pumpelly reported following an Indian trail westward for several miles from the Cerro Colorado mines near Arivaca. The Rincon, Santa Catalina, and Santa Rita Mountains were all places regularly used to gather acorns, agaves, and many other resources.

The Tohono O'Odham cultural landscape encompasses all of Pima County. One anthropologist, who worked with the Tohono O'Odham in the 1930s remarked that the countryside contains many shrines, some represented by a cave or a stone marking the place of some supernatural event. Many of these places are not recorded in a western sense. Even so, we can be sure that they are to be found all over the Pima County landscape, and that they have significance to the Tohono O'Odham people.

As an aside, in closing this section on the Tohono O'Odham, it is worth very briefly considering two additional issues that can help us reflect on the different ways that the natural landscape is viewed through the cultural lens: language and travel. The Tohono O'Odham language is structured in a way that the notion of distance simultaneously entails both time and space relations, a notion in keeping with the landscape and ecology of their homeland in the Sonoran Desert. This is quite different to the English language in which distance is usually conceived of as space alone. The second issue concerns travel and movement. Before automobiles and convenience stores, the Tohono O'Odham, like other people, traveled primarily on foot. Foot travel requires intimate knowledge of the landscape and its resources, particularly the availability of water. As any hiker knows, the land is a different place when you walk rather than drive. Traveling by foot, however, was not a slow ponderous method of travel for the Tohono O'Odham. Men preferred running as a means of locomotion, and it was common for them to run distances of 30 miles or more in a day, using a wooden kick ball to keep pace. Movement, in fact, could be thought of as the basic descriptor of Tohono O'Odham life.



Mesquite Tree, Flowers, and Pods
(Drawings by George Malesky)

Yaqui

The Yaqui Tribe presently occupies almost 1,000 acres of land on the south edge of Tucson. Yaqui people have resided in this area for a long time, as census figures for Tumacacori during the late 1700s attest. It was not until 1978, however, that the United States government formally recognized the Yaqui Tribe as a sovereign Indian nation with reservation lands. Today, there are over 9,000 Yaqui tribal members living in Arizona.

Yaquis refer to themselves as Yoemem, not Yaqui which is a term used by outsiders. They speak a dialect of Cahita, a language group in the Uto-Aztecan language family. The other one remaining dialect of Cahita is spoken by the Mayo Indians of southern Sonora and northern Sinaloa in Mexico. The Mayo live immediately south of the spiritual homeland of the Yaqui.

Pre-Christian and Christian beliefs coalesce in the Yaqui religion, resulting in distinct religious practices. The Yaqui people consider themselves Catholics. The Easter Ceremony is the most important religious ceremony of the year for the Yaqui community. It is also the most widely known and visited of Yaqui religious ceremonies. Various societies have roles in Yaqui culture, and reflect different origins. The Pascolas and Deer Dancers are symbols of Yaqui distinctiveness, and are the primary nexus symbolizing the pre-Christian relationship with the natural world. The Matachinis on the other hand have European Christian roots.

Revenues from a casino provide economic support for the tribe, and greatly increase Yaqui political visibility in Pima County. A recently constructed amphitheatre for public events and concerts promises to diversify the Yaqui economic base.

History and Recent Cultural Landscape

In comparison to the other tribes associated with Pima County, the Yaquis are recent arrivals. The reasons for this are rooted in Yaqui history. The ancestral Yaqui homeland is located in southern Sonora along the Rio Yaqui. Contact with the Spaniards began in 1617 when Jesuits started missionary work along the Rio Yaqui. At this time, the Yaquis left their scattered rancherias and gathered into eight pueblos, each with a church. Unrest began in earnest after the Jesuits were expelled from the New World in 1767, and Mexicans began to pressure the Yaquis for their land. By the time of Mexican Independence, in 1821, the situation was rapidly deteriorating, and in 1825 a Yaqui revolt began. Intermittent warfare became commonplace. In 1876, the Yaqui leader, Cajeme, took advantage of a larger revolution to drive out the Mexicans, but in 1887 he was captured and executed. Revolts continued, but in the early 1900s the Mexicans began to forcibly break-up and disperse Yaqui families through deportations to other parts of Mexico, principally to be used as forced laborers on plantations in places such as the Yucatan and Oaxaca. Many Yaquis fled to other parts of Mexico and to Arizona. Deportations ended with the downfall of the Porfirio Diaz dictatorship in 1911. Despite a change in Mexican policy, unrest between Yaquis and Mexicans continued

until 1927. In 1937, President Cardenas set aside about 20 percent of the original Yaqui homeland as an area for their use, and many Yaquis have since returned to their ancestral homeland.

It was during the period of unrest in the late 1800s and early 1900s that many Yaquis came to Arizona to escape the brutalities in Mexico. In Pima County, they established a number of settlements near Tucson and Marana. Beyond Pima County, they settled near Phoenix and Yuma. These settlement locations reflect that fact that most Yaquis worked as railroad or farm laborers and lived on land they did not own.

In 1921, two Tucson businessmen, a banker and a real estate man, offered Yaquis the opportunity to buy small lots within 40 acres on what was then the north side of Tucson. This became known as Pascua Village. The creation of Pascua Village, and the way political leadership developed, caused some discord within the various Yaqui communities. Many Yaqui families relocated in 1964, when the US government made a grant of 200 acres on the south side of Tucson to the Pascua Yaqui Association. This village, named New Pascua, eventually became the core of today's reservation.

Important Places and Resources

Many Yaqui oral traditions are set in the cultural landscape of their ancestral homeland along the Rio Yaqui in Sonora. Geography is commonly used to place action in ancient stories, but less so in narratives of Jesuit and more recent times. Linking topography with history, myth, and religion is a way to defend their religion, culture, and rights to land, especially given their need to re-establish links to the land from which they were deported. Yaqui oral tradition has meaning for Yaquis in terms of history, environment and supernaturals, ritual, religion and morality, political and social custom, and social attitudes.

Clearly, the places where Yaquis established communities in Pima County have significance to the Yaqui people. Beyond the reservation these places include Pascua Village, where a church to San Ignacio and a plaza were constructed, and Campo Burro (or Yoemem Pueblo) near Marana. Other places in Pima County have become part of Yaqui oral tradition, but their significance as traditional cultural places is unclear. An example of one such place is Sabino Canyon. One tradition relates the story of a Yaqui man out riding his horse, thirsty and far from any water, when Dios (God) suddenly formed beautiful clouds above the mountain. The Yaqui rode up the mountain and poked the clouds with his wooden stick causing a torrent of water to gush forth. The story ends as follows: "It ran deep in Sabino arroyo. Well, sirs, from that time on there has been water in Sabino arroyo."

According to some Yaquis, the Santa Rita Mountains were an important refuge and safe route during their flight from Mexican prosecution. One way to avoid detection was to plant water in the mountains, rather than rely on known water sources. Planting water involves placing an upright ceramic jar in the ground with its opening at ground level. The jar is capped with a smooth rock. Daily heating

and cooling cycles then precipitate out moisture that collects in the jar. Apparently there is an old Yaqui "safe camp" near Continental where Yaquis may have been buried in 1800s and early 1900s. Any Yaqui burial is, of course, of great significance to the Yaqui Tribe, and especially to the descendants of the individual.

Some locally available resources have importance to Yaquis. For example, Elderberry wood is used for making rosaries because it is very strong and does not splinter. Beads are often made from the wild tomato bush or creosote bush. Rosaries provide protection against evil. Curanderos use a variety of herbs, plants, woods, and animal parts in their practice. Beeswax mixed with native tobacco is used to ameliorate toothache, for instance, and deerskins are used to bind broken bones because the deer has the power to cure and heal the bone. Various kinds of flowers are also important during ceremonies, especially the Easter rites.

Akimel O'Odham

The Akimel O'Odham are close relatives of the Tohono O'Odham, and speak the same language. Today, Akimel O'Odham (also known as Pimas) reside on the Gila River, Salt River, Ak-Chin, and Fort McDowell reservations in Maricopa County. In years past they lived primarily along the Gila River and irrigated crops covering large swaths of the flood plain.

Large Akimel O'Odham settlements are reported along the Gila River by early Spanish clerics and explorers. In fact, when these early European arrivals journeyed between San Xavier de Bac and the Colorado River, they often followed the Santa Cruz River to its confluence with the Gila River, and from there they followed the Gila to the Colorado River close to the present day town of Yuma. Along the way they traversed Akimel O'Odham territory, visited the villages, and obtained provisions for their journeys.

The productivity of Akimel O'Odham agriculture was renowned. Following the introduction of wheat by the Spaniards, it was quickly incorporated into the Akimel O'Odham agricultural mix, as it could be grown in the winter offering no conflict with the scheduling of maize cultivation. Winter wheat provided huge amounts of surplus grain, and by 1870 the Akimel O'Odham were annually trading or selling several million pounds of wheat a year.

The basic Akimel O'Odham social unit was the family, headed by the father, composed of a couple, married sons and unmarried daughters. Above the family level were clans that were organized into moieties. Clan affiliation descended in the male line. According to Frank Russell, in the early 1900s Akimel O'Odham people were divided into the Vulture or Red People and the Coyote or White People, also spoken of as Red Ants and White Ants respectively.

Historically, families would live year-round near their fields in dispersed settlements. Apache incursions, however, affected the Akimel O'Odham settlements. Between 1699 and 1852 the distance between all the villages was

reduced from 52 to 15 miles, and all settlements were concentrated on the south bank of the Gila River in defensible locations within easy communication distance. With the 1854 Gadsden Purchase and the establishment of US military forts, the Apache threat was lessened and population expanded into new areas. But, in 1868 massive floods devastated many irrigation canals and wiped out three villages. This led to an expansion of Akimel O'Odham settlement back to its range in 1699. Following the incursion of American colonists from the late 1800s into the 20th Century, Akimel O'Odham access to water and land became restricted and farming was greatly diminished.



Sketch of Akimel O'Odham Village along the Gila River in the early 1850s
(Painting by Seth Eastman. Courtesy Rhode Island School of Design)

Today, however, the Akimel O'Odham are once again agricultural giants in the Gila River Valley, using their Colorado River water allocations for large scale irrigation projects. They also have casinos and other commercial ventures that make them important contributors to the economy of greater metropolitan Phoenix.

Ancestral, Aboriginal, and Recent Cultural Landscapes

Hohokam archaeological sites are regarded as important cultural places by the Akimel O'Odham, and thus the extent of Hohokam material culture can be generally taken as the extent of the Akimel O'Odham ancestral landscape. This area includes all of Pima County. Because the history and oral traditions of the Akimel and Tohono O'Odham have so much in common it is reasonable to identify the same overall ancestral landscape for both tribes. Exactly how the Akimel O'Odham relate to the Hohokam is portrayed in different ways in oral traditions and is a subject of some academic discussion. About a century ago, Frank Russell was told that the Red People were in possession of the land when I'toi brought the White People from the nether world and conquered the Red People. Russell interprets this to mean that the Akimel O'Odham are a combination of peoples. Other more detailed

narratives relate the step-by-step progress of the conqueror's progress, naming the settlements and their leaders in order of their conquest.

Historical realities are the basis of oral traditions, and different oral traditions provide different perspectives on the past. Consequently, we should not be surprised to find a web of interlocking but sometimes mutually contradictory narratives. The complexities of the past are often difficult to unravel.

Part of the Akimel O'Odham ancestral cultural landscape includes the San Pedro River Valley. Some of the Sobaipuris who left the San Pedro in late 1700s and moved to the Santa Cruz River Valley, eventually settled with Akimel O'Odham along the Gila River. Consequently, Sobaipuri settlements along the San Pedro River can be considered ancestral to both the Akimel O'Odham and the Tohono O'Odham.

The aboriginal cultural landscape of the Akimel O'Odham, established by the Indian Claims Commission as the area exclusively occupied and used by the Akimel O'Odham at the time the United States assumed sovereignty over what is now Arizona, is north of Pima County. In fact, the Akimel O'Odham aboriginal cultural landscape abuts part of the north edge of the Tohono O'Odham aboriginal lands between Gila Bend and Red Rock.

For the Akimel O'Odham, the recent cultural landscape is most aptly described as lands encompassed by the Gila River, Salt River, Ak-Chin, and Fort McDowell reservations, with other important places located beyond this area. For the most part, this area is outside of Pima County.

Important Places and Resources

Many of the places mentioned in Akimel O'Odham origin narratives describe places to the north of Pima County, but some places are to the south indicating Akimel O'Odham connections to Pima County. In one narrative, for example, it is said that ancient magicians drove all the deer and all animals useful to humans into a cave at Aloam (Yellow Mountain), which lies northeast of Baboquivari Peak. Later all these animals were released by Coyote. Aloam is identified by Russell as being 25 miles southwest of Tucson. Although he does not provide the modern name for Yellow Mountain, it may well be the Coyote Mountains.

Another story, about the twin children of Cloud, is set in the times of the Hohokam, and relates to a mountain near Tucson. Once, when these twin boys were on a journey, they met Coyote who blocked their passage. Cloud, their mother, intervened by sending thunder and lightning to frighten Coyote. It was here, on a mountaintop near Tucson, that the twins were turned into the largest agave that was ever known. This is why agave grows on the mountains, and why it rains when the people go to gather agave.

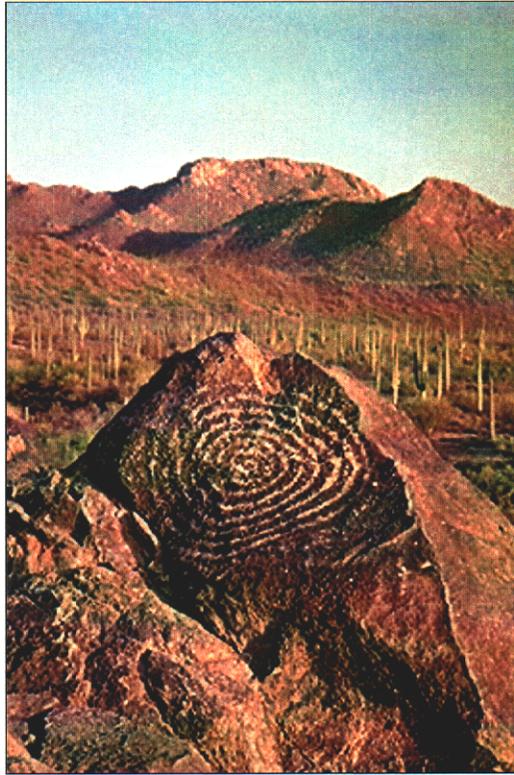
At the beginning of this report the stories of Ho'ok and Little Yellow Bird were discussed in relation to Babath th'oag (Frog Mountain, or the Santa Catalina

Mountains). Ho'ok was a dreadful supernatural female who killed and ate children. One version of the story says that she lived in a number of places, first in a cave on a mountain called Tá-atûkam (whose location was not identified in the narrative), then she moved to Waw Giwulk (Baboquivari Peak), before reaching a cave near Poso Verde (in Sonora) where she was killed by I'ittoi. About 2 or 3 miles from this cave is a stone enclosure called Hâ-âk moakkût to mark her death, and where people bring offerings for good luck. After killing Ho'ok, I'ittoi went to live in a cave on Baboquivari Peak. It was after this that the people rose against I'ittoi, which eventually led to his journey to the underworld, and his return with his followers to destroy the Hohokam great houses and their leaders. One version of the Ho'ok story, by an Akimel O'Odham man called Thin Leather, names a cave in the Santa Catalina Mountains as where Ho'ok lived before going to Poso Verde.



Waw Giwulk, Baboquivari Peak
(Photograph by Jessica Levy)

The narrative of Little Yellow Bird is set at Babath th'oag (Frog Mountain). Against her mother's wishes, Little Yellow Bird set out ahead of her mother on a Palo Verde bean-gathering trip. Little Yellow Bird got lost. Her parents could not find her, and enlisted the help of Buzzard who also failed to find Little Yellow Bird but heard crying at the top of Babath th'oag. Little Yellow Bird's father then asked Naf-choo, his wise friend, to help. Naf-choo lived in a cave on the side of Babath th'oag. The search was successful and Little Yellow Bird returned home, but only after learning the consequences of disobeying her parents.



Petroglyph

(Photograph by James Randklev. Courtesy Tucson Convention and Visitors Bureau)

The story of Eagleman relates to Waw Guwilk (Baboquivari Peak). This story is about a young man who, each day, met a maiden called Two Flowers at the village well. Her father objected and told Two Flowers to give the youth a drink of pinole laced with ground eagle feathers. When the youth drank this, he was transformed into Eagleman with eagle and human characteristics. He flew south to make his home on top of what is now called Baboquivari Peak. Soon, he returned to the village where Two Flowers lived, plucked her from her home, and took her back to Baboquivari Peak to make her his mate. Together they had a child. After some time, the villagers arranged for a small man called Se'ehe, who could perform impossible feats, to kill Eagleman, which he did using his special powers. In one version of the story Se'ehe brought Two Flowers down the mountain along with her son to the people who were gathered at its base. In another version Se'ehe killed both Eagleman and the son. Se'ehe has not been seen since.

The principal supernatural being of the Akimel O'Odham is l'itoyi, just as with the Tohono O'Odham. Akimel O'Odham sacred places include ancient ruins such as Hohokam settlements, petroglyphs, ancestral burials, rock piles, rock enclosures, special caches, mountains, and caves. Offerings of beads, cloth, and other items are commonly left at sacred places.

Numerous plants and animals have significance to the Akimel O'Odham traditional lifeway and comprise integral parts of the traditional cultural landscape. Of course, many gathering and hunting places are outside of Pima County, but not all. Some plants and herbs, especially those used for medicinal purposes, are found at locations known only to practitioners of the healing arts, sometimes at distant places including places in Pima County. Animals can cause sickness, and certain animals can cause a particular kind of illness that requires a specific cure. An example of a special Akimel O'Odham relationship with an animal is the relationship to owls. Following death, people are believed to pass into the body of an owl. It is for this reason that owl feathers are given to a dying person.

Apache

Ndee is the name by which the Apache people refer to themselves. They are part of a wide range of Athabaskan speaking peoples who live in the southwestern United States. The Apaches we consider in this report are the Western and the Chiricahua Apache. Today, the Western Apache live in central and eastern Arizona on the Fort Apache, San Carlos, Tonto, Fort McDowell, and Camp Verde reservations. The Chiricahua Apache are also scattered, and mostly reside on the San Carlos reservation in Arizona, the Mescalero reservation in south central New Mexico, and the Fort Sill reservation in Oklahoma. All these reservations are outside of Pima County.

To many Americans, the name Apache is essentially synonymous with Geronimo. And, the popular stereotypical American image of the Apaches and Geronimo is that promoted by Hollywood movie studios in innumerable westerns. Needless to say, reality is quite different and much more interesting. There is no doubt that, especially in the late 1800s, the Apaches were feared throughout southern Arizona and northern Mexico because of their raiding. Even the existence of Tucson became precarious at times because of these raids. But the Apaches were not always raiders, sometimes preferring to live in peaceful co-existence with others. The Apaches have also suffered greatly. They fiercely defended their homes, relatives, gathering locales, agricultural fields, and sacred places from military forces and vigilante mobs. Despite their astounding abilities and ingenuity in guerilla combat, however, they were eventually forced to yield to the unrelenting onslaught of American immigration and development.

Today, Apache culture, religion, and language remain vibrant. On the two largest Apache reservations in Arizona, the White Mountain Apache Tribe on the Fort Apache Reservation has over 10,000 tribal members, while the San Carlos population is about one quarter that number. Linguists classify the Apache language as Athabaskan. It is closely related to Navajo, and the two languages are mutually intelligible. In Apache religious beliefs, there are substantial and complex narratives that explain the creation of the universe and the place of people within it. A set of invisible forces or supernatural powers are believed to emanate from some animals, plants, minerals, and other things. While certain individuals can harness some of these forces, most of these forces remain at large in the universe. Ceremonial life is

complex. It centers on curing rituals, protection against illness, hunting, warfare and the onset of puberty. Today, the girl's puberty ceremony is one ceremony widely known to non-Apaches.

In general, Apache social organization is based on the extended family. Traditionally, when a man married a woman he would move in and live with her family group. Each nuclear family lived in its own wickiup (house), with the extended family living in a cluster of wickiups. A number of extended families would live in close proximity, communally exploit resources, and have formal economic and ceremonial ties. A respected elder male would usually act as leader. The organizational structure of the Western and Chiricahua Apaches was slightly different, and this may be derived from their different subsistence practices. Western Apache foodstuffs were derived from a combination of agriculture, gathering, and hunting, whereas the Chiricahuas relied almost exclusively upon gathering and hunting wild foods for their sustenance.

Each Western Apache belongs to his or her mother's clan. Marriage to a person of the same clan is not acceptable. Membership in a clan, therefore, provides a clear relationship with individuals in other bands. Some clans are more closely related than others. Two Western Apache clans traversed the portion of Pima County along the San Pedro River during the migrations from their origin points. Chiricahua Apaches were divided into three bands, and it was the central band that ranged throughout southeastern Arizona. Each band was divided into a number of local groups, consisting of 10 to 30 extended families each. Local groups would be named after a prominent landmark in their territory or for their leader. Geronimo was a Chiricahua Apache leader.

Today, the various Apache reservations have differing economic bases. Most of them have casinos, but not all. Some, such as the Fort McDowell reservation, are close to urban areas and are closely integrated into the urban economy. Others are in more rural locations. The White Mountain Apache Tribe, for example, has a diverse economy based on timber extraction, cattle-raising, tourism, and a casino.

Ancestral, Aboriginal, and Recent Cultural Landscapes

Ancient archaeological sites, such as those identified as Hohokam, are not regarded as ancestral places by the Apaches. Apaches believe that these places were inhabited during the time before they arrived here in southern Arizona. Consequently, while they recognize these places as worthy of protection, they do not view them as part of the ancestral Apache cultural landscape.

In general, it is believed that the Apaches, as a people, moved into what is now the southwestern United States, from the north. This does not mean that Western Apache clans have their origin points far in the north. As noted above, two clans trace their origins to points near modern-day Benson along the San Pedro River Valley. One of these clans is known by a name that loosely translates as "yellow extending upward people." The other clan is a name that is untranslated into English. Both these clans are said to have been composed of Apache Mansos

who lived near the Tucson Presidio. One tradition tells of them leaving Tucson then following the San Pedro River to its confluence with the Gila River. It was here that they met the Arivaipa and Pinal bands, and announced they had come to live with these bands. The majority of these clans' descendants live on the San Carlos Indian Reservation today.

Some historic expeditions into what is now southern Arizona made no mention of encountering Apaches. It is not known whether this is because the Apaches were not there or they avoided contact with the Spaniards and Americans. In hindsight and with a better understanding of Apache culture, it is clear that they were adept at concealing themselves while maintaining full knowledge of the newcomers' movements. They took full advantage of their familiarity of the land, and the fact that Europeans tended to focus on the view ahead, not above. Tactical use of higher terrain worked well for the Apaches.



Generalized Apache Migration Routes from the North
 (By permission of University of Pennsylvania Museum, from *Living in Balance: The Universe of the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and Apache* by Dorothy K. Washburn)



Apache Girl's Puberty Ceremony

(By permission of University of Pennsylvania Museum, from *Living in Balance: The Universe of the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and Apache* by Dorothy K. Washburn)

Relations between the Spaniards and Apaches changed over time. At first the Apaches managed to avoid much contact with the Spaniards. But, by the mid 1700s raiding was a regular tactic and hostilities were rampant, especially after the Spaniards had "reduced" O'Odham rancherias into larger, more compact communities. Spanish failure to militarily control the Apaches was followed by a policy of accommodation that provided Apaches the option to live near presidios and be given rations. The Apaches who chose to live near Tucson in the Santa Cruz River Valley are known as Apache Mansos. These Apaches settled a little north of the Presidio along the east bank of the Santa Cruz River between modern-day St. Mary's Road and Speedway Boulevard. Many other Apaches continued to live in their traditional ways, and some raiding occurred but it was greatly diminished. With Mexican independence, relations degenerated back to hostilities, a situation that continued into the late 1800's during the American occupation.

Apache raiding affected many people, including other Indians. It was a combination of Apache pressure and Spanish tactics that forced the Sobaipuri to leave their villages along the San Pedro River in about AD 1762. Apache raids were instrumental in the compression of Akimel O'Odham settlement along the Gila River, and restricted some land use by the Akimel and Tohono O'Odham. War parties were sent out by the O'Odham to extract revenge and preempt Apache raids. Raiding, revenge, and retribution were commonplace.

Although Apaches clearly distinguished raiding from revenge attacks, their targets were not so discriminating. An Apache attack was just that. As noted above, raiding was an important part of the Apache way of life, especially as pressures on their resources increased as a result of mining, ranching, and other land use activities.

On April 28, 1871, a mob of Americans, Hispanics and Tohono O'Odham left Tucson for an Apache encampment along Arivaipa Creek which was supposedly under the protection of the United States military. On April 30th this mob attacked the Apaches and killed as many as 125 of them, mostly women and children who had been left in camp. This sad event is known as the Camp Grant Massacre. Following a national uproar, 104 of the perpetrators were put on trial in Tucson, only to be found not guilty after 19 minutes of deliberations.

The Indian Claims Commission found that, at the time the United States assumed sovereignty of the land, the Western Apache exclusively used and occupied the far northeastern corner of Pima County. This is essentially the area east and north of the Santa Catalina and Rincon Mountains, and abuts the boundary of the Tohono O'Odham land claims award area. It is part of the range used by the Arivaipa band of Western Apaches.

Recent cultural landscapes of the Western and Chiricahua Apaches are a result of their settlement on reservations following their subjugation by the US military. While most descendants of the pre-reservation Western and Chiricahua Apaches now live in Arizona and New Mexico, some live in Oklahoma. Geronimo's band was one of the Chiricahua bands taken by rail and imprisoned in Florida, before the survivors, including Geronimo, were allowed to live out their days in the Indian Territory of Oklahoma.

Important Places and Resources

Little is known about specific places in Pima County that are of traditional cultural importance to the Apaches. This may be surprising given the long history of Apache use of the area. But, given their reticence to discuss, with outsiders, their religion, cultural values, and their connections to specific places, this is to be expected. An example of one thing we can say with confidence, however, is that in a general sense, mountains, especially caves in mountains, are important Apache cultural places. In addition, even though the Apache Mansos settlements are now lost to the ravages of development, these places probably still have significance as important ancestral places: we must assume that some Apache ancestors are buried in or near these settlements. Any Apache burials in Pima County clearly have great importance to the Apache people, and must be protected.

Traditionally, Apache bands would range over well-established territories and regularly move to where food resources were available. This was not random movement. It was part of a well-understood pattern of land use, based on intimate knowledge of the natural environment. In springtime the Western Apache planted corn in tributary drainages to the main rivers. In May, small gathering parties set out for agave that was baked and made into cakes. In June and early July, cactus fruits were collected, followed by yucca, mesquite bean, and acorn collection in late July and August. A favorite place for the Arivaipa band to collect acorns was the northern portion of the Santa Catalina Mountains in the vicinity of modern-day Oracle by the very northern edge of Pima County. The corn was harvested in September, and the fall was primarily a period of hunting and making jerky.

December through March were the months when raiding took place. One location, in Cochise County just several miles southwest of Pima County, whose name translates to "a line of cottonwoods come out" was used as a Chiricahua Apache base for raiding into Pima County.

Hopi

Most members of the Hopi Tribe reside on their reservation lands in northern Arizona. For a tribe located approximately 200 miles north of Tucson, it is only reasonable to wonder what traditional cultural interests they may have in Pima County. Hopi connections to southern Arizona are surprisingly strong. They regard many of the ancient archaeological sites as ancestral, and these ancestral sites are an important integral part of their present day cultural and religious beliefs.

The Hopi Tribe is regarded as Puebloan by anthropologists, and is loosely related to the Puebloan tribes of New Mexico, including Zuni. Today, there are over 10,000 Hopi tribal members, and most of them live in thirteen distinct settlements. Eleven of these settlements are situated on three mesas. First Mesa, the easternmost, has three villages on its top, Walpi, Sitsomovi, and Tewa Village, with the community of Polacca at its base. The villages of Songoopavi, Musangnuvi, and Supawlavi sit atop Second Mesa. Third Mesa, the westernmost mesa, consists of Orayvi, Kiqösmovi, Hot'vela, and Paaqavi. Upper and Lower Munqapi villages were originally established as colonies of Orayvi, and are located approximately 45 miles to the west of Third Mesa in a detached part of the Hopi reservation. Each village has a traditional leader called a kikmongwi.

The Hopi language is one of the Uto-Aztecan family of languages. Four mutually intelligible dialects of Hopi are spoken, one each on First and Third Mesa, and two on Second Mesa. Tewa, a Tanoan language spoken by the Tewas of Tewa Village, is entirely foreign to the Hopi language. While Tewa Village residents speak both Tewa and Hopi, other Hopis do not speak Tewa. In fact, most Tewas regularly speak three languages in their daily lives: Tewa, Hopi, and English.

Hopi social organization is complex. Social structure is a delicate balance of relationships based on kinship, residence, and ritual. The basic components are households, lineages, clans, and phratries. A household, headed by a matriarch, is the basic Hopi residential and economic unit. The lineage is a distinct segment of a clan that contains the mechanism for transmitting many Hopi rights and duties, land and house, and ceremonial knowledge. Clans are the cornerstone of Hopi society, and it has been said that the Hopi Tribe is actually a loosely organized group of independent clans. Clans are regarded as independent migratory units that arrived at Hopi from different directions at different times. Each has its own history, and each clan in each village often has its own version of history. Thus, for example, the Tobacco Clan of First and Third Mesas may have versions of their history that differ. A phratry is a group of closely related clans.



Generalized Migration Directions of Some Hopi Clans
 (By permission of University of Pennsylvania Museum, from Living in Balance: The Universe of the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and Apache by Dorothy K. Washburn)

Ceremonial organization is correspondingly complex, and includes the Katsina belief system, various religious societies, and kiva groups. The timing of ritual activities is based on an annual religious calendar, with the annual cycle broken into two periods. About seven and a half months are dedicated to the Katsina season, and the remaining four and a half months for religious society ceremonies. Each major religious ceremony is associated with a clan, a religious society, and a kiva. Hopi ceremonies are to ensure rain, fertility, and a long life.

A Hopi may not marry a member of the same clan. When a couple marries, the man takes up residence with his wife's family. Children's descent is reckoned through the mother. Each child is a member of the mother's clan primarily, but also has a formal relationship with the father's clan. A Hopi man, therefore may, over his lifetime, not only be a clan member but also become a kiva member, and be inducted into any number of religious societies.

A Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Tribal Council constitute the central tribal government, but trying to balance competing family, clan, village, and tribal concerns is difficult. The Hopi economy is primarily based on income from the Black Mesa coalmine, and individual craftsmen and craftswomen making jewelry, pottery, and so forth.

Ancestral, Aboriginal, and Recent Cultural Landscapes

The Hopi ancestral cultural landscape encompasses much of the American southwest including all of Pima County. At least 31 Hopi clans have connections to southern Arizona.

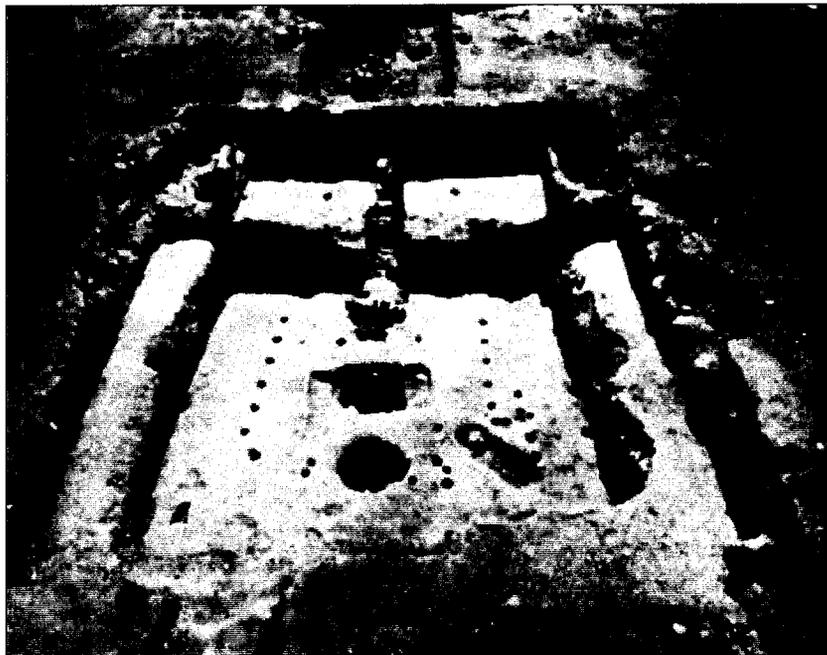
It is important to understand that a Hopi clan is more than a social unit. Clan members retain information encapsulated in oral traditions and ritual knowledge. Each clan's identity is retained through ancient history and the ritual re-enactment of that history. Clan ancestors are regarded with great reverence, and are referred to as relatives or partners in present-day contexts. Respect for clan ancestors, from whom much of Hopi cultural traditions are derived, is an integral aspect of Hopi daily life. Those who hold the knowledge of Hopi creation, and clan migrations and history, carefully guard it. Outsiders know only fragments of this information.

Many Hopis, but not all, trace their emergence onto the earth's surface from the four underworlds at a location known as Sipapuni. Some Hopis trace their origins to Yayniini (The Beginning), which is identified to the far south and which may be in Central Mexico. Pima County is within the general the path of ancestral Hopis migrating northward. Palatkwapi (the Red Walled City) was one of the important stopping points along the way. In essence, the story of Palatkwapi tells of a place where the people were living an easy and increasingly disrespectful lifestyle, becoming detached from their sustaining environment. They were in danger of losing their purpose and their destiny. Concerned for the future of his people, one of the leaders decided to take action to correct the situation. With the help of a younger relative, the leader provided messages to the people that they must change and correct their errant ways. Very few of the population noticed the

signs, and those who did failed to take heed. As a result the water serpent caused catastrophic floods and shook the houses, until Palatkwapi was destroyed and the people were forced to flee. After many years and many difficulties the clans from Palatkwapi arrived at Hopi, and were accepted along with their rituals into Hopi society.

While Palatkwapi may be a specific place, it could also be an era during the migrations referring to a region and a length of time. Even though Palatkwapi has not been physically identified, some scholars suggest that the large Hohokam site of Casa Grande or other places in southern Arizona may be its location. Whatever the case, many Hopi clans regard ancient archaeological sites, shrines, burials, petroglyphs, and other features throughout southern Arizona, including Pima County, as part of their ancestral cultural landscape.

The Hopi aboriginal cultural landscape is located to the north of the Little Colorado River. As is obvious from the above discussion, the aboriginal landscape, which is the area identified by the Indian Claims Commission as being the area of exclusive Hopi use and occupancy in 1848, is but a fragment of their ancestral cultural landscape. Similarly the recent cultural landscape, defined as their reservation, which has been delineated through Presidential Executive Orders and the courts, represents only a small portion of the aboriginal lands.

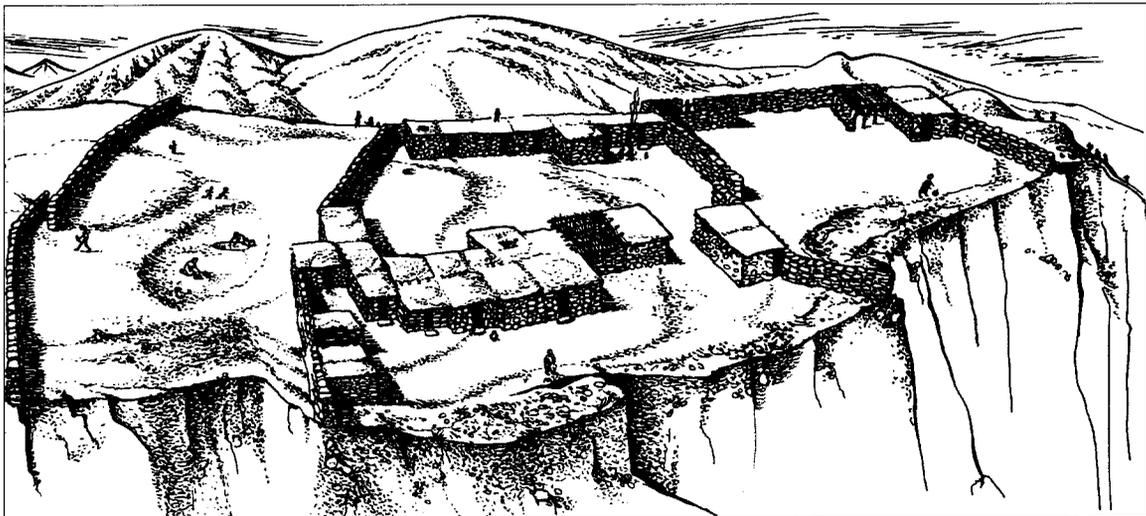


Ancestral Hopi Kiva at the Davis Ruin in the San Pedro River Valley
(Photograph courtesy of the Amerind Foundation)

Important Places and Resources

Because southern Arizona is part of the Hopi ancestral cultural landscape there are many human made edifices and natural features in Pima County that retain cultural significance in Hopi culture today. Ancestral cultural resources are regarded by the Hopi people as “footprints” on the landscape, which were left behind as monuments to mark the passage of the clans on their migrations. Today, these footprints are seen as archaeological sites, burials, shrines, trails, petroglyphs, and so forth. Natural landscape features also have significance to the Hopi people. These include springs, caves, and mountains. In many cases, offerings were left at springs, in caves, and on mountains. Indeed, many caches of these objects have been recorded at such locations. Unfortunately, once found, most of these caches were stolen by people who did not understand their significance.

Hopis who have conducted research at ancestral places in southern Arizona, and at museums with collections from ancestral archaeological sites, have noted much symbolism that is directly related to Hopi traditional knowledge. For example, some Hohokam pottery shows scenes of dancers that are immediately recognized by Hopis as depictions of present-day Hopi rituals. Other pottery includes representations of supernatural beings, such as the water serpent, which figures so prominently in the story of Palatkwapi’s demise. Petroglyphs include clan symbols, migration symbolism, and supernatural beings.



Artists Reconstruction of the Reeve Ruin in the San Pedro River Valley
(Courtesy of the Amerind Foundation)

Archaeologists have identified at least two archaeological pueblo sites in Pima County, dated to the late AD 1200s, that were established by people who migrated from the region around Hopi. These sites, the Davis and Reeve Ruins, are located along the San Pedro River Valley. They contain architectural and artifactual remains that look identical to contemporary sites in the Hopi region, but are radically

different from other contemporary sites along the San Pedro. According to archaeologists, these immigrant sites are ancestral Hopi villages. Although documented Hopi traditions do not mention this specific migration, it is well established that clans often took circuitous routes on their way to Hopi, sometimes going back to places they had previously lived. The Reeve and Davis Ruins could be the result of such population movements in the ancient past. It is notable that in the 1600s and early 1700s the Spaniards report that Hopis would regularly travel to the San Pedro Valley from the Hopi Mesas to trade with the Sobaipuris. They traveled along a well-established trail system, known today as the Hopi Trail.

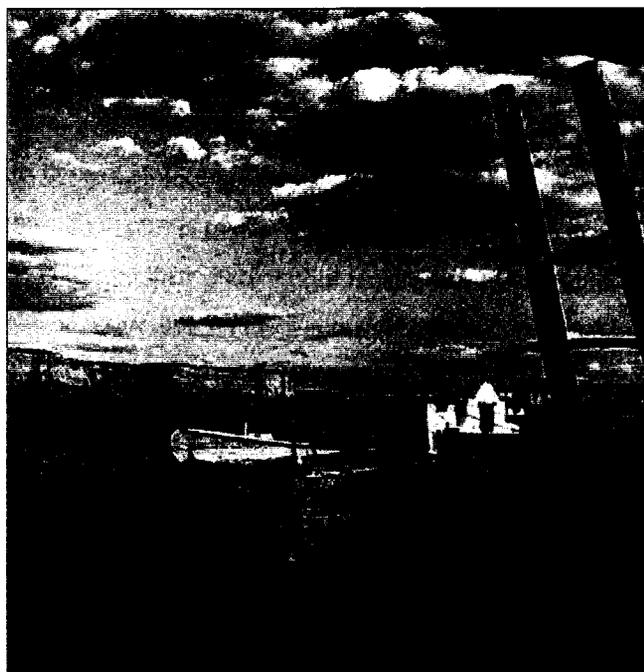
Zuni

The Zuni Tribe numbers over 10,000 individuals, and most of these tribal members reside on the main part of the Zuni Reservation at Zuni Pueblo and its suburbs in New Mexico. There are three parts of the Zuni Reservation. The main reservation is located in west central New Mexico. Zuni Pueblo itself is about 15 miles east of the Arizona State line. A small detached parcel of Zuni land just over 40 miles south of Zuni Pueblo encompasses Zuni Salt Lake, a place of great religious significance to the Zuni people, and a natural geological wonder. In Arizona, the Zuni Tribe recently obtained legal title to another area, totaling 17 square miles. This is called Koluwala:wa, an area of such immense importance in Zuni beliefs that it was omitted from the Zuni land claim on the basis that the Zuni maintained they had never relinquished title to this place.

Anthropologists regard Zuni society and religion as an exceedingly complex organization that integrates Zuni kin and clan through ceremonial activities. Above the level of family is clan. Each Zuni is primarily connected to the mother's clan, but secondarily connected to the father's clan. Descent is reckoned through the mother's line. Clans at Zuni are important in terms of kinship, and to some degree in religious obligations. The Zuni socio-religious system is comprised of four interlocking components, including 14 clans, six kiva groups, 12 curing societies, and the Rain and Bow Priesthoods. The Katchina Society, perhaps the most widely recognized religious group by outsiders, is based on clans and kiva groups.

The Zuni language has puzzled linguists for many decades. It is what they call an isolate. It has no closely related languages. In some ways the Zuni language can be thought of as analogous to the Basque language, which is also a linguistic isolate and is spoken by people living in northern Spain and southwest France.

Traditionally, Zuni government was a theocracy, with a group of religious leaders acting as the guiding body. Today, the Zuni tribal government is democratically elected, but it pays heed to the counsel of the religious leaders, thus striking a balance between traditional and imposed governmental structures. The Zuni economy is, to a large degree, based on the craft of jewelry making, a skill for which the Zunis are world-renowned.



Zuni Pueblo in 1997
(Photograph by Gwyneira Isaac)

Ancestral, Aboriginal, and Recent Historic Landscapes

Narratives of Zuni creation and migration traditions are passed down in kiva groups, religious societies, and priesthoods. According to Zuni tradition, the Zuni people emerged onto the surface of the earth from the four underworlds at a place called Chimik'yana'ka deya, which is located in a canyon along the Colorado River. From here they began their migrations that would eventually take them to Zuni. In general, the Zuni ancestral cultural landscape covers much the same area as the Hopi ancestral landscape including Pima County. Zunis regard ancient archaeological sites in southern Arizona as ancestral places.

An intriguing aspect of Zuni migration traditions is the narrative of the group of Zunis who went south to the Land of Everlasting Sunshine, never to return. It is said that at one point along the Zuni migration from Chimik'yana'ka deya the Zuni people were given a choice of accepting a gift of a plain egg or a beautiful egg with blue spots. One group chose the plain egg, the other group the beautiful egg. From the plain egg hatched a brightly colored parrot. The people who chose this egg journeyed southward to the Land of Everlasting Sunshine. Those who chose the beautiful egg, from which a black raven hatched, continued their migrations toward Zuni.

Frank Hamilton Cushing, a brilliant but somewhat eccentric late 19th Century ethnographer lived with the Zuni, learned the Zuni language, and became very familiar with many Zuni migration narratives. He saw the connections between Zuni and ancient sites in southern Arizona. His convictions led him to conduct excavations at a Classic Hohokam site in the Phoenix Basin to find archaeological evidence of these ancestral Zunis. Indeed, other archaeologists have documented the appearance of certain pottery types, the practice of cremation, and yucca weaving practices that become evident at some of the villages in the Zuni area at about the time of the Hohokam collapse around AD 1400. This evidence strongly suggests that some people left southern Arizona and migrated to Zuni, where their descendants live today.

One intriguing aspect of Zuni culture with regard to connections to southern Arizona is the Shu'maakwe curing society. Apparently, Shu'maakwe ritual songs are performed in the Piman language. How this curing society came to use the Piman language is not known to outsiders. Possible archaeological evidence of migrations from the Hohokam area and the use of the Piman language by the Shu'maakwe provide tantalizing glimpses of potential ancestral Zuni connections with southern Arizona.

Zuni religious leaders, the holders of Zuni knowledge about their ancestral history, have recently reiterated their belief that the Hohokam archaeological culture is one aspect of their ancient past. The area of Pima County, therefore, is part of the ancestral cultural landscape of the Zuni Tribe. The iconography on some late Hohokam ceramic vessels from southern Arizona is readily apparent to knowledgeable Zunis. Zunis have interpreted designs on this pottery as representing their ancestors' request for good weather conditions and a bountiful harvest. Some designs are interpreted as the road of the ancestors, and others represent Kolo:wisi, the plumed water serpent, a supernatural being of central importance in Zuni mythology and religious ceremonies.

Due to improper advice from government officials, the Zuni Tribe failed to make a land claim during the time allotted for claims to the Indian Claims Commission. In 1978 an Act of Congress provided the Zuni Tribe the opportunity to address this situation, which they did. Consequently, the Zuni aboriginal land area of exclusive use and occupancy, as determined by the United States Court of Claims, overlaps areas awarded to other tribes by the Indian Claims Commission. Zuni aboriginal lands extend southward to the Mogollon Rim, and a little further south in some places, but are far from Pima County. The present day Zuni reservation is but a tiny portion of their aboriginal lands, and a minute fragment of their ancestral cultural landscape.

Important Places and Resources

Obviously, the Hohokam archaeological sites throughout Pima County have cultural significance to the Zuni people. These sites contain ancestral human burials, shrines, religious items, and other items, all of which have continued significance in present-day Zuni society. Trails, shrines, and petroglyphs, which are found

throughout the ancestral Zuni cultural landscape, are all locales of cultural significance. Other places, such as mountain peaks and caves, have cultural importance. Unfortunately, little research has been conducted to identify Zuni traditional cultural resources and places within Pima County. Consequently, at present we know little about the actual place locations and Zuni names of these places.



Mural Depiction of a Portion of the Zuni Migrations
(Photograph by Gwyneira Isaac of mural by Ronnie Cachini)

HISPANIC, MORMON, ASIAN, AND ANGLO CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

Other cultural groups, in addition to American Indians, have historic connections to Pima County and have their own cultural landscapes that have meaning to them. Here we briefly discuss four such cultural groups: Hispanic, Mormon, Asian, and Anglo.

Hispanic Historic Landscape

It is likely that the first official Hispanic expedition through present-day Pima County was that of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado in 1540. He probably followed the San Pedro River on his journey to Zuni. A year earlier Fray Marcos de Niza and a Moor named Esteban, also on their way to Zuni, may have used the same trail, however their actual route is poorly understood. Esteban reached Zuni ahead of Fray Marcos but was killed there. How close Fray Marcos came to Zuni is a subject of considerable debate.

For all intents and purposes the inception of Hispanic cultural landscapes in Pima County began with the arrival of the Jesuit, Eusebio Francisco Kino, in 1687. He began the missionization of what is now southern Arizona, and made maps of the area. Prior to the Gadsden Purchase the Hispanic foothold was tenuous at best. The Hispanic population was focused near missions and military posts, while a few individuals tried their hand at ranching on land grants or at mining. It seems that, even at its pre-Gadsden Purchase apex, the Hispanic population did not get much above 1,000 individuals at any one time. Given that the Spanish estimated 2,000 to 3,000 Sobaipuris were living along the San Pedro River alone, the Hispanics were a minority population even prior to the mass American immigration of the 20th Century.

Spanish and Mexican land grants were designed to encourage settlement by ranchers and farmers. The concept was to provide the grantee with enough land and critical resources to use the land productively while establishing immigrant presence on the landscape. In most cases the land grant included access to a stretch of flowing surface water. In Pima County, almost all the land grants were abandoned by the mid 1800s because of civil unrest in Mexico and Apache raids. After the Gadsden Purchase the United States recognized some of the land grants as legitimate, including the San Ignacio de la Canoa Land Grant, which today is mainly located in Pima County. These land grants are a vestige of Hispanic history in southern Arizona, and are an important part of the Hispanic cultural landscape.

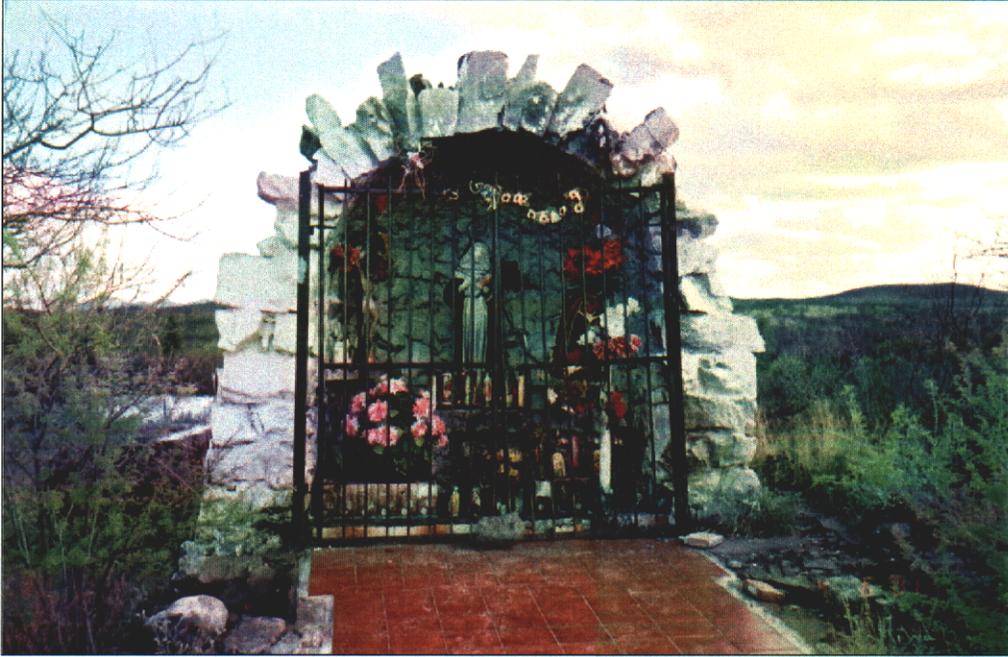
Important Hispanic Resources and Places

The missions and churches of Pima County, preeminent among which is San Xavier del Bac, are sacred places of local and regional significance. Some have fallen into ruin or have been destroyed by development, while others have continued in use for many decades if not centuries. For example, the original San Agustín Mission at the base of Sentinel Peak in Tucson, fell into disrepair in the 19th Century and by the 1950s was almost entirely lost to an urban landfill. What remains is now incorporated into planning for the Rio Nuevo Project. The recently restored San Pedro chapel, formerly the center of the Hispanic barrio of El Fuerte at Fort Lowell, is one such structure that has survived the ravages of time. San Pedro chapel is listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

Historic cemeteries are often associated with churches, but sometimes not. Pima County contains many historic cemeteries, which are now often surrounded by urban development, a far cry from their original peaceful surroundings. Human burials have great cultural significance to their descendants and people of the same culture or religious faith.

Shrines are established in many places, usually to commemorate a special place, a special deed, or as a place to make a petition. One of the most well known shrines is El Tiradito in downtown Tucson. Oral tradition concerning the origin of El Tiradito includes at least 20 versions of the story. It is commonly believed that the shrine began as a place to commemorate the murder of a man involved in an adulterous affair with another man's wife. Although El Tiradito has been moved from its original location, the new shrine still has special powers and people continue to leave petitions for beneficial divine intervention. The cultural significance of El Tiradito is officially memorialized by its listing in the National Register of Historic Places. The Santa Rita shrine alongside the Arivaca Road overlooking Sopori Wash is another example of a shrine that is used for making petitions and is maintained by local people.

Erecting roadside crosses, dedicated to people who have died along a highway, is a long-standing tradition in southern Arizona as it is elsewhere in the Hispanic world. Unfortunately these crosses are a common sight in Pima County. Here, they are known by a number of terms such as Tierra Bendita, Lugar Santo, and Monumento Santo, in contrast to Mexico and New Mexico where the term Descanso is used. In years past, these crosses often marked the place where someone died and was buried alongside the highway. Such was the case along the Camino del Diablo, a notoriously dangerous route that traverses the southwestern corner of Pima County. Today, these crosses commemorate the locations of highway accidents where individuals were killed.



Santa Rita Shrine
(Photograph by Roger Anyon)



Roadside Cross
(Photograph by Jessica Levy)

Mormon Settlement, Landscape, and Place

At the very end of the 19th Century and the beginning of the 20th Century, Mormons began establishing small settlements in southern Arizona. One of these settlements was Binghampton, established by members of the Bingham family in 1898 or 1899. Binghampton was created as a Mormon agricultural settlement patterned after the edicts of The Church of Latter Day Saints. Over time, irrigation ditches were constructed, farms were established, buildings were constructed, and a church and cemetery were dedicated. Originally the settlement was centered on the north bank flood plain of the Rillito River in the area where River Road and Dodge Boulevard intersect.

Binghampton remained small until many Mormons in northern Mexico fled that country as a result of civil unrest and the Mexican Revolution. Mormon refugees from northern Mexico began arriving in about 1909 with a dramatic increase beginning in 1911. By 1913 the population had tripled. Settlement expanded to the south side of the Rillito River. Upstream, the Hardy family and others moved into the abandoned Fort Lowell military reservation at the confluence of Pantano Wash and Rillito River.

Today, the Mormon community of Binghampton has been swallowed up by urban development, even though the north side of the Rillito River retains some important historic and rural characteristics. A 40-acre cemetery on the north side of the Rillito, the Mormon temple along Fort Lowell Road, the Binghampton School House, irrigation ditches, ponds, and other agricultural related features remain significant places to the Mormon community in Pima County.

Asian Settlement, Landscape, and Place

Asian Americans have a long history in Pima County. Chinese immigrants began to arrive in Tucson in the 1870s, and as the railroad was completed in 1880 immigration increased. For example, during the construction of the railroad in the 1870s, many Chinese laborers lived at the original Pantano town site on the south bank of Cienega Creek, until the town was flooded out and relocated. In Tucson, a number of Chinese immigrants began farming at the base of Sentinel Peak, providing produce that they sold to local people. The majority of this farming occurred between about 1885 and 1915. Archaeologists have recently excavated the debris from some of these gardens and have found a surprising number of artifacts imported from China. The Chinese clearly were maintaining aspects of their homeland culture through foodstuffs and food preparation techniques. The Chinese gardens at the base of Sentinel Peak in the flood plain of the Santa Cruz River add another dimension to the historical significance of this area.



Historic Chinese Artifacts Recovered Near A-Mountain
(Photograph Courtesy Center for Desert Archaeology)

A place that has significance to Japanese Americans is the now abandoned prison camp along the Catalina Highway. During World War II, some Japanese Americans were sent to this prison camp as part of the internment program. This camp has great significance to the Japanese Americans who were imprisoned there. While there, they worked on the construction of the Catalina Highway that winds up the mountains from the city of Tucson. Today, these men are honored through an interpretive kiosk established by the United States Forest Service at the Gordon Hirabayashi Recreation Site.

Anglo Settlement, Landscape, and Place

With the Gadsden Purchase of 1854, what is now Pima County became a part of the United States. It was not until 1912, however, that Arizona formally became the 48th state admitted into the Union. Many places have importance in American period history, including historic mines and ranches, which are the subject of other Sonoran Desert Conservation Plan reports.

An example of a place with significance in American history is Fort Lowell. It exemplifies a specific time and aspect of American history. In 1873 the fort was moved from its original location near the Tucson Presidio to a newly established military reservation. The new military post was constructed to provide protection against Apache raids. An 80-acre military reservation surrounding the fort provided water and grazing, which usurped the lands of some Hispanic families. Fort Lowell was abandoned by the military in 1891, after which a Hispanic barrio, El Fuerte, sprang up. Some Anglos, including Mormons, also moved into the area. Portions of the camp are now incorporated into a City of Tucson park, and some of its buildings are listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

It is important to note that here we are using the term Anglo in the broadest possible sense, and in a way that may well be unfamiliar to many readers. In general, we are referring to the American cultural phenomenon that encompasses all ethnic categories with the United States. Consequently, Anglo as used here may be a misnomer, but we feel it is reasonable given the point we wish to make.

In many ways the Anglo cultural landscape in Pima County is divided into urban and rural. The urban landscape is created for humans by humans. Change is rapid, and often the result of technological innovations. The arrival of the railroad in 1880 began a transformation that was eclipsed by reliance on the internal combustion engine. The advent of air conditioning and relief from the oppressive summer heat again transformed the urban landscape. Many places of historic significance have been lost to development, but some have been preserved. An example of a place now lost is the El Conquistador Hotel, now the location of the ElCon mall. The rural landscape also experiences change. Perhaps the most radical change is the irreversible transformation of rural into urban landscape. Part of the Anglo rural cultural landscape consists of working ranches that maintain open space that is so revered by many who live in the urban landscape.

Cultural values about the landscape are often quite different depending on whether one lives an urban or a rural life. For example, even though rain is important to everyone, it may be regarded in radically different ways. For an urban dweller, a late summer afternoon downpour can mean a tough commute back home, or that the garden will not need watering tomorrow morning. For a rancher, the rain can mean the difference between a good year or a disastrous year, or even the economic viability of the ranch itself. Urban dwellers do not monitor the landscape or interact with the landscape in the same way that a rancher does. The fundamental differences between urban and rural lifestyles, mean that sense of place, the importance of certain places, and the values attributed to the landscape are different.

Without doubt, modern American settlement is pervasive on the landscape of Pima County. The sheer scale of the urban form, suburban sprawl, industrial development, mining operations, irrigation agriculture, transportation networks, and other infrastructure dwarfs anything ever before seen in the Sonoran Desert. Utterly dependent upon externally produced food, imported fuel, and the extraction of

ancient water reserves combined with Colorado River water imported from hundreds of miles away, nearly one million people now reside in Pima County. This scale of development is simply unsustainable based on local resources alone. The natural and cultural landscape has been transformed in ways simply unimaginable even just a century ago.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Places of traditional importance help provide each of us with a sense of place that has meaning to us. We all have a set of cultural values that we bring to bear on the landscape. It is our hope that this short report provides the reader with some understanding of how others may view the same physical landscape.

While some places may have importance to only one cultural group, other places have importance to many cultures. One example is the San Xavier del Bac Mission which is important to the Tohono O'Odham, the Yaqui, and the Hispanic communities as well as all citizens of Pima County. Fort Lowell is a place important to the Tohono O'Odham, Akimel O'Odham, Hopi and Zuni for its prehistoric Hohokam archaeological sites. Fort Lowell is also important to Hispanics and Mormons because of their historic communities that once thrived there. And it has significance to the general Anglo community, and possibly the Apaches, because of its role in the US Army's campaigns against the Apaches. In Tucson, the A-Mountain/Tumamoc Hill area is important to the Tohono O'Odham, the Hispanic community, the Asian community, and the Anglo community as a place where their ancestors farmed and lived. A-Mountain also has significance to all citizens of Pima County as the location of a free fireworks display every July 4th. It is difficult to imagine anyone destroying any of these places for development or other reasons.

The places mentioned above are in use today on a regular basis by people from all walks of life. Some places that are important to people do not get "used" on a regular basis. To some of us these places may seem abandoned, but for others this is not the case. For example, the Hopi tribe does not regard its ancestral sites as having been abandoned. These sites may appear as concentrations of ancient houses or features, and concentrations of inanimate objects to non-Hopis. According to Hopi thought, however, these places are not abandoned, they are imbued with life and play important roles in present-day Hopi religion. These places have current and lasting significance, and their protection is an important issue, not only to the present-day lives of the Hopi people but others as well.

Water is a critical element in the Sonoran Desert ecosystem. The distribution and permanence of water, on the ground surface and below, provides opportunities and constraints for all life forms. Water is life. It is not surprising, then, that rivers and springs are commonly identified as significant places within cultural landscapes. A supernatural being frequently associated with these water sources is the water serpent, known as Paalölöqanqw to the Hopis, Kolo:wisi to the Zunis, and La Corúa to the Hispanics. Mountains are also a significant aspect of cultural landscapes for many reasons. They are sources of water and important places for many plants and animals that are not found in the lower desert basins. Water sources and mountains are not only significant components in cultural landscapes, but they are also critical elements in the ecology of the Sonoran Desert as identified by the biological team for the Sonoran Desert Conservation Plan.

Biodiversity, a complex mosaic of interrelated natural components, is high in riparian contexts and in the mountain "sky islands" of Pima County. Biodiversity is prized as an essential element of both cultural landscapes and scientific landscapes. Conserving places with high biodiversity is good for plants, animals, people, and cultures. A rich and diverse environment is the basis for the richness and diversity of cultures.

The terrible and tragic events of September 11th, 2001, targeted places that symbolize the economic and military power of the United States, places that have significance to all Americans. This was purposeful. Images of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon carry a lot of meaning to Americans. To attack these symbols in such a vicious way and to cause such visible destruction assaults our sense of place. Our sense of identity is impacted by these events.

Traditional cultural places and landscapes carry meaning and help define a sense of identity. Every year these landscapes and places are impacted by development, and, while these changes pale in comparison to the events of September 11th, they slowly but surely modify or destroy many places of traditional cultural importance. It is crucial that we conserve and protect, as much as we can, the places and landscapes that have cultural significance. They embody cultural values, and they sustain and empower citizens of Pima County and beyond. They are worth preserving. Preservation is not just about places: it is about peoples' lives.

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