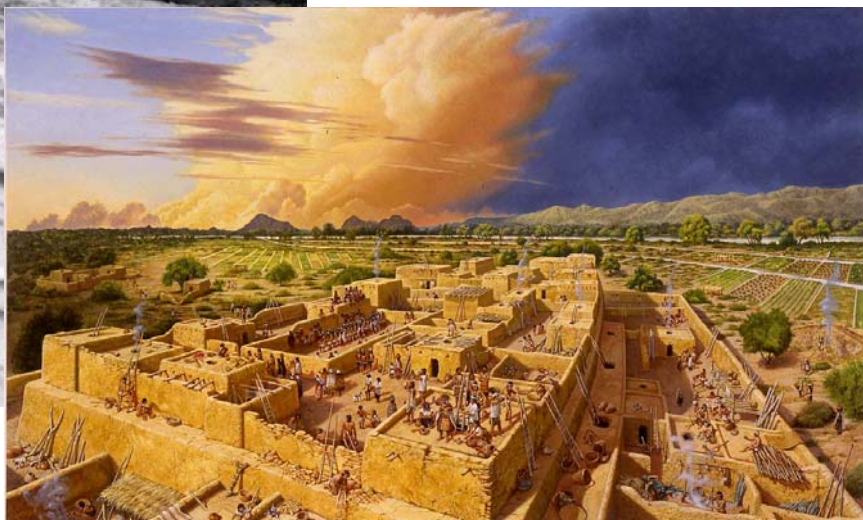


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Michael Hampshire's artist rendition of Pueblo Grande platform mound (right); post-excavation view of compound area northwest of Pueblo Grande platform mound (above)

TRIBAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE HOHOKAM

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The archaeologists' name for the principal pre-European culture of southern Arizona is Hohokam, a word they adopted from the O'odham (formerly Pima-Papago). I am not sure which archaeologist first used that word. It seems that the first documented but unpublished use is from 1874 or 1875 (Haury 1976:5). In any case, since around then archaeologists have used their methods to define and explain the origin, development, geographic extent, and end of the Hohokam culture.

This article is not about the archaeologists' Hohokam, but about the stories and explanations of past peoples as told by the three Native American tribes who either grew from or replaced the archaeologists' Hohokam on former Hohokam land. These are the O'odham, of course, but also the Maricopa and Yavapai. The Maricopa during European times (since about 1550) lived on lands previously occupied by the Hohokam and Patayan archaeological cultures, and the Yavapai lived on lands of the older Hohokam, Patayan, Hakataya, Salado, and Western Anasazi cultures – to use all of the names that have been used, sometimes overlappingly, for previous cultures of the region.

The Stories

The O'odham word *huhugkam* means “something that is used up or finished.” The word consists of the verb *huhug*, which means “to be used up or finished,” and the suffix “-kam,” which means “something that is this way.” *Huhug* is generally, and perhaps only, used as an intransitive, not a transitive, verb. Therefore, when the O'odham

use the word as a noun, to refer to something that is finished, they imply in the word nothing about who or what ended or finished the thing – or the culture or people – in question.

In addition to providing the word “Hohokam” to archaeology, the O’odham also have the most complete explanation of the fate of these ancient people. In fact, they have several explanations, the longest and most masterful of which claims that the Hohokam were O’odham who were “finished” by a military conquest by other O’odham. Thus, the conquerors are the people of today.

That explanation was recorded in three similar tellings from narrators along the Gila River (“Pimas,” or “Akimel O’odham”) between 1900 and 1935. Some different versions of it were recorded from Pimas and Tohono O’odham (or “Papagos”) in the same period. My impression is that today’s O’odham welcome the idea that the Hohokam were like them, but they are uncomfortable with the idea that they, the O’odham, conquered or even exterminated their ancestors.

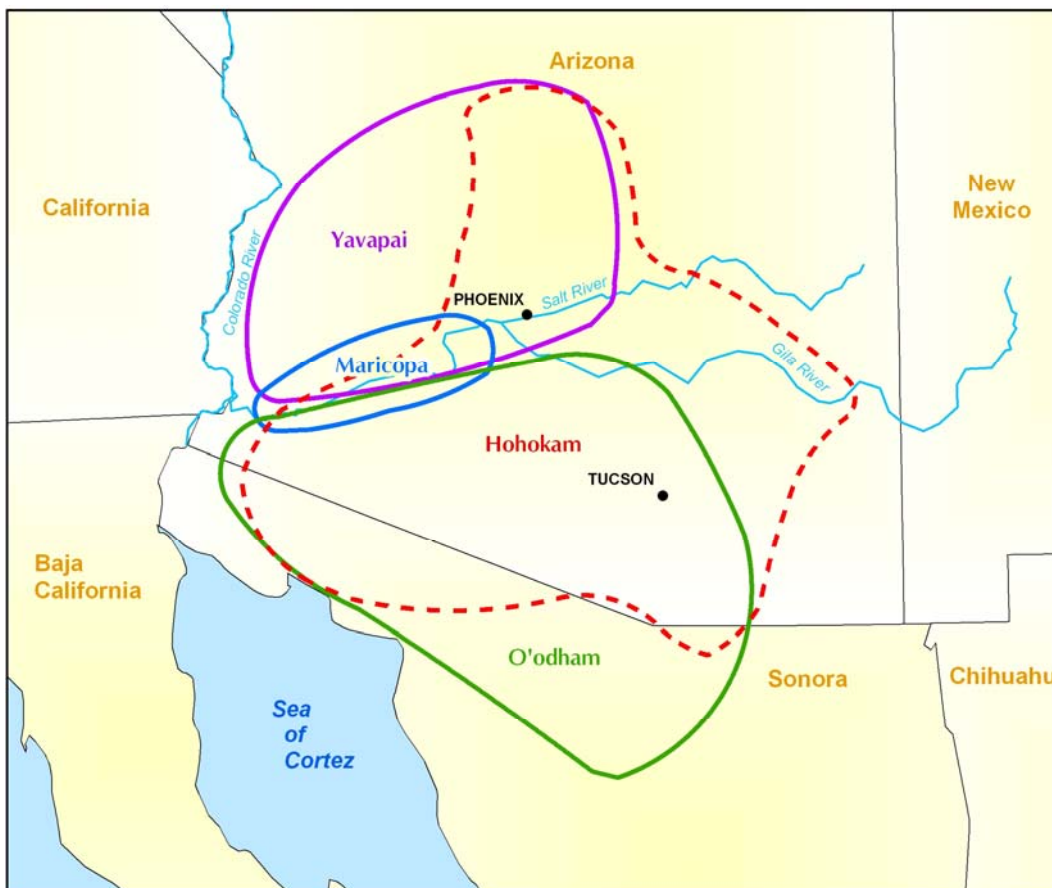
I think some of today’s O’odham wish the internal conflict versions could be expunged from the record. As I understand their past society, this would be reasonable in the old days. In a time of oral history, if you were dissatisfied with a story or explanation, you could change it and advocate the changed version. There was a chance that this version would spread. There were no central governments or cultural affairs committees and no official or permanent versions of anything.

In fact, there exist several versions of the Hohokam ending. These include one version of a Hohokam conquest by Spaniards, as well as versions with no conquest at all, and therefore no “finished-ones.” An earlier paper by me discusses the variety of O’odham explanations of the Hohokam, that is, of the ancient inhabitants of today’s O’odham territory (Bahr 1971:145-166). At that time there were 15 published versions to consult, dating from 1694 to the 1930s. Now there are two more (Bahr, ed., 1994, and Bahr, ed., 2001), both of them old but full, single-narrator tellings. Of the current total of 17, seven say there was no difference between the past and present inhabitants of the territory. Six say the past people were O’odham and were conquered by the present O’odham, and two say the ancient O’odham were conquered by Spaniards. The two oldest versions, of 1694, were overlooked in the earlier paper but are in Bahr, ed., 1994, pp. 33-35 and 37. One says the Hohokam just went away and the other says

they were driven by Apaches to return to their northern homeland.

All of the versions deal with ancient, or “long-ago” (*hekihu*) events and none of them connect those events and people with families of today. Therefore, the versions that say there was no difference between the Hohokam and today’s O’odham do not trace an exact connection, or count the generations or years between the “then” and the “now.” The known Maricopa and Yavapai mythologies (to me – ancient histories to them) are all of the no-difference sort; and like the O’odham no-difference mythologies, they leave a genealogical gap between the ancient “then” and the “now.” They say nothing of a conquest, either by O’odham or by their own ancestors.

The Maricopas and Yavapais probably have a word



O’odham, Maricopa, Yavapai, and Hohokam culture areas

equivalent to the O'odhams' "*huhugkam*," but their word is not recorded; and if they have one, it probably means, like the O'odham word, "those who have come and gone and are no more," or, like the Spanish *antepasados*, the "passed ahead ones," neither of which words necessarily implies "conquered," or even "extinct." Finally, and a major topic for this paper, the Maricopa and Yavapai stories, although they do not posit an extinct ancient people, are at once both alike and pointedly unlike those of the O'odham, so much so that I am inclined to believe that they were told, at least to some extent, with the stories of neighboring tribes in mind.

Thus, this paper has two topics, the conquest (or not) of a "finished people" and the like-and-yet-pointedly-different stories of these three peoples. To reach a suitable viewing point for our topics, we must note a difference in the overall design of the various stories. This is that the "internal conflict" versions of the O'odham creation story are crafted into an organic, book-like narrative which is centered on the interaction of two man-gods. One or the other of these gods appears in most of the stories, even if only as the final resolver of conflicts. The Maricopa and Yavapai stories, on the other hand, have either one or two cognate male characters, but they only appear in the first text of their narrators' multi-text tellings. As a result, even though there is an order in the arrangement of stories, there is a complete change of characters from one story to the next.

A key feature of the texts we will consider is that the texts are whole mythologies (or localized ancient histories), generally of book-length, as told by individual narrators. Any one of those mythologies will have hundreds of points that likely played off points – often strategic points, sometimes whole stories – in not only one but several texts from several neighbors. The O'odham, for example, had seven contiguous neighbors at the time of the European contact: Pima Bajo, Opata, Chiricahua Apache, Western Apache, Yavapai, Maricopa, Yuma, and Cocopa (Driver 1969, maps 41 and 44). In this paper I deal with three of these peoples, O'odham, Maricopa, and Yavapai.

I confess that my perspective is contrary to the idea that narrators tell just what their teachers – past family narrators – have told; and to the idea that what they tell truly happened in the ancient past; and to the idea that this truth owes nothing to what neighboring tribes say. I propose on the contrary that what they tell owes much to neighboring tribes; and it may not tell the truth of actual ancient happenings; and it is not necessarily what the narrator's teachers said. To be confident in the historical accuracy of the stories, we would need to know more than we can about the texts' narrators. We would need to talk with them, which we cannot because they are no longer living. We have no proof that some person, aware of the story of a neighbor, created one day a conscious response to it and offered this story as old. The evidence for this is circumstantial. I suspect that what happened was softer. A person would notice another story and would form a new story, or dream it, and tell it to another casually as something heard and not invented. The other would work it in as old in his or her mythology. And while some (including me) might call this process parody, one might alternatively call it co-evolution (developments of distinct tellings under mutual influence) or simply influence.

Comparative Examples

Rather than study individual stories, which is the usual scholarly practice, I advocate the study of individual narrators' full tellings of ancient times. A "mythology," then, is all the stories on ancient (opposed to recent) times that one narrator tells, in the order that he or she tells them. That span of texts is what scholars normally obtain in pieces from several narrators. I simply wish that each narrator visited would be asked to tell the whole thing and that the tellings be studied as wholes. A good representation of a people's mythology would be three (better would be five) whole mythologies in this sense, written in the native language and literally translated into English or some other habitually read and written scholarly language.

From the O'odham we have three mythologies in the above sense, all taken down only in English, all from narrators along the Gila River and all Cain and Abel versions of O'odham centered world history. The tellings are from Thin Leather (Russell, 1908, and Lloyd, 1911 – two versions from him), Thomas Vanyiko and William Blackwater jointly (Bahr, ed., 2001), and Juan Smith (Bahr, ed., 1994). Here is a capsule



Thin Leather, ca. 1910

outline of them:

In the beginning a man-god named Earth Medicine-man drifts alone in a void. He makes the earth, sun, moon, and stars, the first from his skin scales (earth) and, once the earth grew, the rest from his spit. Then he causes a handful of other gods to come into existence. The principal of these is called Elder-brother whom he orders to be created by calling the sky to kiss the earth.

Next he makes O'odham-speaking humans and starts them on a normal existence. "Elder-brother" is referred to by that name from the start, but he actually acquires that name by intransigence after a flood, which is the story's next important event. Elder-brother, Earth Medicine-man, and a few other beings, including a few normal people, survive this flood. The people take refuge in the underworld, while the gods avoid that radical, death-tempting salvation by floating in separate boat-like containers.

After the flood, Elder-brother demands that he be called "Elder," a title he doesn't deserve. The issue is who emerged first from his vessel, but the emergences were out of sight from each other so neither could know. Both gods create new people to inhabit the earth. Those of Earth Medicine-man are thrown away, those of Elder-brother become the "finished-ones." Earth Medicine-man sinks into the underworld to join his own prior creation.



Baboquivari Peak

Many interesting and important events occur between Elder-brother and his new people, including the origin of the white race from blanched and revived O'odham. These are sent away with the expectation that they will return. Elder-brother's people eventually hate and kill him. He comes back to life, walks across the sky, and enters the underworld at the place where the sun sets. There he meets Earth Medicine-man and the earlier creation. He leads the people (not Earth Medicine-man) to the earth's surface to make war on and defeat and "finish-off" (*hugio*) the then-reigning O'odham-speaking creation.

About the last quarter of the story is given to battles between the emergent O'odham and the previous O'odham (the Hohokam) that they conquered. After the conquest Elder-brother retires from the people

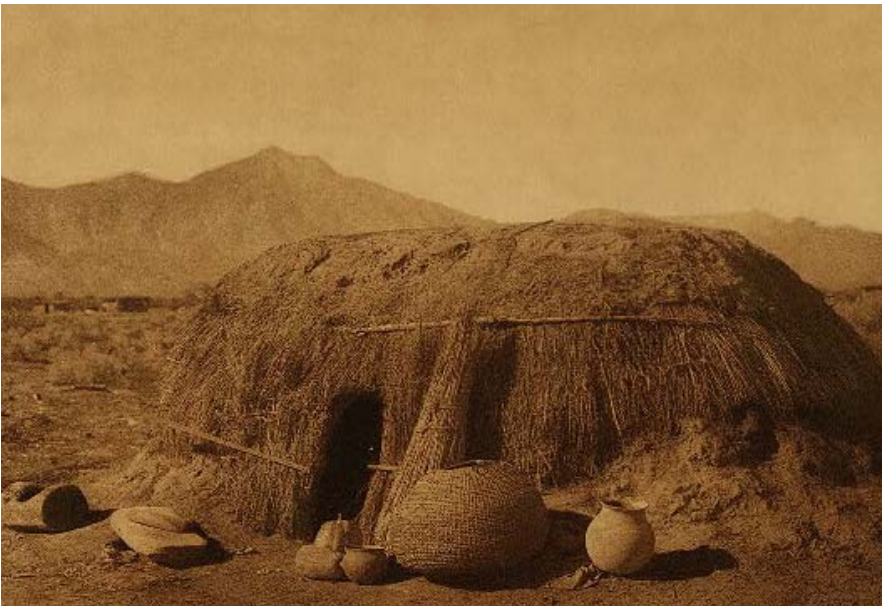
to live in a cave at a mountain in Tohono, not Akimel, O'odham territory. He remains there to this day. Earth Medicine-man remains at his home in the underworld. The conquerors disperse to their present desert and river locations, and before long, although this is not told about, the whites return to their area of origin. In effect the chronicle ends the night before the return of the whites.

The chronicle does not quite end with Elder-brother's retirement. After he leaves there are a few stories of humans who marry, reproduce normally, and are preoccupied with Apaches. The atmosphere has changed from the early tales. The creations are finished, the conquest is over, the gods are gone, and now for the first time the Apaches are mentioned as a menace to anyone who would leave the village alone. This was the situation in which the Spanish found the O'odham in the 1600s, two hundred or so years after the Hohokam known to archaeology had ended and another two hundred plus until reasonably full tellings were recorded.

From the Maricopas we have one telling, from a man named Kutox, taken down in English and published by Leslie Spier in 1933. This is a mythology of ten stories with *nearly* a new cast of characters in each story. The exceptions are between the first three stories: important characters of the second and third stories are said to have been present in the events of the first story, even though these bridging characters do not figure into the actions of the first text. (The characters are Coyote and a woman named West Woman.) I have discussed this mythology in a



Examples of O'odham granaries (above)
and house (below)



previous paper (1998) and will not summarize the whole here. For present purposes, we will take up the first and third stories.

The first story starts with two man-gods in the earth beneath a salt sea that has flooded the world. The water subsides. One god reaches land. The other, still in water, asks the first if he had opened his eyes while emerging. The first says yes, the other opens his and is made blind. Then for unexplained reasons the two set out to sea again on a log. They come to land together and the unblinded god makes normal people, various tribes of Indians and the whites. The blinded god makes people with webbed hands and feet. The gods quarrel. The blinded god's people are thrown away, and he tries to crush the other and his creation by pulling down the sky. Failing in this, he sinks into the earth never to return.

This is the sole creation of Maricopas in Kutox's mythology, while the three O'odham texts we are following have two creations of their kind of people. The Maricopa story starts with a flood, the O'odham have one between the first and second creation. Why does the Maricopa story have its two gods first in the earth *below* the flood, and then have them come onto land and then go back to sea again? I believe this is because Kutox or a predecessor wanted his gods to rise at the start in contrast to the O'odham story where the gods go down separately after the start; or, these O'odham wanted to start their story with a creator god adrift in an Original Void like the God of the Old Testament. Thus, we cannot say who parodied whom. We will see, however, that the Yavapai narrator opens his text like the Maricopas, with the original Yavapai god (not two) in the underworld. Recall now that the sole first

O'odham god causes Elder-brother to be created by a descent, a cosmic kiss, of the sky upon the earth. Elder-brother therefore is not a brother to him until after the flood, and then only by virtue of alighting from enclosing vessels, a quasi-rebirth. In both mythologies one angry brother descends to the underworld after a dispute over creating people. But in the Maricopa text the younger brother (a title perhaps actually merited by the O'odham "Elder-brother") first tries to smash his rival by pulling the sky down to the earth.

In my opinion, the stories mock each other, because there is no chance that stories from two peoples far separated from each other, say by a thousand miles, would match like these two. Surely then these are parodies in the broad sense of arising under each other's influence. But which demeans which? We cannot say that a god pulling the sky down to earth is demeaned by or demeaning of a god ordering the sky and earth to make a god. We can say that both satisfy because neither is obviously better. There is precedent for this in the O'odhams' "moiety" (or "clan") totems, Coyote and Buzzard. Everyone belongs to one or the other, and the members of each find endless joking ways to praise their "helper" (*we:mgal*) and disparage the other. I suspect it is the same with these contrasting gods' actions as well.

Next, we should not think that one story arose new and full-blown from the other. Rather, we should think they arose in interaction, as narrators of each people wished for uniformity among themselves and difference from neighbors. Finally, the most important relation is not in the set of details but in the outcome, in a *double* creation of people-like-us for the O'odham and a single one for the Maricopa. This gives the O'odham a people-like-us to

conquer. Still, we cannot say that the Maricopas could not have made an explanation for the Hohokam without a double creation, or not have a “lost” Hohokam without thinking that they conquered them. Like the initial set of contrasts (flood, creation, earthward sky pulling), these are all contingent, not necessary ideas. They are what the peoples ended up with, each while striving to be truthful, but also different from the other.

The difference between Maricopa and O’odham on those features does not end with the creation stories. Two of



*Example of Maricopa house (above);
Maricopa women making baskets (below)*

the three full O’odham mythologies have a separate story that opens with a play on the Maricopa man-gods on the log. Two Coyote brothers float on separate logs, one with eyes open and the other with eyes closed. The first tells the other to open his eyes. The other complies and is blinded by salty foam blown by the wind. In their long story, these Coyotes create nothing. They squabble over women and the elder eventually kills the younger, and the younger’s death is avenged by his posthumous son. Thus, what is a central creation tale among the Maricopa is a sidebar for the O’odham. There is no Coyote Brothers story in the Maricopa mythology. Furthermore, the only known versions of it are in the two full Pima tellings. Perhaps it is part of a “package” of double creation and Hohokam conquest, and a way to take a further swat at the Maricopas.

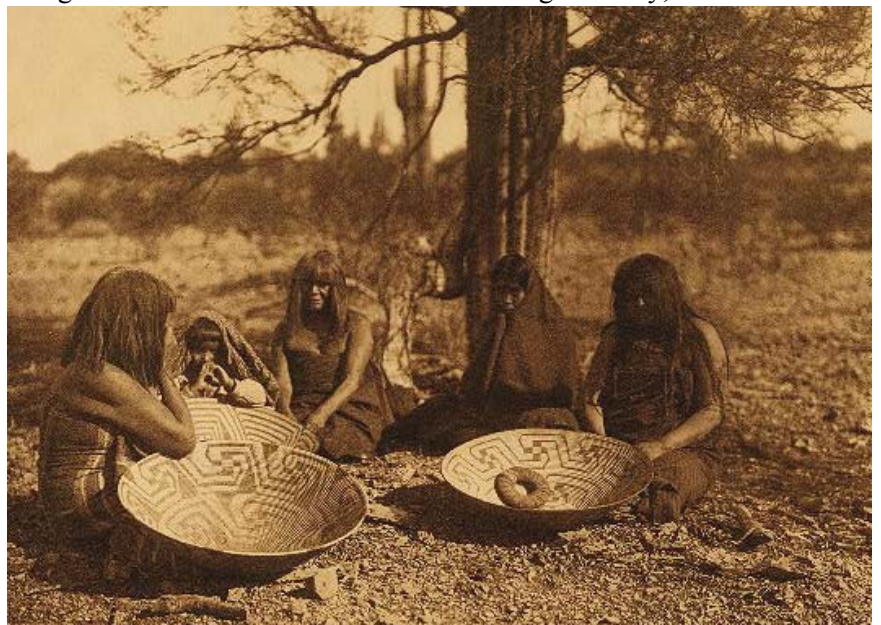
We turn now to the Yavapai mythology, a twenty-four story telling given by Jim Stacey to E. W. Gifford. It was taken down in English through an interpreter and published by Gifford in 1933. The

story starts in the underworld but says nothing about events there except that a chief who is a Frog-man (not fully human-looking) leads his people from there up a pine tree and onto the earth’s surface.

Once up, the chief’s daughter kills her father by sorcery. After his death a great flood rises through the hole into the underworld. Everyone dies except one woman who survives by riding inside a log.

Note that all three mythologies say that gods and humans either come from or go to the underworld. It happens that none of them says much about what the gods or people do there. In effect, the only events told in the mythologies happen on the earth’s surface. Not all mythologies are this way, for example both Hopi and Navajo mythologies tell many underworld events, always, it seems in their very first portions. The Maricopa and Yavapai tellings are like those in starting “below,” but they are like the O’odham in confining their narratives to this-worldly events. (The O’odham, however have a story of the god Elder-brother’s one-time travel though the sky, and of the three only they have that story.)

The killing in this Yavapai story is matched and differentiated from the killing of the “elder” man-god in the Maricopa story and with the killing of Elder-brother midway through the O’odham mythology. We will leave those differences undiscussed and turn to two matters more immediately relevant. First, as promised above, the Yavapais have a variation on the Maricopa opening ascent from the underworld. Now it is a god-led mass ascent via a tree, there it is two gods rising separately and alone from the underworld through water. The Yavapai ascent is like that of the O’odham in being dry, in being led by one god, and in including a mass of people. In the Yavapai case, however, the ascended mass is soon wiped out



by a flood, which is what the O'odham mass had escaped by going *into* the underworld. Second, the Yavapai mythology not only wipes out its population, it also omits a subsequent creation of any people-like-us, such as the O'odhams' explanation of the ancient Hohokam.

From the Yavapai flood one woman survives inside a log (enclosed like the O'odham godly survivors, not atop a log as in the Maricopa story and in the O'odham Coyote Brothers version). We discuss this woman's destiny below. She does not create a new race (in general it seems that only man-gods create people by manufacturing them from materials found outside their bodies). Rather, she gives birth to a girl who gives birth to a boy who causes a race of *enemies* to be created at the end of his and his grandmother's long story. Thus, what usually happens at the start of the first text of a mythology – the creation of tribal ancestors – is delayed into the end of this text (for Jim Stacey regarded the ascent from the underworld, the flood, and the woman's career as all one story). Furthermore, there is no creation of tribal ancestors, of people-like-us, anywhere in the Yavapai mythology. The O'odham have two such, the Maricopas one, and the Yavapai none at all. I think these differences are not accidental, but are intentional, at least made and maintained in someone's consciousness that they are different.

The Yavapai story continues:

After the flood-waters subside this woman lives alone until she gives birth to a daughter who is fathered by two beings, The Sun via a sunbeam and a falling trickle of Water. Wishing for a male, the woman raises the daughter and sends her to be impregnated as she was. After the daughter delivers a boy, she is sent to be killed by an eagle. The grandmother raises the boy, keeping him ignorant of his true parentage.

The boy learns from a quail, whom he threatens to kill, that he has a mother. On returning, his grandmother tells him also that his father is Sun. From this point and under her supervision he assembles and uses tools for killing: knife, bow, and arrows. He seeks and kills a series of monsters who would otherwise kill him. Finally he meets another boy who taunts him that Water is also his father. The killer boy is outraged. He chases the other up and down a spire-like mountain. The taunter descends inside it as the chaser runs up the outside, and vice versa several times. Each time the chaser reaches the bottom, he heats a rock until it bursts releasing another taunter. These creations will be the O'odham, enemies of the Yavapais. The story ends with the boy returned to his grandmother and without his having learned, which apparently he dies not, that his fathers are also his grandfathers.

That portion of the Yavapai story is matched by the whole of the third story of the Maricopa mythology. Called Flute Lure, it takes up when the Maricopa god who created the people has been killed and cremated. At this point all of the peoples he had made disperse. Before, they had lived with him in one large family. The story follows a lone woman who corresponds to the lone woman flood survivor of Stacey's mythology.

This Maricopa woman goes to a wet place [as the other one did, but the place is a pond not a cliff]. She bathes there each day, and soon a gopher [single person from below, not two from above] impregnates her through the ground as she slides down the pond-side. She gives birth to twins who are as tender-minded as the Yavapai boy is bloody. Whereas the Yavapai boy spares a quail he has wounded in exchange for information on his mother, the Maricopa boys hesitatingly kill a quail whose meat, cooked by their mother, is their first solid food -- before they ate by nursing.

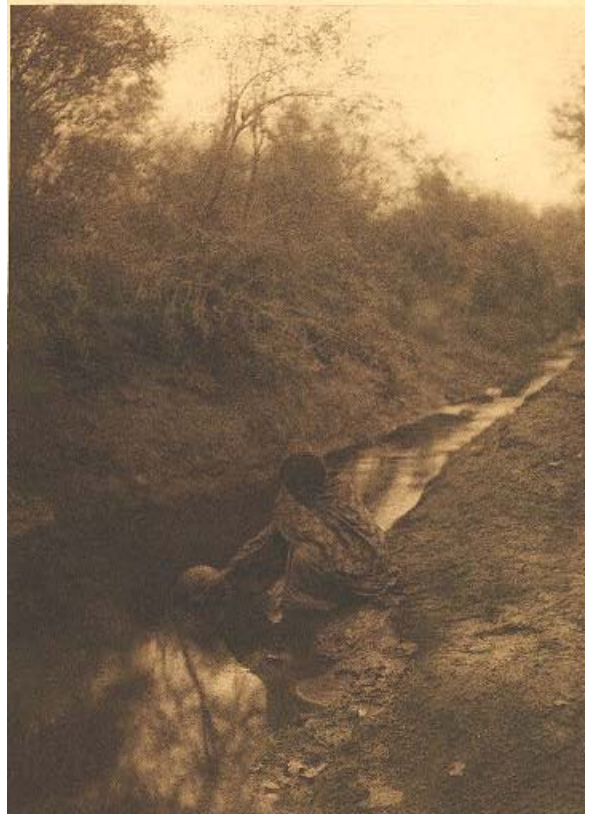
The Yavapai boy kills the eagle who had killed his mother. The Maricopa boys go and catch baby eagles and try to keep them as pets. Both birds die as they carry them home. The boys weep. The Yavapai boy assembles his own implements of killing, the Maricopa boys have bows and arrows given to them.



Example of Yavapai house

Their quest is for canes with which to make flutes. These they play to attract two girls who stay with them for one night, then return home, one of them pregnant. The Yavapai marries a girl (no courtship is told) who is kidnapped by a gambler whom the boy soon kills. He brings his wife home again but she drops out from the story. He has no children except eventually the O'odham whom he pops from rocks in a rage. The Maricopa boys follow their sweethearts home and are killed by their father. A posthumous son kills the killer and eventually joins his paternal grandmother, and the two become a star and a comet. The Yavapai story ends with the boy and his grandmother alone after the unfortunate creation of the O'odham.

Endless additional comparisons can be made between the three mythologies. The above Maricopa and Yavapai pairing is a good one to end with because it embodies a contrast in the boy characters that extends for the length of their parts of the stories – and because both stories are studies in character. Small wonder they were large in the mythologies of Kutox and Stacey. We see, then, that parodies as I call them can both be limited to single actions as in as a god's drawing the sky down to earth, or they can run through successive episodes as in these examples of the sweet Maricopa and murderous Yavapai teen-agers. Now, *are* they parodies? I do not think and would not say that any one of the examples we have discussed (except for the Coyote Brothers) demeans another, nor that one is the unique stimulus for parody and the other is the unique parodic result. I imagine that for as long as Southwestern peoples existed, they have had multi-story mythologies *more or less* like these, with creations and unusual births and struggles and so on. And for as long as the peoples were neighbors they have adjusted their stories, or some of them, to be similar-but-different from each other. If we do not call these parodies, we must find some other word to describe such interdependency. For the present, rather than dropping the “parody,” I would add an adjective: *sacred* parody, in deference to the attitude of the people toward the results.



Maricopa woman gathering water

Conclusion: Hohokam Archaeology and Huhugkam Mythology

One wonders, how can archaeology and tribal mythology come together? They have the same aim, to tell the history of the peoples of a region. Both produce stories, archaeology by means of material remains, which among tribal peoples do not include stories (which only become material with writing). Then what are the means for the tribal mythologists? This paper has treated one means, the stories of neighboring mythologies: stories stimulate stories.

If I were an archaeologist I would be frustrated that the material leavings of tribal peoples do not bring the people to life. The mythologies of the O'odham, Maricopa, and Yavapai bring their ancients to life, and we wonder, could the mythologies tell true deeds back to the time of the Hohokam? Could the Hohokam era of O'odham mythology, which is actually the bulk of their mythology, be true?

One conclusion we can safely draw is that the O'odhams' Hohokam tellings precluded the Maricopas and Yavapais from saying much about the Hohokam as a finished and *conquered* people. They defer to the O'odham on that, but their deference does not make any one O'odham account true. The choices are: conquest by O'odham, conquest by Spaniards, driven out by the Apaches, and no conquest at all. Here is my thinking as a secular historian (that I am white should not matter; the O'odham who practice secular thinking will probably think this way, too). Archaeology needs to tell us if there were any sharp material changes between the end of the Hohokam and the start of the O'odham. The less evident the changes, the more likely the Hohokam were O'odham. But archaeology should also tell us if sharp differences exist between the Hohokam and the ancestors of the Maricopas and Yavapais, on those parts of Hohokam territory where the Maricopa and Yavapai peoples now live or once lived. Obviously, the greater the differences the less likely the Hohokam were Maricopas or Yavapais.

Turning now to the conquest versions, if the Spanish had conquered the Hohokam, they would have written it down, so we can exclude that explanation. On the Apaches, said to be a cause of abandonment, I do not know but archaeologists may know when the Apache presence began: were there Hohokams then? Last are the internal conflict versions, of which there are three versions from the Pimas or Akimel O'odham and three from the Papagos or Tohono O'odham. Interestingly, essentially all of the battles in all of the accounts are set on the Gila River, in Pima territory. Thus there are no battles, or essentially none, in the Salt, San Pedro or Santa Cruz river valleys, or in the desert. More generally, I think we can say that the idea of an army of O'odham fighting the forces of a great many towns, or villages, is far fetched. Of course this does not mean that O'odham could not have replaced O'odham at the end of the Hohokam era, but how? And where did the replaced peoples go?

If a conquest is far fetched, where could the idea have come from? My idea is that Spain, Mexico, and the U.S. all preached pride in conquest to the O'odham. I suspect that by the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries the O'odham took up a Spanish conquest explanation for the Hohokam, and by the nineteenth century, when the U.S. came to the O'odham, some O'odham put themselves as the conquerors. In addition ancient Mexico is full of conquest accounts. Finally, why did the O'odham say they conquered O'odham? This is because all of the peoples in the region say their ancients were people like themselves. I imagine that before they settled on their final conquest story, the O'odham had many stories of ancient peoples like themselves. They retained them but hanged them on a new story line with two creator gods. At present those stories include one of a "witch" named Ho'ok, of an eagle that ate people, and stories of the origin of corn, tobacco, cactus wine ceremonies, and irrigation canals. In the internal conflict mythologies, all of these events occurred in the Hohokam era and, as usual in the region, the mortal people in them are "people like us." The only way they could be true to those stories and to celebrate themselves as conquerors, was to conquer themselves.

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Anthropologist Donald M. Bahr's professional associations have included Professor of Anthropology at Arizona State University and Research Associate with the University of Arizona's Southwest Center. A pre-eminent authority on the Tohono O'odham and Akimel O'odham (who are also known historically as the Pima and Papago Indians, respectively), Dr. Bahr has written extensively about O'odham oral literature, especially accounts of the world's creation and related events. His many publications include *Piman Shamanism and Staying Sickness* (with Juan Gregorio, David I. Lopez, and Albert Alvarez, University of Arizona Press, 1974); *Pima and Papago Ritual Oratory* (1975, Indian Historian Press); "Pima and Papago Social Organization" in the *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 10 (1983); *The Short, Swift Time of Gods on Earth: The Hohokam Chronicles* (with Julian Hayden, William Smith Allison, and Juan Smith, University of California Press, 1994); *Ants and Orioles: Showing the Art of Pima Poetry* (with Lloyd Paul and Vincent Joseph, University of Utah Press, 1997); *O'odham Creation and Related Events* (University of Arizona Press, 2000); and *O'odham Creation and Related Events* (with Ruth Fulton Benedict and William Blackwater, University of Arizona Press, 2001).



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CLASSES ON SOUTHWESTERN AND HOHOKAM PREHISTORY
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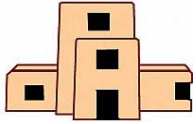
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