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7. Dexter Fisher, ed. "The Changing Woman: Navajo Origin Myth," *The Third Woman: Minority Women Writers of the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1980): 44.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Carroll: 72.
11. Ibid.

COMMENTARY

COMMENTS ON HENRY DOBYNS' "SIXTEENTH-CENTURY TUSAYAN"

BY ALBERT H. SCHROEDER†

In the 1991 spring issue of the *American Indian Quarterly* Henry Dobyns endeavors to identify thirty pueblos in the Tusayan (Hopi) Province at the time of Coronado's *entrada* of 1540-1542.[1] His contention is based on a single unsupported statement by Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas in his *Apolocetica Historia*, written between 1552 and 1563. In it he states there were thirty pueblos in Tusayan on the route west from Tigues (Tiwa Pueblo area along the Rio Grande).[2] This can only refer to the time of Coronado's entry of 1540-1542.

Henry R. Wagner, in his study of Casas' work,[3] points out that he rarely wrote as an eyewitness and that his material differs from the George Winship[4] as well as the George Hammond and Agapito Rey translations of the Coronado narratives.[5] The review herein of Dobyns' article notes that he makes assumptions, misreads or misinterprets documentary statements, disregards other pertinent documentary material and archaeological data, and contradicts himself in his attempt to demonstrate the presence of thirty Tusayan pueblos at the time of Coronado's exploration.

In his search for pueblos to add up to the 1540-1542 reported figure of seven Tusayan pueblos as given by Pedro Castañeda,[6] Dobyns incorporates a number of ruins in the Little Colorado drainage west of Zuni. Unfortunately, archaeological data indicate that his selected sites were abandoned 100 to 150 years prior to Coronado's time in the Southwest, as most of the sources in Dobyns' notes 7-13 record and Dobyns admits.[7] In spite of these earlier dates, Dobyns suggests that these pueblos survived into the middle 1500s.[8] With this as a base, he proceeds to build up his thirty Hopi pueblo hypothesis by including the riverine pueblo ruins west of Zuni in Tusayan.

Dobyns notes that Castañeda reports Tusayan as being twenty-five leagues from Zuni but does not describe the route. Though Dobyns also consults Baltasar de Obregon (a historian who did not take part in the early expeditions) for a description of the Zuni Pueblos, he omits reference to Obregon's description of the route–"From Cibola (Zuni) toward the northern border"–which points to the pueblos on Black Mesa where the historic period Hopis lived rather then to the west of Zuni.[9]

To further favor his Little Colorado River ruins as among the historic period pueblos of Tusayan, Dobyns refers to another of Obregon's statements indicating that after traveling forty leagues, Tovar "discovered the river and

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settlement of Tusayan."[10] This is a part of Obregon's description quoted above on the route being "toward the northern border." Dobyns certainly is selective in this case. He refers only to the part of the quote favoring his hypothesis but not to the part which gives the route.

In addition, Obregon's remark on Tovar's discovery of "the river and settlement of Tusayan," which Dobyns also used to support the Little Colorado River locale, is in error. Tovar only discovered the Tusayan pueblos in the present Hopi village area. Later, on the basis of information he received, Coronado sent Garcia de López de Cárdenas to examine the Colorado River in the Grand Canyon locale, a geographic feature that can in no way be duplicated along the Little Colorado River. Cárdenas traveled twenty days through uninhabited country from Hopi villages to the Grand Canyon,[11] a feasible time from Black Mesa but too much time from Dobyn's western Tusayan pueblos on Anderson Mesa southeast of Flagstaff. Thus, the river and settlements apply to two geographic areas and not to a river with associated pueblos. Obviously, Tovar at no time was "placing himself on the Little Colorado River among several riverine pueblos" as Dobyns maintains.[12]

In a further attempt to bolster his Little Colorado River locale, Dobyns uses a quote that he does not reference. It indicates that Tovar and his men, who arrive at night at the eastern pueblo (Awatovi) of Tusayan, concealed themselves under the edge of the village "where they heard the natives talking in their houses."[13] Dobyns interprets this as having taken place in the Little Colorado Valley because Spanish lancers could hardly have ridden up Antelope Mesa's escarpment at night without being heard.[14] Castañeda's statement is more specific in that "they were able to conceal themselves at the bottom of the gulley (Jeddito Wash) of the town and remain there, listening to the natives talk in their homes."[15] Thus, Tovar and his men were in the plain below Antelope Mesa.

Also, as a part of this episode, after discovering the Spaniards the following morning, the people of the pueblo "formed their ranks and set out after them."[16] The mounted Spaniards on the plain charged and dispersed them. Such a situation, Dobyns suggests, probably occurred on the flood plain of the Little Colorado River because the mounted Spaniards could not have charged effectively up the Antelope Mesa Escarpment.[17] As Castaneda reports, the Indians set out after the Spaniards on the plain.

To explain the decrease in the number of pueblos (actually abandoned before Coronado appeared) along the Little Colorado drainage, Dobyns speculates that the Spanish-introduced diseases of the early 1500s in Mexico spread into the Southwest and Tusayan area. He speculates the pueblos were abandoned during a 1524 smallpox and a 1533 measles epidemic.[18] This immediately would lower the figure of the thirty pueblos but *prior to* Coronado's entry of 1540, which is not what the Casas statement says. "There were up to 30 pueblos" on the route west from Tigues.

While the pueblos suffered through many epidemics of European diseases up through the 1600s and 1700s, we do not have a single reference to a pueblo being abandoned as a result of disease.[19] Dobyns originally assumed there were thirty pueblos in Tusayan on the basis of Casas' statement. When Coronado

arrived in 1540, Dobyns mentions only seven pueblos.[20] He does not say what happened to the other twenty-three (or sixteen if seven were on Black Mesa). Moreover, he disposes of an unknown number of pueblos because of disease, but prior to Coronado's entry. Where are his other twenty-three pueblos of Casas on the route west of the Tigues?

As a further attempt to support his Little Colorado Valley locale of some pueblos of Tusayan, Dobyns notes the Zuni reference to the Hopis in 1581-1582 as being in the valley of Osay. The name seems to have been derived from the Asa clan which migrated from the Chama Valley of New Mexico to settle in part at Awatovi on Antelope Mesa. This was the valley of Osay (Jeddito Wash), not the Little Colorado River Valley. The 1581-1582 reference suggests that the Asa clan arrived among the Hopis prior to that date rather than my estimated date of the 1590s to 1605.[21]

Dobyns turns to Antonio de Espejo's rather loose 1582-1583 coverage of his exploration in the Southwest[22] to extract more data relevant to his proposed historic period riverine pueblos. Unfortunately, he does not make much use of Diego Perez de Luxan's more detailed account of daily events.[23] Espejo records five Mohoce (Hopi) pueblos but not on the Little Colorado River as Dobyns claims.[24] Luxan describes Mohoce and Aguato (Awatovi) as being five days from Zuni cross-country via waterholes and small marshes,[25] not by Dobyns' proposed route going downstream along the Little Colorado.[26]

Dobyns' proposed locale of the riverine pueblos on the Little Colorado River drainage certainly does not jibe with Luxan's description of Espejo's route from Mohoce to the mines in central Arizona. He states they marched five leagues on the first day finding insufficient water for the horses. On the second day they made another ten leagues and reached a fine river which flows from south to north. They spent an additional two days enroute to the mines passing through cedar forests inhabited by mountain people.[27]

The river mentioned was the Little Colorado which flows southeast to northwest, or perhaps south to north at the locale where they crossed it. Espejo, according to Luxan, did not go downstream from Aguato pueblo enroute to the Verde Valley. This also demonstrates a loose use by Spaniards in dealing with directions as so often occurs in the documents. South can mean anything from southeast to southwest and north between northeast and northwest.[28] Espejo's stated travel directly west from Tusayan to the mines[29] thus probably included the southwestern line of the route rather than Dobyns' literal interpretation of west.[30]

Another problem Dobyns has is with the identification of the Black Mesa pueblos.[31] The only pueblos seen by the Spainards on the mesa tops in 1540 were Oraibi and Awatovi. The explorers were recording the Native names for all the villages, including those located by springs on the side of First and Second Mesas, either on a terrace or open space.[32] The pueblos of these two mesas moved to the mesa tops in the late 1600s due to Ute and Navajo pressures.[33] As they moved they retained the same names recorded by the Spaniards for the pueblos below the mesa tops, names which are still in use today. The Hopis today refer to these earlier pueblos by different place names.

Sikyatki Pueblo, on First Mesa slopes, to which Dobyns refers, was

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abandoned in late prehistoric times.[34] It would not have been seen, as Dobyns claims,[35] by Espejo if he rode from Awatovi to Old Walpi (Kuchaptuvela as it is known today). The latter was below First Mesa on the west side in Espejo's day and Sikyatki in the same type of locale on the east side, and much farther to the north.[36]

In attempting to identify locales or pueblos, Dobyns uses distances given by Espejo, a hazardous endeavor at best. Somehow he concludes that two closely situated (prehistoric) sites, Homolovi I and II, both accessible on the sandy plains of the Little Colorado, were the two pueblos referred to in the documents. He overlooks the fact that Luxan states that these two, about one-half league apart, were "in two very stony sierras [mesas] which the horses mount with great difficulty."[37] These were Shungopavi and Mishongnovi.

Dobyns reasons that since Espejo does not report the distance the people of Aguato Pueblo traveled to meet the Spaniards at the ruined eastern pueblo and did not state that his party visited Aguato, then the pueblo was not Awatovi. However, Espejo states that at Aguato "there I made presents to the chiefs."[38] In spite of the above, Dobyns contradicts himself, stating that the ruined pueblo was one Espejo league from Aguato, though Espejo does not so state. Again, Dobyns disregards Luxan's report which is quite clear in placing the ruined pueblo one league from Aguato and that they indeed did visit Aguato.[39] Dobyns identifies the eastern ruin as Chevelon Ruin, a prehistoric site far to the west on a southern tributary of the Little Colorado River.[40]

Dobyns suggests that Hopi plantings below Black Mesa sites would not mature as fast as crops on the sandy terraces of the Little Colorado[41] which locales would only be slightly lower than those by Black Mesa. He bases this on the presence of roasting ears of corn among the food given to the Spaniards, suggesting that such ears at Black Mesa would not be available by April 20. Luxan specifically states "green corn" and further notes that the people of Mahoce planted in sandy places "because they carefully guard [protect] the moisture from the sun."[42] Dobyns suggests irrigation was practiced among the Little Colorado sites, and they could have used fast-growing sixty-day corn that could have been planted in March in order to provide roasting ears to the Spaniards.[43] The same could be said for Black Mesa corn without irrigation.

The list of nine names given in 1598 by Juan de Oñate in referring to the Hopis, to which Dobyns refers,[44] does not represent pueblos only. The document lists five names, one of which is Aguatuyba (Awatovi) followed by "chiefs" of the pueblos of the province named Oraybi (Oraibi), Xumupavi (Shungopavi), Cuauabi, and Esperez.[45] This list does not contain all of the names identifiable as Black Mesa pueblos. Walpi is missing, unless it is Cuauabi. Since Luxan in 1582 stated that "every pueblo in this province is ruled by three or four caciques,"[46] the unidentifiable names on this muddled list must be some of the chiefs and not four riverine pueblos as Dobyns suggests.[47]

I find these manipulations of the data by Dobyns unacceptable:

—The questionable interpretation of documentary material relating to the locales of the Tusayan pueblos;

—The moving of the sites abandoned in prehistoric to historic times, and;

—His suggestion that the ceramic chronological markers of prehistoric times be redated into historic times to reflect his reconstruction.

There is no evidence to support the idea that there were thirty pueblos in Tusayan in 1540-1542 or later. Nor is there any evidence to support Dobyns' contention that European disease brought about abandonment of Tusayan pueblos in the first half of the 1500s. The riverine pueblos of the Little Colorado River drainage had been abandoned in the early 1400s.

In short, I do not consider Dobyns' expanded Tusayan as outlined in his article as a viable alternative to the accepted historical interpretations advanced by various historians, namely that Tusayan was restricted to the Black Mesa area. Perhaps Casas had access to Castañeda's list of pueblos before it was written and distributed, or from another source familiar with the Coronado expedition. Casas mentions two provinces, that of the Tigues (Tiwa) on the Rio Grande and Tusayan to the west. One could play around with Castañeda's list and include all pueblos to the west of the Tigues Province–Tusayan 7, Acoma 1, Jemez 7, Aguas Calientes 3, Zia 1, 4 Keres pueblos on the Rio Salado, and Zuni 7 (not on the list but mentioned elsewhere)–to arrive at a total of thirty pueblos for Tusayan Province.[48]

NOTES

1. Dobyns, Henry F., "Sixteenth-Century Tusayan." *American Indian Quarterly*, xv:2 (1991), 187-199.
2. Ibid., 187, 195.
3. Wagner, Henry R., with collaboration of Helen Rand Parish, *The Life and Writings of Bartolomé de las Casas*. University of New Mexico Press, 1961, 201-202.
4. Winship, George Parker, "Coronado Expedition 1540-1542," in *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, D.C. Government *Printing* Office, 1896, 239-598.
5. Hammond, George P., and Agapito Rey, Narratives of the *Coronado Expedition 1540-1542*. University of New Mexico Press, 1940.
6. Ibid., 259.
7. Dobyns, 1991, 187-190.
8. Ibid., 190, 195. See his map on 188.
9. Hammond, George P., and Agapito Rey, *Obreaon's History of 16th Century Expeditions in Western America, 1584*, Los Angeles, Wetzel Publishing Co., 1928, 21.
10. Ibid., 21-22.
11. Hammond and Rey, 1940, 214-215.
12. Dobyns, 1991, 191.
13. Ibid., 190.
14. Ibid., 190.
15. Hammond and Rey, 1940, 214.
16. Ibid.
17. Dobyns, 1991, 190.
18. Ibid., 191.
19. Schroeder, Albert H., "Protohistoric Pueblo Demographic Changes." In *Current Research on the Late Prehistory and Early History of New Mexico*, ed. Bradley J. Vierra, New Mexico Archaeological Council Special Publication No. 1, 29-35, 1992, 34.
20. Dobyns, 1991, 191.
21. Schroeder, Albert H., "Hopi Traditions and Rio Grande Pueblo Migrations." In Prehistory and History in the Southwest, ed. Nancy Fox, *Archaeological Society of New Mexico Papers*: 11, 105-112, 1985, 108.
22. Hammond, George P., and Agapito Rey, "Report of the Expedition which Antonio de Espejo Made at the Close of 1582." In *The Rediscovery of New Mexico*, University of New Mexico Press, 213-231, 1966.
23. Hammond, George P., and Agapito Rey, *Expedition Made by Antonio de Espejo,*

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1582-1583, as Revealed in the Journal of Diego Perez de Luxan. Quivira Society Publications, Vol. I, Los Angeles, 1929.

24. Dobyns, 1991, 191-192.
25. Hammond and Rey, 1929, 94.
26. Dobyns, 1991, 192-193.
27. Hammond and Rey, 1929, 104-105.
28. Schroeder, Albert H., "A Reanalysis of the Routes of Coronado and Oñate into the Plains in 1541 and 1601." *Plains Anthropologist*, Vol. 7, 2-23, (1965), 15.
29. Hammond and Rey, 1966, 227.
30. Dobyns, 1991, 192.
31. Ibid., 193.
32. Schroeder, 1985, see map. See also Brew, J. O., "Hopi Prehistory and History to 1850." In *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 9, Southwest, ed. Alfonso Ortiz, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., 514-523, 1979, 522.
33. Schroeder, 1985, 108, and map.
34. Brew, 1979, 516.
35. Dobyns, 1991, 193.
36. Schroeder, 1985, see map.
37. Dobyns, 1991, 194; Hammond and Rey, 1929, 101-102.
38. Dobyns, 1991, 192; Bolton, Herbert Eugene, "The Espejo Expedition." In *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest 1542-1706*, Barnes and Noble, Inc., 168-194, 1952, 186.
39. Hammond and Rey, 1929, 96-97.
40. Dobyns, 1991, 192-193; Hammond and Rey, 1966, 226.
41. Dobyns, 1991, 193.
42. Hammond and Rey, 1929, 100.
43. Dobyns, 1991, 193.
44. Ibid., 195.
45. Hammond, George P., and Agapito Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico 1598-1628.* University of New Mexico Press, 1953, 360.
46. Hammond and Rey, 1929, 103.
47. Dobyns, 1991, 195.
48. Hammond and Rey, 1940, 208, 259.

RESPONSE

SUPERHUMAN HEARING, SUPERHORSES, AND MIRACULOUS MAIZE

BY HENRY F. DOBYNS

Albert H. Schroeder has published numerous papers concerning the prehistory and history of various peoples native to the Southwestern United States. In other words, he has a position to defend in his comments on "Sixteenth-Century Tusayan."

Predictably, Schroeder adheres to previously accepted wisdom, much of it his. In doing so, Schroeder accuses me of several analytical shortcomings. Most of them actually are analytical shortcomings of Schroeder's own publications that my article attempted to remedy by presenting previously overlooked and/or ignored historical information describing Tusayan during the sixteenth century.

The disagreement between Schroeder and Dobyns reflects several broad issues that have arisen in reconstructing the history and prehistory of Native Americans. One of these broad issues is the correct chronology of demographic and cultural change. An indicator of chronological confusion is Schroeder's use of "prehistoric" without temporally defining the divide between "prehistoric" and "historic."

In contrast, "Sixteenth-Century Tusayan" employs documentary information to date Hopi habitation in thirty-plus settlements or pueblos to that century. Schroeder objects that "archaeological data indicate" that these former communities were abandoned 100 to 150 years before 1540. Archaeological "data" do no such thing. Archeographers[1] have guessed (my term) and assumed (Schroeder's term) that Natives abandoned them before the sixteenth century. Archeographers have guessed because residual physical data provide precious few clues to dating abandonments. As for actual data, Hopi potters continued making types of Jeddito Yellow Ware ceramic vessels recovered from the former pueblos until A.D. 1625.

Thereafter, Hopi potters turned out Franciscan mission period San Bernardo Polychrome instead of Sikyatki Polychrome and Jeddito black-on-yellow vessels.[2] The seventeenth century certainly qualifies as "historic times" in Tusayan. Because Europeans influenced Hopi potters to convert traditional decorative styles into mission period designs–a rather less than instantaneous process–I suggested that the transition dated nearer 1650 than 1625.[3]

Another broad issue is historical text criticism. As Patricia Galloway eloquently pointed out, too many scholars have too often taken documentary statements at face value.[4] "Sixteenth-Century Tusayan" engages, therefore, in Spanish colonial text evaluation (without explicitly saying so). Crucial to that analysis is the fact that both Bartolome de las Casas and Baltasar de Obregon wrote

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