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THE LANGUAGE OF THE SALINE PUEBLOS PIRO OR TIWA?

By ALBERT H. SCHROEDER*

IN the 1600's, pueblos along the east side of the Manzano Mountains, New Mexico, often were referred to collectively as the Pueblos of the Salines because of their proximity to the salt lakes (map 1). Missions were established among them, beginning in the early 1600's, but Spanish settlement in the region did not take place until long after the Pueblo Indians of this area abandoned their homes. A combination of droughts beginning in the 1660's and raids by the Apaches of the Sierra Blanca and of the Seven Rivers (Guadalupe Mountains), forerunners of those today called Mes-calero Apaches, gradually broke down the morale and subsistence economy of the people of the Saline Pueblos. By the middle 1670's they abandoned their homes, joining other pueblos on the Rio Grande.

For years, historians¹ have been referring to the people

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1. Adolf F. Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States*, Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America (Boston, 1892), pp. 253ff. J. Lloyd Mecham, "The Martyrdom of Father Juan de Santa Maria," *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 6 (Washington, 1920), p. 314. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *The Gallegos Relation of the Rodriguez Expedition to New Mexico*, Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications in History, 4 (Santa Fe, 1927), p. 50 (note 104). Frederick W. Hodge, George P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey, *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634*, Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 4 (Albuquerque, 1945), pp. 254 (note 75), 265 (note 80).

The pueblos of New Mexico speak three languages, Zuni, Keres, and Tanoan. The last has three divisions—Tewa, Towa, and Tiwa. The Towa has two dialects, Jemez and Pecos, and the Tiwa has three, northern Tiwa, southern Tiwa, and Piro. The Tanos of the Galisteo Basin spoke the language of the Tewa according to Governor Diego de Vargas in 1692 (J. Manuel Espinosa, *First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico, 1692*, Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publication, 10 (Albuquerque, 1940), p. 80.

Scholes was the first to show some doubts regarding the affiliation of the Saline group to the Tiwas. In 1930 he referred to "the Tompiro or Saline villages." In 1940 he noted that the 14 or 15 pueblos that Benavides identified as Tompiro were "usually classified as the Manzano branch of the Tiwa," and suggests that some were Tiwa. In 1945 he remarked that the Tompiro "included Abo, Tenabo, and other towns in the 'Salinas' area." France V. Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century, 1663-1680," *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. 5 (Albuquerque,

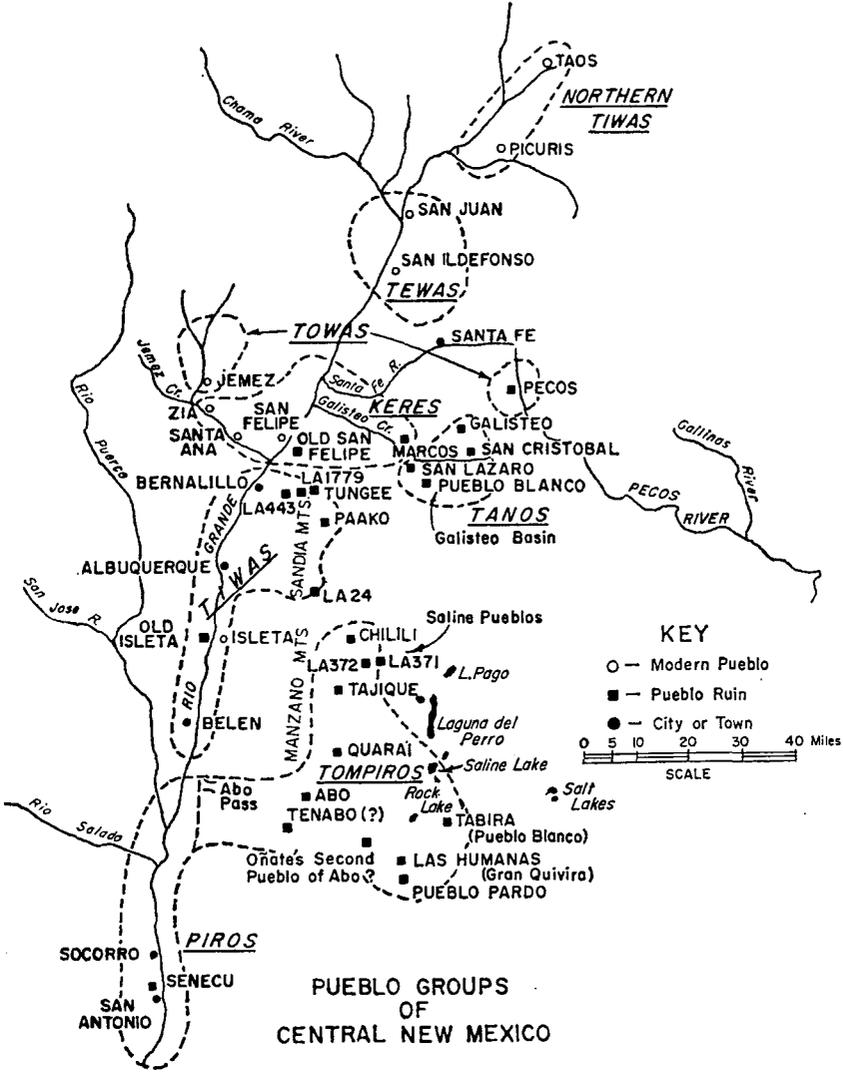
of the Humanas pueblos (Gran Quivira, Pueblo Pardo, and Pueblo Blanco) and Abó as Tompiro-speakers and those from Quarai to Chililí as a group that spoke the Tiwa language, a tongue known to have been used by the people along the Rio Grande between the junction of the Rio Puerco on the south and Jemez Creek on the north. It is important to note that all statements labeling Indians of the Saline Pueblos as Tiwa-speaking were made *after* the abandonment of these pueblos in the 1670's. All contemporary reports of the 1600's (issued prior to the abandonment of these pueblos) that make any reference to the language of these people indicate that it was not Tiwa. The following review of documentary data relating to the subject strongly suggests that all of the people east of the Manzano Mountains spoke the same language.

From the very beginning of historic times in New Mexico the documents indicate that all of the pueblos to the east of the Sandia and Manzano Mountains were identified, for one reason or another, as groups separate from the Tiwas on the Rio Grande. Chroniclers of the Coronado expedition of 1540-42 described Tiguex (Tiwa province) as a province of 12 pueblos "on the banks of a large and mighty river," thus restricting the Tiwa province to the river valley.

Pedro de Castañeda also noted that "to the east there is a snow-covered sierra, very high and rough [Sandia Mountains]. At its foot, on the other side, there are seven pueblos, four in the plain and three sheltered on the slope of the sierra." His listing of all of the pueblos visited by the expedition contains one group referred to as seven pueblos of the "sierra nevada."² *This indicates that these pueblos were separate from those listed for Tiguex and Galisteo Basin.*

1930), pp. 400-01. France V. Scholes and H. P. Mera, "Some Aspects of the Jumano Problem," *Contributions to American Anthropology and History*, No. 34, Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 523 (Washington, 1940), pp. 277, 280. Scholes in Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, *Benavides' Revised Memorial*, p. 264 (note 79).

2. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542*. Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 2 (Albuquerque, 1940), pp. 253-54, 258-59.



Of the pueblos of this time period in and around the Sandias, only five possible sites are known—Tungee, LA 1779, LA 443, Paako, and LA 24, all on the slopes of the mountain, but only the last two are on the east side. If Castañeda's Sierra Nevada included the Manzano Mountains as well as the Sandias, then the pueblos on the plain could have been any four of the five known to have been occupied at that time—Chililí, Tajique, LA 371 and LA 372 between the above two pueblos, and Quarai.³

In 1582, the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition came up the Rio Grande, crossed to the west side of the river, went over the mesa behind San Felipe, and entered another valley (Jemez) to visit a pueblo, probably present Santa Ana.⁴ On returning to the Rio Grande "over the same road by which they had gone," they crossed to the "south" bank (southeast bank). Bolton said west, thinking it was Jemez Creek that was being crossed. This was an erroneous assumption on his part since the Spaniards went east from here to see the bison on the Plains without another crossing of the Rio Grande being mentioned. The river crossing was made from west to east from a pueblo they had previously visited and called Castildavid, probably the site of present San Felipe. From here they went up a "small" river (probably Tunque Arroyo) that joined the other (Rio Grande). Three pueblos were seen on this stream (excluding old San Felipe near the mouth of Tunque Arroyo?). These probably were Tungee, its neighbor (LA 1779), and Paako, the last being on the east side around the north end of the Sandias. At this last pueblo the Spaniards learned that there were eleven or thirteen other pueblos about three days farther up the small

3. LA (Laboratory of Anthropology) site locales are either from the Museum of New Mexico files or H. P. Mera, *Population Changes in the Rio Grande Glaze Paint Area*, Laboratory of Anthropology Technical Series Bulletin 9 (Santa Fe, 1940).

4. Publications on the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition have suggested that this party went up the Rio Grande as far north as Taos pueblo. Internal evidence of the report indicates that they did not proceed beyond the junction of the Rio Grande and Galisteo Creek. For this reason the pueblos as identified herein do not agree with those proposed by Meham and Hammond cited above.

river to the south that were "of a different nation and tongue from these."⁵

Since the west slopes of the Sandias were used as a refuge by Tiwas,⁶ and old San Felipe formerly was located near the mouth of Tunque Arroyo, perhaps the people of the three pueblos on the small river were either Keres and/or Tiwas. The pueblos of a different language farther up the river to the south probably were Chililí, Tajique, LA 371, LA 372, Quarai, Gran Quivira, Tabirá (present Pueblo Blanco near Willard), Pueblo Pardo, Abó, Tenabó, and Oñate's second pueblo of Abó (which never has been located). The Spaniards did not go to these eleven pueblos, but from the last one visited (Paako) they went on (east) to see the bison on the Plains. They "returned down the river through the same country they had traversed" and arrived at Puaray.⁷ Thus, the people of the three pueblos on the small stream may have been either Keres or Tiwa-speakers, but the eleven farther to the south and on the east side of the mountains *definitely were identified as belonging to another language group*.

The Rodríguez-Chamuscado party, however, later did visit some of these pueblos east of the mountains. After making a trip to Zuñi and returning to Puaray, they learned of some salines 14 leagues from Puaray. They found them behind (east of) the mountains named Sierra Morena (Manzanos), probably going east to the salines by way of Tijeras Canyon. They visited many (five) pueblos of the salines but were unable to go to three described as very large, which also were near the salines.⁸ These last three possibly were the three Humanas pueblos (Gran Quivira, Pueblo Pardo, and Pueblo Blanco) or the most southern and western pueb-

5. Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706* (New York, 1952), pp. 147-149. Hammond and Rey, *Gallegos Relation*, p. 49.

6. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Expedition into New Mexico made by Antonio de Espejo, 1582-1583*, Quivira Society, 1 (Los Angeles, 1929), p. 80.

7. Bolton, *Spanish Explorations*, pp. 148-149.

8. *Ibid.* Hammond and Rey, *Gallegos Relation*, pp. 50, 64.

los of the group—Gran Quivira, Tenabó, and Oñate's second pueblo of Abó. Having approached the salines from the south end of the Sandia Mountains and having turned southeast out of Tijeras Canyon, the journalists of this expedition did not realize that these pueblos were among the eleven reported before (at Paako). They seem to have assumed that the eleven pueblos were all on the upper waters of the river (San Pedro Arroyo in the headwaters of Tunque Arroyo) draining north on the east side of the Sandias. Aside from Paako and LA 24, no other ruins of any size and of this time period are known to be on the east side of Sandia Mountain, certainly nothing approaching the figure eleven.

Fray Juan de Santa Maria, one of three friars with the Rodríguez-Chamuscado party, had decided to return to Mexico by himself to report on the explorations to date. He left Galisteo Basin and two or three days later was killed in the Sierra Morena (Manzanos), probably on the east slopes since he was taking a straight-line short cut south to the Rio Grande (toward the Socorro region) from Galisteo Basin. Mecham's study of this expedition identifies the killers as Tiwas, possibly because the pueblos from Quarai north were so termed by earlier historians. The only lead in the documents of the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition is the statement in the Gallegos relation that the Indians of the Galisteo Basin (Tanos) followed the friar and killed him.⁹

Reports of the Antonio de Espejo expedition of 1582-83 also refer to the people east of the mountains. After coming north up the Rio Grande, Espejo established a camp near the north end of the Piro settlements on the river. He then took a few men and made a side trip (probably via Abó Pass) to a province of eleven pueblos which he called Magrias, *thus distinguishing the latter group from the Piros on the Rio Grande.*

Espejo only visited two of the eleven pueblos (the more western in locale), probably Tenabó and Abó or Tenabó and

9. Hammond and Rey, *Gallegos Relation*, pp. 37-38. Mecham, "Martyrdom," p. 314.

Oñate's "second pueblo of Abó" which was closer to Gran Quivira than was Abó. It is obvious that the first pueblo visited by Espejo was not Abó, since he stated that the village had two plazas and four kivas. Abó, built in the form of a large compound, exhibits one plaza and one or possibly two kivas. Diego Pérez de Luxán, who accompanied Espejo, remarked that this province was reached by going 10 leagues from the Rio Grande, that it "adjoined the region of the cows" (bison country), that Chamuscado had not visited it, and "that here they [Indians] had killed one of the religious, called Fray Juan de Santa Maria."¹⁰ The "they" in the above quote may refer either to the people of this province, one of the two pueblos visited, or to any Indians (such as those who, according to Gallegos' account, followed the friar from Galisteo Basin). In any case, the locale of the friar's death seems definitely to have been within this province east of the Manzanos, not on the Rio Grande or among the Tiwas. Perhaps the good father was trying to reach the Rio Grande via Abó Pass and met his end at one of the two pueblos Espejo visited.

It appears that Luxán also assumed that these eleven pueblos were separate from those reported by the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition and were not one and the same as the pueblos near the salines, some of which were visited by Rodríguez and Chamuscado on a side trip out of Puaray. In short, the expedition of 1582 saw the more northern pueblos of this province, near the salines, and the Espejo party of 1583 saw the most southwesterly pueblos. Neither, however, seems to have reached the pueblo of Las Humanas in the southeastern part of the province, as far as can be determined from the documents.

Castañón de Sosa did not visit nor mention any pueblos east of the Manzanos in 1591. Though he seems to have

10. Hammond and Rey, *Antonio de Espejo*, pp. 76-78. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, pp. 179-181. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Oregon's History of Sixteenth Century Explorations in Western America* . . . Mexico, 1584 (Los Angeles, 1928), p. 322.

visited Tungee before reaching the Rio Grande in the Tiwa area around Bernalillo, the journal entry is not clear as to whether the people at Tungee, which a few days before had been attacked and deserted, were related to those on the Rio Grande. "From the information which they had there [east of the Rio Grande or at Santo Domingo], and which they had given us everywhere in the country, these [on the Rio Grande] were the pueblos that had killed the Padres. . . ." "These were the pueblos" definitely implies a group or province different from the others that Castaño had visited up to this point. However, this entry does not definitely separate the pueblos along Tunque Arroyo from the Tiwas.¹¹

Seven years later, Oñate defined the border between the Tiwas and the pueblos east of the Sandias. On October 6, 1598, he left San Juan pueblo and went through the Tewa pueblos to the south. The following day he reached San Marcos pueblo, and then on the 8th he traveled 6 leagues (his league was roughly about 4 miles) to "El Tuerto," thought to be near present Golden or San Pedro by various historians. Since no sites of this period are known there, El Tuerto may well have been Tungee. From this pueblo Oñate went 2 leagues to the first pueblo (Paako) behind the sierra (Sandias), "the last of Puaray" (meaning people of Puaray or Tiwa-speakers). Thus the *Tiwa-speaking pueblos did not extend south of Paako on the east side of the Sandias, in which direction Oñate was traveling*. If Paako was a Tiwa pueblo, then the eleven pueblos south of it (referred to by the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition as a group that spoke a language different from what appears to be this same pueblo) were non-Tiwas.

On the 10th Oñate covered 5 leagues and reached the first pueblo of the salines (Chililí) below the last pueblo of Puaray. On the following day he went another 5 leagues to

11. Albert H. Schroeder and Dan S. Matson, *Castaño de Sosa's Entry into New Mexico, 1590-1591* (in press).

the last of the pueblos of the salines (passing through Tajique and arriving at Quarai) where he remained for three days. He then went 3 leagues to Abó on the 15th, and on the 16th marched 4 leagues to the one large and two smaller pueblos of Humanas (4 leagues would have taken him to Gran Quivira, but not to the other two pueblos, especially Tabirá). After receiving the obedience of Cueloze, called the town of the Rayados (present Gran Quivira), Oñate went 1½ leagues on the 17th to the second pueblo of Abó (possibly the second of the two visited by Espejo in 1583). On the 18th he returned to the last pueblo of the salines (Quarai) and then to the first pueblo of the same group. Thus Oñate specifically mentioned seven pueblos below the "last of Puaray" in the region where eleven pueblos previously had been reported by two other expeditions. In passing from the first to the last pueblo of the salines, he did not specify the number of pueblos seen in between. These would have included Tajique, LA 371, and LA 372, which would bring the total of pueblos probably seen to 10. The eleventh probably was Tenabó, which he did not see.

From the first pueblo of the salines (Chililí), Oñate returned to the Rio Grande via a pueblo called Portezuelo (probably LA 24), east of Albuquerque on the east end of Tijeras Canyon. This probably was a Tiwa pueblo since Chililí to the southeast was referred to as the first pueblo of the salines the day before coming to Portezuelo from Chililí. Another 7 leagues of travel brought Oñate to the pueblo on the Rio Grande to which Father Claros had been assigned and from which Oñate went on to Acoma.¹² Father

12. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628*. Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 5-6 (Albuquerque, 1953), pp. 324, 353, 393-94. Bandelier suggested that the people of Paako were Tano-speakers (southern Tewas) on the basis of statements of informants of Tanoan descent at Santo Domingo about 200 years after Paako was abandoned. Bandelier agreed because a high ridge separates Paako from Chililí to the south and because Paako was close to the supposedly Tano (southern Tewa) villages near Golden. See his *Final Report*, p. 114. Oñate's contemporary statement is far more reliable.

Claros' pueblo was the Tiwa pueblo of Isleta.¹³ *Thus the Tiwa area did not extend east of Tijeras Canyon.*

The assignments of the friars in 1598 also separate the Tiwas from the pueblos east of the Manzano Mountains. Among the pueblos assigned to Fray Francisco de Miguel were Pecos, the seven pueblos of the cienega to the east (Galisteo Basin), the pueblos of the great saline back of the Sierra de Puaray, plus another 17 unidentified pueblos, and the three large pueblos of the Humanas or Rayados "called in their Atziqui [Piro] language, Genobey, Quello-tezei [Gran Quivira], and Pataotzei. . ."¹⁴ Thus the Humanas were placed in the same language group as the Piros of the Rio Grande.

That Atziqui or Tziqui referred to the Piro people and language and should not be confused with the Tiwas, there can be no doubt. Oñate reported to the viceroy that he had inspected "the province of the Tziquis [Piros], which one passes on the way from New Spain [up the Rio Grande]; the province of the Xumanas; the province of the Chiguas [Tiwas], which we Spaniards call Puaray; the province of the Cheres [Keres] . . . the province of Abbó and the Salines [including both in the same province]; the province of Tzuni;" etc.¹⁵ It is also to be noted in the above quotation that Espejo's province of Magrias with eleven pueblos is treated as two by Oñate, wherein he separates the three Humanas pueblos from the other group consisting of the pueblos of Abó and the Salines.

Fray Juan Claros was assigned to the "Chiguas, or Tiguas [Tiwas]" as well as "the province of Atzigues [Piros] down the river,"¹⁶ thus separating the Piros on the river from those east of the Rio Grande who were assigned to Father Francisco de Miguel.

Fray Alonso de Benavides also made a distinction be-

13. Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, *Benavides' Revised Memorial*, p. 256.

14. Hammond and Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate*, p. 345.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 483.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 346.

tween the Piros and Tiwas. He referred to them respectively as Tihues and Tioas. Hodge, believing these were two variations in the spelling of Tiwas, thought Benavides was confused in representing them as two separate groups. Actually, Benavides' Tihues and Tioas correspond to Oñate's Tziguis and Chiguas (or Tiguas).¹⁷

Benavides, after describing the Keres on the Rio Grande, turned his attention to another group that he called Tompiras. He wrote:

Leaving the Rio del Norte [Rio Grande] on the left [looking to the north] and drawing away from the above-mentioned nation [Keres] ten leagues toward the east, the Tompira nation begins. Its first pueblo is Chilili. It extends [south] for more than fifteen leagues through those regions, through fourteen or fifteen pueblos. . . . Among the pueblos of this nation is a large one which . . . is called Xumanas, because this nation often comes there to trade and barter.¹⁸

Thus Benavides, like Oñate, points to Chililí as the northernmost pueblo of a language group distinct from either the Tiwas or Piros. He also mentions four more pueblos than did Espejo in 1583 and the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition in 1582. It is quite possible that four more pueblos had sprung up in the intervening 40 years, though current archaeological surveys have not yet identified them. While Oñate had combined the pueblos of Abó and those of the salines into one province and had placed the Humanas in a province of their own, Benavides seems to have put them all into one language group, the Tompiro, though he never mentioned Abó specifically.

Father Estevan de Perea, who followed Benavides as custodian, brought a number of new friars to New Mexico. They were assigned "among the great pueblo of the Humanas, and among those called Piros and Tompiros. . . ."¹⁹

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 346, 348. Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, *Benavides' Revised Memorial*, p. 241.

18. Hodge, Hammond and Rey, *Benavides' Revised Memorial*, pp. 65-66.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 211-212.

Thus Perea also separated the Piros from the Tompiros east of the Rio Grande. The friars he listed were assigned as follows: two to the Piros on the Rio Grande, one to Humanas (Francisco Letrado), one to Abó (Francisco de Acevedo), one to Quarai (Estevan de Perea), one to Santa Fe (plus two whom I cannot place). Thus, aside from these last three, the friars were placed among the Piros and Tompiros, *including specifically the pueblos of Quarai and Tajique* as stated by Perea himself.

Scholes pointed out some years ago that the people of Abó apparently spoke the same language as those of Humanas,²⁰ according to documents of the middle 1600's. Vetancurt, who wrote shortly after these pueblos east of the mountains were abandoned, stated that Chilili was converted by and that its church was constructed by Fray Alonso Peinado. "The Piros nation had more than 1500 Christians who were converted by Fray Alonso Peinado, whose body is interred there [at Chilili]."²¹ Aside from a short period of duty at the Tewa pueblo of San Ildefonso in 1612, Peinado spent the remainder of his life at Chilili,²² and thus the term Piros in the above quotation must refer to Chilili and its neighboring pueblos which normally were referred to as Tompiros in the early 1600's.

Vetancurt's reference to Quarai in the 1690's represents what seems to be the beginning of the confusion relating to the language spoken at these pueblos after they were abandoned in the 1670's. "It [Quarai] had 600 Christians of the Tigua nation who spoke the language of the Piros."²³ By 1778 Father Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, who had been examining archival material, wrote that the Apaches had destroyed a number of pueblos, "seven [sic] in the valley of the Salinas, which were Chilili, Tanque [Tajique], and Cuarac of the Tihuas Indians, Abó, Jumanas, and Tabira of

20. Scholes and Mera, "Jumano Problem," p. 283.

21. Bandelier, *Final Report*, p. 256 (notes 34).

22. Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, *Benavides' Revised Memorial*, p. 265.

23. Bandelier, *Final Report*, p. 264 (note 1).

the Tompiros.”²⁴ Had he written the name “Tihues,” as had Benavides, we could have assumed Piro was meant. Thus, within 100 years after abandonment, the northern group of pueblos of the salines had their language changed from Piro to Tiwa, perhaps on the slip of the pen in writing an ‘a’ for an ‘e’. Thus the pen seems to have been mightier than the word in this case.

The distribution of the Tompiro language on the east side of the Manzano Mountains correlates with the distribution of Chupadero Black-on-white pottery, a type that was manufactured between A.D. 1150 and 1700. This type originally had a greater range to the east and south than the Tompiro language and pueblos of early historic times.²⁵ This difference is easily accounted for since the Indians who made this pottery and who lived near the mountains and also farther to the east and south in prehistoric times, concentrated closer to the mountains around A.D. 1300 and constructed the large pueblos which survived into historic times. These latter pueblos coincide with the distribution of the Tompiro language in historic times, and this coincidence in range suggests that all of the culturally related Indians who made Chupadero Black-on-white pottery over a larger area in prehistoric times also were Tompiro-speakers.

Of interest too is the occurrence of Casa Colorado Black-on-white, a pottery type closely related to Chupadero Black-on-white, that is found on late prehistoric sites along the Rio Grande in the area of the historic Piro-speakers.²⁶ Thus the two closely related pottery types in the Piro and Tompiro areas indicate as close a relationship in culture as do the language dialects that have been discussed.

The reason for the confusion on the language spoken in the saline area is due primarily to the fact that the Indians

24. *Ibid.*, p. 257 (note 1).

25. H. P. Mera, *Ceramic Clues to the Prehistory of North Central New Mexico*. Laboratory of Anthropology Technical Series Bulletin 8 (Ann Arbor, 1935), pp. 36-37, map 4.

26. *Ibid.*, map 4.

who abandoned the region in the 1670's and those who left the Piro area in 1680 both spoke dialects of the same language stock that includes Tiwa. The Tanoan stock contains three languages—Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa. There are, according to Harrington, two dialects of Towa (Pecos and Jemez), only one Tewa language, and three Tiwa dialects (Taos-Picurís or northern Tiwa, Sandia-Isleta or southern Tiwa, and Piro).²⁷ He makes no reference to Tompiro which was a dialect distinguished from that of the Piro according to the documents.

The dialects thus help to explain Vetancurt's statement that the people of Quarai were of the Tiwa nation and spoke the Piro language. However, the documents and the ceramics indicate that the people of the saline area were more closely related culturally and linguistically to the Piros on the Rio Grande than to their other dialectic relatives, the southern Tiwas.

SUMMARY

Coronado's chroniclers referred to the Indians east of the Sandias as being to the east of the Tiwas, and Castañeda specifically listed these pueblos as separate from those of the Tiwas. The Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition indicated that the pueblos east of the mountains and south of the Paako area spoke a different language. Espejo separated the pueblos east of the Manzano Mountains from the Piro-speakers on the Rio Grande. Oñate described the pueblos of the Salines as being separate from the Tiwa-speakers of Paako and also stated that the Humanas spoke the language of the Piros.

Oñate reported that the pueblos of Abó and the salines (total of 8?) were one province separate from that of the Humanas (total of 3). These eleven pueblos are those that the journals of the Rodríguez-Chamuscado and the Espejo expeditions set off as one province and were those referred

27. J. P. Harrington, "An Introductory Paper on the Tiwa language, Dialect of Taos, New Mexico." *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 12 (Lancaster, 1910), pp. 12-13.

to by Benavides as one nation and as one linguistic group. Perea indicates the same. During the middle 1600's the people of Abó were reported to speak the same language as the Humanas. In the 1600's the only language groups mentioned in relation to these pueblos east of the Manzanos were Atzigui [Piro], Tihue [Piro], Piro, or Tompiro, but never Tiwa. All the evidence of contemporary documents indicates that all of the people of the pueblos east of the Manzano Mountains spoke a variation of the Piro tongue called Tompiro.