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The Geography of Rio Grande Pueblos Revealed by Spanish Explorers, 1540-1598

Elinore M. Barrett

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Revealed by Spanish Explorers, 1540-1598

Elinore M. Barrett
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Revealed by Spanish Explorers, 1540-1598

by

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Department of Geography
University of New Mexico
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INTRODUCTION

Scholarly and popular interest in the Pueblo settlements of the American Southwest has persisted for well over a century and has given rise to innumerable studies carried out to satisfy these interests. The present study focuses on the theme of settlement geography and involves an attempt to identify the pueblos of the Rio Grande Region that were occupied during the period of Spanish exploration, 1540-1598, before that pattern began to be altered by the impact of subsequent Spanish settlement. It is in this sense that the term geography is used, rather than in its wider meaning that would include consideration of how Pueblo peoples made use of the resources available in their natural environment and how they interacted with groups outside their area. The purpose here is to provide a baseline location pattern as a point of departure for further studies, including changes in settlement that affected Pueblo societies prior to Spanish conquest as well as those that followed from it. Previous works have dealt with parts of the region or the reports of a single exploratory expedition. This study is the first to present an overview of settlement in the entire region using the reports of all of the sixteenth century Spanish expeditions. The area of the Rio Grande Region is shown on Map 1.

### TABLE 1. Spanish Expeditions to New Mexico, 1540-1598

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EXPEDITION</th>
<th>PERIOD IN NEW MEXICO</th>
<th>NO. OF SPANISH MEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coronado</td>
<td>7/1540-4/1542</td>
<td>21 mos. 350*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamuscado</td>
<td>8/1581-1/1582</td>
<td>5 mos. 12b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Espejo</td>
<td>2/1583-7/1583</td>
<td>5 mos. 16c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castaño</td>
<td>12/1590-6/1591</td>
<td>7 mos. *d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morlete</td>
<td>3/1591-6/1591</td>
<td>4 mos. 43d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leyva-Humaña</td>
<td>1593</td>
<td>1 year n.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oñate</td>
<td>5/1598</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* estimated.
** 160-170 estimated total including men, women, and children.

a Hammond and Rey, 1940:7, 9, 103; Riley, 1995:155, 296.
b Hammond and Rey, 1966:8, 69.
d Hammond and Rey, 1968:36, 39, 289, 294; Schroeder and Matson, 1965:11.
e Hammond and Rey, 1968:43-46.
f Hammond and Rey, 1968:49, 323.
g Hammond and Rey, 1963:14, 16, 289-300, 390.

Greatly exaggerated reports received by Spanish authorities in Mexico City about the settled agricultural villages in what came to be known as New Mexico led them to launch a full-scale expedition to explore the area. This expedition, headed by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, was the first to penetrate Rio Grande Pueblo territory and was followed by six others in the ensuing fifty-eight years (Table 1). Reports with useful information about settlements were produced by members of all except the Morlete and Leyva-Humaña expeditions. Failure to find new sources of wealth and a disabling accident that befell Coronado brought an end to his expedition and, apparently, to Spanish interest in New Mexico; but knowledge of a numerous settled population remained, offering an opportunity for spreading Christianity. This challenge was taken up forty years later when an expedition, jointly led by fray Agustín Rodríguez and Captain Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado, engaged in both proselytizing and exploration. Growing hostility by local people who resented their demands for food prompted withdrawal after a few months, although Rodríguez and another priest insisted on remaining behind. To investigate reports that they had been killed was the reason for sending another expedition to New Mexico. A small party under the leadership of Antonio de Espejo reached Pueblo country a
year later, following the same route up the Rio Grande. After confirming that the priests had been killed and unsuccessfully exploring the region for mines, they returned to New Spain via the Pecos River.

Despite such disappointments, the perception of New Mexico as an attractive place persisted and seven years later lured a group of colonists, who had become discontented with the poverty of resources in their province of Nuevo León, to set out for New Mexico, although they did not have permission from authorities in Mexico City. The leader, Gaspar Castañón de Sosa, and a small advance party was able to explore part of the region before they were arrested by Juan Morlete who had been sent to apprehend the colonists and return them to New Spain. This arrest did not deter Captain Francisco Levya de Bonilla and Antonio Gutiérrez de Humaña from making another unauthorized entrada two years later. A Mexican survivor of this expedition reported later to Juan de Oñate that they spent about a year exploring Pueblo country, making their headquarters at San Ildefonso Pueblo. While exploring the eastern plains all members of this expedition were killed except Oñate's informant, eliminating the possibility of a report that could have added much valuable information about Pueblo settlements. Finally, five years later in 1598 an authorized colonizing expedition arrived in New Mexico. The initial exploration of the region carried out by its leader, Juan de Oñate, provides additional settlement data as do the lists of pueblos to which he assigned priests and the lists of pueblos from which he obtained pledges of loyalty. One of his soldiers, Juan Rodríguez, returned to Mexico City in 1602 and provided the cosmographer Enrico Martínez with information for a map of New Mexico for use by the viceroy. A redrawn version of this map, Map 2 of this study, will be referred to as the 1602 map.²

Although the Spanish explorers did not find the fabulous cities initially sought, they were favorably impressed with the Pueblo settlements, especially as they contrasted them to those of the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples of surrounding areas. What the Spaniards encountered in the Rio Grande Region was a type of sedentary society composed of a number of linguistically distinct peoples who shared some basic characteristics. They lived in villages, in substantial, well-built houses and sustained themselves principally by the crops they grew in their fields. They clothed themselves with cloth woven from the cotton they raised. They made fine pottery as well as utility types in which to store the surpluses of maize (corn) and other foods they produced. Many aspects of their way of life were derived from the cultures of the Anasazi people of the San Juan Basin to the northwest and the Mogollon people to the southwest who, in turn, were influenced by the Mesoamerican civilization of central Mexico.

At the time they were first contacted by Spaniards, the Pueblo peoples of the Rio Grande Region were experiencing an era of cultural florescence according to scholars who named the period—which began about 1300/1325—the Classic Period.³ They lived in clusters of terraced multistory roomblocks separated by plazas which contained subterranean religious structures called kivas. Some of the largest pueblos contained more than one thousand ground floor rooms. These large pueblos, surrounded by extensive areas of garden plots and numerous small, seasonally occupied fieldhouses were distinctive features of Classic Period settlements by the early fifteenth century. They rarely occupied defensive sites but were typically located on the margins of river floodplains where conditions were more favorable for agriculture than in previous upland locations. Such large pueblos were the result not only of population growth but of a trend toward abandoning smaller pueblos and aggregating into larger communities. The implication is that methods of food production, trade networks, and techniques of social integration were adequate to maintain such population concentrations. However, settlement instability within the region continued. A number of areas were abandoned after the mid-fifteenth century, and elsewhere even large pueblos were frequently deserted, with some partially reoccupied later. Of the 295 pueblos established in the Rio Grande Region at various times during the Classic Period (1300-1600), 93, and possibly 102, were occupied at some time during the contact period.⁴

It was this late Classic Period society that Spanish explorers encountered, adding their
own element of instability—although their impact on the overall Pueblo settlement pattern was slight. Major change came with permanent Spanish colonization that was initiated in 1598.

GENERAL SETTLEMENT PATTERN

By the sixteenth century the greatest concentration of settled farming villages in the American Southwest was in the Rio Grande Region. Some ninety-three pueblos were located in an area that stretched 215 miles along the Rio Grande rift valley from Taos Pueblo on the north to Senecu on the south, in addition to outlying areas to the east and west (Map 1). Fortye-four of these contact period pueblos were located along the margins of the Rio Grande floodplain in the several structural basins through which the river flows. The majority of these riverine pueblos were in the central and southern parts of the region, in the Albuquerque and Socorro basins. North of the Albuquerque Basin most of the pueblos, some twenty-eight, were located along tributary streams that drain the slopes of the southernmost ranges of the Rocky Mountains: the Sangre de Cristo Mountains on the east and the Jemez Mountains on the west. Some fifty miles to the west of the Rio Grande one lone pueblo, Acoma, was still occupied in the contact period. The remaining twenty were located east of the Rio Grande, mainly in the Galisteo and Estancia basins, in addition to four on the periphery of the Sandia Mountains and one, Pecos, forty miles east of the Rio Grande.

An additional nine pueblos might have been occupied at some time during the contact period but were not mentioned by any of the explorers. Archeological evidence supports the possibility that on the Pajarito Plateau, on the eastern side of the Jemez Mountains, as many as six pueblos continued to be occupied in addition to three in the Rio Salado drainage west of the Socorro Basin. Also within the Rio Grande Region were several “empty” areas where substantial and lengthy Pueblo settlement had come to an end prior to 1540. They include the Chupadera Basin, Rio Puerco Valley, Las Huertas Canyon, Santa Fe River Valley, and Santa Cruz River Valley. The numerous pueblos in the Chama Basin have been considered abandoned by the end of the fifteenth century, but the explorers provide some limited evidence that such was not entirely true.

Within the Rio Grande Region the general settlement pattern consisted of loose groupings of linguistically related pueblos that occupied specific drainage areas. The pueblos reported by the explorers fall into ten such subregions in addition to the isolated pueblos of Acoma and Pecos. These subregions are shown on Map 1, where pueblos mentioned by explorers are correlated with known archeological sites (see Maps 3-7 for identification of pueblos). These correlations have been made with varying degrees of certainty because neither the information provided by the explorers nor the dating of the sites is precise enough to make unqualified identifications in all cases. Despite problems with the documentary and archeological data, there is enough agreement between the two to construct a credible approximation of the Pueblo settlement pattern of the Rio Grande Region during the contact period. The pattern of settlement in each subregion is discussed in the following sections in which Tables 2 through 10 show the pueblos reported by each explorer and those on the 1602 map. These tables also reveal which areas were not visited by individual explorers and, to some extent, when during the contact period the pueblos were occupied, including which were inhabited throughout the period.

REGIONAL SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Southern Rio Grande

This southernmost subregion of Rio Grande pueblos was occupied by Piro people who lived in nine pueblos located along a fifty-seven-mile stretch of the river centered on the Socorro Basin (Map 3, Table 2).
Table 2. Pueblos Reported by Sixteenth Century Spanish Explorers: Southern Rio Grande Subregion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PUEBLO</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>LA NO.</th>
<th>CORONADO</th>
<th>CHAMUSCADO</th>
<th>ESPEJO</th>
<th>CASTAÑO</th>
<th>OÑATE</th>
<th>1602</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>774</td>
<td>Sevilleta</td>
<td>T. de Puila</td>
<td>N. Sevilla</td>
<td>N. Sevilla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alamillo</td>
<td></td>
<td>El Oso</td>
<td>791</td>
<td>791</td>
<td>ruín</td>
<td>ruín</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td>El Oso</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>El Oso</td>
<td>ruín</td>
<td>Teypama</td>
<td>Socorro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td>El Oso</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>El Oso</td>
<td>ruín</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Las Cañas</td>
<td></td>
<td>Piña</td>
<td>755</td>
<td>Piña</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualacu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Plastla</td>
<td>757</td>
<td>Plastla</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Señora</td>
<td>19266</td>
<td>San Juan</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>San Juan</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Pascual</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiffany</td>
<td></td>
<td>S. Miguel</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>S. Miguel</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senecu</td>
<td></td>
<td>S. Felipe</td>
<td>755</td>
<td>S. Felipe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milligan</td>
<td></td>
<td>ruin</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>ruín</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4b</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>incomplete</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* New Mexico State Laboratory of Anthropology site number.
* Incomplete. Reported by one of Coronado's officers who visited only the northern part of the Piro province.

Coronado, who initially reached the Rio Grande farther north, sent one of his officers into what was probably Piro territory but this foray produced no information that would help identify Piro pueblos. The full extent of the subregion was first explored some forty years later by the Chamuscado expedition which moved north through it in August 1581. Eighteen months later in February 1583 the Espejo expedition covered the same route. Reports from these two expeditions provide the best historical information about the Piro pueblos. Hernán Gallegos of the former and Diego Pérez de Luxán of the latter both kept diaries of their journeys, each providing somewhat different types of information which together help identify the nine Piro pueblos occupied at that time. Gallegos named the pueblos encountered by the Chamuscado expedition, giving the number of houses in each, the side of the river on which they were located, and the site characteristics of some. He did not give distances between pueblos, but that information was, in most instances, supplied by Luxán of the Espejo expedition.

Both expeditions encountered the first inhabited pueblo, which each called San Felipe, at the Senecu site on the west side of the Rio Grande opposite Black Mesa. Both had previously passed a ruined pueblo two leagues (6 miles) to the south at Milligan Gulch (LA 597) and Luxán noted another three leagues below that near a place he called El Malpais. From Senecu Espejo and his party spent the next three days travelling north along the river they called the Rio del Norte, passing five pueblos and naming the last and largest one El Gallo. El Gallo may well be the pueblo Gallegos called Piña, the one that he, also, noted was the largest in this area. He said it was located in a large meadow formed by the river, which he called the Guadalquivir, on its east side, a description that fits the Las Cañas (LA 755) site. The four unnamed pueblos that Luxán mentioned between his San Felipe (Senecu) and El Gallo (Las Cañas) probably occupied sites which conform to the sides of the river on which Gallegos also placed four pueblos. They were: Tiffany (LA 244) and Nuestra Señora (LA 19266) on the west side and San Pascual (LA 487) and Qualacu (LA 757) on the east side.

North from the Las Cañas site (El Gallo/Piña) Espejo’s party moved quickly past four...
large ruined pueblos and a small inhabited one before stopping to camp, a distance of five leagues (15 miles) that would have brought them to the vicinity of the Alamillo Pueblo site. Gallegos did not mention any ruined pueblos above his Piña Pueblo but noted that farther up, on the side of the Sierra Morena (Manzano Mountains), was a small pueblo he called Elota, one that could have been at the Alamillo site. The best candidates for the ruined pueblos are Teypama (LA 282), Pilabo (LA 791), and El Barro (LA 283), all west side pueblos, but a fourth site cannot be identified.

Leaving his camp above Alamillo, Espejo led his expedition north three leagues (9 miles) to a campsite he called El Término de Puala. It was located between two masonry pueblos, one midsized and one small, that were two “harquebus shots” apart. Given the distance up river, this place was likely near the Sevilleta site (LA 774) and marked the frontier between Piro territory and that of the Southern Tiwa to the north. Puala refers to Puaray, the name of an important Tiwa pueblo and the name sometimes also given to the Tiwa province as a whole. Identification of the second pueblo near El Término de Puala with a site cannot be made but there is good correlation with the pueblos Gallegos lists north of his Elota (Alamillo site). They also are on the east side and consist of two located near each other: one medium-sized on a high hill (El Oso) and the other small and in a bend in the river (La Pedrosa). The former could fit the description of Sevilleta, with the smaller unidentifiable.

Fifteen years later when Oñate and his advance party travelled up river through Piro territory, the first landmark mentioned was Black Mesa, his Mesa de Guinea, located on the east side of the Rio Grande, which he called the Río del Norte. He continued up that side of the river, passing by one pueblo before stopping to camp near a second he called Qualacu (LA 757). The first, unnamed, pueblo was undoubtedly San Pascual (LA 487). He then went on, mentioning that his party camped opposite Teypama (LA 282), a west side pueblo whose inhabitants brought them provisions for which their pueblo also gained the name Socorro. They next camped in a small pueblo they called Nueva Sevilla which, like many of the Piro pueblos they had passed, was deserted—desertions occasioned by the appearance of Spaniards. Although Oñate did not mention all of the pueblos along his route, documents associated with his expedition indicate that most of the pueblos occupied in the 1580s were still occupied in 1598. Oñate’s list of 44 Atzigues (Piro) pueblos is not very helpful because it contains many duplications and mistakes, but it does confirm that Senecu was still then occupied. The pueblo “Tzenaquel de la Mesilla” noted as the southernmost settlement, is a clear reference to Senecu whose Piro name was Tzen-no-cue.

The 1602 map, based on a report by one of Oñate’s men who returned to New Spain that year, gives a more complete accounting of Piro pueblos (Map 2). On the west side of the Rio Grande are three pueblo symbols that could well indicate Senecu, Tiffany (LA 244), and Nuestra Señora (LA 19266), and above them Oñate’s Socorro (Teypama, LA 282) is named. On the east side of the river one of the southernmost pueblos is named Calico (LA 757) and the other below it is most certainly San Pascual (LA 487). North of these two pueblos is a considerable gap before reaching Nueva Sevilla (Sevilleta, LA 774) and two other unnamed pueblos. The one to the south might be Alamillo and the other the unidentifiable pueblo close to Sevilleta. Seemingly, the only changes from the settlement pattern of the 1580s took place in the central part of Piro territory with the reoccupation of Teypama (LA 282) and abandonment of Las Cañas (LA 755). Settlement in this mostly uninhabited part of the subregion with its four large ruined pueblos appears to have been quite unstable compared with areas to the north and south, except the extreme south where ruined pueblos were also noted. There has been speculation that abandonment of pueblos might have been caused by epidemics of European diseases that reached the area even before the Spaniards arrived or by the depredations of non-Pueblo peoples but, as yet, evidence to support these or other explanations is inadequate.

In contrast to the nine Piro pueblos contacted by the various Spanish expeditions, the Piros themselves claimed that their nation consisted of twenty-odd pueblos. Although this
number might have included some abandoned pueblos, it raises the question of where the additional pueblos were located. A clue is provided by Espejo who, besides reporting ten inhabited pueblos located close to the river on both sides, said there were others off the beaten track. Presumably this would mean away from the river and possibly some of the twenty-plus pueblos claimed by the Piros were so located. Sites in the Rio Salado drainage area to the west and the Chupadera Basin to the east might have been included in their figure. No settlements in these areas were reported by Spaniards but archeological evidence suggests that in the former three pueblos were inhabited in the contact period: Magdalena (LA 284), Bear Mountain (LA 285), and Silver Creek (LA 20954). Because evidence is less clear for the Chupadera Basin pueblos, it cannot be known with any certainty if any pueblos were occupied in the contact period. If they were not, the basin would be one of a number of areas with significant Pueblo settlement that had been abandoned before the Spanish entrada.

Estancia Basin

East of the Rio Grande and its bordering Sandia-Manzano Mountains lies an extensive basin of internal drainage, an old Pleistocene lake bed that contains large salt flats. Around its western and southern margins Spanish explorers found eleven pueblos (Map 4, Table 3). Although no member of the Coronado expedition seems to have visited these pueblos, four of the seven pueblos Coronado associated with his "snowy mountains" (Sandia-Manzano Mountains) might have been the Estancia Basin pueblos located east of the Manzanos: Chilili (LA 874), Tajique (LA 381), and the two somewhat smaller unnamed pueblos located between them (LA 371 and LA 372). Quarai, the fifth pueblo in this area, might not have been occupied in the 1540s. Archeological evidence indicates that it was inhabited only intermittently during the sixteenth century. The pueblos at the southern end of the basin apparently escaped the notice of Coronado, although this seems odd in view of the extensive exploration he carried out in the Rio Grande Region and beyond during the two years his expedition was in the Southwest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PUEBLO</th>
<th>LA NO.</th>
<th>CORONADO</th>
<th>CHAMUSCADO</th>
<th>ESPEJO</th>
<th>CASTAÑO</th>
<th>OÑATE</th>
<th>1602</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chilili</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td>Zacatula</td>
<td>1582-1583</td>
<td>1598</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td>Ruiseco</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td>La Mesa</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajique</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td>La Joya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quarai</td>
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<td>Francavilla</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Abbo</td>
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<td>120</td>
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<td>Cueloze</td>
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<td>Pardo</td>
<td>83</td>
<td></td>
<td>Patasci</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanco</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
<td>Xenopuy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>476</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
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a New Mexico State Laboratory of Anthropology site number.
b Four of the seven pueblos Coronado associated with the "snowy mountains" but did not visit.
c These eleven pueblos in addition to Paa-ko and San Antonio were the 13 reported in the area south of the Galisteo Basin.
d Espejo reported 11 pueblos in his Magrias province, two of which he visited.
The first Spaniards who actually came to the Estancia Basin were members of the Chamuscado expedition. They travelled "behind the Sierra Morena" (Manzano Mountains) to investigate the salt deposits and while in the vicinity visited and named five pueblos. These were probably the four pueblos Coronado referred to as "on the plain," with the fifth being Quarai which at this time might have been reoccupied. At Quarai they were informed about three very large pueblos farther south, but they did not go on to contact them because it was snowing heavily. These pueblos were likely Las Humanas (LA 120), Pueblo Blanco (LAs1), and Pueblo Colorado (LA 476).

Two other very large contemporaneous pueblos, Abo (LA 97) and Tenabo (200), were seemingly ignored by the informants at Quarai. Another settlement, Pueblo Pardo (LA 83), located just south of Las Humanas was probably occupied at that time also. That there were eleven pueblos in the Estancia Basin at the time of Chamuscado's visit is reinforced by information he received earlier at a pueblo in the Santo Domingo Basin called La Barranca. He was told about thirteen pueblos that lay three days' travel up the river and to the south. Because he had previously accounted for pueblos along the Rio Grande and in the Galisteo Basin, it is likely that these thirteen pueblos were located east of the Sandia and Manzano ranges. Two were probably east of the Sandia and outside the Estancia Basin: Paa-ko (LA 162) and San Antonio (LA 24); the remaining eleven were the pueblos of the Estancia Basin.

A year and a half later Espejo broke his journey northward at Término de Puala to visit pueblos in the Estancia Basin. Travelling ten leagues (30 miles) from his camp on the Rio Grande, he reached a pueblo which was probably Abo and on his return trip the next day stopped at another which was undoubtedly Tenabo. He reported that the province, which he called Maguas/Magrias, consisted of eleven pueblos, a number that accords with the information Chamuscado obtained as well as with the archeological evidence. The Castañón de Sosa expedition did not visit or report on the Estancia Basin. Oñate entered it from the north, passing through the pueblos east of the Manzanos which he called the salinas pueblos, before reaching Abo and then going on to three other pueblos which were probably Las Humanas, Pueblo Blanco, and Pueblo Colorado. Apparently, the smaller Pueblo Pardo was again ignored by the Spaniards. Oñate named the three pueblos, one of which he described as very large: Cueloze/Quelotezei, Xenopue/Genobey, and Patasci/Pataotze. Because it was at Cueloze that he received the oath of loyalty from pueblos in the area, it must have been the largest and, therefore, Las Humanas. The 1602 map does not show any pueblos in the area of the Estancia Basin, a major omission on what is otherwise a reasonably accurate map.

**Middle Rio Grande**

Spanish explorers found the largest number of inhabited pueblos in this centrally located part of the Rio Grande Region, the Albuquerque-Belen Basin. Within the basin, the largest in the Rio Grande rift system, twenty to twenty-two pueblos were located along a sixty mile stretch of the river between the Rio Puerco confluence on the south and the Jemez River junction on the north. Within this territory of the Southern Tiwa people, twelve to thirteen pueblos were clustered within a fifteen- to twenty-mile distance at its northern end, with the other eight or nine spaced irregularly over the southern two thirds (Map 5, Table 4).

Coronado's people were the first Spaniards to enter the Southern Tiwa area and they differentiated between these two groupings by giving them names as separate provinces: Tiguex on the north and Tutahaco on the south. They had arrived in Pueblo country at the Zufi pueblos (his Cibola province) about 125 miles due west of the Rio Grande, and it was from there that Coronado sent out advance parties to explore the new lands. Captain Hernando de Alvarado was the first to travel east to the Rio Grande, which he called the Nuestra Señora. His party, which included a delegation from Pecos Pueblo that had come to Cibola to greet the Spaniards, travelled five days to Acoma Pueblo and another three to the Rio Grande. Because they were headed for Pecos Pueblo which lay to the northeast, they reached the river at Tiguex province in the northern part of the Albuquerque Basin.
Table 4. Pueblos Reported by Sixteenth Century Spanish Explorers:
Middle Rio Grande Subregion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PUEBLO NAME</th>
<th>LA NO.</th>
<th>CORONADO 1540-1542</th>
<th>CHAMUSCADO 1581-82</th>
<th>ESPEJO 1582-1583</th>
<th>CASTAÑO 1591</th>
<th>OÑATE 1598</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Casa Colo.</td>
<td></td>
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*a* New Mexico State Laboratory of Anthropology site number.

*b* A list of 13 names is given but no location information.

*c* Of his list of ten pueblo names in the Middle Rio Grande Subregion, only Puarai and San Juan Bautista can be matched to sites.

*d* Eleven pueblo symbols designated “Valle de Purá” are shown without regard to specific locations.

*e* Ladera del Sur is LA 50257 and nearby Ladera Pueblo is LA 50259.

*f* LA 50249 is the earlier and LA 50261 the later component of this site.

[1] Total number of pueblos reported.

Coronado himself later led a party to the Rio Grande, also in eight days, arriving at Tutahaco province. Although he indicated that Tutahaco was south of Tiguex, his route to the Rio Grande is so vaguely described that the only clues as to how far south he went are the distance, which could not have been greatly different from that covered by Alvarado because the number of days is the same, and the likelihood that his Zuñi guides would not have taken the party to a destination that was inconvenient for their own return. It is, therefore, probable
that Tutahaco was located in the southern part of the Albuquerque-Belen Basin, and not farther south in the Socorro Basin as has been suggested. Coronado reported a total of twelve pueblos in Tiguex and eight in Tutahaco but mentioned few individual pueblos. Only one can be identified with any confidence, Santiago (LA 326), which the Spaniards took over as their headquarters and which they called Alcanfor or Coofor.

The reports of the 1580s give a more complete picture of the Tiwa settlements in the Middle Rio Grande Subregion. Starting from the Piro-Tiwa frontier Gallegos mentions a total of 22 pueblos north to the Tiwa-Keres border while Luxán notes at least 21, both listing 13 in the cluster at the north end of the Albuquerque Basin, a figure also mentioned by some of Coronado's men. Although there is some similarity in the number and location of the pueblos they report in the southern Albuquerque Basin, there is also considerable discordance despite the lapse of only a year and a half between the visits of the Chamuscado and Espejo expeditions. At one time an uninhabited frontier zone was thought to exist between the Piro and Southern Tiwa, only south in the Socorro Basin as has been suggested.

Termino de these pueblos named headquarters and which they put in the vicinity of Abo Arroyo where there was a small pueblo. They also have been destroyed. Although statements by explorers indicate there was conflict, Espejo noted that only a half league (1.5 miles) separated the Piro and Tiwa provinces. The listing of pueblos by Gallegos and Luxán further reinforces the likelihood that there was no significant no-man's-land at the Piro-Southern Tiwa frontier.

After Espejo returned from visiting his Magrias pueblos, the expedition decamped from Término de Puala and travelled four leagues (12 miles) along the Rio Grande to a pueblo they named El Corvillo, passing some small pueblos and many deserted ones along the way. One of these small pueblos might have been at the San Francisco site (LA 778) located four miles north of Término de Puala (Sevilleta site). LA 778 might also have been Gallegos's Ponsitlan or his Pueblo Nuevo, both of which were located in this area. A distance of four leagues would have put El Corvillo in the vicinity of Abo Arroyo where there was a small pueblo, Abo Confluence (LA 50241), that could possibly have been occupied at that time. This east-side pueblo could also have been Gallegos's very small Caxtole.

As Espejo's people continued north they observed that all of the pueblos were deserted, the inhabitants having fled the Spaniards's approach. It was known that the Tiwa people were responsible for the deaths of two priests from the Chamuscado expedition who had insisted on staying behind when that expedition returned to New Spain. They called their next campsite, four leagues north of El Corvillo, Los Despoblados. It was between two pueblos, one very large which, given the distance, would have been near the Ladera del Sur site (LA 50257). Ladera del Sur is not a large site but Ladera Pueblo (LA 50259), located 150 meters away, is. Archeological evidence does not indicate that the latter was occupied in the contact period but the site is badly damaged and such evidence could have been destroyed. It seems reasonable that, if Luxán could observe that both pueblos were deserted, the two pueblos would have been in sight of each other. There are no other pueblos that fit the information Luxán gives. A pueblo they encountered along the way might have been at the Casa Colorado site (LA 50249 or 50261) which was also on the east side of the Rio Grande.

It is here that matching Luxán's and Gallegos's pueblos becomes especially difficult. Gallegos mentions a large west side pueblo he called Piquinaguatengo opposite Caxtole at Abo Arroyo. But there is no such site at that location and Luxán does not mention a comparable pueblo. Gallegos's next pueblo, Mexicalcingo, was on the east side but whether it occupied the site at Casa Colorado or at Ladera del Sur cannot be known because he does not give the distance. Above Mexicalcingo was his Tomatilán and across the river opposite it on the west side was Taxumulco. These pueblos fit the sites of Valencia (LA 953) and Be-jui Tu-ay (LA 81) respectively and are not likely the same as the two pueblos near Luxán's Despoblados camp because the latter were presumably on the same side of the Rio Grande.

From Los Despoblados the Espejo expedition covered five leagues (15 miles) to a pueblo
called Los Guajolotes. This distance would have brought them to the Isleta site (LA 724) which is located on the west side of the Rio Grande. Luxán noted another deserted pueblo along the way, one that could have been either Valencia or Be-ju Tu-ay. That he does not mention both, when it is very likely that these were the sites of Gallegos's Tomatlán and Taxumulco, further brings out just how speculative is the reconstruction of the settlement pattern in this area. Espejo had been travelling along the east side of the Rio Grande but at some point, perhaps at Valencia, his party must have crossed the river, although Luxán does not mention it, because they actually entered Los Guajolotes, noting its abundant provisions, including turkeys. Here, at the Isleta site, there again seems to be a correspondence with Gallegos, with his west side Santa Catalina Pueblo. Above Isleta lay the first pueblo of the northern cluster, called Puaray by Gallegos and Puñal by Luxán. Luxán gives the distance as three leagues (9 miles) and mentions no pueblos along the way, whereas Gallegos notes one, San Mateo, placing both it and Puaray on the east side.

Both Gallegos and Luxán list twelve pueblos above Puaray/Puñal (Table 4). Unfortunately Luxán does not continue to mention each pueblo encountered as Espejo's expedition moved north through the northern cluster of Tiwa pueblos (Coronado's Tiguex province), but later when he names the pueblos in this area Puñal is the thirteenth and last on his list, reinforcing its location as the southernmost of these pueblos. It cannot be said that the other pueblos on his list are in any geographic order, but Gallegos does supply this order. Above Puaray he notes five pueblos on the east side of the Rio Grande: Cempoala, Nompe, Malpais, Cáceres, and Campos. Above Cempoala, the sites to which they could correspond are respectively: Maigua (LA 716), Puaray (LA 717), Sandia (LA 294), and Watche (LA 677), although occupation of the latter during the contact period is questionable. A bigger question surrounds Cempoala for which no site has been found. Two other contact period sites that today are on the east side of the Rio Grande, Alameda (LA 421) and Chamsíal (LA 22765), were located on the west side of the river at that time. Gallegos's west side pueblos were: San Pedro, Analco, Culiacán, Villarasa, La Palma, Palomares, and Medina de la Torre beyond which lay the Keres pueblos. The west side sites to which they correspond are probably: Piedras Marcadas (LA 290), Calabacillas (LA 289), Chamsíal (LA 22765), Alameda (LA 421), Corrales (LA 288), Santiago (LA 326), and Kuaua (LA 187).

The location of Puaray in the 1580s remains a puzzle. It was at this pueblo that members of the Chamuscado expedition took leave of two priests who insisted on staying behind and it was there that the latter were probably later killed. When the Espejo expedition, whose purpose it was to learn the fate of the priests, arrived, they named the pueblo Puñal de los Martíres. Gallegos had established its location on the east side of the Rio Grande and Luxán put it three leagues (9 miles) north of Isleta. Luxán also mentioned that when they were camped near Puñal they were visited by a delegation that had come from eight to ten leagues (24 to 30 miles) up river, making it likely they were Keres people from San Felipe Pueblo. If the distance were ten leagues, it would have brought them to that site three leagues north of Isleta where Luxán located Puñal. That site would have been two miles above the Rio Grande-Tijeras Arroyo junction (or just south of Albuquerque in the general vicinity of the Rio Bravo Boulevard and Highway 47 intersection), an area where there are no known pueblo sites. It would also have been about ten miles south of the other twelve closely spaced pueblos of the northern cluster.

A location somewhat farther north would seem more likely for Puaray, and consensus among modern scholars does place Puaray in the midst of the pueblos on the east side at the LA 717 site (Fisher site #13) which is about seven leagues north of Isleta. This location also accords with information provided by Castaño de Sosa in 1591 and Oñate in 1598. Castaño de Sosa gave the distance from the first Southern Tiwa pueblo he encountered to his main camp at Santo Domingo as five or six leagues. Six leagues, or twenty-four miles (at four miles to the league), would be roughly the distance from Santo Domingo to the LA 717 site, an indication that his first pueblo might have been Puaray or a pueblo close to it. Oñate also established the location of Puaray in the vicinity of LA 717, and not farther south, when he,
too, stated that it was six leagues from Santo Domingo, a Keres pueblo to the north.\textsuperscript{53} While at Puaray, one of his men, Gaspar Pérez de Villagrá, claimed he saw on a wall inside one of the houses a mural depicting the death of the two priests, but the scene had been painted over with whitewash and it is doubtful its contents could have been clearly discerned.\textsuperscript{64} Oñate did not report it and scholars have tended to treat it as apocryphal.\textsuperscript{65} Even if it were true, it does not prove that the pueblo where the killings took place was LA 717. Residents of Luxán’s “Puala de los Mártires” could have painted the scene in a different pueblo.

A possible explanation of the discrepancy between the reports of Gallegos and Luxán and those of Castaño de Sosa and Oñate might be that there were two Puarays: the one of the 1580s and the one of the 1590s. After the Espejo expedition left Pueblo country, the people of Puaray/Puala, wishing to dissociate themselves from the place where the killings took place, might have destroyed their pueblo and moved to the one at LA 717, giving it the same name. Perhaps Gallegos’s San Mateo and Cempoala, located respectively south and north of his Puaray, were destroyed at that time as well, leaving the area devoid of identifiable sites.

Which other pueblos of the northern cluster were still inhabited in the 1590s cannot be determined from either the Castaño de Sosa or Oñate reports. Castaño de Sosa visited pueblos on both sides of the river, which he called the Rio Grande, claiming there were a total of fifteen, but he did not name any of them.\textsuperscript{56} Because he probably approached the area through Tijeras Canyon from the east side of the Sandias, the first pueblo he would have encountered was the most southerly on the east side.\textsuperscript{67} He found this pueblo deserted and was told that the people had fled because it was they who killed the priests, but inhabitants fled from the other pueblos as well, so it is difficult to know if that particular pueblo was Puaray. It probably was not because from that first pueblo Castaño de Sosa proceeded up the east side of the Rio Grande, visiting four other pueblos before crossing to the west side. Above Puaray (LA 717) the only sites are Sandia (LA 294) and Watche (677), and there is some doubt about the latter’s occupancy during the contact period.\textsuperscript{68} The first pueblo was probably Maigua (LA 716) which is less than a mile south of Puaray (LA 717). Identity of the fourth pueblo is still in question but in this area of intense urban settlement it would not be surprising if this site has been lost.

On the west side Castaño de Sosa’s pueblos are even more difficult to link to known sites, but it is possible that the pueblo across the river from the first one he encountered on the east side was Alameda (LA 241) and the other near it was Chamisal (LA 22765). The southernmost, which he describes as very large, might have been Piedras Marcadas (LA 290).\textsuperscript{69} Oñate gives a list of Tigua (Tiwa) pueblos, but the only recognizable name is Puaray.\textsuperscript{70} The 1602 map shows twelve pueblos (Map 2). Unfortunately, eleven are placed without regard to location, designated together as “Pueblos del valle de Puará” but the twelfth, Santiago, is correctly placed at the north end of the west side. This later location might well be the site of Coronado’s headquarters (Alconfor/Cooper), indicating that it continued to be occupied.

To return to the southern part of the Albuquerque Basin, the explorers who came after Chamuscado and Espejo have little to add. Castaño de Sosa did not visit the area and Oñate moved through it quickly, mentioning only newly-built San Juan Bautista four leagues (16 miles) above Sevilleta (LA 774) which would have put it at the Casa Colorado site (LA 50261).\textsuperscript{71} The 1602 map, based on information from a member of Oñate’s expedition, is more helpful. The arrangement of symbols indicates that the pueblo sites could have been Abo Confluence, Casa Colorado (named San Juan), Ladera del Sur, and Valencia on the east side of the Rio Grande, Be-jui Tu-ay and Pur-e Tu-ay on the west side, and Isleta on an island in the river (actually, a volcanic outcrop in the western floodplain). The northernmost pueblo on the west side was named Mesilla, a name that would fit the Pur-e Tu-ay site (LA 489) which is on a small butte. Although its late ceramics leave open the possibility that Pur-e Tu-ay was established after the end of the contact period, it does not preclude the possibility of occupation at the time of Oñate’s arrival.\textsuperscript{72}
Rio Puerco-Rio San Jose

North of the Southern Tiwa settlements in the Albuquerque-Belen Basin lay the pueblos of the Keres people whose territory extended up the Rio Grande in the Santo Domingo Basin, along the lower reaches of the tributary Jemez River, and to isolated Acoma Pueblo (LA 112) located about fifty miles west of the Rio Grande (Map 5). Acoma was the survivor of an earlier phase of Keres settlement in the Rio San Jose-Rio Puerco area. Located in highly dissected plateau country, it occupied a spectacular site atop a small, steep-sided mesa 357 feet above the surrounding surface, bounded on the west by a broad wash created by ephemeral Acoma Creek, a tributary of the Rio San Jose which flows via the Rio Puerco to the Rio Grande. There is no doubt that Acoma was inhabited throughout the contact period. It was visited by most of the explorers, all of whom commented on its unique, fortress-like site.

Lower Jemez River

During the contact period there were five pueblos along the lower twenty miles of the Jemez River. All of the Spanish explorers except Castaño de Sosa mentioned these Keres settlements, generally treating them as a group separate from those in the Santo Domingo Basin (Map 5, Table 5).

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a: New Mexico State Laboratory of Anthropology site number.
b: Espejo reported 5 pueblos in Punames province.
c: Oñate listed names of 5 lower Jemez pueblos, but only 2 of these names can be linked to sites.

Coronado reported only one pueblo, Chia (Zia, LA 28), and did not include it in his Quirix (Keres) province which consisted of the Keres pueblos in the Santo Domingo Basin. The chronicler of the Chamsucado expedition cited four pueblos visited in this subregion which he called the Atotonilco Valley. Luxán's report on the Espejo expedition mentioned only one pueblo, Ziaquebos, but according to him it was in Punames province, distinct from his Quires province, indicating the presence of other pueblos on the lower Jemez. Espejo himself said there were five pueblos in this province. Besides Zia, these pueblos consisted of: Corn Clan Zia (LA 241), Old Zia (LA 384), Chackham (LA 374), and Santa Ana (LA 8975). Two of these pueblos can be recognized on Oñate's lists: Zia (Tzia/Acotziya) and Santa Ana (Tamaya/Tamay). Because his other names cannot be linked to the remaining sites and only Zia and Santa Ana are shown on the 1602 map, it could, perhaps, be concluded that these were the only pueblos on
the lower Jemez still occupied at the end of the contact period (Map 2). Although it seems certain that Santa Ana people lived in this area at the time, the site they occupied then has not been found and was, perhaps, destroyed by floods.

**Santo Domingo Basin**

Explorers found seven pueblos in the Santo Domingo Basin which lies above the Rio Grande-Jemez River junction (Map 6, Table 6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PUEBLO NAME</th>
<th>LA NO.</th>
<th>CORONADO 1540-1542</th>
<th>CHAMUSCADO 1581-1582</th>
<th>ESPEJO 1582-1583</th>
<th>CASTAÑO 1591</th>
<th>OÑATE 1598</th>
<th>MAP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cochiti</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>Suchipila</td>
<td>Cochita</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td>Cochiti</td>
<td>Chicotin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Bajada</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Talaván</td>
<td>Tipoti</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td>Tipoti</td>
<td>Tipotin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gipuy</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>Castilblanco</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Vega</td>
<td>412</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Felipe</td>
<td>3137</td>
<td>Castilleja</td>
<td>Cachiti</td>
<td>Cachichi</td>
<td>S. Felipe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonque</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>Buenavista</td>
<td>Sieharan</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td>El Tuerto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>7b</td>
<td>6c</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* New Mexico State Laboratory of Anthropology site number.
* The 7 "Quirix" pueblos reported by Coronado probably included San Marcos (LA 98) in the Galisteo Basin and excluded one of the Santo Domingo Basin pueblos.
* The seventh pueblo, La Barranca, is listed in Table 7.

Four of these Keres pueblos were located along a fourteen-mile stretch of the Rio Grande and three on the lower reaches of eastern tributaries: the Santa Fe River, Galisteo Creek, and Tonque Arroyo. Coronado reported seven Quirix (Keres) pueblos distinct from those on the lower Jemez. Chamuscado visited seven pueblos: four on the Rio Grande and three in what he called Valle Vicioso, which was probably lower Galisteo Creek. Travelling north along the Rio Grande from the Jemez River junction, his party encountered what was probably San Felipe Pueblo (LA 3137) and named it Castilleja. The next, much larger, pueblo, located at the junction with Galisteo Creek, was named Castildabid and was most likely Santo Domingo (LA 1281). Above this point they visited two other pueblos, Suchipila and Talaván, the first of which was probably Cochiti (LA 128) and the other possibly La Bajada (LA 7).

The Chamuscado report does not take account of La Vega Pueblo (LA 412), located between San Felipe and Santo Domingo. It might have been abandoned at this time, although there is some indication that it was occupied nine years later when Castaño de Sosa was in the area. The difficulty of trying to match explorers’ descriptions to archeological sites is further seen in locating sites for the three pueblos Chamuscado claimed were in his Valle Vicioso. Castilblanco, which he located opposite Castildabid, was probably Gipuy (LA 182), but identification of Buena Vista and La Barranca present problems because there are no other appropriate sites on lower Galisteo Creek. Because their names suggest a location near mountains, these two pueblos might be Tonque and some other unknown site near the north end of the Sandia Mountains if the definition of Valle Vicioso can be stretched to include other tributaries in the southern part of the Santo Domingo Basin.

Luxán of the Espejo expedition, as well as Espejo himself, mentioned five pueblos in the Santo Domingo Basin. Three of these can be quite definitely identified: San Felipe (Cachiti,
Catiete, La Tiete; also called Los Confiados), Santo Domingo (Gigue), and Cochiti (Cochita). Gigue also referred to Gipuy Pueblo which by this time might have been abandoned, the inhabitants having moved to the Santo Domingo Pueblo site. (This was definitely the case eight years later when Castaño de Sosa visited this area.) The pueblo Luxán called Tipolti might possibly have been La Bajada.99 The fifth pueblo, Sieharan, was probably the one he earlier called La Milpa Llana. On that occasion the Espejo party went to a pueblo a league and a half (4.5 miles) from San Felipe and from there five leagues (15 miles) west to the Jemez River and then on to Ziaquebos (Zia Pueblo) in their Punames province.50 Given this itinerary, it is possible that La Milpa Llana/Sieharan was Tonque, even though the distances do not fit well.91

Castaño de Sosa's reconnaissance party first entered the Santo Domingo Basin from the north. Their route would not have been directly south along the Rio Grande through the extremely narrow White Rock Canyon but more likely they cut across the Caja del Rio Plateau or retraced their route along the Tesuque River before descending La Bajada escarpment into the Santo Domingo Basin where, according to Castaño de Sosa, they found four pueblos in view of one another.92 Which were the four pueblos so situated has been a puzzle to scholars and the source of some disagreement.93 Castaño spent two days visiting these pueblos and obtaining their oaths of allegiance. Santo Domingo was likely one of the four because when he later returned to this area and named it he did not administer an oath, a sign that he had previously visited it. Cochiti and La Bajada are other possible pueblos in the group but the fourth is a mystery unless La Vega had been reoccupied. Gipuy was not one of the four because it was the abandoned pueblo at which Castaño de Sosa stopped overnight on his return from the Pecos River with his whole expedition before going on to Santo Domingo Pueblo the next day.94 Sometime before 1591 Gipuy was flooded and its inhabitants left to build another pueblo near the site of the present Santo Domingo. It was at that pueblo, on the east bank of the Rio Grande, where Castaño de Sosa made his headquarters.95

Several days later Castaño de Sosa and a group of his men set out from Santo Domingo to look for mines and a pueblo they had not yet visited, an indication that they were not headed for San Marcos (LA 98), which they had previously named, but more likely toward the Sandia Mountains. Along the way they passed through several settlements, one of which might have been Tonque and the other possibly Chamuscado's La Barranca, the site of which has not been identified. The party continued south, eventually reaching the Tiwa pueblos, and upon returning up the Rio Grande came to a pueblo that was one league from their camp at Santo Domingo. This pueblo might have been San Felipe but La Vega fits the distance better.96

Oñate mentioned five pueblos in the Santo Domingo Basin and the 1602 map shows four (Map 2).97 Oñate's list of Cheres (Keres) pueblos consists of San Felipe (Castixe, Cachichi), Santo Domingo (Quiguil), Cochiti, Tipoti/Olipoti, and El Puerto—El Pueblo Quemado. Cochiti is named Chicotic on the 1602 map and Tipoti/Olipoti corresponds to Tipotin where its location between Cochiti and Santo Domingo suggests that it was at the La Bajada site. Fifteen years earlier, when the Espejo expedition was in this area, Luxán mentioned a pueblo called Tipolitl. This consistency of naming cannot be ignored despite lack of congruence with La Bajada's Tano name, Tzenatay.98 Although ceramics at the site do not clearly support occupation at this time, they give some evidence of a minor late sixteenth century occupation which is reinforced by the 1602 map.99 Some scholars have linked La Bajada with Oñate's El Puerto because of its description as a burned pueblo but others have suggested that the latter might have been the same as the one he passed through enroute from his headquarters near San Juan Pueblo to the Estancia Basin, a pueblo he called El Tuerto.100 El Puerto/El Tuerto might have been Tonque, a pottery making and trading center that was probably inhabited by Tano and Tiwa as well as Keres people.101 The distances traveled fit well and Arroyo del Tuerto is part of the upper drainage of Tonque Arroyo. Archeological evidence indicates that Tonque was not abandoned until the end of the sixteenth century or shortly thereafter.102 The pueblo is not Paa-ko because "Paco" appears on one of Oñate's lists.103 The 1602 map does not, however, indicate a place that might be Tonque.
According to Oñate and the 1602 map San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochiti/Chicotin were still inhabited at the end of the contact period, as was a fourth pueblo, Tipoti/Tipotin, which probably occupied the La Bajada site. El Puerto may well have been El Tuerto at the Tonque site but the 1602 map does not show it. The other two pueblos in the Santo Domingo Basin, La Vega and Gipuy had probably been abandoned before Oñate’s arrival.

Sandia Periphery

In a transitional area between the northern Albuquerque Basin, the southern Santo Domingo Basin, and the Galisteo Basin farther east lie the Sandia Mountains which rise from about 5,000 to over 10,000 feet. A number of pueblos have been established on their wetter eastern side, two of which were occupied at some time during the contact period according to evidence provided by explorers and archeologists. These pueblos, Paa-ko (LA 162) and San Antonio (LA 24), were probably two of the seven that Coronado associated with his “snowy mountains,” undoubtedly a reference to the Sandia-Manzano chain (Map 6, Table 7).

**TABLE 7. Pueblos Reported by Sixteenth Century Spanish Explorers:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PUEBLO</th>
<th>LA NO.</th>
<th>CORONADO</th>
<th>CHAMUSCADO</th>
<th>ESPEJO</th>
<th>CASTAÑO</th>
<th>OÑATE 1602</th>
<th>MAP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td>1540-1542</td>
<td>1581-1582</td>
<td>1582-1583</td>
<td>1591</td>
<td>1598</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paa-ko</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td>La Barranca</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td>Paelo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Antonio</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silva</td>
<td>12924</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Portezuelo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>3 b</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5 c</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>incomplete</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a New Mexico State Laboratory of Anthropology site number.  
b Three of the 7 unnamed pueblos Coronado associated with the “snowy mountains.”  
c Espejo reported 5 pueblos in his Ubates province.

He mentioned three pueblos on the slope of the mountain and four on the plain. The latter were farther south in the Estancia Basin east of the Manzano Mountains. The former included, besides Paa-ko and San Antonio, a third pueblo which may have been the one on the north end of the Sandias alluded to by subsequent explorers but for which no contact period site has been identified. Las Huertas Canyon, which is located in this area and which had a significant Pueblo population earlier, was apparently not occupied during the contact period. In Coronado’s time Paa-ko and San Antonio may have been occupied by refugees from the Tano pueblos of the Galisteo Basin which, he was told, had been attacked by a people from the eastern plains. Baltasar de Obregón, writing about Coronado’s Tiguex province, stated that there were two pueblos southeast of the twelve along the Rio Grande, a likely reference to Paa-ko and San Antonio.

Chamuscado, also, alludes to pueblos that were probably Paa-ko and San Antonio. When he was in the Santo Domingo Basin, he was informed that thirteen pueblos lay three days journey up river and to the south. In this case the river was Galisteo Creek and, because there were not that many pueblos in the adjacent Galisteo Basin, it is likely that they were located south of it on the east side of the Sandia-Manzano Mountains and included Paa-ko and San Antonio along with the eleven pueblos of the Estancia Basin. Later, at a Galisteo Basin pueblo, he was told that there were two large pueblos on the slopes of the Sierra Morena (his name for the Sandia-Manzano Mountains), most probably another reference to Paa-ko and San Antonio.
Although it is not mentioned by his chronicler Luxán, Espejo reported a province of five pueblos he called Ubates which he encountered after leaving the Keres pueblos in the Santo Domingo Basin but before reaching the Tano pueblos of the Galisteo Basin. Just which pueblos they were is impossible to say with certainty, but presumably they included Paa-ko and San Antonio, possibly the Silva Site at the mouth of Tijeras Canyon to the south, and a pueblo or two at the north end of the Sandias. Chamuscado’s pueblo, La Barranca, was likely located in the latter area, as discussed in the previous section.

That pueblos on the periphery of the Sandia Mountains were occupied in the contact period is reinforced by Castano de Sosa who, after leaving Santo Domingo Pueblo to look for mines, took possession of various pueblos near the north end of the Sandias before crossing to their east side where he found two recently deserted pueblos—probably Paa-ko and San Antonio. Among the pueblos he took possession of might have been some of the five in Espejo’s Ubates province, possibly including Coronado’s third mountain-slope pueblo and Chamuscado’s La Barranca. The only pueblos Oñate identified in this subregion were Paa-ko which he so named and another he called Portezuelo. He arrived at this latter pueblo after moving north among the salinas pueblos of the Estancia Basin headed for the Tiwa pueblos along the Rio Grande which were most readily reached through Tijeras Canyon. The Silva Site (LA 12924) at the mouth of Tijeras Canyon could well have been Oñate’s Portezuelo.

All of the explorers mentioned pueblos located on the fringes of the Sandia Mountains but none grouped them into a province except Espejo. The reason may have been that they were not perceived to have a common language. That condition may have resulted from their location in a zone of movement among surrounding Keres-, Tano-, and Tiwa-speaking peoples, a situation similar to that of nearby pueblos such as Tonque in the Santo Domingo Basin and San Marcos in the Galisteo Basin where linguistic affiliation was probably mixed.

Galisteo Basin

Explorers found three to four pueblos in the Galisteo Basin which is located east of the Santo Domingo Basin and north of the Estancia Basin (Map 6, Table 8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PUEBLO</th>
<th>LA NO.</th>
<th>CORONADO</th>
<th>CHAMUSCAO</th>
<th>ESPEJO</th>
<th>CASTANO</th>
<th>OñATE</th>
<th>1602</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. Marcos</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>1540-1542</td>
<td>1581-1582</td>
<td>1582-1583</td>
<td>1591</td>
<td>1598</td>
<td>Map</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Lazaro</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>unnamed</td>
<td>Malagón</td>
<td>S. Catalina</td>
<td>S. Marcos</td>
<td>S. Marcos</td>
<td>S. Marcos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galisteo</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Ximena</td>
<td>Galisteo</td>
<td>Jumea</td>
<td>S. Lucas</td>
<td>Sta. Ana</td>
<td>Calisteo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* New Mexico State Laboratory of Anthropology site number.

They were inhabited by Southern Tewa people who spoke a dialect called Tano, although the population of San Marcos pueblo might have been linguistically mixed. When Coronado travelled through this area in 1541 he noted much destruction and was told that it was the result of attacks made sixteen years before by Teyas, a people from the eastern plains. He described three pueblos: a small one that was occupied (Ximena), a large one that was partially so (Silos), and a third one, also large, that was destroyed. His captain, Hernando de Alvarado, noted seven pueblos that were possibly in this area that had been abandoned and ruined as a result of attacks by people from the eastern plains. Archeological evidence also supports the
existence of seven occupied pueblos prior to Coronado's entrada, four in the northern sector of the basin and three in the south. 116

The route Coronado took across the Galisteo Basin from Pecos Pueblo to his Tiguex province cannot be known with certainty, but modern reconstructions favor a route through the northern part of the basin--through Glorieta Pass, along Galisteo Creek, and around the north end of the Ortiz Mountains that separate the Galisteo and Santo Domingo basins. 117 Data from the later explorers seem to support the hypothesis that the pueblos inhabited in the contact period were those in this northern sector. If such were the case, the three sites in the southern part were most likely abandoned when attacked in the 1520s and not reoccupied--some of their inhabitants possibly having sought refuge at Paa-ko and San Antonio pueblos on the Sandia periphery. Coronado does not mention a fourth pueblo in the northern sector. It could have been San Marcos, which conceivably he included in his group of seven Keres pueblos in the Santo Domingo Basin. 118

Forty years later Chamuscado and his party visited four pueblos in the Galisteo Basin (their San Mateo Valley) which they described as large, an indication that the pueblos of Coronado's time had been rebuilt and enlarged. 119 They named one of them Galisteo (LA 26) and another Malpartida. The latter, located near mines, was most likely San Marcos (LA 98), the site of which is near the Cerrillos Hills where turquoise and lead deposits were mined. 120 The very large masonry pueblo they named Piedrahita could well have been San Cristobal (LA 80) and the fourth pueblo, Malagón, might have been San Lázaro (LA 92), although there is disagreement over the latter. 121

A year or so later the Espejo expedition reported three pueblos in the Galisteo Basin, or Atamues/Tamos province as they called it. 122 They associated the one they named Santa Catalina with mines, an indication that it probably was San Marcos. 123 From Santa Catalina the Espejo group travelled three leagues (8 miles) to Jumea, probably Galisteo Pueblo, and then to a very large pueblo, Pocos, which was probably San Cristobal. Possibly they failed to take a side trip to the fourth pueblo (San Lázaro) as they made their way across the basin to Pecos Pueblo. That four pueblos were occupied seems likely not only on the basis of the Chamuscado report but also because the Castaño de Sosa report supports it.

Castaño de Sosa's advance party passed through the Galisteo Basin on its way to rejoin the main body of the expedition camped on the Pecos River which they referred to as the Rio Salado. 124 They then returned en masse to the Rio Grande, again crossing the Galisteo Basin. On the outward journey three pueblos were mentioned, the first located near some mines. On the return trip these pueblos were named: San Cristobal, San Lucas (Galisteo), and San Marcos where they had previously discovered mines. 125 Several days later Castaño de Sosa led a party from San Marcos to another pueblo two leagues (5 miles) away that he had not previously visited. This pueblo could have been San Lázaro. Ceramic evidence indicates that it was occupied during the sixteenth century. 126 The pueblo might have been abandoned for a time following the raids of the 1520s and, as such, might have been the unnamed pueblo Coronado described as completely destroyed but that was rebuilt sometime before the Chamuscado expedition arrived in the area. 127

Seven years later, Oñate and his advance party entered the Galisteo Basin where they visited three pueblos before continuing on to Pecos. The names given were those bestowed by Castaño de Sosa except that to the name Galisteo they added Santa Ana instead of San Lucas. 128 This convergence of names is the first of its kind and is probably the result of Oñate's having as interpreters two Mexican natives who had been left behind by Castaño de Sosa. Oñate may also have seen a copy of Castaño de Sosa's report. 129 Oñate does not mention San Lázaro, and there is some evidence that it was abandoned again, if only temporarily, when his party passed through the area. 130 As noted by Castaño de Sosa in 1591, attacks by native peoples still caused inhabitants to flee their pueblos in this area. 131 The 1602 map shows only S. Marcos, Calisteo, and San Cristobal (Map 2).
Upper Pecos River

East of the Galisteo pueblos and forty miles east of the Rio Grande lies Pecos (LA 625, Map 6). This easternmost pueblo of the Rio Grande region was built on a small narrow mesa near Glorieta Pass, a major link between the farming communities of the Rio Grande Valley and the nomadic tribes of the Great Plains farther east. It was visited by all of the Spanish explorers who were, without exception, impressed by its size and position of power. Coronado reported that Cicuye (Pecos) was feared throughout the land and its people proud that they could not be conquered but could subjugate any pueblo they wished. Identification of Pecos in the reports of the Chamuscado expedition is not very clear but the pueblo called Tlaxcala or Nueva Tlaxcala seems best interpreted as Pecos. In the Espejo documents it is called Siqui, similar to Coronado's rendering of the name. Although Pecos was the first pueblo encountered by Castano de Sosa, he did not name it. The name Pecos (possibly derived from the Keres name) first appears when Ofate made his initial reconnaissance of the Rio Grande region and it is also on the 1602 map. Pecos was the only pueblo of Towa speakers besides those located in the Upper Jemez River Subregion. How and when these people became dominant at Pecos is still a matter of conjecture.

Upper Jemez River

In the deeply dissected plateau country on the southwestern flank of the Jemez massif, the Towa-speaking Jemez people established numerous pueblos. Nine of these probably survived into the contact period although the Spanish explorers reported from seven to fifteen pueblos (Map 7, Table 9). The map shows six pueblo symbols placed without regard to specific sites.

TABLE 9. Pueblos Reported by Sixteenth Century Spanish Explorers:
Upper Jemez River Subregion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PUEBLO NAME</th>
<th>LA NO. A</th>
<th>CORONADO</th>
<th>CHAMUSCADO</th>
<th>ESPEJO</th>
<th>CASTANO</th>
<th>OFATE</th>
<th>1602 MAP</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Unshagi</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>1540-1542</td>
<td>1581-1582</td>
<td>1582-1583</td>
<td>1591</td>
<td>1598</td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>483</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tavokwa</td>
<td>484</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a New Mexico State Laboratory of Anthropology site number.
b Eleven Upper Jemez pueblos were reported to Ofate. Of the eight he assigned to a priest, only Guisewa (Guisewa) can be identified.
c The map shows six pueblo symbols placed without regard to specific sites.

Coronado mentioned three in the hot springs area (Aguas Calientes) and seven others in his Hemes province. The three hot springs pueblos could well have been Guisewa (LA 679), Unshagi (LA 123), and Nanishagi (LA 541). Chamuscado visited two pueblos in what he called the Valley of Santiago (the Jemez River Valley proper) and was informed that there were thirteen others. He named one of the two pueblos he visited Baños, an indication it was
located in the hot springs area. It might have been Guisewa and the second pueblo, called Puerto Frío, might have been nearby Nanishagi. Espejo reported seven pueblos but there is some question about whether he actually contacted any of them. Castaño de Sosa did not visit or mention the Jemez pueblos. Oñate visited eight, including the “great pueblo,” probably Tovakwa (also called Stable Mesa, LA 484), and the pueblos near the hot springs. He was told there were eleven altogether; however, his list of Jemez pueblo names consists of nine, one of which is Zia, a Keres pueblo. The only recognizable Towa pueblo name is Guiusta (Guisewa). The 1602 map shows a group of six pueblos along the upper Jemez River but without regard to specific locations (Map 2). Walastowa, the pueblo that is the present home of the Jemez people was not established until the 1620s.

Pajarito Plateau

The dissected plateau structure known as the Pajarito Plateau which comprises the eastern flank of the Jemez massif had been largely depopulated by the contact period. None of the explorers reported settlements there. However, archeological evidence indicates that some of the pueblos still might have been occupied (Map 7). Their location in very rugged terrain remote from the explorers' routes of travel could have been the reason for failure to report them. Tree-ring data indicate that Puye (LA 47) was probably occupied into the 1570s and Tsirege (LA 170) into the 1580s. Tree-ring dates for Sankawi’i (LA 211), Potsuwi’i (LA 169), and Tyuonyi (LA 82) are not as late but parallel ceramics argue for their inclusion in this group, if only for the early contact period. Kuapa (LA 3444), located at the southern end of the plateau, might also have been occupied into the contact period. These pueblos were probably all of waning importance as their inhabitants moved to pueblos on the Rio Grande such as San Ildefonso (LA 6188), Santa Clara (LA 925), and Cochiti (LA 126). The only historical evidence to support occupation of the Pajarito Plateau during the contact period is the 1602 map which shows a pueblo called Mesillos located west of the Rio Grande between Santa Clara and Cochiti (Map 2). This information fits the archeological evidence that only one pueblo survived to the end of the contact period. The pueblo was probably Tsirege which is considered the last pueblo in the area to have been abandoned.

Española Basin

Above the Santo Domingo Basin the Española Basin stretches some 35 miles to the confluence of the Rio Grande and Rio Chama. The Rio Grande hugs the west side of the basin along the base of the Pajarito Plateau and its principal tributaries arise in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains to the east. The southernmost tributary is the Santa Fe River which drains a substantial area but one that was without settlement in the contact period. It is another case, such as the Rio Puerco Valley and Chupadera Basin already mentioned, where abandonment about 1450 followed an era of substantial Pueblo settlement. Reasons for abandonment of such a favorable location as the Santa Fe River Valley are not clear, although competition among surrounding Tewa, Keres, Tano, and Pecos peoples might have led to its becoming a buffer zone. The smaller Santa Cruz Valley located farther north in the Española Basin experienced a similar settlement history but its abandonment was not likely caused by hostilities among neighboring peoples because it is well within Tewa territory.

Contact period settlement in the Española Basin, home of Tewa-speaking people, was concentrated in the Pojoaque Creek drainage area and in the northern part of the basin in the vicinity of the Rio Grande-Rio Chama confluence (Map 7, Table 10). Pueblos in the Pojoaque drainage area were not reported until the entrada of Castaño de Sosa in 1591. Although two of Coronado's captains, Alverado and Barrionuevo, visited Taos Pueblo farther north, neither mentioned pueblos on the Pojoaque or its tributaries, making their routes to and from Taos the subject of continuing speculation. The Chamuscado and Espejo expeditions did not reach as far north as the Española Basin. Castaño de Sosa approached it from Pecos Pueblo, probably moving through Glorieta Pass, around the southern end of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, across the unoccupied valley of the Santa Fe River, and into the upper Rio Tesuque Valley. On
this tributary of the Pojoaque he and his advance party visited two pueblos one league (2.6 miles) apart which were probably Tesuque (LA 1064) and Cuyamunge (LA 38). They then went on to three others, also a league from each other which were likely Nambe (LA 17), Pojoaque (LA 61), and Jacona (LA 1065). Traveling west another two leagues (5 miles) along the Rio Pojoaque they reached its junction with the Rio Grande and San Ildefonso Pueblo (LA 6188). From there they marched north and later, returning to this area, stopped at a pueblo located on the Rio Grande about five miles north of San Ildefonso that is best interpreted as Santa Clara (LA 925).

Oñate visited San Ildefonso (his Bove) and Santa Clara (his Caypa) during the initial reconnaissance he made of the region and mentioned them again when he assigned priests to the various groups of pueblos. The Pojoaque Creek pueblos cannot be identified on Oñate's lists, but the 1602 map shows four sites located along an eastern tributary of the Rio Grande (Map 2). They could be Pojoaque, Nambe, Cuyamunge, and Tesuque, with Jacona abandoned by Oñate's time. San Ildefonso and Santa Clara are specifically named on the map.

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a New Mexico State Laboratory of Anthropology site number.

b Besides two pueblos visited by Coronado's men, four others were reported to them.

c Oñate's list of Teguas (Tewa) pueblos included some in both the Chama and Pojoaque areas but only 5 can be linked to sites.

The other area of settlement in the Espanola Basin centered on the confluence of the Rio Grande and the Rio Chama. There, two important pueblos were located: Yunque (LA 59) west of the Rio Grande above the confluence and San Juan (LA 874) opposite it on the east side (Map 7, Table 10). Pioge (LA 144), a small pueblo ancestral to San Juan and located about six miles above it, was probably still occupied in the contact period. Francisco de Barrionuevo, on a mission to round up provisions for the Coronado expedition, visited San
Juan and Yunque before going farther north to Taos. Castaño de Sosa, the next explorer to penetrate this far north, passed through a pueblo that was very probably San Juan and stopped overnight at a second that was likely Pioge before going on five leagues (13 miles) to Picuris (LA 127). Upon their return from Picuris to the pueblos they had previously visited, Pioge and San Juan, Castaño de Sosa and his party crossed the Rio Grande to a pueblo on the west side that was probably Yunque. Seven years later Oñate made his initial headquarters in the vicinity of San Juan. At some point—just when is the subject of controversy—his colonists took over Yunque, renaming it San Gabriel and making it their capital. San Juan and Yunque were among those pueblos to which Oñate assigned a priest but Pioge was not, possibly because it had been abandoned sometime before his arrival. Only San Juan and San Gabriel are shown on the 1602 map (Map 2).

At the time Barrionuevo and his party visited San Juan and Yunque in 1541 he mentioned that the inhabitants had fled to four very substantial pueblos in the mountains which they did not visit, claiming that the terrain was too rugged for their horses. The identity of these pueblos has been the subject of scholarly inquiry for many years but without any conclusive results. It has generally been assumed that the four pueblos were in the adjacent Chama Basin, but an alternate suggestion places them on the Pajarito Plateau, an area of much more rugged terrain but farther from the location of San Juan and Yunque. As previously discussed, no explorer mentioned any settlement on the Pajarito Plateau, but there is tree-ring and ceramic evidence that as many as six pueblos were occupied, at least in the early contact period.

It is thought that pueblos in the Chama Basin were abandoned by 1500 or shortly thereafter. However, the ceramic evidence on which this opinion is based is equivocal and there is historical evidence, besides Barrionuevo's comment about four pueblos in the mountains, that points specifically to occupation in the Chama Basin in the contact period. After Castaño de Sosa visited Yunque he spent the night at another pueblo a league (4 miles) away before continuing his journey southward on the west side of the river. The closest pueblo site, Te‘ewi (LA 252) located five miles up the Rio Chama, might be the one he referred to. Whether it was Te‘ewi or some other closer pueblo that subsequently eroded away, it does seem that there was an occupied pueblo on the Rio Chama besides Yunque. Another pueblo in the Chama Basin, one that possibly was occupied in Oñate’s time, was Tsama (LA 908). T zooma, as he called it, was one of the Tewa pueblos to which he assigned a priest. Tsama (Sama) also appears on the 1602 map (Map 2).

This information from the Castaño de Sosa and Oñate expeditions indicates there was probably some late contact period settlement in the Chama Basin of a limited or intermittent sort. Whether it was related to possible earlier settlement in Coronado’s time cannot be known. Because Barrionuevo did not visit the four “mountain” pueblos, it is not known if they were in the Chama Basin or on the Pajarito Plateau; or whether they were still occupied or abandoned, or just used from time to time for purposes such as defense, ceremonials, a base for resource exploitation or, as on that occasion, as a refuge. If they were in the Chama Basin, perhaps they were in the process of being abandoned for ones on the Rio Grande, as seems to have been happening to the Pajarito Plateau pueblos.

The Far North

Farther north two pueblos were still occupied in the contact period: Picuris (LA 127) and Taos (3932), in both of which the Northern Tiwa language was spoken. Both also were located on Rio Grande tributaries that drained the west side of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, with Taos about twenty miles north of Picuris (Map 7). Two of Coronado’s captains visited Taos. Hernando de Alvarado is reported to have reached it after he visited Pecos Pueblo. Francisco de Barrionuevo travelled twenty leagues (52 miles) north of Yunque which brought him to the northern limits of settlement where he found a pueblo known as Braba (Uraba) which he named Valladolid, a pueblo that was most certainly Taos. There is no record that Picuris
was visited until the arrival of Castaño de Sosa fifty years later. He did not go on to Taos, which was only visited again by Spaniards in 1598 when Oñate and his advance party made it and Picuris the northernmost stops on their reconnaissance of the Rio Grande Region. Both Picuris and Taos appear on the 1602 map (Map 2).172

CONCLUSION

In combination, the reports of the sixteenth century Spanish expeditions to New Mexico constitute a rich source of information about the geography of the Rio Grande pueblos. This study has drawn on the information they provide about the number and spatial distribution of these pueblos, integrating it with archeological data, to establish the overall pattern of settlement. In the course of doing so, it became apparent that about one hundred pueblos were occupied at some time during the fifty-eight years of the contact period. They formed ten loose groupings occupying distinct hydrographic subregions and consisting of as few as two and as many as twenty-five pueblos, in addition to the separate pueblos of Acoma and Pecos. Most of these groupings were linguistically distinct.

Almost half of the pueblos were located along the Rio Grande, mainly in the middle and southern parts of the region. Most of the others were established on tributary streams. Few occupied elevated sites chosen for defense purposes, as was common at an earlier time. But Acoma and Pecos, isolated pueblos located respectively on the western and eastern frontiers of the region, fit this pattern as did some pueblos in the Upper Jemez Subregion which were still typically located on high narrow mesas. The many mesa-top pueblos in the Chama Basin and on the Pajarito Plateau were apparently in the process of being abandoned as inhabitants sought lower-elevation sites along the Rio Grande. In the Chama Basin some limited, residual occupation is indicated in the Coronado, Castaño de Sosa, and Oñate reports as well as on the 1602 map. Although the explorers do not mention pueblos on the Pajarito Plateau, which for them was rather inaccessible and remote from their main routes of travel, good archeological evidence supports occupation of a few pueblos there, at least in the early contact period. The explorers confirm the existence of pueblos in the southern part of the Albuquerque-Belen Basin where sites have been difficult to locate, thus establishing that there did not exist a substantial no-man's-land separating the Piro and Southern Tiwa territories despite reported hostility between the two groups.

The explorers' reports reveal that some parts of the Rio Grande Region were uninhabited even though archeological evidence establishes the existence of substantial settlement in these areas not many decades earlier. The Chupadera Basin, Rio Puerco Valley, Las Huertas Canyon, Santa Fe River Valley, and Santa Cruz River Valley were all devoid of settlement during the contact period. Reasons for the abandonment of such attractive areas can only be speculative, although in the case of the Santa Fe River Valley, competition among surrounding Tewa, Tano, Keres, and Southern Tiwa peoples might have created a buffer zone. Reports from the Coronado and Castaño de Sosa expeditions tell of pueblos in the Galisteo Basin and on the eastern periphery of the Sandia Mountains abandoned as a result of attacks by nomadic tribesmen from the eastern plains. Espejo reported a number of ruined pueblos in the central and southern parts of the Southern Rio Grande Subregion. Such unsettled conditions just prior to and during the contact period indicate that the processes of settlement change at work within Pueblo societies were continuing. However, it should be noted that ceramics found at about half of the contact period pueblos indicate occupation from early in the Classic Period. Although this occupation may have been intermittent in some cases, there was a tradition of settlement continuity as well one of change that the explorers encountered.

The explorers themselves contributed to disturbed conditions. Their need to requisition food and clothing from the pueblos, in addition to other matters, caused considerable friction which led in some cases to Spanish attacks on pueblos, especially by members of the Coronado expedition who destroyed a number of pueblos in the northern Albuquerque Basin. In the same area the people of Puaray Pueblo may have destroyed their pueblo and moved to another
because they were linked to the killing of two Spanish priests from the Chamuscado expedition. It has been suggested that the ruined pueblos reported in the Southern Subregion might have been abandoned as the result of epidemics of European diseases that preceded the arrival of the Spaniards but so far supporting evidence is lacking. Reports from later explorers seem to indicate that pueblos damaged or destroyed by Spaniards were rebuilt. The number of pueblos and their overall location pattern within the Rio Grande Region did not change significantly as a result of Spanish intrusions during the 1540-1598 contact period. Thus, the reports of the Coronado, Chamuscado, Espejo, Castaño, and Oñate expeditions provide a geography of Pueblo settlement influenced by the needs of those societies, but one that did change drastically once Spanish settlement replaced exploration.
Abbreviations: H&R refers to George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, who translated and edited the principal volumes of documents related to the Spanish expeditions to New Mexico; ARMS Files refers to the Archeological Records Management Site Files, the data base of primary material on all archeological sites in the State of New Mexico which is held by the Laboratory of Anthropology (LA), Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

1 There is a vast literature on the Rio Grande pueblos. Works with comprehensive bibliographies include Volume 9 of the Handbook of North American Indians edited by Alfonso Ortiz, A Cultural Resources Overview, Middle Rio Grande Valley, New Mexico by Linda S. Cordell, and Prehistoric New Mexico by David E. Stuart and Rory P. Gauthier.

2 See Wheat, 1957, v. 1:29-33 and H&R, 1966:63 for discussions of this map. Map 2 is a redrawn version of Martinez's map commissioned by the University of New Mexico Press which published it in the endpapers of H&R, 1966 and which has granted the author permission to use it in this study. Names on this map have been corrected according to the errata published in H&R, 1966.

3 Wendt and Reed, 1953:149, 153; Cordell, 1989:319-324.

4 ARMS Files.

5 All distances are based on straight-line measurements taken from 1:250,000 maps prepared by the U.S. Defense Mapping Agency Topographic Center. These measurements are rounded and should be considered approximate as were the distances mentioned by the Spanish explorers who gave them in leagues. The standard league measured 2.6 miles and the long league about 4.0 miles. The league used by Luxán of the Espejo expedition quite consistently measured about 3.0 miles. Cañas de Sosa is only consistent in that his league measured either 2.6 or 4.0 miles and not some other value. Ofate used the long league of 4.0 miles. For a discussion of the Spanish land league as used in North America see Chardon, 1980:147-151.

6 Although there is information about Pueblo settlements in all of the sixteenth century Spanish chronicles of New Mexico, these accounts cannot be coordinated to give an entirely clear idea of pueblo numbers and location for a number of reasons: the expeditions did not cover exactly the same parts of the region; they probably did not encounter the same occupied pueblos in all cases because some were abandoned and others reoccupied during the period; chroniclers did not report settlement location in an unambiguous manner and gave different names or no names to the pueblos; and they undoubtedly varied in their understanding of what they were told by local people.

Archeological identification of pueblo sites that were occupied during the 1540-1598 contact period is also burdened with many problems (Cordell, 1989:295). The dating of sites is based on the presence of certain ceramic types, the chronology of which is derived from such measures as tree-ring analysis from a few sites (Breternitz, 1966:105-107). Although there are questions about the region-wide applicability of these dates and the adequacy of surface collections (few sites have actually been excavated), it is the long duration of ceramic-type periods that creates the greatest problem for this study which has a time-frame of only fifty-eight years (Cordell, 1984:90-91). The diagnostic ceramic type for this period should be Glaze E—one of a series of glazed ceramic types that began with the introduction of Glaze A (1300-1475) and ended with Glaze F (1650-1700) (Warren, 1979:193). Glaze E has been assigned dates between 1515 and 1650, making it possible that a site with this pottery could have been abandoned before 1540 or built after 1588. Evidence from some sites indicates that one type of Glaze F pottery might have been made as early as 1550, making it a possible indicator of pueblo occupation in the contact period (Earls, 1985:30; Sundt, 1987:Table 2). In the same way Glaze D may be an indicator because in some areas it continued to be made after 1515, possibly even into the seventeenth century (Sundt, 1987:Table 2). Another indicator ceramic type for northern pueblos is Sankawi Black on Cream (1550-1650) (Sundt, 1987:Table 2).

There is a further problem that bears on the identification of pueblo sites. Over time they have been subject to forces of destruction, natural and/or human. The Middle and Southern Rio Grande Subregions, in particular, have been affected by intense, long-term agricultural and urban development as well as periodic flooding and river channel shifting. Any of these factors could have obliterated a site or so modified an existing one that accurate dating is not possible.


10 Although Gallegos and Luxán each give evidence for 9 occupied pueblos, Obregón, writing in 1584 after interviewing returned members of the Chamuscado expedition, reported twelve Piro pueblos and Espejo himself reported ten (H&R, 1528:290, 340; H&R, 1666:219). Cañas de Sosa, who led an expedition into New Mexico via the Pecos River in 1591, did not explore or report on the Piro province.

11 Wilcox equates San Felipe Pueblo with the east-side San Pascual site (LA 487) as the southernmost Piro pueblo.
but, in doing so, ignores Senecu and Tiffany pueblos located farther south (1981:135, 139-140). The site of Senecu is no longer identifiable but is thought to have been opposite Black Mesa, also known as Mesa de Senecú, but on the west side of the river where it is shown on a map published in 1776 (Marshall and Walt, 1984:239). The mission was called San Antonio de Senecú. leading to a later mistaken identification with the San Antonio site (LA 760) located some distance north near the village of San Antonio (Hodge, 1912, Pt. 2:508). For other interpretations of Piro settlements see Mecham (1925:map) and Schroeder (1979:240).

12 One league in the journal of Luxán consistently measures about 3 miles, slightly more than the standard 2.6 miles.


14 H&R, 1966:103. Wilcox, by locating San Felipe on the east side of the river, gives Gallegos's large Pina Pueblo a west side location at the Pilabo site (1991: 134, 140). Pilabo was an important pueblo and mission in the early Spanish colonial period but, because this site lies under the modern city of Socorro, its size and state of occupancy in the 1580s are unknown (Mera, 1940:8; Marshall and Walt, 1984:248, 345). Pilabo was probably one of the ruined pueblos reported by Luxán in 1583, making it more likely that Pina Pueblo occupied the large Las Cañas site on the east side of the river (H&R, 1966:173).

15 The site of Alamillo Pueblo cannot be located today, but is thought to be south of Alamillo Arroyo on the east side of the Rio Grande (Marshall and Walt, 1984:254-255).

16 An alternate interpretation puts the location of El Térmeno de Puala farther north in Tiwa territory at the Ladera del Sur site (LA 50257), too far north to account for the other pueblos that Luxán ascribed to that province (Snow, 1988, 102, 103).


18 San Pascual (LA 487) is the largest Piro site but neither Gallegos nor Luxán considered it large when they reported the size of pueblos through which they travelled, indicating that only a small part of it was occupied in the contact period (H&R, 1966:103, 173; Marshall and Walt, 1984:182).

19 In the colonial period the name Socorro came to be attached to the west side pueblo of Pilabo and nearby Spanish settlement but originally it was applied to the pueblo of Teypama located about 3.5 miles south (Marshall and Walt, 1984:248, 250).


29 ARMS File.


31 Reed, 1940:3; Warren, 1979:191. According to Hayes, Quarai was not occupied at this time. (Hayes, 1981:2).

32 H&R, 1966:107; Mera, 1940:14, 16.

33 Las Humanas Pueblo is part of the site known as Gran Quivira (LA 120).


37 H&R, 1953:324, 345, 393-394; Scholes and Mera, 1940:276-278.

38 According to Hayes the pottery at Pueblo Colorado indicates that it was abandoned by the early 1500s and that Pueblo Pardo was the third pueblo; however, Mera holds that there were four "Jumano" pueblos in the contact period and they probably included Colorado and Pardo in addition to Las Humanas and Blanco. (Hayes, 1981:7; Mera, 1940:15-17; ARMS File; Scholes and Mera, 1940:296-297 Cordell, 1979a:146).


40 Even more so than in the Piro province farther south in the Socorro Basin, the disturbance of Tiwa lands in the Albuquerque-Belen Basin by intensive agricultural and urban development as well as by periodic flooding and channel shifting have made identification of pueblo sites and their temporal placement especially difficult (Schaafsma, 1987:10). The basic work of site identification has been done by Bandelier (1892), Fisher (1931), Mera (1940), and Marshall and Walt (1986).

the correlate Justicia, Ramirez between have been on the east side Cerco Spaniards. Two referred to by name, contact period occupation (ARMS File; Mera, 1940: 20; Relación sacada de la probanza...que trata con Dn. García Ramírez de Cáderas (AGI Justicia, legajo 1021, pieza 3) and Información contra Francisco Vázquez de Coronado (AGI Justicia, legajo 1021, pieza 4); Bolton, 1990:208-208, 212, 216-219, 229; Tello, 1891:419-422, 425; Riley, 1995:177; Schroeder, 1992:185-187; Vierra and Hordes, in press; Scurlock, 1982:180).

H&R, 1966:103-105, 116-117, 176-177, 203; Relación sacada... y Información contra..., ibid.

See Mecham (1928:map) for another interpretation of the pueblos encountered by the Chamuscado expedition and Schroeder (1979:243) for a comparison of the Southern Tiwa pueblos of the Chamuscado and Espejo expeditions.


ARMS File; Mera, 1940:8; Marshall and Walt, 1984:211, 345.


There are two large west side pueblo sites in the general area but neither is opposite the Abo Confluencia site: Abeytas (LA 780) five miles to the south and Los Trujillos (LA 50271) eight miles north; neither shows evidence of contact period occupation (ARMS Files).

Because the late ceramics (Glazes E and F) found at the LA 953 site in the 1930s were not found in the survey of the 1980s, there is some doubt about the occupation of this site in the contact period, but it has not been ruled out (ARMS File; Mera, 1940:20; Marshall and Walt, 1985:n.p.; National Register Report; Franklin, 1994:75, 88).

There has been much difference of opinion over the identification of these pueblos in the northern Albuquerque Basin. One analysis of the Pueblo settlement pattern there is presented by Vivian (1932:14-77). A listing of different interpretations by various scholars is found in Scurlock (1982:180).


Alameda Pueblo (LA 421) was reported on the west side of the Rio Grande in Spanish chronicles and on maps as late as 1701 (Hackett, 1915:383-384; Mecham, 1926:277; Delisle, Carte des Environs du Mississi par G. de l'Isle Geogr, donne par Mr d'Ilberville in 1701—copy in the New Mexico State Historical Library and discussed in Wheat, v. 1, 1957:56-57). Subsequent reports, maps, and archaeological investigations show its location on the east side. A shift in the river's channel has been considered a possible explanation for this phenomenon. The river might have reoccupied, for a time, the more easterly channel it had established in an earlier era, but recent attempts to ascertain if this could have been the case have given inconclusive results (Staley, 1981:24; Martínez, Davis, and Sargeant, 1985:4:33-4:34, 4:6; Sargeant, 1987:38-39, 41-44; Kelley, 1959:15). A major flood in 1735 or 1736 might have caused the river to shift to the more westerly channel it still occupies (Martínez, Davis, and Sargeant, 1985:4:7). The Miera y Pacheco map of 1768 shows Alameda on the east side of the river (Kessl, 1979:385, endpapera). If the river did alter its course, nearby Chamiseal Pueblo (LA 22765) which was also located in the floodplain was probably affected and it, too, is considered a west side pueblo in the contact period.


H&R, 1966:293.


H&R suggest that Castildabid was LA 922, located on the west side of the Río Grande and known as Katishlya or Oldest San Felipe (H&R, 1966:58-59). The LA 922 site has yielded Glaze A-E ceramics but was probably abandoned by contact time in favor of the LA 3137 site which has Glazes A and C-F. LA 3137 is also called Katishlya, but is more commonly known as Old San Felipe or Tamita.

H&R suggest that Talaván was LA 35, Cañada Pueblo, which has yielded Glaze A-E ceramics but which is located in inaccessible canyon northwest of Cochiti unlike La Bajada (Glazes A-F) which is located on the open plain east of Cochiti (H&R, 1986:59; ARMS File).

Schroeder, 1990:259.


Tipolti has been interpreted as Santa Ana Pueblo but evidence from Ofate and the 1602 map would indicate that La Bajada might be a better match (H&R, 1956:204; Riley, 1995:235).


Siehan has been interpreted as Zia Pueblo, but Luxán and Españo placed Zia in their Punami province, and noted that Siehan was a Quires pueblo (Riley, 1995:236; H&R, 1966:180, 204, 223).


That site has not been identified and the LA number for Santo Domingo Pueblo used in this study is that of the present site (LA 1281) which dates from about 1700 (ARMS File; Bandelier, 1882:184, 185-186; Hodges, Pt. 2, 1912:462). Absence of sixteenth century ceramics at the Cochiti site (LA 126) suggests a similar history of displacement by flooding and loss of the contact period site (ARMS File; Warren, 1973:n.p.; Warren, 1979:191).

H&R, 1966:294; Schroeder and Matson, 1966:175. In this instance Castano de Sosa seems to have used the standard league of 2.6 miles. The La Vega site is about 2.5 miles south of Santo Domingo Pueblo, or one standard
league, whereas San Felipe is 7 miles away, or almost 2 long leagues. In other instances Castaño de Sosa uses the long league which measures about four miles.

97 H&R, 1953:337, 345; Snow, 1958:104. A sixth pueblo was listed, the pueblo of the "ciénaga of Carabajal", which might be construed to be La Cienaga Pueblo (LA 44) except the site yields only post-contact pottery.


99 ARMS File; Mera, 1940:24; Stuart and Gautier, 1984:99.

100 H&R, 1953:345, 393; Schroeder and Matson, 1965:162.

101 Warren, 1969:37; Schroeder, 1980:260-261. There is a medium-sized pueblo on the Arroyo del Tuerto about two miles northwest of Tonque Pueblo that archeologists have named Pueblo Tuerto (LA 38928) but it was abandoned by 1500 (National Register Report).


112 An alternate view holds that Oñate went back to the Rio Grande via the east side of the Sandias and that Portezuelo was Pas-ko, but Oñate knew Pas-ko by that name because "Paaco" appears on one of his lists (Reed, 1940:7; H&R, 1953:348). The Silva Site (LA 12924) is another pueblo site for which ceramic evidence to support its occupation in the contact period is not clear (mainly Glaze F) but neither can such occupation be ruled out (ARMS File; National Register Report; Marshall and Walt, 1985:n.p.).


117 Nelson, 1914:20-22; Reed, 1943:258.


121 Reed's designation of Piedrahita as Pecos is countered by the more likely proposal that another pueblo named in the Chamuscado report, Talcaca, was Pecos (Reed, 1943:290; H&R, 1966:61, 105-106, 130, 135; Riley, 1995:231).


123 A mining site called Santa Catalina was also mentioned by members of the Chamuscado expedition, but it was described as five leagues (13 miles) from San Marcos (their Malpartida). They could have been referring to mines in Arroyo del Tuerto in the San Pedro Mountains east of the Sandia Mountains that are known to have been worked in pre-contact times (H&R, 1928:301, 334; Warren, 1979a:9).


127 Nelson holds that this pueblo was La Cienega (LA 44) but Glaze F ceramics indicate that it was probably not established until after 1600 (Nelson, 1914:242, 25, 26; Mera, 1940:29).


130 Reed, 1943:263, 264.


descendants abandoned by its few remaining survivors in 1838, they joined their linguistic relatives at Jemez and Robert W. Delaney with help from members of the pueblo could reveal other pueblos that were occupied in the beginning date is accepted as 1540-1598 contact period.

officer Francisco de Barrionuevo when he was inspecting the pueblos at the Rio Grande-Rio Chama confluence were located on the Steen, Files, Peckham, 1934:12). Ceramic dating of the other (LA 63) was the site because its Glaze A ceramics are not late enough to place it in the contact period (Schaafsma, 1996:maps following page 31.

150 Mera, 1934:19; Wilcox, 1991:142-143.


153 The pottery at Jacona (LA 1065), Tewa Polychrome, is generally attributed to the post-contact period but, if its beginning date is accepted as 1550 rather than 1600, this pueblo might have been the one Castaño de Sosa visited; otherwise that site might have been eroded beyond recognition (Breternitz, 1966:97). It is not likely that nearby Jaconita (LA 63) was the site because its Glaze A ceramics are not late enough to place it in the contact period (ARMS Files; Mera, 1934:12). Ceramic dating of the other Pojoaque drainage area pueblos in the contact period is based on ARMS Files, National Register Reports, Mera, 1934:12-13, and Ellis and Brody, 1964:34.


156 ARMS Files; National Register Reports.


164 See note 148.

165 ARMS Files; Mera, 1934:19; Beal, 1987:19; Cordell, 1979:51-53; Anschuetz, Maxwell, and Ware, 1988:13-14.


169 Some scholars doubt that Alvarado visited Taos (Riley, 1995:165-167). To reach it from Pecos, which is located at the southern end of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, he would have had to follow a very circuitous route, and there are no clues to indicate what route he might have taken.

Neither the Chamuscado nor the Espejo expedition reached the Far North Subregion. A pueblo called Nueva Tlaxcala by Gallegos, chronicler of the Chamuscado expedition, has been identified as Taos by some scholars, but subsequent opinion has settled on Pecos as a more likely candidate (H&R, 1966:106; Mecham, 1926:281; Jenkins, 1966:87).
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Whitney, William and Robert W. Delaney with contributions by the people of the Pueblo of Jemez

Wimberly, Mark and Peter Eidenbach

Winship, George P.

Winter, Joseph C.

Wozniak, Frank E.
BASED ON THE ENRICO MARTINEZ MAP OF 1602
Map 3. Rio Grande Pueblos: 1540-1598
Southern Subregions

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Scale in Miles
Scale is Approximate

Map Created by Den Helfrich
Map 4. Rio Grande Pueblos: 1540-1598
Estancia Basin Subregion

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Map 5. Rio Grande Pueblos: 1540-1598
West-Central Subregions

Map created by Dan Holrich

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Scale in Miles
Scale is Approximate
Map Created by Dan Holrich
Map 6. Rio Grande Pueblos: 1540-1598
East-Central Subregions

**Santo Domingo Basin**

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Map created by Don Hallrich
### Upper Jemez River

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### Española Basin

| 70   | 1064 | Tesuque       |
| 71   | 38   | Gypsum       |
| 72   | 17   | Nambe        |
| 73   | 61   | Pojoque      |
| 74   | 1065 | Jacena       |
| 75   | 6138 | San Ildefonso|
| 76   | 925  | Santa Clara  |
| 77   | 59   | Yunque       |
| 78   | 874  | San Juan     |
| 79   | 144  | Pojo         |

### The Far North

| 82   | 127  | Pueblis       |
| 83   | 3922 | Taos         |

### Pajarito Plateau

| D    | 3444 | Kuapa        |
| E    | 82   | Tyuonyi      |
| F    | 170  | Taione       |
| G    | 211  | Sankawi’i    |
| H    | 169  | Poteuwyi     |
| I    | 47   | Puye         |

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