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PREHISTORY AND THE TRADITIONS OF THE O'ODHAM AND HOPI

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ABSTRACT

The oral traditions and ceremonial practices of the O'Odham and Hopi people suggest the outlines of a reconstruction of events in the Southwest in late prehistory, and offer insight into the processes that influenced important changes during this period. For many decades anthropologists have attempted to identify ties between prehistoric and historic populations in the Southwest. In central and southern Arizona, the material culture and social and economic organization of the late prehistoric populations and those found by the Spanish in the 1500s differ markedly. As a consequence, archaeologists have disagreed about relationships between the prehistoric and historic people of the region. The O'Odham and Hopi oral traditions are consistent with other forms of evidence available to us, including archaeological and linguistic data, and provide insight into processes that might have influenced the profound changes in social and economic organization that are apparent at that time.

RESUMEN

Las tradiciones orales y prácticas ceremoniales entre los O'Odham y Hopis indican el lineamiento a seguir para reconstruir los eventos sucedidos en el suroeste durante el último periodo de la época prehispánica, y ayudan a comprender los procesos que provocaron importantes cambios durante este periodo. Por muchas décadas los antropólogos han tratado de encontrar la conexión entre las poblaciones prehispánicas e históricas del suroeste. En el sur y centro de Arizona existen marcadas diferencias entre los restos materiales y la organización social y económica de las poblaciones del último periodo prehispánico y aquellas que los españoles encontraron en el siglo dieciséis. Por lo cual, los arqueólogos no se han puesto de acuerdo en cuanto a las relaciones que existieron entre los pobladores prehispánicos e históricos de la región. Las tradiciones orales O'Odham y Hopis coinciden con otras formas de evidencia disponibles, que incluyen datos arqueológicos y lingüísticos, y proveen conocimiento de los procesos que pudieron haber influenciado los cambios profundos y evidentes de la organización social y económica de ese tiempo.

The oral traditions of the people of the Southwest provide accounts of the circumstances that led to their way of life. However, like similar traditions throughout the world, these accounts emphasize the cultural values and religious ideas that are illustrated by the circumstances that they describe, and are intended to transmit these ideas and values from generation to generation. The traditions are not intended as pure history. Nevertheless, comparisons of these accounts to archaeological evidence indicate that a historical core exists in the traditions of the O'Odham and Hopi. These traditions can, therefore, provide important insights into the events of late prehistory and the cultural processes that shaped them.

These insights are useful in the examination of relationships between prehistoric and historic populations in the Southwest. Archaeologists have found these relationships difficult to trace, especially for the area that now encompasses southern and central Arizona. The O'Odham people of the Sonoran Desert possess a way of life and material culture distinctively different from that apparent in the same area in late prehistory. This problem has been debated by archaeologists (Haury 1950, 1976; Ravesloot and Whittlesey 1987; Teague 1989), ethnologists (Parsons 1939), and linguists (Hale and Harris 1979), but remains a subject of controversy.

An earlier study (Teague 1989) presented a preliminary exploration of this issue. It was found that the oral histories can be shown to conform to the archaeological evidence to an extent not easily attributed to the construction of an after-the-fact explanation for the presence of numerous ruins throughout the region. These histories reflect direct knowledge of events in prehistoric Arizona.

The indigenous histories can, therefore, expand upon and clarify the archaeological record, providing a dimension absent in archaeological data. The picture that emerges is one of conflict arising from the rapid growth of a social and religious hierarchy in late prehistory, and of responses by the O'Odham and the Hopi people to the conditions following this conflict. These responses differ, but reflect a shared emphasis on the preservation of cultural values centered on social harmony achieved by minimizing social and economic inequalities.

THE ACCURACY OF ORAL HISTORIES

This problem of understanding connections between the prehistoric and historic people of the Southwest is complicated by the different principles by which these groups are defined. Prehistoric cultures are identified through physical evidence, while historic populations have been identified principally in terms of linguistic identifications.

The strongest opposition to historical accuracy in the oral tradition has come from linguists. The problem has been explored by Hale and Harris (1979: 176):

Until very recent times, Piman represented a more or less continuous chain of dialects belonging to a single language. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that the northern Pimans to whom Hohokam ancestry is attributed became completely separated from their more southerly Piman relatives in prehistoric times.

Three principal alternatives have been examined by the linguists. The first supposes that the present, very broad, historic-geographic distribution of the Piman languages existed prehistorically, and that continuing contact within the region prevented substantial linguistic differentiation despite the long distances involved. However, linguists have argued that prehistoric material cul-

ture and subsistence strategies are quite different in what is now the southern United States and the area that is now northern Mexico, and that this argues against close relationship. They, therefore, reject this scenario.

Alternatively, it would be consistent with the linguistic evidence to suppose that all O'Odham (including those far south in Mexico) were of Hohokam ancestry. This presumes an unreasonable level of Hohokam population growth and geographic expansion in little more than 100 years before Spanish contact at about A.D. 1540.

Finally, it has been proposed that the O'Odham now in southern and central Arizona arrived late in this area from a northern Mexican homeland, replacing the Hohokam who dominated the prehistoric occupation of the area. This last option has been favored by Fontana (1964), and by Hale and Harris (1979).

In evaluating these hypotheses, it is important to remember that the prehistoric Hohokam phenomenon has been identified by archaeologists as a cultural tradition that at various times was adopted, wholly or in part, by a variety of populations within southern and central Arizona. The tradition is defined by distinctive aspects of material culture, domestic and ritual architecture, subsistence technology and settlement organization. A strong Mesoamerican influence on material culture and adaptation to the conditions of the Sonoran Desert are important foundations upon which this tradition developed. These influences led to conspicuous differences between the Hohokam and their neighbors. However, there might have been significant linguistic variation within the populations that came to share this tradition, as well as close linguistic relationship with those who did not. The attributes of Hohokam culture that are routinely cited in distinguishing the Hohokam from southern neighbors are strongly focused on the distinguishing characteristics of the Hohokam tradition, rather than their many underlying similarities with other groups in the region.

In addition, archaeological investigations in northern Mexico have been very few compared to those in the Southwestern United States. Our knowledge of prehistory in much of the area occupied historically by Piman-speakers is virtually non-existent.

It is, therefore, not unreasonable to consider the possibility that there was linguistic homogeneity within a large region, encompassing the Hohokam and parts of northern Mexico, prehistorically. It is also possible that some population movement from northern Mexico contributed to the parallels between historic O'Odham and their relatives in northern Mexico. It is this scenario that is supported by the oral traditions, and by the corresponding archaeological evidence.

THE TRADITIONS OF THE O'ODHAM PEOPLE OF ARIZONA

There are many published and archival variants of the O'Odham oral histories, the first of these being Father Font's 1775 account (Fewkes 1912:42).

Some local variants appear to assume that the O'dham are historically derived from the Hohokam, others explicitly take this position, and still others seem to identify the O'Odham as conquerors of the Hohokam. The most detailed versions that have been recorded reconcile these by stating that the O'Odham are the descendants of both the original Hohokam inhabitants of the area and newcomers.

Bahr (1970) has concluded that a death and rebirth ideology grounded in the religious beliefs of Mesoamerica and northern Mexico underlies many aspects of the O'Odham traditions. Nevertheless, there is much in the oral histories that is supported by archaeological data, particularly in stories of conflict ending the domination of the Hohokam priests at the platform mound villages of the Gila and Salt rivers. These are, as Bahr has noted, largely accounts that were given by the O'Odham on the Gila River and the northern Tohono O'Odham of the Papaguería, while more southern versions do not include this element.

These differences between northern and southern accounts can be easily explained. There is no reason that oral traditions would have been intended to relate the history of the entire range of linguistically related people in the Greater Southwest that we identify here as O'Odham. Instead, oral histories would logically focus on the history of people within closely related areas like the central Gila and Salt drainages or the Tucson Basin. If there was warfare in the north, and not in the south, then oral history could be expected to reflect this historical situation.

The Story of Conflict

Accounts that include warfare on the Gila and Salt rivers are generally quite consistent with one another, although the amount of detail that is provided varies. Some variants include specific references to people and places both among the Hohokam and among their opponents, who are sometimes identified as *Wooshkam*.

Before the Conflict

After the creation, the culture hero Elder Brother, called *Siuuhu* among the Akimel O'Odham (Pima) or *I'itoi* among the Tohono O'Odham (Papago), was living among the Hohokam. The traditions often provide stories about the Hohokam and about Elder Brother before the conflict (for example, Russell 1908; Fewkes 1912; Hayden 1935). For example, Fewkes (1912) related that irrigation was said to have begun at a settlement near Tempe. This settlement was named *Stuaravrik Sivanavaakí* and had a large mound. It was said to have been inhabited by "White Feather" and his people.

Eventually Elder Brother and the Hohokam *sivanyi* became angry with one another. The priests had offended Elder Brother when they became arro-

gant and certain that their knowledge was greater than that of Elder Brother. As a consequence, the *sivanyi* repeatedly attempted to kill Elder Brother, but he repeatedly revived. Most recorded versions of the traditions report that he then set out to exact revenge through armed conflict.

Origin of the Warriors

Elder Brother lived on the Salt River. He traveled to find supporters for his cause and eventually he was able to assemble people from the underground home of Earth Doctor or from disaffected people living on the surface (for example, Hayden 1935; Di Peso 1958). In one account the leader is said to have gone south to assemble his warriors from among the O'Odham who lived on the Río Sonora in northern Mexico (Di Peso 1958:159). In another version, the warriors are said to have emerged south of Baboquivari (Saxton and Saxton 1973:164). In a Tohono O'Odham account (Underhill 1939:11) the warriors emerged at an alkali plain at the extreme eastern edge of the Papaguería, near modern Benson, Arizona.

There is consistency in these reports of the origin of the warriors. The Río Sonora lies just south of the San Pedro and south of Benson, Arizona. Baboquivari is north-northwest of the Río Sonora. All of these are within or immediately south of the southern Hohokam area, which has produced archaeological evidence of decreased ties to the central Hohokam during the Classic period, accompanied by increased interaction with the people of northern Mexico.

Places in the War

In one account the place where Elder Brother assembled his followers to attack settlements on the Gila River is said to have been near Picacho (Di Peso 1958). Underhill (1939: 11) related that from Benson three armies marched west, one to the north through the Gila Valley, one to the south through the Altar Valley, and another through the middle and the modern Papaguería.

Attacks were specifically directed against the houses of the *Sivanyi*, who were the chiefs and principal priests of the major Hohokam settlements, rather than against all of the Hohokam people (for example, Hayden 1935). The *Sivanyi* have been identified as medicine men (Hayden 1935: 58) and were apparently priestly rulers. They are associated in O'Odham tradition with control of the rain and wind gods, a point very reminiscent of the Zuni *Shiwanni* or directional rain priesthoods.

Among the Tohono O'Odham, *Sivanyi* existed historically and were associated with a directional priesthood, as Underhill (1939: 46) reported:

The village chief presides at the rain ceremony preliminary to planting. From the different villages Chiefs of the directions are impersonated.... The rain shaman is called *sivanyi* (compare Zuni *shiwanni*).

The settlements identified in the oral traditions are an archaeologically accurate inventory of the late Classic period platform mound sites along a lengthy segment of the Gila River (Figure 1). Further, it can be shown that the ethnohistoric reports provide an account of these settlements too accurate and detailed to have been simply a tale created to explain the existence of numerous sites in the region.

It is equally interesting that earlier large sites having mounds very similar to those of the Classic period are not identified with the late Classic period by the O'Odham. Snaketown is mentioned only in the version recorded by

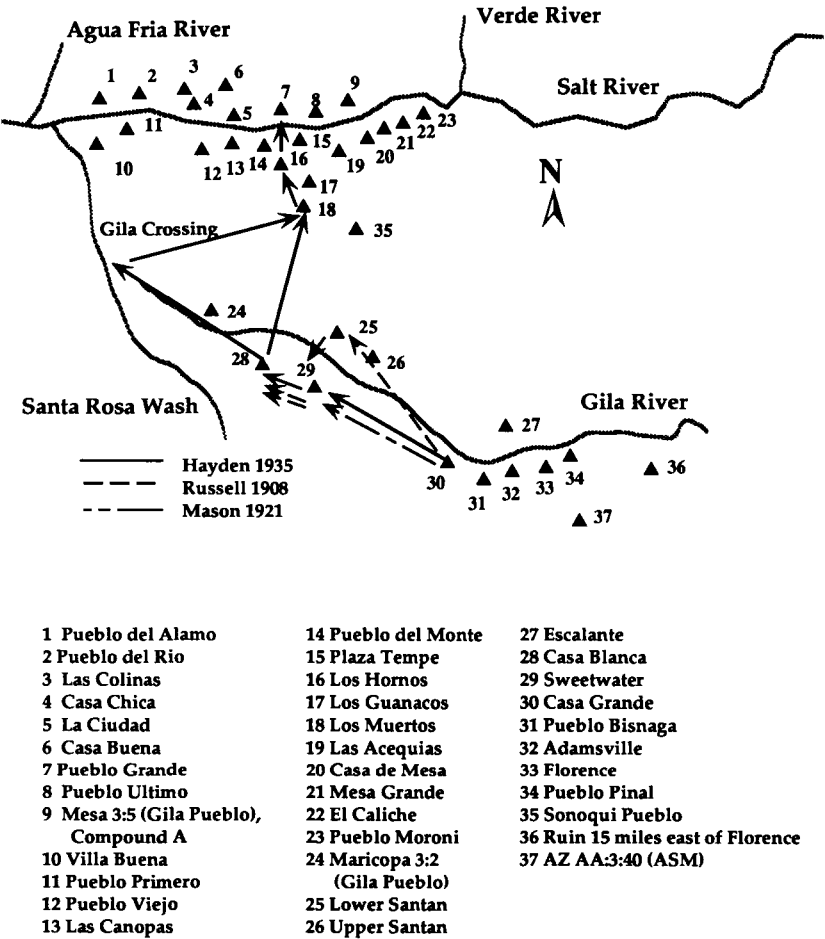


Figure 1. Civano phase platform mound sites in the oral traditions showing path of Elder Brother's warriors as reported by Hayden, Russell, and Mason.

Hayden (1935:55) who quotes Juan Smith as saying that "From there the medicine man looked over this place here (Snaketown) and he saw that some of the people left this place and went toward the west but some of them remained here." No *sivanyi* is attributed to Snaketown. In fact, during the Classic period Snaketown had been largely abandoned but there was a small Civano phase population living in a very ordinary settlement without contemporaneous mounds or other ritual architecture.

It has been noted (Russell 1908; Hayden 1935) that the attackers were afraid of the strong magical powers of the Hohokam *sivanyi* and, therefore, stopped for a long time before initiating any conflict. However, eventually the warfare began. Casa Grande was the first Hohokam settlement to be attacked (Russell 1908; Fewkes 1912; Mason 1921; Densmore 1929; Hayden 1935; Di Peso 1958; Shaw 1968). (One account refers only to the location of the attack as "Siwani's house" (Saxton and Saxton 1973). In the traditions Casa Grande was called *Tco'-oltuk* (Corner), and was built by *Siá-al Tcu-vtaki* (Morning Green or Morning Blue *Sivanyi*), who was credited with control over the Rain and Wind Gods. He is said to have been regarded as a historic personage by the Pima and appears in many stories (Fewkes 1912: 46-48).

The literature provides evidence that the Pima accurately dated this Civano phase settlement of the Hohokam. On 31 October 1775 Father Font noted in his diary (Bolton 1930: 35) that "the Casa Grande must have been built some five hundred years ago, according to the histories and scanty notices of it which exist and are given by the Indians." This would place construction of the Casa Grande at about A.D. 1275. This is within the archaeologically proposed range of dates for construction of that feature, although a post-A.D. 1300 date is more likely.

Russell (1908: 227) refers to the attackers during Elder Brother's war as defeating "the forces of Morning-Blue *Sívan*", which does not imply that this individual actually ruled at the time of the conflict. Hayden (1935) identifies the leaders at Casa Grande at the time of the warfare as two brothers, the older *Hán de müтч* (Feather Running) and the younger *Veé ky müтч* (Soft Feather Running). At the time of the attack on the Casa Grande the people were said to have sung the following (Russell 1908: 227):

Yonder stands the doomed habitation.
About the pueblo runs its frightened chieftain
In yellow garment
with hand-print decoration.

Hayden's (1935) account describes the Hohokam chief as dressed in clothes called *soan kam ko tam* (*soan* may be *soam* or "yellow"), and also *nom kam* cloth. Hayden's informant indicated that nobody knew the meaning of these terms, which are presumably archaic forms. However, the song related in this version, like that in Russell (1908), suggests that specific types

of clothes were closely associated with the Hohokam identity (Hayden 1935: 47).

After Casa Grande was defeated, Elder Brother's party moved west on the Gila, first to Lower and then to Upper Santan (Russell 1908; Di Peso 1958). In Russell, Lower Santan is identified by the Pima as *A-at' kam Va-aki*, or Sandy Ancient House, and was said to have been ruled by *Kia-atak Si' van'*.

The warriors then moved about 4 miles west of Lower Santan, apparently to Upper Santan, ruled by *Tcuf Baowo Sivan'*. There they sang (Russell 1908: 227):

Some will truly see;
Some will truly see;
Will see their house
Behind the okatilla stockade.

It has recently been found that the platform mounds were surrounded by perishable palisades that obscured activities there from public view. This aspect of the oral tradition, therefore, provides an accurate description of an aspect of prehistoric architecture that is no longer visible without extensive archaeological investigation.

Then the war party moved westward to Sweetwater, east of Casa Blanca (Russell 1908; Mason 1921; Hayden 1935). There the chief has been referred to as *Suam veek sıl da kum*, meaning "Yellow Soft Feather Plume" (Hayden 1935) or *Tá-a Si' van'*, meaning "Flying *sivanyi*" (Russell 1908).

After Sweetwater, the next settlement attacked was Casa Blanca, which Russell (1908:227) reported was ruled by *Tco' tcûk Tâ' tai Si' vanyi*, the most powerful of all the chiefs who opposed the warriors. Casa Blanca was also referred to by Russell as Vultures' Pueblo.

Hayden (1935: 56) identified the pueblo ruled by *Humanui* or Yellow Buzzard as Pueblo Grande, on the Salt River. These accounts may seem contradictory because, as Fontana (1964) has observed, Yellow Buzzard is the same as Vulture. A superficial reading suggests that the same individual is associated with two different sites. However, Fontana also notes that Vulture is a creator diety and an opponent of Elder Brother since the creation (for example, Underhill 1946). Russell and Hayden each mention a real personage, not Yellow Buzzard or Vulture, as the actual ruler of Pueblo Grande.

The first settlement in the Salt River drainage that was attacked has been described as a village "at Mesa" ruled by *A' -an Hi' tupaki Sivan'* (Feather-Breathing *Sivan'*) (Russell 1908). This settlement also has been described as "north of Snaketown" (Hayden 1935: 55). The Classic period platform mound most accurately described as located near Mesa and immediately north of Snaketown is Los Muertos (Haury 1945). Like Morning Green, Feather-breathing *Sivanyi* figures in traditions describing events before the outbreak of conflict (Russell 1908; Hayden 1935).

Finally, Elder Brother and his warriors moved on to Pueblo Grande on the

Salt River. Russell (1908: 229) indicates that Pueblo Grande was ruled by *Vi' -iki-ial Ma' kai Si' van'*, while Hayden simply refers to the leader at Pueblo Grande as a *Ma' kai* or Doctor. It was noted by Hayden's informant that all villages had a *makai* or doctor. Thus *Vi' -iki-ial Ma' kai Si' van'* combines a name (*Vi' -iki-ial*) with the title *Ma' kai Si' van'*, which is defined in one dictionary as "chief medicine man" (Saxton and Saxton 1969).

Pueblo Grande was then, in turn, destroyed. Accounts differ concerning the remainder of the large mound villages to the west on the Salt River, with some (for example, Russell [1908]) indicating that the Hohokam inhabitants went to the pueblos while others (for example, Hayden [1935]) suggest continued conflict as Elder Brother's warriors proceeded to the west along the Salt River.

A final chapter in the war is described in Hayden's (1935) account, in which some of the warriors proceed north where they encounter bitter cold and people who speak a language other than their own. They turn back when they are unable to adjust to the cold conditions and return to the Sonoran Desert to settle. This incident is principally interesting in emphasizing by contrast a point that is apparent throughout the traditions, the implied existence of a shared language between the warriors and the people of the Hohokam mound settlements that they attacked.

At the same time comments in both Russell's and Hayden's accounts confirm that the material culture of the Hohokam *Sivanyi* and their opponents differed significantly, so that distinctive clothing was an identifying characteristic of the two different groups.

The Flood

Another incident lends credibility to the oral tradition regarding the conflict, a flood said to have been contemporaneous with the conflicts. This is not the "catastrophic flood" of the Pima (Bahr 1970) from which the creator deities are said to have survived to create humanity. This is an event associated by the Pima with the Santa Rosa Children's Shrine, a memorial to children sacrificed to stop the flood. Di Peso (1958) quotes Oblasser as stating that this was almost certainly a real historical event. Mason (1921: 266-267) reported that "it was while the country was thus being conquered that the incident of the buried children occurred among the earlier population."

This flood was said to have followed a period of drought and wind, when the people became hungry (Mason 1921). In a similar tale, but one that is not specifically identified with the period of the fall of the platform mound system, Morning Green, the Chief of Casa Grande, lost control of the rain and wind gods so that there was a period of drought followed by flood (Fewkes 1912:47-48).

Streamflow studies conducted by the University of Arizona Laboratory of

Tree Ring Research for the Las Colinas Project have confirmed the approximate contemporaneity of drought followed by very high magnitude streamflow at about A.D. 1358 (Graybill 1989). The Pima association of a destructive flood with the time of the fall of the Hohokam mound leadership is therefore reasonable in terms of the independent evidence.

The End of the War

At the end of the war, the traditions relate that some of the O'Odham went north to the pueblos or, in some accounts, to the Río Grande pueblos, while others went south, where the Lower Pima now live. It is especially the residents of the Salt River villages west of Pueblo Grande who are said to have left, fleeing both the social disruption and the flooding that prevailed in the region. Those who remained in the southern homeland of the Hohokam intermarried with the newcomers to the Gila Valley to become the modern Pima or Akimel O'odham.

According to Russell (1908:197) the people who came north with Elder Brother to attack the Hohokam have been referred to as the Vulture or Red People, spoken of as *Suwu'ki O'himal* or Red Ants, and are said to have been associated traditionally with surviving O'Odham kinship groups. Their opponents, who lived in the Hohokam settlements with the *sivanyi*, are similarly referred to as *Sto'am O'himal*, or Red Ants, and are represented by two kinship groups. Similarly, Hayden's informant (1935:59) refers to the attacking *Wooshkum* as well as the Hohokam as belonging to kinship groups that survive today. Bahr (1970) disagrees with these associations, arguing that it is too literal an interpretation of the oral tradition.

Another identification of the descendants of the participants offered in the traditions is that of *Chuhwi Ko'athan* or "Jackrabbit Eaters." This term is associated in the traditions with the inhabitants of the Hohokam mound villages. Underhill (1939: 11) notes that the Hohokam who left the great houses and platform mounds after the attacks fled to the north and also to Sonora, where the Jackrabbit Eaters still live today (the Lower Pima and some Tepehuan). Saxton and Saxton (1973: 376-377) observed that both Upper and Lower Pima have been referred to by this name by the Tohono O'Odham, and that indeed the Upper and Lower Pima languages are more similar to one another than either is to Tohono O'Odham.

PUEBLOAN TRADITIONS AND THE HOHOKAM

If some of the Hohokam left their homeland on the Salt and Gila rivers for the pueblos of the north, then it would be expected that the pueblos would provide corresponding evidence of this migration in their own traditions. In fact, they do.

An often reported Hopi tradition relates the migration of the *Patki ngum* (Water Clan) and other related clans (Badger, Sand, Tobacco, Corn, and Sun), from Palatkwapi, a homeland in the south. Montezuma's Castle, a Sinagua site on the Verde River, is one settlement that has been specifically identified with Palatkwapi by the Hopi. One account states that Palatkwapi was "near Phoenix somewhere, over at Superstitious Mountain" (Courlander 1982:16). Nequatewa (1936:85) observed that:

many years ago when the Hopis were living down at Palotquopi they were very progressive and prosperous, on account of having water, and having an irrigating system from the river which flows through that country. There they had taxation by means of doing some donation work on the canals and ditches at certain times of the year.

Nequatewa (1936:86) goes on to say that the people began to hold many social dances, which led to bad behavior. Even the priests ceased to act as they should. "All the rest of the priests had gone crazy except Chief Tawayis-tiwa." . . . This breakdown of the social order led to the fall of Palatkwapi.

That the Hopi would describe riverine irrigation is in itself significant, as this method of watering fields is not possible in their present homeland. The specific reference to "taxation" is also consistent with the archaeological evidence from the Hohokam during the Classic period, which suggests increased centralization of authority within the community, and especially, centralized control of irrigation systems. These systems required community participation in building and maintenance efforts, as well as community cooperation in water distribution. Responsibility for providing labor at regular intervals, as well as in times of emergency, would have fallen on the population of settlements using water from these systems.

There might have been a number of places associated with the name Palatkwapi, representing the different southern homes of the various clans, and also reflecting the sequential occupation of villages during the passage from the south to the Hopi mesas in northeastern Arizona. The precise location is less important than the associations connecting this concept with the social context that prevailed in late prehistory throughout southern and central Arizona and parts of northern Mexico.

The end of Palatkwapi is said to have been brought about by dissension among the people. In the Hopi accounts the chief priest remains virtuous, while the people of the village abandoned their work and ignored the authority of the priest and of religious precepts. This breakdown of social and religious authority led to a disastrous flood in which several children were trapped. Parsons (1939:994-995), among many others, has compared this to the very similar O'Odham accounts of a flood in which children were sacrificed, which also place this event at the time of the fall of priestly rulers. It has already been noted that such a flood did occur at the time of the fall of the Hohokam platform mounds. In both O'Odham and Hopi accounts the Water Serpent deity

was involved, a horned serpent who controlled water and flooding and who was commemorated in the southern *Wiikita* at Quitovac, as well as in several Hopi ceremonies.

After leaving Palatkwapi the clans continued their search, stopping for a while at other villages along the way to the Hopi mesas. The *Patki*, for example, are said to have gone on to the villages at Homolovi, near modern Winslow, Arizona, before finally coming to their mesa home.

There are many archaeological connections between the south and the people of the Colorado Plateau. Figures that have been identified with the one-horned and two-horned priests of the Hopi *Wuwtsim* ceremony appear on pottery (Figure 2) from the site of Snaketown on the Gila River (Haury 1976). Hopi yellow ware pottery is found in late (post-A.D. 1350) Hohokam sites, from the Salt River south to the Tucson Basin. In fact, the presence of this pottery is diagnostic of the post-Classic Hohokam in many areas. The specific source of much of this pottery is not known, although some is almost certainly from the village of Awatovi at the Hopi Mesas (Bishop and Canouts 1986). A recent study of the development of the *katsina* cults of Hopi (Adams 1991) has traced many aspects of historic Hopi culture to prehistoric precedents in the southern deserts and mountains.

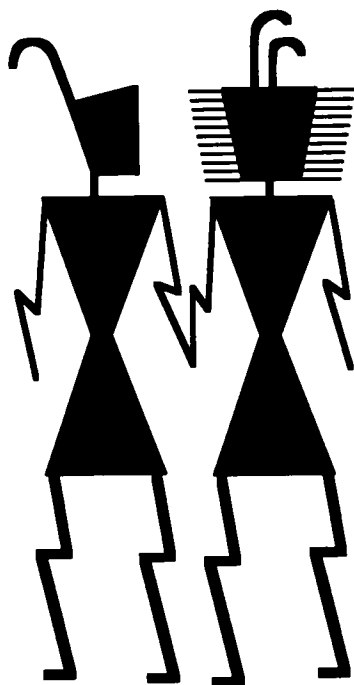


Figure 2. Sacaton phase pottery figures from Snaketown.

There is also historical support for the Hopi tradition. In 1775 Garcés reported that the Gila River Pima told him that the Moqui (Hopi) had previously lived as far south as the Gila River, and that they had built the sites then in ruins in that area (Fewkes 1900:599).

CEREMONIAL PARALLELS BETWEEN PUEBLOAN AND O'ODHAM PEOPLES

There are aspects of Hopi, Zuni, and O'Odham ritual that support a long-standing connection between the people of the Salt and Gila rivers and the puebloan people (Parsons 1939; Underhill 1946). These could be attributed to a variety of forms of interaction, and doubtless have a complex history. However, the oral traditions provide a consistent explanation of the derivation of some of these religious practices.

Underhill proposed that these ritual aspects might result from puebloan transmission to the O'Odham, but this is contrary to both Hopi and O'Odham accounts. The Hopi attribute these elements of their ceremonial traditions to a southern origin. In fact, it is those rituals that the Hopi associate with clans having a southern origin that display conspicuous parallels with southern archaeological and ethnographic evidence.

The *Wuwtsim* or New Fire ritual and the *Powamuyu* at Hopi in particular have elements very similar to those found in the Tohono O'Odham *Wiikita*. The *Wuwtsim* and the *Wiikita* are traditionally held at similar times prior to the winter solstice. The *Kwan* (Agave) Society, which plays a prominent part in these rituals, is associated with the *Patki* clan, which traces its ancestry to the south.

Both the O'Odham and Hopi ceremonies entail the making of prayer sticks (Voth 1912; Parsons 1939; Underhill 1946). The *Wiikita* has an equivalent of the Hopi *Kwan* priests in the Corn Meal Sprinkler who, like the Hopi priests, wears blackened paint on the upper portion of the face and a single upright feather as a headdress (Parsons 1936; Hayden 1937, 1987). The Papago *Nawichu* wears two horns, arms and legs painted white, and a white kilt with a sash, like the Hopi Horn Society priests (Parsons 1936; Hayden 1937).

Indications of Hopi similarities to the prehistoric traditions of the Sonoran Desert are also provided by Sacaton phase effigy vessels from Snaketown. One of these (Figure 3) bears a conspicuous resemblance to a figure represented on pottery from Homolovi, a group of sites regarded as an intermediate step in the journey from Palatkwapi to the Hopi Mesas. These figures share a broad under-eye line, speckled lower faces, indications of a ruff or collar around the neck, and fret motifs associated with larger spots on the torso. The Hohokam vessel also displays a frog pendant. The Homolovi figure does not display a frog motif, but the posture of the figure as a whole is quite frog-like.

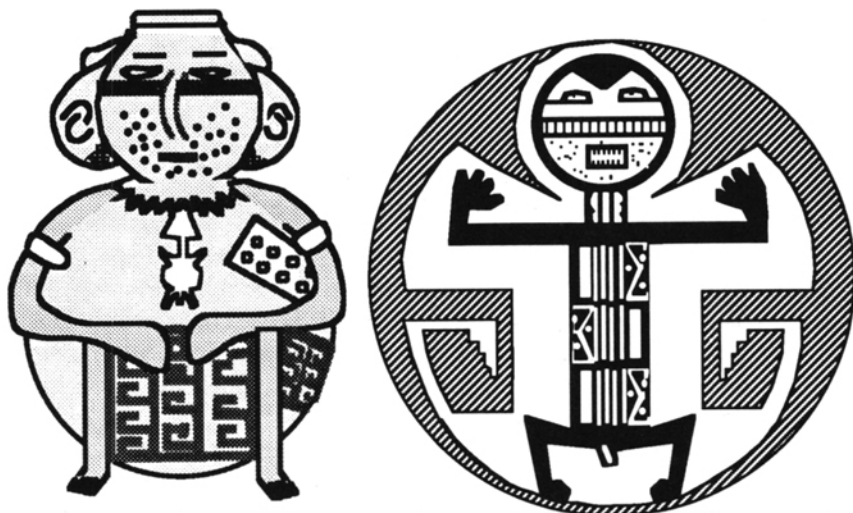


Figure 3. Effigy vessel from Snaketown (left) and painted figure on vessel from Homolovi (right).

Identifying prehistoric effigies with individual historic figures is at best a very uncertain business. However, elements of the prehistoric representations bear a striking resemblance to modern *katsinas* and priesthoods active in *Wiikita* and in *Wuwtsim*. Parsons (1939:732-733) reported that "Under the eyes and across the nose of every Zuni katchina there is a line of the iridescent black paint called *tsuhapa*, sometimes two lines of black or sometimes two lines of red or smudges of black or red on chin and cheek." Equally interesting use of the black line is found in the Hopi Agave Society priests and the Papago *Chui'wà-tam* (Figure 4). The O'Odham figure appears at *Wiikita* to sprinkle corn meal on the ground; at *Wuwtsim* the Agave Society priests carry out similar duties.

The basic theme of the *Wiikita*, world renewal (Underhill 1939, 1946; Fontana 1964), is also consistent with the purpose and the calendrical emphasis of the Hopi *Wuwtsim* or New Fire ceremony (Parsons 1939). In addition, Ferdon (1967) has found in the *Wiikita*-court evidence of derivation from Hohokam ballcourts. The ideological foundation of the Mesoamerican ballcourt ritual is one of rebirth and renewal, like that of the *Wiikita* and *Wuwtsim*, making this hypothesis a very reasonable one.

At the *Wiikita*, children represent those sacrificed to Water Serpent to stop the floods at the time of the overthrow of the Hohokam *sivanyi* (Mason 1921). The same tales of Water Serpent are also important in Agave Society ritual. Fewkes (1920:509) has noted that:

The episode represents in a more or less complete form a myth which is said to have originated in the far south, and which is still current in modified form among the Pima and

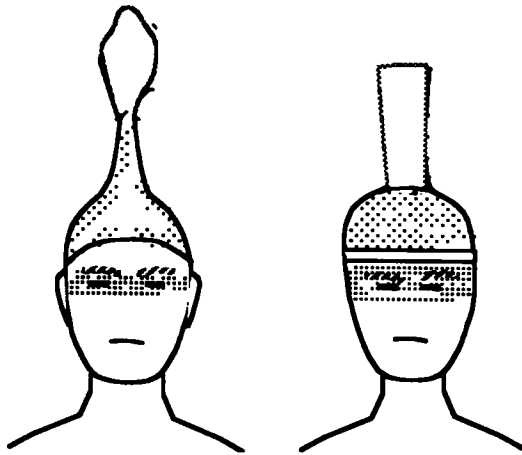


Figure 4. Hopi Agave Society priest (left) (adapted from Voth 1901) and Tohono O'Odham Corn Meal Sprinkler (right) (from Hayden 1937).

Papago, supposed to be the descendants of the ancients who once peopled the massive walled ruins, of which Casa Grande is the recognized type. The horned snake represents among the Pima as among the Hopi, the Sun God, . . . who taught mankind how to irrigate fields for cultivation and to build ditches to distribute the water of the Gila over their thirsty farms. It is said that this being controlled the waters of the Gila, and that he was worshipped. . . . When this cult was transported into the arid mountains of Hopi, where rivers are unknown, except in the rainy season, it still persisted, but, like many survivals, the environment and object of the worship was changed; the serpent became the rain god.

Given these parallels it should not be surprising that at Hopi and also at Zuni the shell trumpet, familiar to archaeologists from platform mound sites in central and southern Arizona and from sites in northern Mexico, is used to imitate the sound of Water Serpent on ceremonial occasions (Parsons 1939). It was observed earlier that the Water Serpent is specifically associated with the story of the children lost in the flood among both the O'Odham and the Hopi.

Both the Tohono O'Odham and Zuni possess directional priesthoods associated with control of rain, called respectively the *sivanyi* and *shiwanni*. At Zuni, as among the Papago and apparently among the Hohokam, these priests serve political as well as purely religious functions.

Paraphernalia very similar to that reported for the Zuni priesthoods has been found in Hohokam sites and especially in association with platform mounds (Teague 1984). These include the shell trumpet associated with Water Serpent, and also with the Zuni *Shiwanni* of the Nadir, the Elder Brother Bow Priest or War Chief (Parsons 1939: 877). At Los Muertos Cushing identified a room assemblage as that of the Bow Priesthood and evaluation of his interpretation by comparison to artifacts identified with that priesthood confirm that his is a reasonable interpretation.

Hohokam and Zuni parallels in ritual paraphernalia also include the shell

frog effigy with turquoise inlay and, in the center, a red stone. At Zuni this is the emblem of the *shiwanni* of the North, who serves as town chief.

Several shrines in the Salt River Valley have distinctively Hopi features. One of these is the Double Butte Cave Site in the vicinity of modern Tempe, which was investigated by the Hemenway Expedition during the first systematic archaeological investigations in central Arizona (Haury 1945). Another Hopi site has been mentioned in conversation by Emory Sekaquaptewa (Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona, personal communication 1984) who observed that a Pima reported the existence of a probable Hopi shrine on South Mountain to the Hopi, who then confirmed the association.

In 1984 Watson Smith confirmed that the styles of designs on effigy figures from Double Butte Cave (Figure 5), a site in the Phoenix Basin, are Hopi and probably date to a transitional period in Hopi styles at about A.D. 1400. These figures are very similar to those found in Hopi altars for ceremonies such as *Powamuya* (Voth 1901), and the *Marau* (Fewkes and Stephen 1892) and *Lakon* (Fewkes and Owens 1892) womens societies' rituals. However, ceremonial cigarettes at the cave are southern in style and pottery is typically Hohokam plainware (Haury 1945). The probable date of this site, which Emory Sekaquaptewa (Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona,

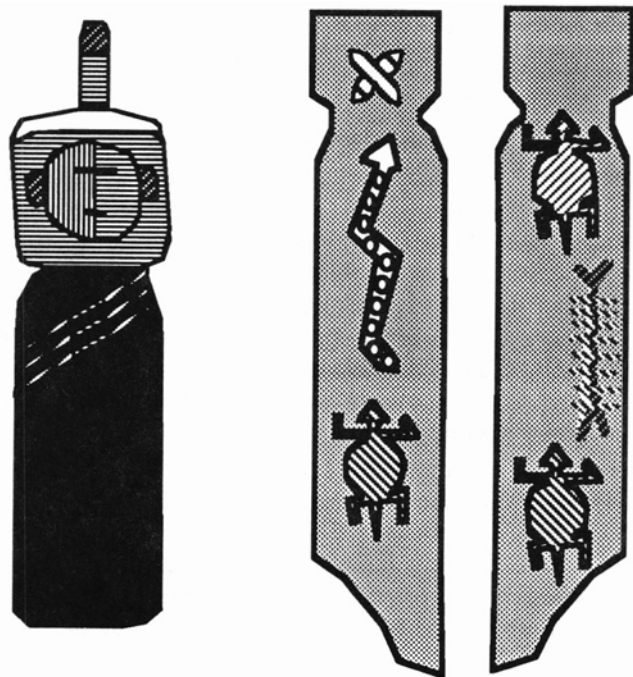


Figure 5. Two effigy figures from Double Butte Cave, Maricopa County, Arizona.
(From Haury 1945: Fig. 128)

personal communication 1984) has suggested is an ancestral home shrine for the Hopi, is consistent with use at or soon after the end of the Hohokam Classic period.

Similar figures, which are likely to have been altar paraphernalia rather than katsinas of the modern type, have not been found in prehistoric contexts on the Colorado Plateau. Fewkes (1920: 602) has observed that at Walpi, on the Hopi First Mesa, rituals attributed by the Hopi to southern and eastern origins are associated with altars featuring carved wooden figures, while those ceremonies traditionally regarded as northern in origin lack this feature.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF ORAL TRADITION

The development of a hierarchically organized society in the Sonoran Desert after about A.D. 1000 is well documented archaeologically. The dissolution of that society is far less well understood. There are limits to the information that can be obtained from the physical evidence of archaeology. What do the oral traditions tell us about the processes underlying the changes of late prehistory?

The evidence indicates that rejection of increasingly unacceptable political and religious institutions combined to lead to the downfall of a priestly leadership that dominated much of central and southern Arizona during late prehistory. The locations of settlements, their religious and political place in society, and their physical and functional organization are similarly described in archaeological studies and in oral history. In oral tradition we find an assessment of what these circumstances meant to the people who experienced them, an additional perspective that is not readily available archaeologically.

Oral histories associate massive flooding with the period during which platform mound institutions ceased to function, but do not describe this flooding as the primary cause of cultural change. Archaeological evidence also shows that deteriorating environmental conditions, including massive flooding sufficient to have severely damaged irrigation systems, may well have been a contributing factor in the downfall of centralized platform mound communities. However, this is insufficient to account for events of the period. Both drought and flood had been survived before without catastrophic results, and there is no compelling argument that an irrigation-based hierarchical society could not have continued in late prehistory.

Instead, the people of the Southwest chose to abandon further development of the social and economic hierarchy associated with large-scale irrigated agriculture. They apparently did so for reasons other than physical necessity. The social conflict between priests and populace that is described in oral tradition was regarded as unacceptable. This conflict was identified with the increasing power, and abuse of power, of the priests. An alternative was needed.

As the Southwesterners built new lives for themselves, very different choices were made. Adams (1991) has proposed that the religious and political institutions associated with the pueblo *katsinas* were a response to the basic needs of society during late prehistory. People were gathering together in large villages in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This population was, at places like Hopi and Zuni, composed of immigrants from a number of areas. Uniting this population was essential to development of a stable society. Adams (1991:187-188) proposes that the pueblos adopted a horizontally complex organization, focused on the *katsina* cult, to insure sustained productivity capable of supporting these large village populations without allotting disproportionate power to some groups within the society.

In contrast, the O'Odham avoided much of this problem by maintaining a low population density and dispersed settlements. They, therefore, did not need complex institutions or hierarchical allocations of social and economic power to facilitate feeding, clothing and housing themselves. Ceremonial occasions like the *Wiikita*, as well as less formal interaction, provided adequate communication among villages in the Sonoran Desert.

Complex hierarchies, in which some individuals exercised a great deal of power over social and economic affairs, did not reappear among any of these peoples. A strong emphasis on consensus, and on the maintenance of traditions that unite the people, are found instead. It can be hoped that further consideration of archaeological and anthropological evidence by members of the traditional societies of the Southwest will lead, in coming years, to a more complete understanding of these changes.

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