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Lived Experience in New Mexico, 1754-2019: A Historical Archaeology With and For a
Genízaro Community

By

Alexandra Catherine McCleary

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Anthropology

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Jun Sunseri, Chair

Professor Kent Lightfoot

Professor Laurie Wilkie

Professor Thomas Dandeleit

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Abstract

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Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Jun Sunseri, Chair

Deep contestations of essentialized identity categories are a contemporary reality for communities for whom cultural patrimony of land and water resources play a crucial role. Yet, archaeology has not been able to adequately recognize the dynamics of the changing nature of identity practices which shaped interactions between groups of people, particularly in areas with a sustained colonial presence and resource-challenged ecologies. The high-elevation, semi-arid climate and historical complexity of Northern New Mexico provide such a context. My research objective is to understand how Genízaro Indian communities are sensitive to the historically particular dynamics of ethnopolitical empowerment and racialization in the 18th to early 20th centuries. This project uses an examination of the documentary record, faunal remains, and commensurate data from excavated materials from Genízaro communities in New Mexico to build upon existing models of cultural hybridity and ethnogenesis.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the Genízaro Indians of the Pueblo de Abiquiú, past and present.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: An Introduction to Genízaro Identity Formations in New Mexico	1
<i>The Emergence of Genízaros: Slavery in the Southwest</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Genízaros and the Sistema de Casta:</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>Genízaro Land Grants: Resolving a Colonial Quandary.....</i>	<i>4</i>
Acculturation	6
Ethnogenesis	9
Vecino Studies.....	10
<i>Problems with Vecino Scholarship.....</i>	<i>12</i>
Contemporary Genízaros Experiences.....	15
Conclusion: Reconciling Ethnogenesis and Racialization in the Archaeological Study of Genízaros.....	18
Introduction	21
Contextualizing Community-Based Participatory Research	21
<i>CBPR and Allied Fields.....</i>	<i>24</i>
The Components of a CBPR Project.....	25
<i>“Participatory in All Aspects...”</i>	<i>26</i>
<i>“That Builds Community Capacity...”</i>	<i>26</i>
<i>“Engaging in a Spirit of Reciprocity...”</i>	<i>27</i>
<i>Power, Trust, and Research</i>	<i>28</i>
<i>“... And Recognizing the Contributions of Other Knowledge Systems”</i>	<i>30</i>
Critiques of Community-Based Participatory Research.....	30
<i>CBPR and Indigenous Archaeologies as “Unscientific”</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>CBPR as “Indigenous Essentialism”</i>	<i>33</i>
The Berkeley-Abiquiú Collaborative Archaeology (BACA) Project as a CBPR Project. 35	
<i>The BACA Project as Participatory in All Aspects</i>	<i>38</i>
<i>The BACA Project’s Efforts to Build Community Capacity.....</i>	<i>39</i>
<i>The BACA Project’s Engagement in a Spirit of Reciprocity.....</i>	<i>41</i>
<i>The BACA Project and Mutual Accountability.....</i>	<i>42</i>
<i>Learning from the Abiquiú Community.....</i>	<i>45</i>

The BACA Project’s Recognition of the Contributions of Other Knowledge Systems	45
Conclusion.....	46
Chapter 3: Establishing Genízaro as an Enduring Category of Identity	47
Introduction to Newspaper Research.....	47
<i>Methods:</i>	<i>49</i>
<i>Caveats:</i>	<i>49</i>
Findings.....	50
<i>Results from New Mexican Newspapers.....</i>	<i>50</i>
<i>Results from Out-of-State Sources.....</i>	<i>53</i>
Discussion.....	54
<i>Janissaries at Home and Abroad.....</i>	<i>54</i>
<i>The Politics of Exclusion: “Genízaro” as a Racial Epithet.....</i>	<i>60</i>
<i>“Half-Breeds”</i>	<i>62</i>
Conclusion.....	64
Chapter 4: Abiquiú in Historical and Archaeological Context	66
Introduction	66
<i>A Note on Source Materials.....</i>	<i>66</i>
The Genízaro Pueblo de Abiquiú in Historical Context.....	67
<i>The Chama Valley Prior to Spanish Colonization</i>	<i>67</i>
<i>The Hopi Presence at Abiquiú and the Plaza de Moque:.....</i>	<i>68</i>
Santo Tomás de Abiquiú.....	72
<i>Population Estimates for Abiquiú.....</i>	<i>74</i>
<i>The Genízaro Pueblo de Abiquiú as a Buffer Community.....</i>	<i>75</i>
<i>Social and Political Organization at the Genízaro Pueblo of Abiquiú</i>	<i>76</i>
<i>Religious Life at Abiquiú</i>	<i>78</i>
<i>Abiquiú in the Territorial Period.....</i>	<i>83</i>
<i>Archaeological Excavations at Santo Tomás de Abiquiú.....</i>	<i>86</i>
Conclusion.....	87
Chapter 5: Excavating Abiquiú.....	89
Survey, Excavation, and Lab Methods.....	91

<i>Survey Method</i>	91
<i>Excavation Field Forms</i>	92
<i>Excavation Methods</i>	92
<i>Soil Samples</i>	93
<i>Micromorphology</i>	93
<i>Lab Methods</i>	93
<i>A Note on Ceramics</i>	94
Abiquiú 1	95
<i>Site overview and background</i>	95
<i>GPR at Abiquiú 1</i>	96
<i>Excavation Results</i>	99
<i>Units B1, C1, and D1</i>	100
<i>Units A2 and A3</i>	101
<i>Boundary Wall</i>	102
<i>Interpretation of Excavation Findings at Abiquiú 1</i>	102
Abiquiú 2	105
<i>Site Overview and Background</i>	105
<i>GPR Survey Results for Abiquiú 2</i>	105
<i>Excavation Results</i>	107
<i>Room C: Units A1, A2, A3, B1, B2, B3</i>	109
<i>Prepared Surface: D1, E1, and G1</i>	110
<i>Test Trench 1</i>	111
<i>Interpretation of Excavation Findings at Abiquiú 2</i>	112
<i>Dendrochronology at Abiquiú 2</i>	113
Abiquiú 3	114
<i>Site Overview</i>	114
<i>Abiquiú 3 GPR Survey Results</i>	115
<i>Excavation Results</i>	118
<i>Test Trench 1</i>	118
<i>Excavation Units A6 and A7</i>	119

<i>Excavation Units B5 and C5</i>	120
<i>Test Trench 2</i>	121
<i>Interpretation of Excavation Findings at Abiquiú 3</i>	122
Conclusion	123
Chapter 6: A Zooarchaeological Examination of Genízaro Foodways	126
Introduction	126
Methodology	128
<i>Taxonomic Identification</i>	128
<i>Taphonomy</i>	129
Abiquiú Site Loci	130
Results	131
<i>Represented Domesticated Species</i>	131
<i>Represented Wild Species</i>	136
<i>Taphonomic Results</i>	141
Summary of Faunal Studies from Comparable Sites	143
<i>Santa Rosa de Abiquiú (LA 6602)</i>	143
<i>Casitas Viejas</i>	143
<i>San Miguel del Vado</i>	144
<i>San José de las Huertas</i>	145
Chapter 7: Conclusion	151
Bibliography	154
Appendix A: References to Genízaros in Historic Newspapers Published in the United States and its Territories	173
Appendix B: Ground-Penetrating Radar Profile Images	192
Appendix C: Artifact Counts from BACA 2016 Excavations	257
Abiquiú 1 Artifact Counts	257
Abiquiú 2 Artifact Counts	259
Abiquiú 3 Artifact Counts	267
Appendix D: Dendrochronology Reports	273
Tree-Ring Dates from Charles Carrillo Historic Jacal House/Structure, Abiquiú, New Mexico	273

Appendix E: Transcription and Translation of the Morada de Moqui Deed 277
 Transcription of the Original Spanish..... 277
 Translation in English..... 278
Appendix F: Faunal Records for Abiquiú and San Jose de las Huertas 279

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Chapter 1: An Introduction to Genízaro Identity Formations in New Mexico

Genízaros are something of an enigma in New Mexico. As a population originating primarily from the Athapaskan-speaking individuals from the Great Plains who were captured and brought into New Mexican colonial society as slaves, the historical trajectory of Genízaros has captivated the imagination of anthropologists and historians alike. Scholars have shown particular interest in Genízaros in relation to the nature and scope of the slave trade in the Southwest and in their unique relationship to the social fabric of New Mexico (Ebright and Hendricks 2006, Brooks 2012, Lamadrid 2015, Resendez 2016, Gonzales and Lamadrid 2019). To some, the term “Genízaro” is applied to the generation that experienced captivity, while their “detrribalized” descendants were all but wholly acculturated as Hispanos. Others see the emergence of color-blind civic identities replacing racial or ethnic affiliations, rendering terms such as “Genízaro” obsolete. Still others observe and engage with the contemporary experiences of those who identify as Genízaro (and equally of those who resist the label), and note the interplay of both ethnic and racial dynamics of Genízaro identity. Scholars diverge considerably on how to frame Genízaro identity among the descendants of the first generation of captives, particularly as they grew to form their own communities or lived among others in multiethnic communities. This is not a trivial matter. The analytical frame which guides the scope of research largely determines the accuracy with which the daily lives of Genízaros through history is portrayed. Doing justice to present and past Genízaro communities drives the question which will be addressed throughout this dissertation: what is the nature of Genízaro identity as a lived experience, and how did it develop over time? This chapter will begin with a review of Genízaro history, followed by summaries of major trends in Genízaro studies, particularly as they relate to novel ethnic formations typically assigned to colonial contexts, such as acculturation and ethnogenesis. Each trend will be evaluated on its theoretical presuppositions and how well supported it is by ethnohistorical evidence. Finally, by way of conclusion, I will suggest my own approach to the study of Genízaro identity, which will provide the framework for the research presented in this dissertation.

The Emergence of Genízaros: Slavery in the Southwest

From the time of the first permanent entrada in 1590, New Mexico was chronically short of labor. As a Spanish colony, it was a dangerous and forbidding frontier, isolated from the rest of New Spain, composed largely of arid land, home to several well-established Pueblo villages, and subject to frequent raids by nomadic tribes. The recruitment of willing labor sufficient to support and grow this teetering colony was consistently lacking. While Spanish law made slavery illegal years prior to the establishment of the colony, the chronically low population levels created a market for various forms of slavery. While much of the captive slave trade in New Mexico focuses on the captives brought in by non-sedentary tribes from the north, New Mexican settlers would frequently enslave captives in a retaliatory raids. The practice had the

effect of both defending their colonies and replenishing their labor force (Trigg 2005:92). During his infamous raid of Acoma Pueblo, New Mexico's first governor, Juan De Onate, enslaved 500 residents of Acoma Pueblo, mostly women and children, and distributed them among his soldiers for a period of twenty years (Trigg 2005:60). Despite reprehension from the Mexican viceroy, before the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, the New Mexican colony used the *encomienda* system, citing its necessity due to the poverty of the territory. The system had already been outlawed in other parts of New Spain due to the continual exploitation of indigenous people. This practice was eventually discontinued as a concession to the Pueblo Indians following Spanish re-settlement of the area in 1692 following the Pueblo Revolt (Liebman 2010).

The shortage of coerced labor following the end of the *encomienda* system in New Mexico was filled by an increase in captive trade, particularly in the years following the Pueblo Revolt. Plains Indians, principally Comanches, Apaches, Utes, and Navajos, would transport individuals captured during raids and sell them to interested Hispano and Pueblo individuals along with other trade goods such as animal hides. While men, women, and children of every racial and cultural background could face this fate. Raiding tribes such as the Comanche and Kiowa were known to either adopt, marry or enslave captive New Mexican individuals (Brooks 2002:185-192). Nevertheless, Northern New Mexico comprised the largest labor market, and most Genízaro captives were Plains women and children (Swadesh 1974, Cordova 1978, Gutierrez 1991). Women and children were seen as more docile and valuable (and sexually exploitable) commodities, and could fetch twice the price as an adult male captive (Resendez 2016:6). Recent genetic studies support this historical fact, demonstrating that the majority of the indigenous haplogroups present in contemporary Genízaro communities are found within matrilineal DNA (Tórriz et al. 2019). Genízaros were occupied in various labors, including farmers, weavers, scouts, shepherds, and domestic workers (Brooks 2012:240, Magnaghi 1990:90). During particularly destructive raids, Genízaros were impressed into local militias, earning a reputation as brave fighters (Brooks 2012: 240)

Hispano settlers justified the practice of this form of slavery (and evaded potential legal repercussions) by using it as a means of conversion from paganism to Catholicism, and because their captors were said to execute any children they did not sell (Swann Avery 2008:29, citing Thomas 1935:13-14). This was, by far, not the only motivating factor for purchasing captives. Unlike livestock and crops, slaves were not subject to Church tithes, thus their owners would be able to keep 10% of the equivalent value if they traded these commodities for slaves (Reséndez 2016:180). Seeing demand, Athabaskan tribes increased their supply of captives considerably, to the extent that captive Plains Indians were traded as far as the silver mines of Chihuahua (Reséndez 2016:180).

Of those remaining in New Mexico, both adults and children were required to pay back the “ransom” from their masters with their labor for a period of ten to twenty years (Will de Chaparro 2007:43). It appears that there was no formal system of determining exactly when a slave would be given their freedom— these details seem to be at the whim of individual Hispanos, though occasionally government officials would be called upon to determine whether

the initial ransom had been sufficiently paid. (Ebright and Hendricks 2006:45). Governor Tomás Vélez Cachupín was known to place mistreated or unruly Genízaros in Abiquiú after having been released from their master's household (Ebright and Hendricks 2006:45).

Genízaro slavery was not the chattel slavery that characterized the practice of slavery in the US South, yet those who experienced it endured a severe degree of social stigma, and varying degrees of physical, psychological, and sexual abuses (Resendez 2016: 246). Seeking to dispense with euphemisms entirely, a small percentage of wills refer to the transfer of esclavos (slaves) among other forms of property (Will de Chaparro 2007: 43, 46). Even when not referred to as slaves specifically, it was not unusual for wills to refer to debts of Indian children of specific age and sex to owed to their neighbors. This practice underscores the captive trade system as one characterized by the commodification of Indian bodies, not charitable enterprise (Will de Chaparro 2007:44). Despite the prevalence of the system, Genízaros were not the only type of servant referred to in New Mexican households. Criados, esclavos, and peons are also mentioned in the historical record, though the precise meaning of each term is, at times, unclear. Esclavos, the most literal reference to slavery, occurs in only a fraction of wills up until Mexican independence (Will de Chaparro 2007:43). The fact that the term appears at all in legal documents, centuries after the official the end of legalized slavery in the Spanish Empire, reveals just how close the legal forms of servitude were to slavery.

Criados, as the term implies (“one who has been reared”), indicates a person who was raised within their parents’ master’s household, or otherwise brought in as servants from childhood. Some records refer to grown criados as part of the household, with children of their own, suggesting the permanent status of a servant to a particular family was likely to have been passed down from one generation to another (Will de Chaparro 2007:45). The main distinction, then, between a criado and a Genízaro would be the circumstances under which an individual began their life of servitude. If reared as a servant from infancy, the term “criado” applied. If the individual was taken from a Native American community as a captive, regardless of their age, the term “Genízaro” was more likely to apply. This generalization does not exclude the possibility of those of Genízaro ancestry later being referred to as “criados,” nor that the terms were consistently used over time, or were considered mutually exclusive terms.

As the captive trade economy continued to flourish in the 19th century, the term “peon” replaced “Genízaro” as the preferred term for referring to a captive slave. “Peon” was used to refer to those being held in debt peonage. As discussed in further detail in Chapter 3, the term “peon” was helpful in that the term did not presuppose the racial or ethnic identity of the individual, but only to their unfortunate social and economic status. The practice of peonage was legally prohibited by the Spanish colonial government in 1812, though this did nothing to quell the practice (Chaparro 2007: 45). The slave trade eventually abated during the territorial period, as the US military enforced the Emancipation Proclamation in New Mexico. The Peonage Act of 1867 reinforced the Anglo American legal position on coerced labor in New Mexico. While the terminology of slavery had subtle variations, in practice, Genízaros, criados, and esclavos all shared a similar fate.

Genízaros and the Sistema de Casta:

Another difference between Genízaros and criados was the association of the former with the sistema de castas. The casta system was an attempt to typologize the various results of intermarriage between those of Spanish descent with those of varying degrees of indigenous descent. Lacking an understanding of genetic transfer, the Spanish considered a person's lineage to be literally passed through blood, with certain blood being physically more powerful than other people's blood. If a person's race was superior, then clearly every facet of them, including their blood, was physically superior to those of lesser races. Not only defined by physiological characteristics, different castes were assumed to carry innate intellectual and moral qualities as well, depending on the degree of Spanish blood present in their system (Martinez 2011). In the traditional *casta* system, a Genízaro indicated the product of Indian and Mestizo parents. In New Mexico, however, the term was used to refer to a former ransomed Plains Indian captive and their offspring (Manghani 1990:89). While the term indicated both the person's indigenous descent and the conditions in which an indigenous Plains person found themselves in Hispano contexts. Kidnapping of Hispano and Pueblo men, women, and children were also frequent, and these individuals might also eventually be "ransomed." However, when Spanish individuals were carried off, retaliatory raiding parties were frequently organized as both a punitive measure and as a means of recovering prisoners and property. If captives could not be recovered, families might seek out trade fairs to find their loved ones there. Occasionally, individuals found a better life among their captors and chose to remain with them (Brooks 2012:268). Ultimately, selling Plains individuals proved a more viable product in New Mexican markets, and these remained a significant portion of the Genízaro population

Spanish racial ideology not only were specific names given to specific ad-mixtures, but a variety of behaviors were also expected. The ideology of the casta system has been examined in numerous studies using casta paintings, a popular artistic genre in New Spain through the 18th century (Earle 2016, Scott 2005) Multiple studies of casta paintings demonstrate that certain behaviors and social functions were expected of different castas (Katzew 2004). The sistema de cast assumed that the less racial blending an individual had, the more stable their character. So while a full-blooded indigenous person might not have the qualities and capabilities of an Iberian person, they were considered more benevolent and mild-tempered creatures than the average Genízaro. While the system was proved unsustainable, it was instrumental in reinforcing the racial superiority and desirability of pure Spanish blood, while casting suspicion of those of mixed racial descent (Martinez 2011). While there are subtle differences between the meaning of "Genízaro" within the traditional sistema de castas in Mexico and the historical particularities of New Mexico, in both cases, a Genízaro represented the very lowest rung of Christian society.

Genízaro Land Grants: Resolving a Colonial Quandary

It is difficult to underestimate the impact the Genízaro slave trade had on New Mexican society. An oft-cited statistic estimates that by the late 18th century, Genízaros comprised as

much as a third of the New Mexican population (Schroeder 1972:62). The growth of the Genízaro population in New Mexico entailed a steep rise in unemployment among Genízaros. Like their impoverished Hispano counterparts, Genízaros either languished in over-crowded Santa Fe or temporarily squatted on Pueblo or Spanish land, only to be made vulnerable to eviction or raiding parties. Early efforts to resettle Genízaros among Pueblo Indians were largely unsuccessful (Ebright 2014:14), though, interestingly, Genízaros initially had more success in finding homes for themselves in the Santa Fe Barrio of Analco, which was initially settled by Tlaxcalan soldiers of central Mexico (Saldaña et al. 2019). At the same time, Indian raids continued to terrorize existing settlements, particularly those in peripheral areas, which were costly and impeded efforts to colonize this frontier of the Spanish empire. Settlements could often be abandoned for years at a time following particularly destructive raids.

Governor Vélez Cachupín enacted a novel plan that worked to solve both the problem of the restless and growing population of Genízaro and the chronic instability of the colony due to raids. Beginning in 1750, Governor Cachupín began to award land grants (either in portions or in their entirety) to Genízaros in areas peripheral to more established Spanish and Pueblo settlements. At times, he even mentions this strategy explicitly in the language of the grant, as in the case of the Las Trampas grant (Ebright 1994:146). The Pueblo de Abiquiú, founded in 1754, was among the first land grants to be awarded to Genízaro families (Gonzales 20154). Ebright and Hendricks note that Governor Cachupín would often reference Book 6 of the *Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reynos de Las Indias* (the laws governing indigenous peoples in the Spanish colonies) when issuing and adjudicating Genízaro land grants (2006:100).

Undoubtedly, Cachupín's decision to award Genízaros land was particularly innovative, effectively altering the course of New Mexican history in many ways. For one, Genízaro settlements were of tactical benefit to the stability of Hispano and Pueblo settlements, at great personal cost to Genízaro families. Perhaps more significantly, the policy had given rise to an unprecedented category in the Spanish colonial world: indigenous recipients of communal land grants. Prior to the implementation of Cachupín's policy, Genízaros had requested and were subsequently denied land of their own to Cachupín's predecessor, Governor Cruzat y Gongora (Ebright and Hendricks 2006)

However, the implementation of this policy is only the beginning of the story. The nature, scope, and evolution of this social transformation of the New Mexican cultural landscape has been a topic of sustained scholarly interest and debate. The historical trajectory of the Genízaro population has been interpreted by means of various trends in social theory with regard to culture change. The remainder of this chapter will describe and evaluate major trends in Genízaro studies to the extent that they consider the nature of Genízaro identity, particularly as it relates to the concept of "*vecindad*," commonly referred to as "landholding" status.

Acculturation

Early anthropological studies of Genízaro social transformation were modeled using the concept of acculturation. Scholars using this framework argue that soon after the first generation of indentured servitude, Genízaros slowly but surely acculturated into Hispano society, and, in doing so, lost the cultural distinctiveness of their tribal ancestry (Bustamente 1982, Carrillo 1997, Cordova 1979, Magnaghi 1991). Magnaghi, for example, cites the newly-independent Mexican *plan de iguala* and the arrival of Americans as that which “erased the distinction between Genízaro and Spaniard” (1991:91). Charlie Carrillo summarizes this view of Genízaro acculturation most succinctly: “[*Genízaros*] eventually became Hispanicized by adopting the Spanish language, religion, and culture... Although in Abiquiú, as with certain other Hispanic villages, these people are very much aware of their Genízaro ancestry, they are also perfectly clear about being Hispanics in terms of culture” (Carrillo 1997:134).

An exception to these early anthropologists was John Van Ness (1987). While sympathetic to the plight of Hispano villagers in the Chama Valley, as a self-described cultural ecologist, Van Ness maintained a distinction between its Genízaro and Hispano settlers. This is due to his emphasis on the ethnically-derived diversity of adaptations to the same environment (1987:141-161). While Van Ness places his most emphatic contrast between Anglo-American capitalist agriculture with Hispano cultural ecology, he accepts at face value Fr. Montoya’s account of Hispano farmers being more successful than their Genízaro counterparts as further evidence of cultural distinctions between the two groups (1987:169).

Through the lens of acculturation theory, the emphasis on being “culturally Hispanic” is given predominance to those who might otherwise be further identified as Genízaro. Lines of evidence used to come to this conclusion include the adoption of Spanish language, religion, and other cultural traditions. Scholars such as Swadesh believed that: “the decline of Genízaro identity was mainly due... to the assimilation process, as individual Genízaros adopted Hispanic culture, purchased worldly goods and private lands with the booty of war, and married into vecino families” (Swadesh 1974:42). Cultural assimilation was a model favored by one of Swadesh’s contemporaries, who defined assimilation as: “the absorption of individuals into another culture,” one of the “hallmarks of the Spanish conquest...” (Archibald 1978:205). Far from seeing the expansion of the Genízaro population, scholars who employ an acculturative model see contraction. By adopting aspects of Hispano culture, including language, religion, political organization, and landowning status, Genízaros in effect “disappear” into the larger Hispano population.

Acculturation as a model of culture change was originally defined as a result of culture contact, whereby each culture takes on aspects of the other (Cusick 2000, Ewen 2000). However, most of the scholarship produced using this model was successful only in observing unilateral culture change, usually taking the form of colonized individuals gradually assimilating into the culture and society of their colonizers. The theory of acculturation relies on a conceptualization of cultures as bounded realities, which can be found in their purest and most authentic forms in

isolation from contact with other cultures. Equivocated with language and ethnicity, culture is viewed by early anthropologists such as Gustaf Kossinna as primordial, static, and core-centric (Fowler 2007). Thus any alteration in cultural practices that result from culture-contact, such as occurred in the colonization of the Americas by European powers, weakens that culture and renders it an inauthentic version of an idealized culture. This theory also underpinned the anthropological impetus to strive to find and study indigenous cultures as isolated from European cultural influence as possible. The legacy of this practice is evident to anyone who has ever attempted to study colonial New Mexico using ethnographic collections.

Most New Mexican scholars of this era did not seek to substantiate their narratives through archaeological analysis, preferring to draw the simple conclusion that the Spanish were successful in their mission to expand their religion and culture in this region of the New World. It should also be noted that these scholars were participants in the Chicano movement (Lamadrid and Gonzalez 2019:5; Lamadrid 2003:193; Chavez 1974:270). Mirroring broader Civil Rights Era trends, scholars of Mexican and Genízaro ancestry were fighting for increased visibility and respect for Hispanic culture in the face of the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant academia whose portrayal of Latin American history was marked by anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish bias (Trigg 2005:7). Moreover, these larger narratives were coupled with a more localized resentment of Anglo-American imperialism and administrative land-management malpractice that, within a couple generations, summarily decimated the Hispano agro-pastoral way of life (Van Ness 1987). The celebration of the legacy of Spanish colonialism in New Mexico included its purported success at civilizing and Christianizing a large percentage of the indigenous population of New Mexico. These scholars saw little reason to emphasize the persistence of Native lifeways in their homeland, arguing instead for the emergence of a unique Hispano culture--the "Hispano Homeland" in New Mexico (Nieto-Phillips 2004; Nostrand 1992; Rodriguez 1987, 1992; Eiselt and Darling 2017). Nevertheless, growing interest in New Mexican history and culture, coupled with broader scholarly trends in the study of ethnicity, resulted in a notable increase in the number of publications featuring Genízaro actors, particularly in the 1990s and 2000s (Ebright 1994; Gutierrez 1991; Brooks 2002; Ebright and Hendricks 2006; Will de Chaparro 2007).

The important contributions of early Chicano studies, and the important contribution of historical anthropologists of New Mexico in this era notwithstanding, acculturation theory has since been met with considerable theoretical and methodological critiques. Though himself a sociologist, Fredrick Barth's work galvanized the study of ethnicity and identity in archaeology. The core of Barth's thesis was that ethnic distinctions are most likely to be pronounced at the sustained interaction at the boundaries between groups, as the desire to emphasize distinctions between one group and the Other is manifested through the performance of culture (1969:14). Barth believed that what defines an ethnic group is not the cultural stud shared among its members but the differentiation between "Us" and "Them" (1969:14). Barth also hypothesizes that competition over resources plays a significant contributing factor to the creation of ethnic boundaries (1969:19).

Within the field of archaeology, Barth's work marked a shift away from nationalistic studies of ethnicity, where work focused on the attempt at locating pure cultures in the past, to the study of colonial contexts, where ethnic boundaries and power dynamics are most pronounced (Emberling 1997). Methodologically, this involves a movement away from typologizing cultures (as Culture-History) in order to track the process of the generation and maintenance of ethnic identities and boundaries (Jones 1997:x). The study of ethnicity, and identity more generally, has become much more focused on the emergent, context-specific, and political nature of categories of identity, as well as their significance in material culture. Coupled by the emergence of postcolonial studies in archaeology, simplistic models of acculturation where the agency of colonized peoples are diminished are replaced with context-specific models of colonial social dynamics, such as creolization, ethnogenesis, and hybridity (Dell 2000, Dawdy 2000, Leibman 2008, Voss 2008, Hu 2013, Weik 2014, Silliman 2015).

Kent Lightfoot challenges archaeologists' use of acculturative models in his archaeological investigations at Fort Ross, California, whereby artifact ratios based on cultural origins are used as the primary indicator of culture change (1995:206). He critiques this method for its passivity, ethnocentrism, and reliance on teleological logic (1995:206). Lightfoot favors a contextual approach to artifact analysis in culturally pluralistic contexts, whereby "long-term diachronic frameworks to evaluate changes in cultural values and worldviews as actualized in social practice" (207). Common references to the "hispanicization" and "missionization" of Genízaros illustrate the one-dimensional vision of social transformation that is a common critique of acculturation. Acculturative models of culture change leave little space for the emergence of new ethnic identities (ethnogenesis), nor for the ability of individuals to take on and shift between multiple modes of identity in different social contexts. Moreover, acculturation does not account for the persistence and revitalization of Genízaro identity in recent decades.

Likewise, Upton Dell has critiqued narratives of ethnic authenticity in acculturation theory (1996). Dell uses a historical account of an interaction between a Virginian colonial official and Powhatan tribal leader as an illustration of how the acceptance of a novel technology cannot be equated with the unreserved acceptance of the cultural mores of those who created it. Dell finds a middle ground between the narratives extremes of complete acculturation and summary resistance in the concept of "recontextualization," which describes the acceptance of an aspect of the cultural Other (in this case, a lock and key) in order to co-opt it into one's own cultural system (1996:1). Dell delineates three core assumptions that shape ethnic discourse: 1) a positivist notion of ethnicity which assumes a normative "catalog of values and practices" 2) the stability of ethnic cultures which ignores the synchronic and diachronic variability within generalized ethnic/national/out-group identities, and 3) the assumption that ethnicity is invested in the material world. "Faithful to static, positivistic models of ethnicity, they assumed that the most exotic or primitive architectural forms were the most pure, the most authentic, the most 'ethnic' (1996:2)." Dell's observations hold true in the study of Genízaros in New Mexico, where to date, the vast majority of research has been invested into examining their historical

emergence, and to a far less extent to documenting their persistence in New Mexican society up to the present day.

Ethnogenesis

In contrast to scholars who emphasize the narrative of Genízaro acculturation, some have highlighted the persistence of indigenous practices among Genízaro (at times referred more generally as “Indo-Hispano” individuals). This second wave of Genízaro scholarship, composed primarily of ethnographers and folklorists call the narrative of Genízaro acculturation into question, using historical, ethnographic, and to a lesser extent archaeological resources to demonstrate the persistence of indigenous ways of being in Genízaro communities (Gutierrez 1991, Ebright and Hendricks 2006, Brooks 2006, Pavao-Zuckerman and Jenks 2017, Lamadrid 2003, Will de Chaparro 2007). These scholars primarily use ethnographic evidence, rather than a priori historical narratives to underscore the uniqueness of the Genízaro experience. They are more likely to argue that Genízaros ought to be considered an ethnic group distinct from their Hispano, Anglo, Pueblo, or Athabaskan neighbors.

For example, Enrique Lamadrid’s book, *Hermanitos Comanchitos: Indo-Hispano Rituals of Captivity and Redemption* (2003), examines a sub-genre of northern New Mexican-Hispanic folk music repertoire known as *Comanchos* which are endemic to Indo-Hispano towns such as Abiquiú, Bernalillo, and Ranchos de Taos. In other words, communities close to pueblos and established as buffer settlements in the 18th and 19th centuries (2003:85). He highlights the Native American elements of these dances, including dress styles, vocalizations, narratives, and percussive rhythms (2003:84). Lamadrid argues that Indo-Hispano communities are a product of ethnogenesis resulting from the Comanche-led captive-trade economy (2003:839-41). They perform *Comanchos* as a means of collective memory, whereby the themes of captivity, adoption, multiculturalism, and religious devotion are embodied as a means of building communal solidarity. Other scholars who acknowledge the ethnic distinctiveness of Genízaro communities in their historical research include Ramón Gutiérrez, who in his historical demographic study of New Mexico notes that: “with the emancipation and movement of *Genízaros* onto the frontier, they finally had an independent space in which to express their own identity. Some Genízaros abandoned their Christian baptismal names for what appear to be indigenous ones... (Gutierrez 1991:305).

Ebright and Hendrick’s volume is notable for its consideration not only of the historical accounts surrounding the Genízaro population at Abiquiú but for their attention to the perspective of the contemporary Genízaro population. In their conclusion, which incorporates interviews and site visits with Genízaro residents from Abiquiú, they establish the “remarkable cohesion” of the Abiquiú Genízaros, and document the persistence of Genízaro identity in Abiquiú despite the effects of cultural erasure and threats to their land and water rights (2004: 251-261).

Very recently, a renewed appreciation for the persistence of Genízaros in New Mexico has manifested in the edited volume *Nacion Genizara: Ethnogenesis, Place, and Identity in New Mexico*, in which individuals predominantly of Hispano and/or Genízaro descent consider the historic status, lived experiences, and cultural traditions of Genízaros in New Mexico as they know it (Gonzales and Lamadrid 2019). As the title suggests, beyond any scholarly contributions it may provide, the volume itself demonstrates the increased consciousness of Genízaro heritage among New Mexican scholars, even those who have previously asserted that Genízaros totally assimilated into Hispano culture (Carrillo 2019).

Vecino Studies

An additional category of scholars who have engaged with the historical trajectory of Genízaros can be identified by their engagement with “vecino” as a contradistinctive category of identity. This wave of scholarship focuses on the study of the economic history of New Mexico, and views “vecino” as a civic status that became the prevailing category of identity in the wake of an increasingly multicultural population (Jenks 2017). Often, vecino scholars will assume those identified in the historic record as Genízaro into the “vecino” category (Darling and Eiselt 2017). Vecino-centered scholarship began in earnest with the work of Ross Frank, who described the emergence of vecino identity as “the cultural product of the economic development of the late colonial period” (2000:176). As a progression of acculturative models of New Mexican social transformation, Frank considers several historical events in 19th century New Mexico that, he argues, significantly altered its social dynamics. For example, he sees the Bourbon reforms as being useful in ending the sistema de castas and drawing New Mexicans closer into the Spanish colonial economy. These, coupled with a decrease in the population of Pueblo Indians, led to the emergence of a socio-economic dichotomy between vecinos and Pueblo indios. To Frank, and to other scholars who have followed suit, the increasingly complex genetic makeup of New Mexicans led to the abandonment of racial taxonomies in favor of a much simpler economic model, whereby anyone with sufficient economic means could viably claim Hispano identity, regardless of their ancestry. Frank suggests that the emergence of new and uniquely New Mexican craft products such as textiles and furnishings which include both Hispano and Pueblo influences are evidence both of the growing cultural and economic hegemony of Hispanos and of the increasing influence of the racially agnostic vecino identity over prior ethnic identities.

Following suit with Frank, scholarship on vecino identity in New Mexico has grown in the early 21st century (Eiselt and Darling 2012, Jenks 2013, Atherton 2013, Eiselt and Darling 2017). In all these cases, vecinos are taken to refer to an upwardly mobile and genetically diverse population distinguishable from neighboring Pueblo Indians. The manufacture of distinctive items formerly produced by the Pueblos are interpreted as evidence of an emergent Vecino population. For example Sunday Eiselt and Andrew Darling attribute various micaceous styles of pottery to female Jicarrila producers based on geochemical and stylistic features, and referring to

the consumer market for the pots as vecino (2012). In her work on San Miguel del Vado, Genízaro land grant, Kelly Jenks relies on Frank's work to establish her premise that the inhabitants of that land grant eventually came to identify as "vecino," a civic, rather than an ethnic identity, so as to unite its multi-ethnic population (2011, 2013).

Each of these scholars argues for a vecino ethnogenesis by conglomerating multiple ethnic identities (Hispano, Genízaro, etc.) into one overarching, super-ethnic moniker, focusing their analysis on the social and economic changes that occurred in the 19th century at the expense of seeking evidence of intentional and novel creation of a pseudo-ethnic dominant class, such as Voss has demonstrated occurred among 18th century "Californio" colonizers, and whose research is frequently referred to by vecino scholars (Voss 2008). If there are any parallels to be made of Californios in New Mexico, wherein colonizers of diverse Hispanic, Mexican indigenous, and *casta* racial backgrounds came to inhabit a new identity rooted in their status as colonizers (and therefore superior to California Indians), "Hispano/Hispanic" or "Nuevomexicano/New Mexican" would be the obvious choice. More recent historiographies of New Mexican identity reveal that the use of these terms are not without controversy. Darling and Eiselt (2017) make an important point that vecino scholarship emerged in counterpoint to the "Hispano Homeland" concept first popularized by Richard Nostrand (1970, 1975, 1980). Nostrand argued that the New Mexico Hispano population and culture flourished as a racially pure Spanish population thanks to its relative isolation from larger Spanish and Anglo-American spheres of influence. Darling and Eiselt see vecino scholarship as a counterpoint to the racialized and politicized components of Hispano identity, highlighting ethnic and cultural pluralism while maintaining the concept of an emergent and uniquely New Mexican culture:

"Homeland" evokes a political concept of shared mother country, native land, land of birth, and, by implication, a certain priority of place or possession.
"Ethnogenesis" refers to the appearance of new ethnic groups (or group identities), based on a recognizable, coherent system of shared beliefs, practices, and material systems, in an area where they did not exist before (Darling and Eiselt 2017: 188).

In contrast to scholarship that focuses on either Genízaro or vecino ethnogenesis, Jun Sunseri eschews the use of labels signifying ethnic identity in his volume on northern New Mexican frontier settlements (2017). Sunseri considers the violent, tenuous nature of the New Mexican frontier, as he acknowledges the reality that the experience of ethnicity is specific to the learned experiences of each individual. The label of ethnicity itself is not as salient as the ability to signal association with any number of groups, particularly when one's life and livelihood are on the line. Thus, Sunseri emphasizes the situationally-dependent fluidity of identity while resisting the direction of vecino scholars who downplay the role of ethnicity entirely. While similarly ambivalent to the practice of ethnic attribution, Heather Atherton argues that communities weighed the importance of social identifiers differently than clerical and ecclesiastical authorities (2013). Sunseri's assertion that individuals' ability to effectively manifest ethnic "toolkits" could be crucial to their survival, as would be the case for Genízaros vying for community land grants

from the Spanish government, or making convincing kinship claims that might mean the difference between a trading and raiding party among visiting Apaches. This is a vision of New Mexican society which is in direct contrast to that which emphasizes a specifically “vecino” civic membership which “could be equally or more important than affiliation with an ethnic group (Jenks 2013:371).

Problems with Vecino Scholarship

While Frank and his fellow vecino scholars contribute to our knowledge of 19th century New Mexican material culture, the historical inferences regarding vecino identity, as either an emergent ethnic or civic identity are flawed. Most notably, what is lacking is an accurate understanding of the many ways in which the term “vecino” was used historically in common parlance. There appears to be much confusion as to what the term “vecino” actually implies. Frank, and others like him, understand the term to mean “non-Indian,” and use it to substitute for numerous context-specific terms occurring in the historical record such as “español” and “Hispano,” “Genízaro.” He then ascribes “vecino” to characterize all manner of things, such as products, individuals, households, and communities in his analysis. Frank’s entire thesis ultimately hinges on the equivocality of these terms. When Frank does cite references to vecino individuals, these are to be found exclusively within the context of secular and Church censuses and “diligencias matrimoniales” (marriage documents) (Frank 2000: 1, 176-180).

More recent vecino scholars refer to “vecino” as having emerged from the “regimen” or “systema de casta”: “prior to reconquest, the term *vecino* referred to a person’s racial status in the institutionalized Spanish regimen de castas...” (Darling and Eiselt 2017:189). This is an important part of the narrative, as it is then explained that the term eventually came to apply to all non-Indians as the result of the Bourbon Reforms of the 19th century, which officially abolished the legal distinctions based on race (Darling and Eiselt 2017:189). The problem with this, however, is that there is currently no evidence to support the idea that “vecino” was part of the taxonomic vocabulary of the systema de casta. In fact, it is not a caste designation at all. *Castas* were, by definition, the miscegenistic product of a racially mixed union. The only racially “pure” categories were “español” and “inidio” (Bustamente 1989, 2001; Katzew 2004, Earle 2016). As late as 1801, Fray Ambrodio Guerra, the parish priest of Albuquerque, observed “I have in my charge and administration 2,952 souls...their classes being mainly Genízaros (which is a mix of various nations), mulattoes, coyotes, and very few Spaniards, though most consider themselves the latter although they are not” (Will de Chaparro 2007: 4). Evidently, though Guerra judges many to have erroneously claimed Spanish ancestry, he makes no note of anyone identifying as a vecino, nor does he identify them as such. Nonetheless, the assertion that vecino were an emergent identity category is used as a premise in the narrative of vecino ethnogenesis, regardless of the fact that there is no scholarship or citation record to support the notion.

Far from being used unequivocally to signify a socio-economic identity, “vecino” is ultimately a term signifying relationality between members of any number of groups. The most direct translation of the term “vecino/a” in Castilian Spanish as well as the New Mexican

vernacular, is a “citizen; friend; head of household; inhabitant; neighbor; taxpayer” (Cobos 2003:235). It never was, as has been suggested, a specific status in the *sistema de casta* (Eiselt and Darling 2012:426). As New Mexican history unfolded, Frank suggests the term “took on a meaning that included a sense of belonging to the province in late colonial New Mexican documents,” beginning in the late 18th century (2000:1). Here, Frank conjectures the meaning of the term “vecino” evolved in tandem with Hispano society in New Mexico. As Hispano society’s increasingly diverse population grew both in numbers and in socio-political influence, the term no longer connoted generic citizenship but referred specifically to a land-owning Hispano-- a “citizen” of the Hispano settler society.

While Frank is correct in correlating the expansion of Hispano society in New Mexico with increased references to *vecinos* in censuses. In contrast, in his in-depth analysis of censuses of the era, Adrian Bustamente notes that clerics used the term “vecino” to refer to individuals who did not live near the mission (as Pueblo Indians and at times *Genízaros* might have) but from neighboring villages (Bustamente 1991:147). This explanation accounts for the same phenomenon that Frank observed, without resorting to a novel application of an otherwise generic term. The distinction between the recently converted occupants of a mission settlements and their “vecinos” further afield was distinction important to maintain ecclesiastical records for the purposes of collecting tithes, recording the number of parishioners, and keeping track of the recipients of the sacraments of baptism and matrimony: “since most friars were also responsible for villages surrounding their missions, they conscientiously included the name of the village in which the persons were *vecinos* (residents), and thus the classification was used more frequently than terms for various *casta* (Bustamente 1991:147). If it may be appropriate to infer, as Swadesh has, that terms such as “*Genízaro vecino*” used in church records indicate an assimilative trend via a “greater exposure to Hispanic life,” (1973:43), is it incorrect to assume that the term indicates as sort of hybrid “missing link” between *Genízaro* and *vecino* status. It simply indicates that a *Genízaro* lived at a further distance from the church. This further suggests, however, that there were individuals of indigenous origin who occupied households in the ostensibly Hispano settlements that surrounded Pueblo missions and larger Hispano settlements.

Though he galvanized 21st century “vecino” studies, Frank did not originate the assimilative-ethnogenesis model of *vecino* identity. At least a quarter-century prior, Frances Swadesh made a similar (though toned down) argument regarding economic distinctions supplanting ethnic ones in New Mexico, which continued to be noted by other historians (Swadesh 1974; Aragon 1978; Bustamente 1982:93, Bustamente 1991; Snow 1984). However, these earlier scholars did not suggest that socio-economic status entirely supplanted ethnic-racial ones. To wit, Swadesh conceded that the term “*Genízaro*” endured as a derogatory reference, indicating that: “*vecinos* preserved some caste attitudes” (Swadesh 1974:45). Building upon this reality, Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz suggests: “It is not certain that *vecino* legal status brought with it a comparable social status for the lower castes. From the point of view of the established colonial elite, which no outsider could enter, it sees that lower caste status remained a stigma to the *nouveau riche* and that racism prevailed in the colony” (2007:57). Separating the

entirety of New Mexican society into indio and vecino does not account for the large population of nuevomexicanos that lived neither as monied landowners nor as members of Indian tribes.

The construction of knowledge created by vecino archaeologists can be associated with the interrelated theories of constructivism and borderlands theory. Situated within the frontiers of at three empires, the Spanish, the United States, and the Comanche, can be considered the ideal locus for examining peripheral social interactions. This theoretical framework envisions the periphery as a place out of reach of the societal constraints which emerge at the core, and therefore ripe for innovation along virtually every aspect of social identity, such as gender, race, class and political organization. Specifically, individuals have more freedom to “pass” ethnically, provided they’re landowners. While Barth is considered a pioneer of social constructivism, the frontier as envisioned by vecino scholars is at odds with Barth’s, who posited social differentiation as *more* pronounced at boundaries than at the center. Kelly Jenks leans into this theoretical divergence: “I propose that we divorce the subject of ethnicity from [the study of colonial frontiers], remembering that all social identities can be understood as dynamic social constructs, and that groups often form around concepts other than shared ancestry” (Jenks 2016:376). In other words, vecino scholarship does not examine the way that race or even ethnicity changed in New Mexico as the result of various historical processes. It ultimately argues that these were supplanted by the emergence of a new form of vecino identity, which is characterized as either civic or socio-economic in nature.

The representation of the history and archaeology of New Mexico as one which saw the emergence of a civically-oriented and racially-neutral vecino (or even Hispano) identity is reminiscent of the assimilative “melting pot” theory of ethnic relations, a close contemporary of the Frontier thesis (Turner 1893). Alternatively, the visibility of Genízaros by archaeologists has fallen victim to another contemporary of the Frontier thesis: to the myth of the vanishing Indian (Berry 1960). Like the melting pot theory, vecino identity theory effectively erases the discrete particularities of cultural minorities into a normative and hegemonic culture model. While it is correct to point out that novel forms of culture emerged in New Mexico in the late 19th century, it is crucial to avoid a discourse which is no more than academe’s representation of the past, which says more about academic culture than the object of study itself (Said 1979). Alistair Hennessy has likewise critiqued the application of Anglo-American “ideals of self-determination” to explorations of the Latin American past, an attribute present in both frontier/borderlands and constructivist theories (Hennessy 1978:6-7). Constructivist theories of identity which focus on the mutability of ethnic formations have the unintended consequence of weakening our capacity of perceiving the persistence of ethnic identities through time, as well as the social significance of race and ethnicity in any given historical period (Leibman 2008).

Postcolonial theory provides a means to move beyond self-referential epistemologies which “question[s] the knowledge about and the representation of colonized ‘Others’ that has been produced in colonial and imperial contexts” (Leibman and Rizvi 2008:2). In an effort not to divorce theory from political realities, the main form of postcoloniality used in this dissertation is the application of community-based participatory research (Chapter 2). While this has structured

my approach to the research program, prioritizing past and contemporary Genízaro voices within and beyond academia place a crucial role in capturing subaltern perspectives, yielding multi-generational insights that would otherwise prove elusive to culturally removed scholars.

Contemporary Genízaros Experiences

More difficult to record, but equally evocative are the multiplicity of persons who have denied their Genízaro ancestry (preferring instead to solely claim Hispano identity), or have never been told of their ancestry as the result of prior generations seeking to “pass” into Hispano society, not wanting their children to be stigmatized by association.

In conducting this research, I am reminded of my research experience as a college senior in 2012, on my first trip to New Mexico. Along with two other anthropology majors, we had been tasked by our undergraduate advisor to visit multiple households (particularly those with elderly residents) in and around Embudo, an Indo-Hispano community that had been experiencing rural gentrification, asking people if they were Genízaros or not, and if so, would they please tell us of their experiences as such. If this sounds like a rude, intrusive, and potentially exploitative way of interacting with people, it was. The poor quality of community engagement I experienced as an undergrad was one of the motivating factors in pivoting to a CBPR approach in graduate school. That being said, a trend that I noticed then was that, while most of those I spoke to did not feel comfortable in that situation to identify themselves as Genízaro, everyone could identify at least one relative in their family who was (it was usually a cousin). I certainly do not claim to know these individual’s heritage better than they do. It is possible that I just had very bad luck and spoke to all the wrong cousins. In the coming years, I encountered a far greater number of persons in and around Abiquiú, Ranchos de Taos, and Belen who freely spoke of their Genízaro ancestry. My experience has shown me, anecdotally, that those belonging to older generations were more reticent to speak directly to or lay claim to their Genízaro heritage, suggesting a residual negative perception of Genízaro identity. To wit, writing in the 1970s, Frances Swadesh remarks that “parents of the San Juan Basin used to call their own children Genízaros when rebuking them for bad manners, even though they themselves may have had Genízaro ancestors” (1974:45).

Even some of our illustrious individuals in New Mexican history are not free from controversy with regards to Genízaro ancestry. Governor Jose Gonzales, who took control of the Santa Fe Palace of Governors during a coup d’etat in 1837 with the help of a militia consisting primarily of Pueblo Indians and Genízaros hailing from Taos and Chimayo, is a perfect example. While he was widely considered to have Genízaro ancestry, Anglo-American authors, likely failing to understand Genízaro identity, referred to him simply as a “Taos Indian,” suggesting a Puebloan affiliation. Writing at the turn of the 20th century, Rafael Chacon, a relation by marriage to Jose Gonzales, felt the need to correct what he felt was a mistake, insisting that Gonzales was “a pure creole of Spanish blood, of good and respectable appearance. He was a peaceful man and worthy citizen who was made the tool for the ambition of others...” (Chacon

in Lecomte 1985:37). Janet Lecompte, who included Chacon's objections in her account of the 1837 Rebellion, suggests it might be "safer" to refer to Gonzalez as a vecino, reflecting the prevailing academic trend in avoiding discussion of ethnic-racial identity (Lecompte 1985:37). Interestingly, Chacon continues his defense of Governor Gonzalez's by affirming other notable features, including the fact that he was a "first class buffalo hunter." This is somewhat ironic, as the famed ciboleros of New Mexico were known to follow cultural forms that closely parallel those of Plains Indians, strongly suggesting ties of kinship between them (Brooks 2004: 218-219, 314-319).

Despite the stigma of previous generations, a review of publications within the past twenty years reveal a trove of Genízaro authors contributing vital information on the historical and contemporary experiences of Genízaros. For example, a 1970 issue of *True West* magazine featured an oral history as told by Librada Baca of Belen, recalling her childhood in the 1910s:

"My great-grandparents were with the very first Genízaros to come to Belen. They had great danger and oh, so much fear!...The Indians burned houses, and took all the corn from the field and drove off the sheep, cows and horses. And they carried away the boys and girls for slaves, and killed many men— and women, too, if they were old and ugly... My great-grandmother was an Indian... She was captured by Spanish soldiers from Santa Fe when she was very small, but old enough to remember. They killed her father and mother and many of the other men and women of their tribe. However, they brought the small children to Santa Fe, where they were given new names brought up in the church. My grandmother became Lucy Martinez...Her brother was also brought in by the Spaniards, and sometimes she saw him, and he always told her that someday they would be free... [Librada's great grandmother would eventually marry a Genízaro who was] also a Genízaro, only he was half-Indian and half-Mexican. He had been captured by the Indians, and when he was thirteen years old the Spanish soldiers recaptured him after a battle with the Apaches and returned him to Santa Fe. And after a while he was given a uniform and put in the Spanish army there. He was still very young; he was sixteen and my great-grandmother was fourteen when they were married by the padre. Afterward they were sent with a few others to Belen. They had been here for almost two month when the Indians made a raid, and my great-grandmother's brother was captured and killed. Many others were taken also, and some were killed. ... My great-grandmother told my father that the Rio Grande was not fed by the snows and rains as some claimed, but by the tears of the Genízaros." (Lenore Dills, *True West*, 1970: 27-28).

Librada Baca's account of her family history provides many insights into the multi-generational experiences of Genízaro families. These include the persistent threat of violence and captivity that could be experienced multiple times in the life of a single individual, the experience of detribalization and Spanish acculturation, the maintenance of kinship ties following captivity, and marriage between Genízaro individuals. The poignancy of Librada Baca's family story is evident, as it demonstrates both the pain and the resiliency of individuals who were brought

together having found themselves in similar social circumstances, and having lived through similar traumas. Equally important, so poetically stated, the history of New Mexico cannot truly be told without the inclusion of Genízaro voices, or at the very least, an acknowledgement of their tears.

Also writing in the 1970s, Gilberto Benito Cordova is a much revered figure among his peers, as he was the first Genízaro scholar, (Lamadrid 2019, Trujillo 2019). In addition to his contributions to the field of anthropology, he also published widely for a popular audience, and by such means increased the visibility of many facets of contemporary Genízaro identity and culture to the wider New Mexican population (Cordova 1973, 2006). Genízaro scholar Michael Trujillo has investigated Cordova's unpublished papers, in which he speaks more directly of his own experiences as a Genízaro (2019). Cordova reflects on his childhood experiences in Abiquiú in the 1950s:

I yearned to be an Indian. And [my uncle Leonardo] assured me that I was one, just as all the people from Abiquiú were. “It’s just that we don’t talk about it,” he said. “They are secret Indians, masquerading as mejicanos.” The only time I received recognition as an Indian was when people were angry at me; then, they inevitably called me “indio.” Paradoxically, this sarcasm made me both proud and ashamed of being an Indian. Sometimes, out of desperation, when someone called me an indio, I would defend myself by rebutting their attack with a “¿Si soy indio, if I am an Indian, dime de qué clase de indio soy, tell me what type of Indian I am?” and the most I got from them was that I was a “pinche indio.” ... so that meant that I was a wretched, damn Indian. Deep down within me I took comfort, got strength, and even became prouder for these personal attacks. For although they hurt me, they also served to reassure me that I was an Indian. (n.d. [a]:6-7)

Cordova’s experiences are reminiscent of many Genízaros in New Mexico. It speaks to the endurance of a collective consciousness of indigeneity, coupled with the pain of cultural loss which is the consequence of captivity, subjugation, and the suppression of indigenous ways of being for the sake of survival and persistence. The paradoxical feeling of both shame and pride witnesses alternatively to the racialization and ethnogenesis of Genízaro identity.

Other Genízaro authors speak of both the pride and the shame that accompanies their self-identification. As early as 1992, for example, Miguel Gandert records Edwin Berry, the hermano mayor of the Tomé morada stating that he is, “a Genízaro, and proud of that heritage” (2002:77). Napoleón García provides an autobiography as a Genízaro who lived his entire life in Abiquiú (Garcia and Dunn 2004). In addition to providing details with regards to growing up in poverty, he discusses at length what it means to him to be Genízaro. Garcia sees the interplay between the experience of poverty and the multicultural toolkit with which to meet that socio-economic challenge as an inherent part of the Genízaro experience. He also provides poignant accounts regarding the experience of racism, tending to Georgia O’Keefe garden as a means for providing for his struggling family:

“It was apparent that [O’Keefe] wanted me to know that she was watching me. Not only was I a lazy *Genízaro*, I was also a thieving one, also. She knew that I was living a very poor existence and perhaps I had not eaten that morning before I came to work, but at that given instant she only saw a *Genízaro* stealing from her garden (Garcia and Dunn 2004:34).

What is particularly interesting about García’s account was his interpretation of O’Keefe’s unspoken suspicions. It is unclear, based on García’s account, whether or not O’Keefe was aware of Abiquiú’s history as a *Genízaro* pueblo, or whether she might have (regrettably) attributed negative traits associated with García’s ancestry specifically as “*Genízaro*” or more generally as an Indian. Most likely, García’s perception of O’Keefe’s suspicion resulted from an internalized experience of racism which may have been fostered within his own family and neighbors. The autobiographical accounts of *Genízaros* such as Cordoba and García reveal that families with *Genízaro* ancestry were keen to downplay this aspect of their identity for fear of racist attitudes and maltreatment that equivocated poor behavioral attributes with indigenous ancestry.

The experiences of those who identify as *Genízaros* well into the 20th century speak to the realities of racism in New Mexico. In as much as *Genízaros* were able to successfully apply for land grants, and did so by proving their civility by performing Spanish ways of being in the 18th century, those of *Genízaro* descent have experienced that the public acknowledgment or performance of indigenous heritage even into the 20th century could be perilous to their welfare.

Conclusion: Reconciling Ethnogenesis and Racialization in the Archaeological Study of *Genízaros*

Thus internal identification within an ethnic group can be in tension with racial dynamics, complicating the practice and performance of identity. While this pattern of behavior can be seen across many colonized populations, anthropologists of the African Diaspora in particular have examined the dynamic relationship between ethnogenesis and racialization (Armstrong 2008; Orser 1998, 2007; Mullins 2008; Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005). Martha Franklin, for example, examines the social history of “soul food,” using this cultural tradition to trace the ethnogenesis of African-American identity while at the time observing the reactive dynamics of racism through the lens of food consumption (2001).

Parallels between the African Diaspora and the diasporic nature of *Genízaro* experience can be readily drawn. Albeit on a smaller scale, disparate groups of Native Americans hailing from one region were forcibly taken from their families and their native cultures, and sold into unfamiliar environs at a considerable distance from their homes. A sufficiently large population of persons with first-hand experience of deracination and slavery and their descendants come to identify with one another based on shared histories and experiences of racism. Where one social construct seeks to oppress, the other validates, appropriates, and empowers. While the African Diaspora has spanned the globe, taking on diverse cultural forms (Armstrong 2008), the *Genízaro* population is more temporally and geographically limited in scope.

Within studies of colonized groups, many look to the persistence of indigenous, pre-colonial practices as symbolic of the survival of this cultural heritage despite generations of suppression. Indeed, such symbols of persistence have proven deeply significant to contemporary descendent communities (Seeman 2010). However, beyond seeking to avoid a zero-sum association of material culture and acculturation, it is also important to acknowledge that the entirety of an artifact assemblage can speak to the strength and perseverance of a people grappling with social and economic adversity. The absence of certain pre-colonial material traditions does not indicate the complete erasure of indigenous identity and heritage. It speaks to an experience that is unique to many cultural formations grown from sustained colonial entanglements (Lightfoot and Gonzalez 2018). Archaeologists such as Stephen Silliman (2005, 2015) and Matthew Liebmann (2012a) use Homi Bhabha's concepts of mimicry, cultural appropriation, and hybridity as a framework for understanding the incorporation of colonizer material culture in ways that recognize the agency of colonized peoples in this process, and their capacity to appropriate the customs of the colonizer in such a way that ultimately disrupts naturalized power inequalities (Bhabha 1984). Acknowledging this reality has the additional advantage of avoiding the tendency of essentializing categories of identity into material constituents bereft of context (Mullins 2008:104)

Without forgetting that domestic spaces are never entirely removed from the public sphere, the examination of foodways taken from household contexts allows for the opportunity to examine consumption practices spaces less subject to external scrutiny. Thus, a comparative analysis of zooarchaeological foodways in Genízaro communities provides an intriguing lens into the various ways in which their occupants navigated a complex world of colonial entanglements. Previous faunal analyses of Genízaro communities reveal culinary practices associated with both Spanish and Indigenous foodways. At times, ethnically distinct food practices, as evidenced by presence/absence of processed taboo foods such as horse and birds of prey, differ even at the inter-household level (Gifford-Gonzalez and Sunseri 2007, Sunseri 2017). This practice among foodways correlates to similar tactical performances of cultural knowledge on the part of Genízaro individuals and communities across other culturally-specific practices. The ability to strategically maintain affiliation with both their Hispanic and indigenous heritage is a key means by which Genízaro communities strove to maintain their cultural and political autonomy in addition to their ability to defend themselves against other threats such as raids, religious inquisitions, and land speculators (Gutierrez 1991, Gutierrez 2004, Ebright and Hendricks 2006, Gonzalez 2007, Sunseri 2014).

Archaeological investigations have only begun to reveal the complexity of the colonial and post-colonial New Mexican landscape. It is clear, however, that a nuanced and partnered approach to the Northern New Mexican cultural landscape that emphasizes the fluid nature of ethnic identification through the interpretive lens of cultural hybridity, appropriation, and resilience is truer to the lived experience of colonialism and is preferable to the communities who host our work. Such approaches are advantageous because they take into account the legacy

and agency of those who were not willing or able to acquire vecino status. While lessening the scale of resolution from historically and spatially distinct ethnic identity formations to prioritize a meta-ethnic vecino identity based on property ownership may have some validity, it is insufficient in accounting for families who lived on communal lands, nor for the persistence of “Genízaro” as a meaning-laden category up into the present day (Silliman 2009). The creation and maintenance of Genízaro land grants such as Abiquiú were crucial to the establishment of persistent Genízaro communities, physical “homes” for Genízaro ethnogenesis (Hooks 1990:47). Furthermore, one must examine the current political landscape of New Mexico that would give rise to Vecino culture theory.

The Vecino culture theory does damage to the interests of present-day Genízaros who grapple with the complexities of their heritage and fight for the US federal government to recognize their indigeneity in the manner of the Spanish and Mexican governments. Relying on now discredited anthropological principles which privilege isolation and purity as measures of cultural authenticity, colonial subjects have previously been assumed to have fully acculturated into the colonial system, and no longer considered authentically indigenous. More recently, postcolonial theories of hybridity have been successfully applied that complicate our views of colonial identities and our outlook on material forms typically associated with colonial hegemony (Bhabha 1994, Silliman 2015, Panich 2010, Wilkie 2003). Additional scholarship has shown that the nature and temporal variation of foodways is an appropriate body of data that speaks to the reality of cultural transformation, hybridity, and ethnogenesis among colonial communities (Franklin 2001; Deagan 1998; Dietler; 2007; Sunseri 2017a, 2017b). Food choice among marginalized communities is not absolute, but is deeply informed by and speaks to social, economic, and ecological realities (Diehl et al. 1998, Mellon 2018, Pavao-Zuckerman and DiPaulo Loren 2014).

This dissertation project aims primarily at firmly establishing the social reality of Genízaros in 19th New Mexico which was experienced both in racialized and ethnic capacities. It takes its imperative the indications of the Genízaro community at Abiquiú, using a community-based, participatory research (CBPR) approach. In the second chapter of my dissertation, I situate my research as a CBPR project, detailing with transparency the benefits and challenges of this mode of research. My third chapter focuses on the racialization of Genízaro identity in the 19th and early 20th centuries, using historical newspapers as my primary dataset. Shifting from a broad historical approach to Genízaro racialization, Chapter four contextualizes Abiquiú as a significant locus of Genízaro history and archaeology. Chapter five details the archaeological excavations from which I draw to conduct an analysis of Genízaro foodways. Chapter six offers a zooarchaeological analysis of foodways at Abiquiú and several other comparative sites in Northern New Mexico. The final chapter of my dissertation provides the synthesis and conclusion of the research project.

Chapter 2: The Practice of Engaged Research

Introduction

Sonya Atalay defines community-based participatory research (CBPR) in archaeology by identifying five “principles” required of its practice: 1) the use of a community-based, partnership process that is 2) participatory in all aspects, that 3) builds community capacity, that 4) engages in a spirit of reciprocity, and 5) recognizes the contributions of multiple knowledge systems (Atalay 2012:24). This chapter is divided into three main sections. I begin with an articulation of the theoretical foundations of CBPR. A focused engagement with the critiques of CBPR follows this discussion. In the final section, I relate my experiences in conducting a dissertation project using CBPR methods, using Atalay’s five principles as an organizational aid. While Atalay’s principles are enumerated and discussed systematically, they do not represent a step-by-step process. This the format of this chapter (and ensuing representation of events) is not necessarily chronological, though I have attempted to do so for the sake of clarity.

Project descriptions are usually written with the benefit of hindsight and with the pressure to conform to a model of research-based on non-social sciences, in which all variables can be reasonably accounted for ahead of time. The desire to make the process of a community-based participatory project appear seamless and unmitigatedly successful is understandable but unrealistic. As mired in difficulties as any project can be, it is possible to both acknowledge these difficulties and see the value of the process as well as the results. This chapter will be instructive as a “true-to-life” representation of a CBPR project, particularly for graduate students who are themselves contemplating engaging in community-based participatory research, perhaps one of the most challenging aspects of this dissertation project.

While Atalay’s work has been immensely helpful to me as I write this chapter, my approach has been for the greater part informed through the mentorship of my community partners and dissertation chair, Jun Sunseri, rather than the emergent literature on CBPR. My efforts to construct a community-based participatory research dissertation project would not have come to fruition without the benefit of their efforts to build personal relationships and research practices between Berkeley and the Abiquiú community. Even as I recognize the help of my academic mentor, I recognize that I am most indebted to the Abiquiú community, and particularly to the board members (past and present) of the Pueblo de Abiquiú Library and Cultural Center and of the Merced. They are, in a very real sense, my instructors in the practice of building a successful collaborative project.

Contextualizing Community-Based Participatory Research

Community-based participatory research is a research paradigm that first emerged as a practice in sociology and psychology but has come to influence researchers from varied fields of inquiry, including the educational, health, social, and environmental sciences (Beckman and

Long 2016, Etmanski et al. 2014, Wilmsen et al., 2008, Minkler and Wallerstein 2008, Fortman 2008, Israel et al. 2003, Israel et al. 2005). CBPR has its theoretical roots in Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy (1970) and Kurt Lewin's action research (1948), gaining prominence in the context of wider-scale civil rights movements that sought to decolonize academic theory and research (Wallerstein and Duran 2008, Hacker 2013:4, Hale 2008). Postcolonialism recognizes that academia has traditionally functioned as a colonial undertaking, in that persons and institutions associated with the dominant power can extract resources (in the form of data) for their own benefit from persons rendered unable to adequately protect their own interests. Furthermore, the post-colonial critique reveals that within traditional paradigms, research findings have been frequently interpreted to support colonial objectives, particularly when that research involves human subjects (Lewis 1973, Asad 1979, Trigger 1989, Thomas 2000, Watkins 2000, Redman 2016). In essence, CBPR is a decolonizing methodology intended to improve the ethics and practice of research by striving for the mutual benefit of those most impacted by a particular research project through equitable, collaborative partnerships at all stages of research between researchers, community members and other stakeholders (Johnson 2017).

In the archaeological context, community-based participatory research began to develop in response to external critiques and actions intended to curtail its colonial excesses. The work of Vine Deloria (1969, 1995) is emblematic of anthropology's role in electrifying the Red Power movement of the late 1960s and 1970s, providing a mordant indigenous critique of anthropologists' interactions with Native Americans. One of the immediate outcomes of Deloria's work was the institution of policies forbidding any kind of archaeological work among many first nations to regain control over their cultural patrimony. The Red Power movement also aided the impetus of indigenous archaeology and activist archaeology, two archaeological approaches that are consonant, but not identical to the practice of CBPR in archaeology (Watkins 2000, Atalay 2012, Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2009). However, Sonya Atalay (2012:31) and Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh (2009:180) have stated that, while providing a powerful stimulus to the work, that neither Deloria nor the Red Power movement were the "prime movers" of CBPR approaches in anthropology. Both authors acknowledge the prior work of indigenous leaders in voicing objections to unethical research practices. Nonetheless, the late 1970s marked the first time archaeologists were forced to acknowledge and seriously contend these concerns (Atalay 2012: 32; Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2009: 180). Detailed histories of the impact of indigenous activism on anthropology can be found in these volumes.

Legislative actions, most notably the Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 (ARPA), and the much later and important human rights legislation the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) 1990, are another example of forces external to archaeology that have sought to curtail overtly colonial institutional practices. NAGPRA requires institutions receiving federal funding to inventory, engage in tribal consultation, and repatriate human remains and other objects of "culturally affiliated" indigenous patrimony upon their request. The law implicitly acknowledges the fact that most of these items in institutional hands

were unethically acquired through manipulation, coercion, or outright theft (Watkins 2000), or were otherwise expropriated by federal agencies. NAGPRA has been critiqued by some archaeologists as forever closing the possibility of scientific study of Early Americans (Thomas 2000, Killion 2008b:6). Others argue that NAGPRA does not go far enough to protect native cultural patrimony or to ensure equitable collaboration between scientists and indigenous nations (Killion 2008a). Despite these critiques, NAGPRA has established lines of communication between such entities and has resulted in the repatriation of many ancestral remains that would have otherwise languished in institutional storage or display. At times, and contrary to critiques of the existence of such legislation, mandated communication between institutions receiving federal funding and descendent communities has in some cases *opened* the door to more accurate, involved, and sustainable research regarding Native American cultures (Killion 2008a).

The expansion of historic, archaeological, and environmental protection laws, including NAGPRA, has resulted in the growth of the Cultural Resources Management (CRM) industry. Though operative largely beyond the academic sphere, most archaeology in the United States and elsewhere occurs within the scope of CRM projects. The implications of CRM engagement paradigms are worth considering, as it has the greatest capacity for large-scale community impact.

Creating relationships of mutual benefit between archaeologists and communities in archaeological research involves an added layer of difficulty in Cultural Resources Management contexts, as the number of legal and economic entanglements increase in these situations. CRM archaeologists are beholden to the pressures of business solvency, a larger pool of stakeholders, and a variety of laws that work to both undermine and enable archaeological research. This complicates the archaeologists' ability to conduct community-based participatory research. As of yet, little has been published on how CRM archaeologists have attempted to incorporate CBPR and other similar research strategies into their workflow beyond what is required by law. However, some papers on the topic have emerged from Canadian firms working with First Nations on the Pacific Coast (Connaughton et al. 2014, Angelbeck and Grier 2014, Klassen et al. 2009). Sean Connaughton et al. (2014) call for a CRM process that will be able to operate fully within the mandates of CBPR archaeology established in academia. Yet, they are mindful that this will only occur if clients are convinced of the value of "investing in products equally constructed by archaeologists and First Nation community members engaged in a fully participatory and collaborative process from start to finish (2014:545). The authors work to translate the rhetoric of CBPR into the language friendlier to the interests of commerce and legislative compliance. Thus the long-term "value" of a community-based participatory CRM project is expressed from a financial vantage point, one that must be of equal benefit to all stakeholders, including the client, if it is to succeed in the private sector. As indigenous archaeologists, Michael Klassen et al. (2009) provide an insightful perspective on the history of First Nations engagement with government agencies with regards to archaeological heritage. They argue that this engagement has "forced" archaeologists to "pursue innovative solutions to ethical, political, and theoretical challenges" (Klassen et al. 2009:199). These innovations

solutions were only possible once CRM companies' invested in archaeological training for First Nation individuals. These individuals, in turn, would collaborate on projects and contribute to a variety of CRM administration procedures, including best practices on respectful interactions with indigenous communities (2009: 213, Cohen and Swidler 2000:38).

Bill Angelbeck and Colin Grier advocate for the use of "horizontalism" and long-term investment in relationships in order to build collaborative archaeological practices, particularly within the commercial constraints of CRM archaeology (2014). The authors define horizontalism as a form of non-hierarchical, non-authoritarian form of communication. This method is contrasted with the hierarchical (or vertical) nature of institutions as "overarching hierarchies and institutionalized inequalities of modern nation-states" (2014:520). Angelbeck and Grier further argue that building long-term relationships with indigenous communities works in tandem with a horizontal approach, allowing for the time needed to build strategies of cooperation, to engage in skill-sharing, and to learn from past mistakes (2014: 525).

Among the cases mentioned here, the on-the-ground practice of collaborative archaeology in CRM contexts is not particularly different from academic practice, despite the greater presence of commercial and regulatory constraints. All three authors use financially-laden terminology such as "value" and "investments" to "sell" the practice of CBPR to their clients and colleagues. Few though they may be, these successful collaborative CRM projects do the important work of affirmatively answering the question: "can it even be possible to discuss collaborative archaeology within commercial archaeology?" (Connaughton et al. 2014: 545).

CBPR and Allied Fields:

While appreciating the contributions of legislative initiatives and civil rights movements, not all critiques of the former archaeological research paradigm have been external to the discipline. Nor do all archaeologists engage descendent communities only under legal duress, nor can be assumed to be white or otherwise unaffiliated with the cultures they study. Post-processual archaeologies, particularly those informed by Marxist, feminist, and queer standpoints, are identified in part by their work to promote greater self-reflexivity, equity, and inclusivity in the theory and practice of archaeology (McAnany and Rowe 2015). As elements of post-processualism, community-based participatory archaeology acknowledges and responds to the fact that archaeology is a politically sensitive social practice located in the present, not the past (Shanks and Tilley 1988, Derry 2003:20, McGuire 2008:48).

Reflecting these broad theoretical orientations, there have been many formulations for community-based participatory research and other similar and allied collaborative enterprises, such as indigenous archaeology, action research, activist archaeology, public archaeology, community-based archaeology, etc. (Atalay 2012: 49-50, Table 1; Etmanski et al. 2014b:Table I.1). I choose to prioritize the framework identified by Sonya Atalay's influential work *Community-Based Participatory Research in Archaeology* (2012), one of the few monographs written by an archaeologist on the subject. Atalay's work builds upon the work of previous practitioners of participatory research in related fields such as Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000)

and John Gavina (1993) and has proven to be successfully applied to a variety of archaeological contexts in which the author has been engaged. However, I will continue to draw from the broader literature written by archaeologists working under an array of theoretical frameworks, particularly those relating to indigenous archaeology, as it is most pertinent to the context of my own dissertation research. Indigenous archaeology, in essence, can be regarded as a particular manifestation of community-based participatory research, and a rich source for its theory and practice (Lipert 2008:153). However, CBPR extends beyond US indigenous contexts to include other marginalized communities, such as African-American (Morris 2014), Asian-American (Burton 2017) and Latinx communities in the United States (Morris 2012, Young 2004), and throughout the world, including in Latin-American (Howard 2014, McAnany and Rowe 2015), Canadian (Martindale and Lyons 2014, Kirstenson and Davis 2015), Australian (Greer et al. 2012, Greer 2014), North African (Moser 2002, Lorenzon and Zermani 2016), and Sub-Saharan (Nthabiseng 2017, Thiaw 2018) contexts as well.

The Components of a CBPR Project

A Community-Based, Partnership Process...

The first principle outlined by Sonya Atalay has several components. The work must define a particular community that is both geographically and socially bounded, the majority of the project must be based within this community, and the work involves a process, meaning a series of acts taken in order to achieve a particular end.

The identification of a particular community is a somewhat obvious but crucial step (Atalay 2012:90, Hacker 2013:24). Communities are defined in part by a series of interests born out of a particular political, geographical, and historical context. Some form of geographic boundedness is necessary, as the particular physicality of an area calls for a specific set of ecological needs and imperatives. Usually, communities can readily locate physical spaces on the landscape that are important to their collective memory, and upon which the archaeologist might be called upon to investigate. The physicality of these spaces is also necessary to consider practically if archaeological excavation and/or survey is to be done. The geographic boundedness of an area is not sufficient, however, as multiple communities might inhabit that same general space. Thus, a community must be identified by means of additional social affinities. These can include but are not limited to, associations of an ethnic, racial, economic, religious, professional, or political nature. Beyond this, a formal relationship with the leaders representing the community should be established. This is a crucial step as a means of being able to develop a consensus and clearly-defined objectives and structure of accountability for the project.

Once a community has been identified, it is essential that essential elements of the project should be based within that community, hence “community-based” research. This localism enables the project to have the input and participation from community members as determined by the community leaders and that the benefits of the research enterprise remain primarily within the community. This does not necessarily imply that all aspects of an archaeological research

project must be based entirely within the physical confines of the community. Many times, this would mean the project would not be able to access certain scientific analyses to be done that require the presence of highly specialized (and not particularly mobile) equipment and persons. This does imply, however, that the data itself, whether in the form of artifacts or in digital form (in the case of analytical results) should preferably be held within the community and be accessible to that community.

Finally, there is a reference to CBPR as a process. Like any other research project, a community-based research project involves a premeditated series of steps necessary to achieve the research objective. Having this process written out ahead of time and authorized by the community's leadership allows for a fully-informed and consensual participation in the project, and can help identify potential problem areas in the research process at the earliest stages of the project, giving ample time and space for addressing these issues before any negative impacts occur. This can take the form of a project proposal or memorandum of understanding. Aid from the elaboration of a research proposal, the nature of a CBPR project as a process also involves the acknowledgment that there is an inherently social and interpersonal aspect of the project. Referring to this work as a process acknowledges that the relationship between a researcher and a community must build up over time and will evolve as events proceed.

“Participatory in All Aspects...”

The mandate that archaeological research be participatory at all stages of the process means that community-members share in the determination of what kinds of research questions, methods, excavation locations, curation strategies, and differential information access will be used over the course of the project (Atalay 2012:55, Green et al. 2003). Community participation at all stages of research stands in contrast to previous methods of engagement which limited the role of community-members either as objects of research and/or passive recipients of the end result of an archaeological project in the form of archaeological “outreach.” Participation implies an active partnership in which there is a shared responsibility for and ownership of the purpose, scope, and outcomes of the project (Atalay 2012:251).

“That Builds Community Capacity...”

Power is one of the most important factors in determining the nature and projection of the archaeologist-community relationship. In the long-term, the success of any archaeological enterprise within a given community is predicated on the ability of the archaeologist to rectify pre-existing imbalances of power, and thus establish trust. The colonial entanglements of archaeological research can be dismantled through power-sharing and ensuring projects work for the mutual benefit among all stakeholders. In most circumstances, academic researchers are acknowledged as having the unique power and authority to construct knowledge (Gero 1989). Thus, on the part of researchers, the relationship between knowledge and power is acute and requires proportionate attention by those who seek to foster reciprocal and democratized community relations. A logical means of ensuring mutual benefit to the community is to share

one's knowledge and skills with interested community members, particularly with the goal of supporting independent research and encouraging youth education and investment in heritage (Atalay 2012:56, Silliman 2008a). CBPR methods tend to break down the dichotomy between researcher and community members by acknowledging the diverse forms of expertise held by participants (Minkler and Baden 2008:253). These forms of expertise can then be fostered in the form of skill-sharing activities and capacity building among all participants.

Building capacity also involves empowering community members with the means to oversee the successful implementation of the project as it was conceptualized in planning meetings. An important means of ensuring an equal partnership is to develop a framework of mutual accountability. "Accountability" as a professional ethical mandate in archaeology is usually taken to mean a certain degree of public transparency and consultation (Society for American Archaeology 2000; Watkins et al. 2000:41, Messenger et al. 2000: 111). While these measures increase the likelihood that communities will be informed and be able to respond appropriately to an archaeological project, they scarcely involve any relinquishment of power. Mutual accountability requires the co-development of a complete research mandate that includes predetermined research questions, methodologies, objectives, and data curation protocols. Such proposals include the development of specific safeguards and grievance procedures to be followed should either party go awry of this mandate. The predetermined nature of accountability plans allow for a more effective community recourse and allows for all parties to clearly establish expectations with regards to the more sensitive aspects of the process, such as procedures for the accidental recovery of human remains, artifact curation, and research publications.

"Engaging in a Spirit of Reciprocity..."

In the context of community-based participatory research in archaeology, reciprocity entails the mutual benefit of both academic and community partners (Atalay 2012:38, referencing the following: Atalay 2003a, 2003b, 2006, 2007, 2008a, 2008c, 2010; Brady 2009; Budhwya 2005; Chirikure and Pwiti 2008; Childton and Hart 2009; Harrison 2001; Murrery et al. 2009; Silliman 2008a; Bendremer and Richman 2006; Smith 2006; Nicholas 2005, 2006; Robinson 1996). Reciprocity involves the exchange of goods in the form of time, resources, and knowledge (Atalay 2012:74). An ethical circulation of these goods involves a collaborative and mutually-accountable partnership that ensures the mutual benefit of all those involved. Before I engage with this concept, and how this was accomplished in my dissertation project, I would first like to more closely inspect the relationship between power and trust that enables (or prevents) a "spirit of reciprocity," to thrive. For the exchange of valuable resources to occur, including community members' cherished and closely-guarded personal heritage, a sense of trust must first be established. Indeed, several archaeologists who have built up successful ties with communities have previously pointed out the need to establish this sense of trust (Atalay 2012: 25; Lyons 2018:109; Derry 2003:27). But what are the mechanics of trust?

Power, Trust, and Research

Work has been done in a variety of social sciences to define the relationship between power and trust within social networks (Grimen 2009, Geyskins et al 1998, Lai et al. 2008). For example, at one extreme end of the power spectrum, researchers have observed that those with extremely low agency in relation to another will assume the other part to be more trustworthy (Olekans and Smith 2009, Schilke et al. 2015). This phenomenon is explained by motivated cognition theory, whereby individuals want the other to be trustworthy and act in accordance with that desire (Schilke et al. 2015:12950). On a more equal footing, a behavioral analysis of economic supply channels found that the exercise of coercive power between partners decreased trust, while non-coercive power increased trust. This means that relationships that were negatively reinforced by the controlling party were more likely to break down when compared to those relationships that were positively reinforced (Jain et al. 2014:312). While there are many other contributing and nuancing factors, generally speaking, the consensus is that where power increases, trust decreases. Taken together, these insights can be applied to archaeologist-community relations, particularly with a view to the legacy of problematic past practices (Long 2008, McAnany and Rowe 2015).

Power held by researchers have traditionally taken the form of knowledge gatekeeping, institutional ties, administrative authority, defining research objectives, and (usually) holding considerable symbolic power as members of the dominant class (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010:230, Bourdieu 1984, Wallerstein 1999). Archaeologists have often relied upon the consent and support of government agencies, scholarly organizations, and individual stakeholders to conduct their research without recourse to descendent communities (Watkins 2000). These connections allow them access to lands, materials, information, and financial assistance to support their ends. The end result of the research enterprise is that knowledge and other materials are extracted from the periphery and relocated to centers of power. The knowledge is then made available to the power to serve its own ideological aims (Said 1979, Gonzalez-Ruibal 2010, Smith 1999, Smith 2004). Communities whose members lack the social and symbolic capital afforded to archaeologists often have vastly differential access to these institutional resources. Moreover, socio-economically oppressed communities may have more difficulty allocating resources to invest in their cultural and historic patrimony or to the education of their members to do this work on their behalf. As a result, the power to do research is decidedly stacked in favor of the archaeologist, and thus archaeologists are frequently accountable only to their own motivated interests when deciding upon a program of research, though this is not to say that archaeologists are always outsiders to the communities in which they practice (Atalay 2008, Klassen 2013, Smith and Wobst 2005, Zimmerman 2005).

Neo-colonial archaeology involves research that operates within the confines of persons, places, and things entirely outside the realm of the descendent community's control. Indeed, this is the only course available to researchers unwilling or unable to collaborate equitably with

descendent or stakeholding communities. Some individuals and institutions are known to simply purchase the land they desire to study, removing any shadow of doubt as to the colonial nature of their enterprise. Communities, particularly marginalized communities, aware of the inherent value of their indigenous knowledge and heritage, develop means of subverting unequal power relations between themselves and outside researchers by prohibiting access to knowledge (in the form of persons, places, and things) under their control. This phenomenon is most visible in repatriation cases enabled (in the United States) through NAGPRA. Additionally, cases of communities actively subverting anthropological work that had not sufficiently involved or deferred to them are most frequently referred to anecdotally in the safe confines of informal gatherings of academics rather than in formal legal proceedings or publications. Nevertheless, the practice of deception as a defensive mechanism among those who experience distrust is a phenomenon well established by behavioral scientists (Aquino 1998, Lewicki 1983, Olekalns and Smith 2009). Therefore, equitable relations with stakeholding communities is a necessary step for ensuring the integrity and reliability of archaeological data.

One of the most crucial ways in which the colonial entanglements of archaeological research can be dismantled is through power-sharing and ensuring projects involve the mutual benefit among all stakeholders (Atalay 2012:74). Archaeologists can foster a sense of trust (and therefore true participatory collaboration) among communities by demonstrating their personal investment in issues of immediate concern to the community and commitment to equitable relations with community leaders. Linda Derry's work illustrates this mandate through her successful collaboration with multiple marginalized communities through her work as the archaeologist for the historic Cahawba site in Alabama (2003). Derry credits educational initiatives and "listening to everyday voices in the community and by participant observation" as a means to establish trust and identify how archaeology can be made relevant to the needs of the communities with which she collaborated" (2003: 27).

Diane Lyon provides another example of the benefits of building trust among community members in her account of her ethnoarchaeological work among potters in Tigray, Ethiopia (2018). In summarizing the key to a successful ethnoarchaeological project, Lyons stresses the importance of acknowledging the autonomy of individuals and the need for establishing trust that can only be earned over time: "the success of any ethnoarchaeological project ultimately depends on who will agree to participate in our project and what they will decide to tell or show us... to actually learn something from people who are generous enough to participate in our projects takes time, ethical practice, and commitment. Trust must be earned" (2018:109). Lyons goes on to explain that the potters whom she studied eventually allowed her to photograph them at work and even amended their initial (deceptive) explanations of culturally sensitive materials. This took place after many months of observing her actions and seeing her willingness to respect their cultural mores (2018:112-113). Lyons' observations echo other participatory projects that explicitly refer to the palpable relationship between power, trust, and cooperation between archaeologists and communities (Lightfoot 2008).

“... *And Recognizing the Contributions of Other Knowledge Systems*”

Another aspect of fostering a sense of respect and mutuality is the acknowledgment and incorporation of “multiple ways of knowing” into research practices. There exist numerous examples of community-based archaeological projects that have found innovative ways of incorporating indigenous and local knowledge, values, and spirituality into their studies. Rather than creating a pseudo-scientific foil to traditional research (Clark 2000), respect for community beliefs and mores forms a part of the dispositional habitus of the archaeologist. As such, the practice can be considered one of several epistemic virtues necessary to an individual’s proper execution of disciplinary practice. Using the framework of virtue ethics, Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2003, 2006) cite other virtues that should govern the dispositions of the archaeologist, including: “civility, benevolence, generosity, loyalty, dependability, thoughtfulness, and friendliness” (Thomas 2008 xi-xii in Atalay 2012:28). Such behavior helps establish goodwill among both parties and serves to mitigate the impact of the almost inevitable cultural *faux-pas*. Indeed, the strategy of acknowledging and incorporating other ways of knowing can also be considered a form of cultural relativism, which is a foundational pillar of anthropology (Boas 1911).

Deference to the social mores of communities is complicated when these ostensibly contradict the values held by the archaeologist or appear to constrain the timely progress of archaeological research. The concerns that most frequently impact archaeological activities concern religious beliefs, such as forbidding fieldwork during holy days, or gender norms, such as prohibitions on interviewing members of the opposite sex, requiring a conservative dress code, or forbidding menstruating women’s access to persons and sites (Dowdall and Parrish 2012, Gonzalez et al. 2006). Establishing standards of conduct for fieldwork with community elders ahead of time helps to set expectations between both parties (Lightfoot 2008). This also gives the archaeologist ample opportunity to adjust the field schedule to accommodate for specific cultural practices.

These issues may be particularly sensitive to some students as they can appear contrary to the values held by other crew members. Being answerable to a non-democratic governing body might likewise create a sense of moral uncertainty on the part of the archaeologist. In these cases, one can see the fault lines between activist or emancipatory research models and the decolonizing framework of CBPR, with its particular attention to heritage management, cultural relativism, and respect of tribal sovereignty (Atalay 2012:78). While these research approaches are similar in that they are both committed to forms of social change they can entail a different set of ethical and moral commitments.

Critiques of Community-Based Participatory Research

In the archaeological community, the critique of CBPR is often framed within larger

debates concerning the impact of NAGPRA on archaeological inquiry (Meighan 1992, 1995; Gulliford 1992a, 1992b; Redmond 1995, Watkins 2003). Namely, a number of physical anthropologists take exception to increased collaboration with indigenous communities, the potential lack of access to indigenous human remains and, the “destruction” of cultural resources arising from repatriation. It is argued that such steps, as required by NAGPRA, are a form of political correctness and a betrayal of archaeologists’ duty as the objective sole stewards of the past (Fine-Dare 2008:30). A distinction, arguably a false dichotomy, between activism and scientific objectivity is emphasized. Unlike CBPR, NAGPRA involves a legal mandate, which has undoubtedly accelerated the adoption of consultation and collaboration with indigenous groups among archaeologists.

Regardless of the field in which it is practiced, the most common outside critiques of community-based participatory research are that 1) it lacks scientific rigor due to its non-positivist, applied research approach and 2) because it solicits the knowledge and authority of “non-experts” (Silka 2010:3). The implications of these critiques are grave, as they call into question the basic soundness of CBPR research. Moreover, as a consequence of the strong presence of these sentiments among academics and administrators, scholars involved in CBPR research are less likely to have their work acknowledged as tenurable material, or as viable in the grant and journal peer review processes (Hall et al. 2014:331). It is worthwhile, therefore to address these critiques.

CBPR and Indigenous Archaeologies as “Unscientific”

Applied research involves the attempt to apply scientific principles to a particular problem of practical interest, as opposed to pure science or “basic research” that occurs ostensibly in a vacuum, motivated only by the curiosity of the researcher. In the context of CBPR, applied archeological research can be read as activist scholarship, when archaeological deliverables are intended to serve the stated interests of a partnered community, such as research in support of establishing cultural affiliation or claims to natural resources. Applied research is criticized on the basis that the commercial or political interests that motivate the research bias the results. This mentality holds true among archaeologists skeptical of CBPR practices, who are more likely to defend traditional research paradigms as being more faithful to either the materialist or positivist assumptions that are said to ground the discipline (Clark 2000:85). In reality, the dichotomy between applied and pure science has long since shown to be a false one, as no scientist, regardless of their paradigm, can really claim to act entirely autonomously to their political and cultural milieu (Kuhn 1962, Greenberg 1967, Latour 1993). A recent volume edited by Desiree Schauz and David Kaldewey argues convincingly that distinctions between basic and applied research became increasingly semantic and politicized over the course of the 20th century, demonstrating that even the conception of science as being either pure or applied is a fairly recent and politically-motivated construction (Kaldewey and Schauz 2018). If this is true of the physical sciences, how much more of archaeology as a social science? Whereas critics such as G.A. Clark desire to push archaeology ever more closely to a physical science paradigm,

with his calls for “powerful law-like generalizations” and staunch materialism, other archaeologists would maintain that archaeology is inherently political. Considering the ethical implications of our work does not betray the basic scientific principles that inform our disciplinary methodologies. As Joe Watkins, in a published response to Clark, reiterates: “science is never above nor outside of the society or political system in which it exists” (Watkins 2000:93). Nevertheless, the desire to represent one’s self and one’s research as bias-free remains entrenched within scientific communities, including archaeologists of the processual tradition (VanPool and VanPool 1999).

While some might see it as adulterating pure science, some scholars intentionally pursue practical applications of research that provide some benefit to source communities. For example, Linda Silka, working in a public health context, refers to her frustration at the lack of influence her work previously had as what motivated her to adopt a CBPR approach (2010). Researchers using CBPR approaches will often seek means of expanding the applications of their discipline as a means of broadening the impacts of the field and of ensuring the mutual benefit of the research to all involved. Expanding the broader impacts of archaeology and seeking new allied communities is particularly necessary in political environments in which the government funding of esoteric research is being repeatedly questioned (Joyce 2013).

Though largely unstated, devaluations of CBPR as an applied science imply a certain degree of impatience with concerns over ethical practice, regarding them as mere “political correctness” (Clark 2000:86, Meighan 1992:39). References to “politically correct” practices usually refer to power-sharing with local communities, including but not limited to: mandate-based research, respect for indigenous ontologies, the repatriation of archaeological resources, and the increased time-commitment required of the process as wastes of time or injurious to free scientific inquiry (Clark 2000; Meighan 1992). The implication here is that pure science—and therefore the scientist—should not be impeded by ethical considerations. The obvious benefits of the research to the scientist is obfuscated by universalizing appeals of the work to the common interest (Clark 2000:87). This view of science has had disastrous results when exercised in applied sciences and has led to unethical actions such as the infamous Tuskegee syphilis experiments, or blatant grave robbing on the part of archaeologists. To say nothing of the spiritual and psychological damage of such practices on communities, these have caused lasting damage to the trust between researchers and marginalized communities, demonstrating, if nothing else, that amoral research strategies are counter-productive to scientific inquiry. Ironically, the resulting push-back from communities is the cause of much consternation among scientists that cling to older paradigms of research, who suggest, for example, that indigenous communities are anti-intellectual because they refuse to cater their heritage to the interests of scientists (Goldstein 2000, McGhee 2010:581, Atalay 2008:57). Given this history, the political and social nature of scientific practice is unmistakable. The many successful CBPR based collaborations have shown that Native Americans do not categorically reject science, but rather reject scientific practice that works to harm their human rights and heritage (Nason 2009, Lippert 2008:153; Smith and Wobst 2005a; Two Bears 2000).

From this perspective, we can more clearly see the relationship between (and ensuing critiques of) applied scientific and meta-positivist approaches. Positivist approaches to science presuppose that scientists are able to know objective truths regarding existence, and only take into interpretive consideration that which is quantifiable. Among most archaeologists, this epistemological term is synonymous with ontological materialism. Philosophical discussions aside, when they are invoked in the context of debates regarding control of the archaeological record, the intention behind both is the same: to discredit the authority and truth-claims made by non-archaeologists. Positivism was already in an irreparable state of decline among philosophers of science by the time Louis Binford and other processual archaeologists adopted it as a guiding principle in their work (Wylie 2002:8-12). When compared with post-processual archaeologists, processual archaeologists are less likely to be self-reflexive in their work, or see archaeology as a social process involving the past but occurring in the present. Thus their critiques of those working within the CBPR framework lie in their denying the value of questioning one's bias as a practitioner, acknowledging the political context of archaeological research, or seeing the benefit of incorporating multiple lines of evidence and ways of knowing (McGhee 2008). Far from being unscientific, community-based participatory research is better characterized as a form of scientific pragmatism, in that it values the formulation of hypotheses and an empirical basis for its arguments while emphasizing the nature of science as an interpretive process (Adelman 1993:12).

CBPR as "Indigenous Essentialism"

Robert McGhee's article in *American Antiquity* against indigenous archaeology is the most recent and aggressive critique against a form of community-based participatory archaeology (2008). In it, McGhee characterizes most indigenous archaeologists as intellectually compromised because they (allegedly) underplay scientific theories that are at odds with traditional indigenous beliefs such as origin stories. McGhee claims that the theoretical underpinning of indigenous archaeology is "indigenous essentialism," which is a form of racism and colonial paternalism at the root of what he sees to be the unscientific practices by archaeologists who desire their work to be beneficial to indigenous people (2008: 593). Included under that category are archaeologists and other scholars who do not actively seek to undermine indigenous beliefs and those that would allow indigenous peoples power over their heritage. Therefore, archaeology undertaken with the benefit of indigenous communities in mind is seen as intellectually compromised, and the products of research as no better than propaganda (McGhee 2008:592, citing Kuper 2003:400) In this argument, indigenous rights are set at odds with "actions that reflect a belief in the universal nature of human history and the value of historical knowledge" (2008:595). McGhee's concern that indigenous archaeology is a form of neocolonialism rings somewhat hollow, not only because he expands the interests of the state and scholars to be "universal," but because, unsurprisingly, McGhee includes a defense of colonialism as a universal endeavor, which somehow absolves more recent Western colonial practices of rebuke.

McGhee's article prompted several rebuttals also appearing in *American Antiquity* (Silliman 2010, Wilcox 2010, Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010). While each focuses on a particular aspect of McGhee's argument, all three agree that McGhee mischaracterized indigenous archaeology to a considerable extent. Stephen Silliman objects to the misrepresentation of indigenous archaeology as a form of racial exceptionalism categorically opposed to scientific robusticity. Silliman points to the lack of proper literature review that would easily disprove the notion, referring to the most recent literature of the nature of postcolonialism and ethnicity (2010:217). Elsewhere, Liebman has advocated for a middle ground between cultural essentialism and radical constructivism, affording a theoretical space that can account both for the fluidity and persistence of ethnicity and its material manifestations (Liebmann 2008b). Silliman clarifies that rather than seek to universalize and essentialize the cultural attributes of indigenous people, indigenous archaeology is a form of community-based participatory research that pays attention to the needs, interests of distinct communities as it engages in respectful collaboration that "does not necessarily require—although does respect—potential differences between "Western" and "Indigenous" knowledge (Silliman 2010:218). Silliman also defends postcolonial research agendas that focus on the history, nature, and consequences of colonial regimes within particular indigenous and local communities. Whereas McGhee alludes to the "special" treatment of indigenous persons akin to colonial paternalism, Silliman insists that the rights to autonomy by indigenous communities are universal rights: "McGhee worries about the universalization of Indigenous people, but then universalizes all of human history to diminish European colonialism" (2010:219).

Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, T. J. Ferguson, Dorothy Lippert, Randall H. McGuire, George P. Nicholas, Joe E. Watkins, and Larry J. Zimmerman (2010:229) echo Silliman's refutation of ethnic essentialism as the basis of both indigenous archaeology as a discipline and the political rights of indigenous peoples, as argued by McGhee, going so far as to call this a straw man argument. Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. refer to the expansive literature on both subjects. With respect to indigenous archaeology, the authors (2010:231) cite sources on indigenous archaeology extensively, demonstrating that in actual fact, indigenous archaeologists are well aware of the complexities of the subject, and do not argue that indigenous archaeology should be done exclusively on indigenous lands or by indigenous persons. The authors (2010:232) also point out that many nations, including the United States and Canada establish special treaties with indigenous communities with respect to their status as their political status as sovereign nations, not, paternalistically, as McGhee would suggest, on the basis of their ethnic status. Michael Wilcox (2010:221) also defends the notion of indigeneity as a viable and useful concept, while attacking McGhee's dichotomization of archaeology and indigeneity as mutually exclusive intellectual categories as an attempt at racial segregation.

These authors provide an extensive and definitive response to McGhee's critiques. Perhaps more intellectually provoking than McGhee's arguments are the assumptions that he makes regarding the nature of indigenous archaeology. McGhee's perspective betrays a hesitation to acknowledge the capacity of indigenous persons and archaeologists concerned with

indigenous rights to contribute to the discipline in a meaningful and robust manner. It is likely that this perspective arises from the espousal of empirical positivism. If there is only one objective representation of the past possible, and scientists are the objective guardians of this truth, then not much is to be gained by archaeologists ceding their authority to others. Aside from the fact that almost all formulations of CBPR and allied approaches underscore their commitment to truth and robusticity, the opposite is true not just in theory but also in practice. Multiple case studies bear witness to this fact (Atalay 2012, Derry and Mallow 2003, Silliman 2008).

Aside from its ethical implications, neglecting community involvement in a project also means shutting oneself off completely from the wealth of knowledge and resources of archaeological import held within communities. The BACA project I describe here provides yet another example of how enactments of CBPR methods in good-faith can actually facilitate the practice of scientific research with, by, and for indigenous communities. Even so, conducting CBPR, particularly within the constraints of a doctoral research project, is not without its challenges. The remainder of this chapter will document how the principles of Community-Based, Participatory Research have been reflected in my dissertation project.

The Berkeley-Abiquiú Collaborative Archaeology (BACA) Project as a CBPR Project

The Genízaro community of the Pueblo de Abiquiú is bounded geographically to the Genízaro land grant established by the Spanish Crown in 1754. While the locus of my dissertation research was primarily Abiquiú and its Genízaro residents, conversations and attention was given to other voices of individuals and communities that live (or had lived) both within and beyond the land grant, including those who identify as Genízaro, Hispano, Pueblo, Comanche, Hopi, and Anglo. This was done in an effort to contextualize my historical and archaeological inquiry within the realities of the current local political context, and the historical relationships the Genízaro community has had with these other groups. This political context involves community-members' concern for (but not limited to) their water and grazing rights, the youth of the community, rapidly rising real estate prices and cost of living in the area, economic disenfranchisement from the tourism industry, privacy concerns related to tourist activity, control of the narrative of their history, and the ability to self-identify as Genízaro Indian or otherwise. I enumerate these concerns based on years of experience speaking with community-members before ever proposing a dissertation project to the Merced Board. I will describe that process below.

My first visit to Abiquiú occurred briefly during the summer of 2013, accompanying Jun Sunseri, who, with the full knowledge and consent of the community, was participating in a geophysical survey on the Abiquiú mesa with a team from the University of North Carolina. There I familiarized myself with the area and several key members of the community. The following summer of 2014, I was a member of the field crew that excavated part of the plaza area closest to the Abiquiú Library. This was the inaugural community-mandated project under

the partnership of Jun Sunseri and the Merced del Pueblo Abiquiú. This research partnership was named the “Berkeley-Abiquiú Collaborative Archaeology” Project, or “BACA.” An MOU between Sunseri and the Merced board had been developed by both parties that established a framework of research practices under which I and an additional graduate student (Annie Danis) would later use to conduct our own dissertation research. In this MOU, the Merced delegated the research and educational aspects of the partnership to the Abiquiú Library and Cultural Center.

During this time, I was able to spend increased time working shoulder-to-shoulder with various community members. It also gave me an opportunity to brainstorm and suggest ideas for my own dissertation project. I was encouraged by the openness of community members to allowing me to do a dissertation project in Abiquiú, though it was clear from these conversations that I would have to drastically alter the vision of the project I had in mind. I had originally envisioned a comprehensive survey of the Abiquiú cultural landscape, integrating areas of prehistoric and historic sites to explore how ritual activities create a sense of collective memory and belonging in this Genízaro pueblo. My initial project proposal was one that focused on my own research interests, ethnogenesis, and ritual, with methods I thought would appeal to the community on account of its non-invasive nature (survey and ethnography). Understandably, the residents of Abiquiú were wary of a project that scrutinized areas of religious sensitivity. Moreover, I found that the idea of doing a survey was not one that reverberated with the individuals with whom I spoke. In their minds, as in the mind of the general public, archaeology is most closely associated with excavation. An archaeology project that did not involve excavation just didn’t appeal. This was especially true following the success of the 2014 season: our community partners wanted UC Berkeley archaeologists to come back and wanted us to continue to excavate following the same successful approach. In the end, we decided on a field project that would focus on the daily lives of Genízaro, increasing their visibility in the historical and archaeological records as a means of connecting Abiquiú youth to their history.

Having spent this time within the community prior to submitting a formal proposal allowed me to tailor both the research questions and methodologies to the actual interests and comfort levels of the community, rather than my assumptions of what those might have been. Interestingly, as my relationship with the community has developed, some of the same individuals that had expressed reservations about my initial survey project idea would ask me when I’d get around to doing that work. To wit, the 2017 BACA field season led by Annie Danis was one principally dedicated to survey work. I regard this as evidence of the trust, mutual understanding, and growing community capacity that has been built over years of partnership between the Abiquiú community and Berkeley archaeologists through the BACA project.

The 2015 Abiquiú field season was brief, and for my part, largely dedicated to community reporting on the progress of cleaning and cataloging the artifacts recovered from the 2014 excavation. This was accomplished over the course of the first Genízaro Conference held at Abiquiú (Figure 2.1). This unique, locally-organized conference featured speakers of various backgrounds, including state politicians, Genízaro scholars (in both senses of the term), and Pueblo elders, all discussing various aspects of Genízaro history. The event concluded with

homemade food and a communal dance. Along with the reporting event, I formally presented a draft version of my dissertation prospectus in order to get further feedback.

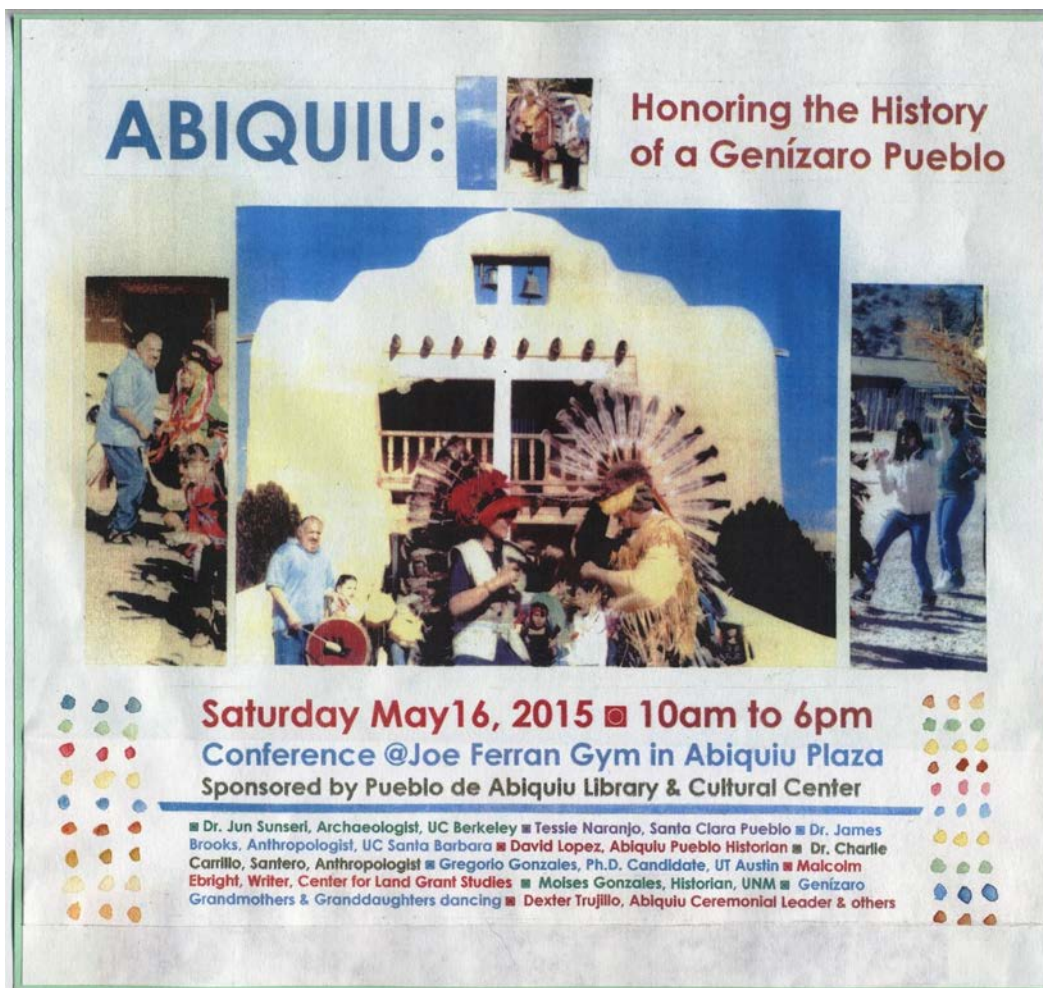


Figure 2.1. The 2015 Abiquiú Genízaro Conference Flyer

After the conference, I stayed for a week in Abiquiú, continuing to have direct one-on-one contact with community members. I found this method to be the most effective strategy for feedback. Eventually, I felt ready to submit an official proposal to the Merced Board in November 2015. The proposal included background information about myself and my previous involvement with archaeological research at Abiquiú. I outlined my research questions and the methodologies I would use to answer these questions. I referred to the MOU established between the Merced and my advisor Jun Sunseri to establish expectations with regard to providing free training and participation in archaeological excavation to Abiquiú high school students, the Merced's ownership of artifacts and other forms of archaeological data acquired in Abiquiú, and the permanent curation of artifacts as the responsibility of the Merced. I also proposed that I provide regular updates of my progress to the Merced Board and the Abiquiú community. After a

single round of revision, the Merced board approved my proposal in December 2015, and excavations would begin the following June of 2016.

This dissertation project reflects a “community-based” process in that much of the relationship-building between myself and community members occurred in Abiquiú and sought to address questions and concerns expressed to me by members of the Abiquiú community. The archaeological excavations and much of the dissemination of research occurred at Abiquiú in locations determined by community-members, and Abiquiú will be the eventual repository of all material collected in the context of this research partnership. These are all aspects of the project formally established prior to starting my research.

The BACA Project as Participatory in All Aspects

In the formative stages of my dissertation project, the participation of the Abiquiú community in the formulation of research questions and methods occurred largely in the context of informal one-on-one and small group conversations and email exchanges. From these, I molded my approaches based on community members’ positive and negative reactions to other researchers with whom they had crossed paths. The nature of my dissertation project, the formulation of my research questions and hypotheses actively evolved in response to these conversations. This evolution is documented by a paper trail of email exchanges and numerous drafts of Merced proposals, dissertation prospectuses, and grant proposals.

Beginning the participatory strategy early on proved invaluable to the success of the project. This was demonstrated by the process of determining the 2016 excavation locations. When the necessary approvals of the community-determined site location proposed to the Merced fell through at the last minute, multiple community members offered their own properties as potential excavation sites. This led to the excavation of three distinct sites within the Abiquiú Pueblo instead of the one, arguably a better scenario than the one first proposed. The alacrity with which these sites were offered was due to the preexisting network of communication and sense of shared responsibility for the project among members of the Abiquiú community.

Community participation in the process of data acquisition was based on the abilities and interests of individuals within the community. As concern for the education and well-being of the youth is of primary concern to the community, the 2016 field season ran as a field school open to any Abiquiú youth who were interested in receiving training in archaeological excavation techniques. Other field school participants were undergraduate students primarily from UC Berkeley who paid fees to cover room, board, and field expenses. The Abiquiú youth were also paid stipends through funds acquired by Jun Sunseri via a grant from the United Way of Northern New Mexico, a Statistical Research Incorporated Research Award, and the McCune charitable foundation. The selection of students and administration of the grant monies was accomplished by the Library Board and Isabel Trujillo, Director of the Abiquiú Library and Cultural Center.

Visits to the excavation sites by leaders of the Abiquiú community were frequent and welcome occurrences. Their presence demonstrated their participation in active community oversight of the project, serving to ensure our compliance with the research practices outlined in the project's proposal and MOU. Both local and Berkeley student participants were instructed to share the knowledge of what they were doing with any local visitors to the site. Visiting community members were solicited to share their own knowledge of the sites and their interpretations of excavated features, thus becoming an active part of the interpretive process "at the trowel's edge."

In the years following the excavation (2017-2019), members of the Merced were updated regularly with regards to the progress of artifact cleaning, cataloging, and analysis. Copies of all materials produced on the topic of Abiquiú history and archaeology as part of this dissertation were shared with the Merced, including electronic and physical copies of a Brown Bag talk given at the University of California Berkeley and a poster summarizing the 2014 and 2016 excavations at Abiquiú. A talk was also given on that subject at the Abiquiú Library and Cultural Center in April 2016. On all these occasions, the narratives that were given on the subject matter were treated as preliminary, awaiting further comment and contribution by the community.

The BACA Project's Efforts to Build Community Capacity

Aside from the data management and sharing policy established in an MOU with the Merced Board, the BACA project employed other means of sharing research knowledge, including one-on-one training sessions with community stakeholders, instruction in excavation methods for Abiquiú youth, and end-of-season community forums. Furthermore, BACA research activities facilitated intergenerational knowledge transfer between Abiquiú elders and youth, a mandated educational goal of the project. At their root, these methods were intended to transmit archaeological knowledge among community members, though tailored to the particular needs and interests of their target audience.

Individual training sessions with community leaders took place on a case-by-case basis, based on their interest and availability. These took place most frequently in relation to understanding Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR). Instruction here was crucial, as GPR is one of the more complex remote sensing methods used by archaeologists (Conyers 2013). A basic grasp of the methodology and interpretation of GPR allowed community members to better understand and contribute to the decision-making process with regards to choosing excavation unit locations. Likewise, the process of zooarchaeological analysis was described in order to assure the credibility and usefulness of the method and to establish why the post-excavation analysis would take an extended period of time.

The participation of Abiquiú youth on excavation techniques was identified by community members as a salient benefit to the BACA research partnership. Over the course of the field seasons, the high school participants were paired with trained Cal undergrads and grads as part of a situated learning strategy (Lave and Wenger 1991). Situated learning involves the transition into increased expertise in a field through a process of peripheral participation. This

strategy is sensitive to the socio-cultural aspects of a professional field into which beginners must be introduced to in stages. Being co-taught by students closer to their own age thus allowed for increased participation among the high school students, and, as I observed, also provided the opportunity for ad-hoc mentorship. This usually in the form of encouraging students to maintain healthy relationships, discussing the repercussions of drug use, to be professionally ambitious, to challenge stereotypes, and perhaps most importantly, verbally and non-verbally affirmed them and their interests. This educational environment was further strengthened when the Abiquiú students were able to come back as experienced excavators in later field seasons. BACA senior staff have also been able to endorse former high school participants for college, awards, and employment via letters of recommendation based on their performance as an additional means of investing in their professional goals.

The end of each BACA field season was capped by a public forum in which all members of the excavation crew were present to report on the initial excavation results. Reporting events have taken other forms and presented other deliverables as well, as the partnership explores different ways to re-invest the work in community affairs and tailor to different kinds of desire for information about the project. After presenting these results, the floor was then opened up to the audience for their questions and feedback. This was an event initiated and organized by Isabel Trujillo, the Director of the Abiquiú Library and Cultural Center, who identified the need of the community to know updates of our project as it was occurring, so as to not have to wait months or years to hear of project findings from an official report. The input of the community was very positive, with many members of the audience offering their knowledge and perspective on the project, and encouraging us to come back in subsequent field seasons. Video clips from the 2014 event, which was hosted by the Abiquiú Inn, are available on the Abiquiú Library website.

Each forum has borne a unique set of interactions. The nature of the audience, for example, was a factor. Whereas the 2014 forum was attended almost exclusively by local members of the Abiquiú community and the BACA crew, the 2016 forum was to a greater part defined by those entirely unfamiliar with BACA. That year, our field school happened to coincide with another archaeological field school organized by the University of Oklahoma in conjunction with the Army Corps of Engineers. This field school worked approximately seventeen miles outside the bounds of the land grant, near the Abiquiú Lake. Working on previously excavated sites, and operating within the confines of their legal mandate, they had only informed neighboring Pueblo communities, and not the Abiquiú community itself about this project. When the Abiquiú community found out through indirect means, their reaction was decidedly (and understandably) negative.

Nevertheless, Mrs. Isabel Trujillo invited the Oklahoma field school to join the BACA field forum. This would allow the field school participants and the community to engage with each other. As the director of the Abiquiú Library and Cultural Center, Mrs. Trujillo established several goals for this forum. For one, field school students were to take center stage in the forum. This was to show the community that local Abiquiú students were engaged with the BACA

project, which would give the students a chance to show off their knowledge and newly-learned skills. It was also assumed that students were less likely to use archaeological jargon than their supervisors. Unfortunately, however, our Abiquiú student participants were not present at the forum. At the time, while I invited the students to join us for this evening activity, I did not fully appreciate the significance of their participation, and I regret not having been more insistent on their presence. Nevertheless, the forum also provided an opportunity for the community to speak directly to the participants of the field schools, who were mostly non-local students.

After the students had a brief chance to share their experiences with the audience, the forum was immediately opened for a Q&A session. Most of the questions were addressed to myself and the director of the other field school. In the audience were individuals from other pueblos, who asked very pointed and challenging questions. For example, we were asked how involved the community had been in our projects, who had given approval of our projects, who had access to our data, and where would the artifacts taken from the field end up. These individuals and Abiqueceños took the Oklahoma field school to task for not involving or even informing the local community of their intention to work in the area. Despite the fact that the other field school followed legally-required mandates, the lack of communication, consultation, and involvement with the Abiquiú community was repeatedly pointed out. When these questions were pointed to myself, I was able to answer to the satisfaction of all those in the audience. Amid these conversations, the traditional research paradigm of the Oklahoma field school became a foil to the collaborative and truly community-based nature of the BACA field school. Most importantly, numerous members of the local community repeatedly chimed in to vouch for our project, which affirmed the collaborative and community-based nature of this project far more than I ever could alone.

While the 2016 Q&A session was a more intense interaction than I had originally anticipated, it was an extremely rewarding experience. I had nothing but respect for the concern the representatives of other indigenous groups in the audience had for their Abiquiú neighbor's heritage, and for their ancestors who comprised part of the Abiquiú community. After the session, one of those individuals asked if she could give an offering of *masa* at one of our excavation locations in honor of her ancestors who were taken captive and sold at the Abiquiú fiestas. And after asking permission from the landowner, we were able to do so the following day.

The BACA Project's Engagement in a Spirit of Reciprocity

An important aspect of reciprocity is ensuring that the information that is constructed as a result of research is shared with the community. This should be done in a manner that reflects the primacy of the community's relationship to the material, and in such a way that is accessible to a non-archaeological audience. To this end, I ensured that the Abiquiú community would be the first recipient of my research findings. Most of the time, this would be done on the basis of uploading all data (archaeological, historical, dendrochronological, etc.) in our shared Google Drive folder, giving talks at the Abiquiú Library, and corresponding with the Merced Board.

BACA excavation forms were created and filled out in the field using ODK, an open-sourced software that would be backed up into the shared Google Drive regularly, including unit photographs and maps. While this type of data is not particularly accessible to a non-archaeological audience, it was still an important means of ensuring data transparency. Jun Sunseri also provided both the Abiquiú Library and Merced boards with DVDs of all BACA project data, thus the community retains the only physical backups of the data produced by Berkeley archaeologists.

In 2017, the entire BACA team worked together to assemble an “Update Bulletin” for the June 2017 Merced Annual Meeting event at Abiquiú. Copies of the bulletin were distributed during the meeting, though we underestimated the demand and printed too few. Fortunately, a PowerPoint presentation of the contents of the bulletin was given by members of the BACA during the meeting. The feedback from the meeting was overwhelmingly positive. The content of the feedback was generally along the lines of thanking us for the work that we had done, and encouraging further collaboration, particularly with regard to our engagement in Abiquiú youth education.

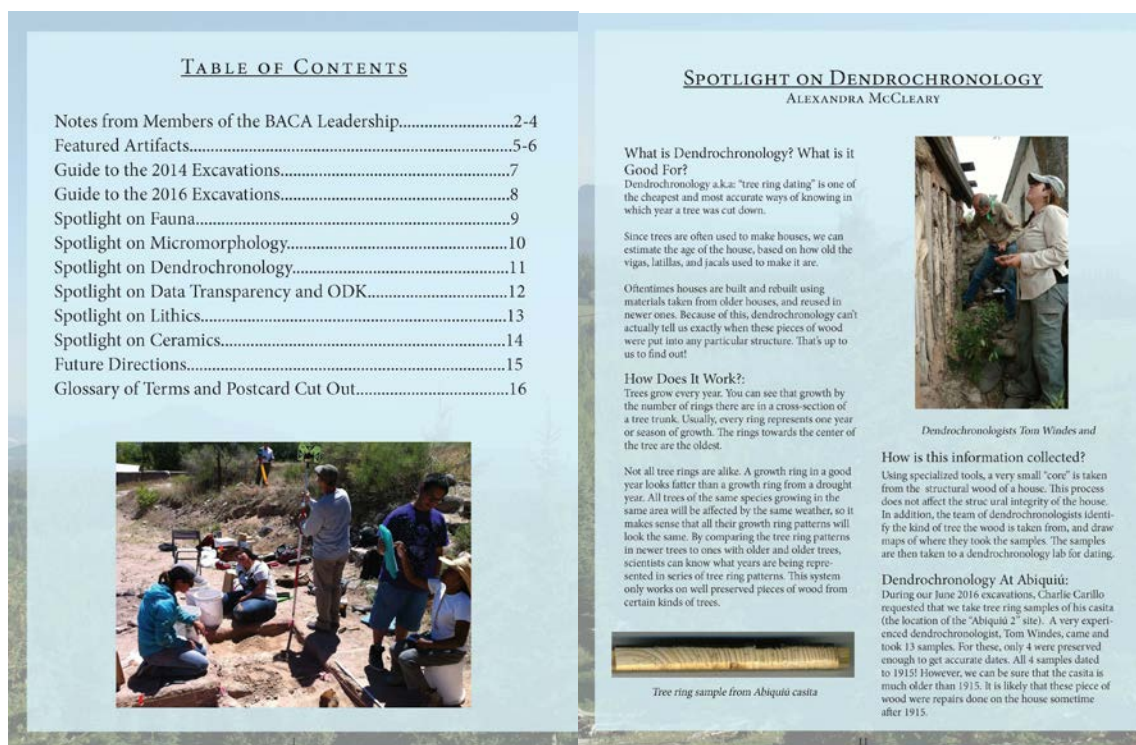


Figure 2.2. Excerpts from the BACA 2016 Update Bulletin.

The BACA Project and Mutual Accountability

One safeguard adopted by the BACA project was for all data to be gathered in digital form and stored in a private shared Google folder owned by the Merced Board. If board members were unsatisfied with the actions of their Berkeley collaborators, they could at any time

block our access to the data. Graduate students have the additional compliance safeguard of being warned that our dissertations would not be signed if we fell afield of our collaborative mandate, being repeatedly told by our advisor, “I won’t sign off on something Abiquiú won’t sign off on.” (Sunseri, repeated personal communications, 2012-2020). This was communicated to us well in advance of initiating a project with the Abiquiú community.

Projects of mutual benefit and shared power foster an increased sense of investment and responsibility in all those involved, which in turn increases the stability of the project, particularly in response to unforeseen crises. A particularly precarious moment in the preparation for the 2016 BACA field season can illustrate this point. Months before the official start of the field season, I arrived in Abiquiú with two other Berkeley graduate students (Kirsten Vacca and Jarre Hamilton) in order to conduct the GPR survey of our intended site. However, upon our arrival, it was discovered that one of the (non-local) property owners had withdrawn their approval for our work. Luckily, the same community partner who informed us of this news had immediately offered her property as an alternative location and had contacted other members of her family and social network to provide the same. After reviewing several options, we settled on three separate sites.

As we began setting down lines to establish our first site grid, a member of the community who had not previously been active in BACA-related activities approached us and was clearly not pleased with our presence. As the leader of the survey team, I tried to introduce myself and the nature of our work, but to no avail—the man left abruptly. Within a few minutes, a member of the Merced Board approached us in his truck and asked us why we were not surveying where we had previously been approved to survey. Even after I had explained the previous day’s events, the community member told me I would have to re-submit my proposal before we could continue.

After a few despondent moments spent contemplating my lack of time and funds to do this before the scheduled start of the field season, I decided that the best (and only) thing I could do was to contact the community members with whom I worked most closely to give them the update. I set about texting as I instructed my team to remove the survey pins and dismantle the GPR grid. Within minutes, those community leaders mobilized themselves and others and convened among themselves to decide how best to proceed. Meanwhile, I was whisked away to Charlie and Debbie Carrillo’s kitchen, who both attempted to restore my spirits with a combination of coffee, words of encouragement, and the best homemade apricot jam I’ve ever tasted.

Finally, it was determined and approved by the emergency meeting of the Merced Board that we could relocate the summer 2016 excavations to those three new areas, provided written approval was received by each of the landowners. This too was handled by our community partners. One landowner even had her permission notarized, as to reinforce the degree to which she supported our project. Admittedly, I was primarily to blame for the lack of communication between myself and the property owners of the originally proposed site. I should have also

thought to ensure that all community leaders were informed and had signed off on this important change of plans prior to any data collection on my part.

In hindsight, I am grateful for the concern displayed by the community member that first stopped our work; his diligence ensured that no breach of trust occurred damage our collaborative project. I am also grateful that I had the opportunity to demonstrate my willingness to stop my work immediately at the behest of any community member's objections (as stipulated in my dissertation proposal to the Merced Board). I am particularly moved to say that this man, after having been reminded by another community member that our survey team was part of the BACA project, came up to us the next day, said he regretted not recognizing us, and then spent some time visiting with us as we worked the GPR. This anecdote provides a single yet revealing instance of how my dissertation project would not have succeeded without the investment of numerous community members who saw the benefit of the project and trusted me in spite of the mistakes I'd made.

After returning from the GPR survey, I reflected that one of the reasons our presence on-site was met with suspicion was that I had not done enough to ensure that the wider Abiquiú community was aware of our project and of our scheduled presence on site. I could empathize with the distress the sudden appearance of strangers with field equipment would have on local residents. Giving the community information about the project in advance of our arrival would allow individuals to voice their questions and concerns *before* the start of our fieldwork. In turn, this would give us sufficient time to address and mitigate these concerns without significant loss of time and resources.

Following Laurie Wilkie's suggestion, I designed an informational postcard that would be distributed in high traffic areas such as the library and post office with the kind assistance of our local collaborators (Figure 2.3). The postcards were fairly detailed and included our excavation dates, research questions, a Q&A section, and my photo and contact information to make it easier for people to recognize and get in touch with me. I was sure to note that any member of the pueblo had a right to prevent us from fieldwork should they choose to do so. Thankfully, and perhaps in part due to the distribution of the postcards, there were no further objections to our presence in Abiquiú. Seeing the value of communication and visibility prior to starting work, I made sure to introduce myself to the immediate neighbors before starting at each site, literal hat in hand, along with a couple of postcards and usually a small baked good. Having lived in large cities all my life, this kind of extraversion was definitely outside my comfort zone, but I found the results to be tremendously positive.

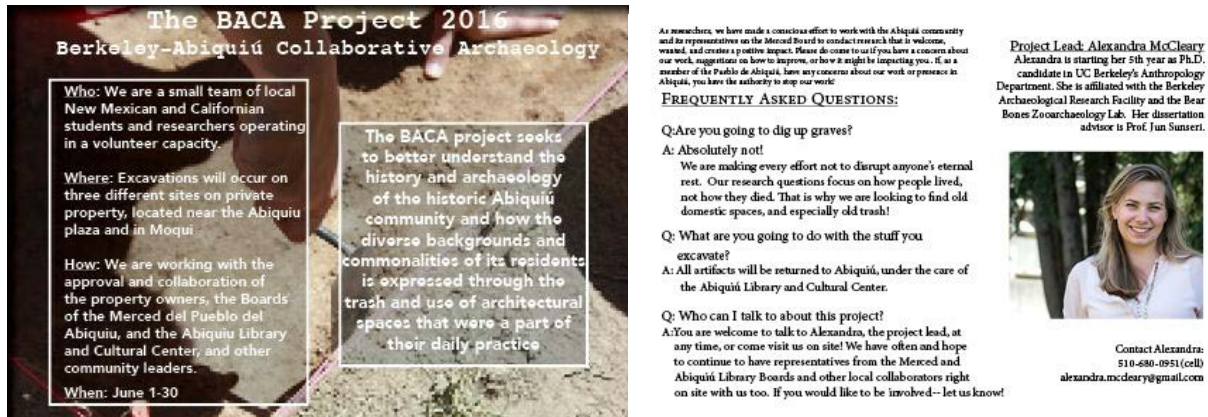


Figure 2.3. Informational Postcard distributed in Abiquiú ahead of the field season

Learning from the Abiquiú Community

Reciprocity is a collaborative process involving mutual exchange. In archaeological contexts, this most notably involves the exchange of information. Aside from the previously described knowledge sharing process on the part of the Berkeley archaeologists, the exchange of information on behalf of the community is most obviously represented in access to its archaeological resources. However, this was not the only means of community knowledge-sharing engaged through the BACA project. The considerable wealth of knowledge of history and material culture held by local individuals was incorporated into the educational aspects of field practice. Both the 2014 and 2016 field seasons began with a historical and archaeological tour given by Mr. David Lopez, the pueblo historian. Starting the field season in this way set the tone for all the participants, establishing community members as the primary authority and stewards of Abiquiú heritage. The field season schedule featured lectures, guided hikes, and technical demonstrations by local community members. For example, Mr. Bernardo Archuleta would give lithic tool knapping demonstrations and led excursions to several obsidian and chert sources in the area. Mrs. Debbie Carrillo spoke to us about her expertise in ceramic production. Dr. Charlie Carrillo took us on a tour of archaeological sites and provided a hands-on introduction to the local ceramic typology. Mr. Virgil Trujillo, the *majordomo*, would also give guided tours of the Abiquiú *ejido* and would share his knowledge and perspective on acequia management, land and water rights, and Genízaro identity. *Mano* Dexter Trujillo explained the history and spirituality of *Los Hermanos Penitentes*, leading us in prayer inside the morada. The field directors were also able to learn from the community from the feedback and knowledge contributions we would receive during our various reporting events. Beyond the educational enrichment of these interactions had on the field school participants, these experiences underscored the BACA project's commitment to shared authority with, and deference to, community members.

The BACA Project's Recognition of the Contributions of Other Knowledge Systems

Because Catholic religion imbues many aspects of the social and cultural life of Abiquiú, certain accommodations intended to show respect and sensitivity for the customs and liturgical practices of Abiqueceños were undertaken. For example, the decision was made to adopt a dress code and to prohibit excessive alcohol consumption. Because high school children were on site with us, coarse language was also discouraged. The dress code involved covered shoulders, upper thighs, and torsos of men and women. These expectations (and the reasoning behind them) were disclosed in writing ahead of time to interested students, to ensure that all who participated in the field seasons would be comfortable in that environment. We refrained from doing fieldwork on Sundays (a day of worship and rest in the Christian calendar) and during funerals, as our sites were often located quite close to the parish church. Likewise, a preparatory trip to Abiquiú during Berkeley's spring break happened to coincide with Holy Week of 2016. After consulting with members of the community, our team completed all our remote survey early and were off-site before the Easter Triduum (Holy Thursday to Easter Sunday), which are the holiest days of the Christian calendar. Disturbance of burials were to be avoided as much as possible, but should one be encountered, a re-burial protocol was established in advance.

No other religious accommodations were asked of us by the Merced throughout our five-year partnership. However, our standards of behavioral conduct were not merely proscriptive. Students were mandated in the code of conduct to show respect and deference to every member of the community, to be solicitous of visitors by immediately greeting them, offering them a tour of the site, explaining exactly what they were doing, and how they were currently interpreting their unit. Questions and comments were also solicited by our visitors and local research partners. These accommodations might seem insignificant, particularly in comparison to other more challenging scenarios typically faced by archaeologists, and yet they were acknowledged and well-received by community members.

Conclusion

Our project would not have been successful without the nearly constant assistance we received from our closest community collaborators regarding the sensitivities of the wider community regarding many less tangible aspects of local history and culture, from the banal to the transcendent. From Tribal Historian David Lopez, we learned to appreciate the deeply held interest and connection felt between many Genízaro residents of Abiquiú with its palimpsest ancestral pueblo. Seledon Garcia and his family's knowledge of traditional construction methods and the historical layout of the library plaza assisted us in the interpretation and layout of the 2014 excavations. As majordomo and visionary, Virgil Trujillo's knowledge and expertise of Abiquiú as a Genízaro land grant were a vital force and catalyst to the entire BACA project. Similarly, Isabel Trujillo's dedicated untold hours of work to ensure all practical aspects of our work was a success. Our work would not have truly been a collaborative effort without her initiative. Bernardo Archuleta looked out for us in many ways, in both mind and body. Not only

did he put food on our table, he took us on a number of hikes in the backcountry to scout out local obsidian sources and taught us flint-knapping techniques. With the help of our Abiquiú friends, we were also able to anticipate and avoid potential impediments to the success of the project that would have resulted from inadvertent trespassing into local family disputes.

The BACA Project is one of many community-based, participatory research programs that have produced scientifically rigorous dissertations precisely because of the involvement of the local community. Frequently, communities have access to traditional knowledge, data, and interpretive insights that are otherwise unattainable. Though the additional footwork required which places a strain on normative doctoral dissertation timelines, graduate students who are empowered to participate in CBPR projects have the benefit of additional sources of support in the field. The advantages of such arrangements should not be underestimated, as the unpredictability of field-based work invariably leads to unforeseen difficulties, precisely where logistical barriers preclude graduate students from more traditional means of academic support. As archaeological ethics evolve, CBPR methods represent the future of the discipline as a means of producing sustainable and mutually-beneficial research outcomes.

Chapter 3: Establishing Genízaro as an Enduring Category of Identity

Introduction to Newspaper Research

Among scholars of New Mexico, there is some discrepancy among the exact meaning of the term “Genízaro” as it relates to New Mexican history and culture (Brooks 2002:125-126, Gauthier and Brown 2016:115). One of the few widely-accepted facts regarding this elusive word seems to be its etymological origins in the Spanish word for “janissary,” which is itself a portmanteau of the Turkish “*yeni çeri*,” meaning “new troops.” Genízaros are usually defined as former captives from a range of Native American but primarily Plains Indian heritages, usually taken as children to work in Spanish households as a means of ransoming themselves (Ebright and Hendricks 2008:27-28). James Brooks suggests that the act of ransoming individuals from the hands of pagans (be they Athapaskan traders or Islamic armies) connected “indios rescates” to the efforts of religious orders to reclaim janissaries back in Europe, resulting in the same word used to describe to otherwise radically different populations (2002:127).

Thus far, the origin story of the term implies that the term “Genízaro” was a temporary social status, that of an enslaved Indian, and did not carry the permanency or heritability of an ethnic or racial identity as such. Instead, those who were Genízaros were understood to have been fully acculturated and intermarried into the Hispano population. Some scholars go so far as to assert that the genetic diversity of New Mexico was such that by the 19th century, ethnic designations were obscured entirely among those living in Hispano settlements, these being replaced by the all-encompassing category of “vecino” (Bustamente 1982:93, Aragon 1978). Indeed, most of the scholarship on Genízaro Indians focuses on the captive trade economy and novel colonial land grant policies which accounted for their historical emergence and establishment of their own communal land grants. Genízaros, by some accounts, were an 18th century phenomenon. There are some scholars, however, recognize that Genízaro identity was

and is a unique and meaningful category of indigenous identity which has evolved in a manner sensitive to the larger New Mexican socio-political landscape.

Was the word “Genízaro” used only to refer to individuals captured during raids, fading into obscurity over time? Or was the term applied to their descendants as well? Was it used as an ethnic descriptor, or a racial epithet, and if so, by whom? Does the use of the word change over time? When did that change occur, and under what circumstances? Historical newspapers published in New Mexico are a promising source of data with which to address these questions. They are, by their nature, accessible and ephemeral, reflecting public opinion on a frequent and regular basis. While newspaper content is managed by a small editorial staff, they are usually responsive to market demands, and therefore are likely to manifest the sentiments of their target readers (Stratton 1969:127). As they are intended for a large and not particularly literate audience, it can be assumed that the words used by the authors was widely understood by the average reader. Newspapers are therefore a reliable source for determining the colloquial nuances of a particular term.

To date, two studies regarding historical newspapers in New Mexico have been published (Stratton 1969, Meyer 1996). Porter Stratton’s volume engages in a holistic account tracking the historical emergence of the printing and journalistic industry in New Mexico, and how these contributed to the state’s larger social, political, and economic trends. Written for the large number of incoming literate Anglo immigrants, Stratton focuses his analysis on English language newspapers, which collectively accounted for the majority of the printed word in New Mexico. Stratton is sympathetic to the paternalistic attitude of the Anglo newspaper editors with regard to the “isolation and poverty” of the native New Mexican population. To wit, his overarching research question is the extent to which journalists influenced the political, cultural, and economic “Americanization” of New Mexico. Except when referring specifically the events surrounding to the Indian Wars, no attempt is made by either the author to distinguish between local ethnic categories when describing the Anglo desire to improve the overall condition of the state by “Americanizing” the “native” New Mexican population, reflecting the generalizations made by the Anglo journalists themselves (Stratton 1969:117-145; 196).

In contrast, Meyers argues that the arrival of Anglo Americans onto the New Mexican landscape triggered a cultural and political consciousness of Hispano identity. Doris Meyer looks to the rise of Spanish-language New Mexican papers as a direct and deliberate response to the racist mentalities of the on-coming Anglo-American settlers. Meyer cites previous Chicano scholarship on Mexican racialization, particularly as it was imagined and iterated in popular media such as short stories, novellas and films (1996:89-110). Among other rhetorical strategies, the belittlement of the New Mexican population as unsophisticated and ethnically ambiguous was countered in newspapers by publishing traditional poetry, folk songs, and folk tales as a means of celebrating Spanish cultural heritage (Meyer 1996). Meyers also cites the newspapers’ attention to the current political debates and candidates on local, national, and international levels worked to defend the interwoven webs of legal, social, and economic status of New Mexican Hispanos (Meyer 1996:92-93). For example, Meyers recounts an 1890 published letter

to the editor of a Santa Fe newspaper as claiming that the “negative image of neomexicanos in the eastern press was being encouraged by Anglo politicians of the Democratic party in New Mexico who wanted to delay statehood” (1996: 92). In essence, Meyer argues that in publishing text related to Hispano heritage, the contributors of Spanish language newspapers were actively resisting the replacement of the previous social and racial hierarchy (and subsequent social and economic disenfranchisement) which they saw quickly forming around their community.

Meyers arguments closely articulate with the research objectives of this dissertation project in that they focus on the resistance of Hispanos to their racialization as “Mexicans” on the part of Anglo-Americans. This research project develops on a particular consequence of that struggle. One means by which those who could perform a whiter Hispano identity articulated their white-ness to their Anglo neighbors was to isolate and racialize those with more pronounced indigenous heritage, namely Genízaros. An examination of late 19th and early 20th century references to Genízaros in Spanish-language newspapers reveals that the construction of Genízaro identity as a racialized Other operated in conjunction with a larger social, political, and economic upheaval in New Mexico instigated by its annexation as a United States territory.

Methods:

The data for this project was collected via the Chronicling America website (chroniclingamerica.loc.gov). This joint Library of Congress and the National Endowment for the Humanities initiative houses digitized historic newspaper collections from libraries nationwide. Newspapers published between 1789-1963 were digitized using Optical Character Recognition (OCR) software, allowing for the expedient use of keyword searches. Keyword searches were done for two terms, “Genízaro” and “Half-Breed.” No advanced search filters were used in order to maximize the search results. The search results were transcribed and recorded in a spreadsheet, together with pertinent information and an English translation when appropriate (Appendix A). A “Genízaro” word count was calculated per newspaper article, regardless of the number of times the word was actually used over the course of an article. For the sake of clarity, when referring either literally or figuratively to Turkish soldiers, the word “Janissary” will be used. When referring to the ethno-racial identity, the word “Genízaro” will be used without being further translated. All translations were rendered by the author. When recording the results, short aphorisms were transcribed in their entirety, while references from full articles are excerpted.

Caveats:

While the Chronicling America database provides an ample pool of data for this study, it is not an exhaustive source of all newspapers ever published in New Mexico. Only newspapers collected and curated by local libraries have survived to be digitized in this form, and there are likely to have been newspapers completely lost to history, though exactly how many is a matter of conjecture. To wit, the oldest surviving digitized New Mexican newspaper dates tis a November 6th copy of the Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, published in 1852-- approximately 20 years

after the first known newspaper in New Mexico, *El Crepusculo de la Libertad* was published in 1835 (Meyer 1996:7, Boyd 1971: 32-33). As public libraries were only introduced to New Mexico with the advent of Anglo American occupation, Spanish language newspapers were presumably not as well curated as those written in English.

Furthermore, OCR is not an entirely accurate method. Arlitsch and Herber's study of digitized newspaper collections found that OCR software has a 98% accuracy rate when determining individual letters. Their study further determined that the probability of correctly reading an entire word decreases exponentially with each letter (Arlitsch and Herber 2004). In other words, OCR software has an 85% chance of accurately recording an eight character word such as "Genízaro," ($0.98^8 = .85$). This means that if the word "Genízaro" was accurately recorded a total of twenty-three times by OCR, it is possible that there are an additional four occurrences of the term within the digitized newspaper collections that are unaccounted for ($24/0.85= 4$). Another complication in accounting for word usage in historical newspapers is the lack of consistent orthography, particularly with Spanish-language words. In order to recover the most possible instances of the word, several spelling variants were searched. Variants included the following: Genízaro, genisaro, jenizaro, jenisaro, genizara, and jenizara. Any other idiosyncratic spelling of the term would not be reflected in this study. Only the search terms "Genízaro" and "jenizaro" yielded positive results. Lastly, the Library of Congress' newspaper archive only features newspapers published within the United States and its territories. Potential references to Genízaros in Mexican newspapers are therefore omitted from this study.

Findings

In all, fifty-four articles referencing genízaros were found, twenty-three from New Mexican newspapers, and thirty-one from out-of-state sources. Querying words with the use of diacritical marks did not vary the search results.

Results from New Mexican Newspapers

Four New Mexican newspapers mentioned Genízaros in some capacity: *El Farol*, *El Independiente*, *La Revista de Taos*, and the *Albuquerque Daily Citizen* (Figure 3.1). These are all Spanish-language newspapers, with the exception of the *Albuquerque Daily Citizen*. Notably, the *Albuquerque Daily Citizen* was also the only newspaper to refer to Genízro Indians from a purely historical context, and the only one to refer to the fact that Genízaros were "looked down upon by the purebloods of Spain, or Albuquerque and other parts" (May 17, 1902). The remaining three were based not in larger cities such as Santa Fe or Santa Cruz de la Cañada, but in the outlying towns of Capitan (Lincoln County), Las Vegas, and Taos. Each of these localities

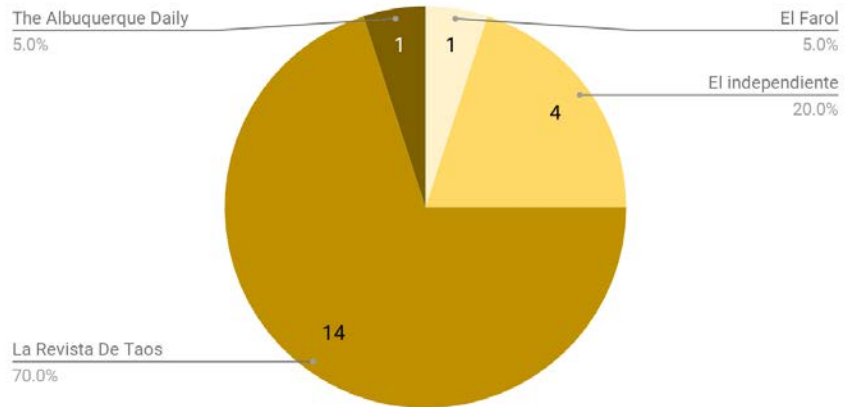
experienced particularly constrained relationships between incoming Anglos and Indo-Hispano residents.

Captain is located within Lincoln County, an area associated with the Lincoln County War, an infamous period of violence between 1878-1880 involving competing factions of the newly settled Anglo American community (Nolan 1992, Jacobsen 1994). While some Hispanos aligned themselves with faction leader John Chisum, to a great extent, the participants of the conflict were divided between those of Irish Catholic and

English Protestant ancestry (Cramer 1996). The Lincoln County War was a particularly dramatic example of the ruthlessness with which Anglo Americans sought control over New Mexican economic resources. *El Farol* was an independent Republican (liberal) weekly paper which ran for just under a year between December 1905 and November 1906. *El Farol's* editor, Clement Hightower, would eventually run for mayor of Captain as a Republican candidate. Not himself of Hispano descent, Hightower was a Texan entrepreneur who printed multiple newspapers of various languages and political leanings (chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87090070/). No doubt due to its very brief running time, *El Farol* produced only a single documented use of the term “Genízaro.”

Long a significant and culturally diverse trading town, Taos was strategically located along the trade route from St. Louis, resulting in a steady influx of Anglos long before New Mexico became a US Territory (Weber 1971, Gonzalez 2015:109-110). When New Mexico was annexed in 1846, General Kearny established Taos as the seat of the first territorial governor. Bristling under the control of the new regime, rebellion fomented among the local population (Herrera 2000). By 1847, Hispanos, Genízaros, and Pueblo Indians joined together in outright rebellion. The rebels targeted and destroyed symbols of Anglo political and economic power, including Turley’s Mill, the largest grist mill in New Mexico, and assassinating Governor Charles Bent, (sparing his Hispano wife and children), along with several other prominent Anglo officers and citizens (Gonzalez 2015). Though ultimately unsuccessful, the Taos Revolt demonstrates the enduring resentment felt by New Mexicans regarding Anglo political, social,

Figure 3.1: Number of Articles Mentioning Genízaros in New Mexican Newspapers



and economic appropriation of their homeland, particularly in the Taos region (Gonzalez 2015:136).

Notably, of all the references to Genízaros in New Mexican papers, seventy percent originate from a single newspaper, the *Revista de Taos*. The paper, which ran between 1902-1924, was edited by Jose Montaner between 1905-1918, a Spaniard who immigrated to New Mexico from Barcelona. Montaner's influence may account for the particularly passionate emphasis on Spanish cultural heritage espoused by the newspaper. The paper initially identified itself as Republican, but later eschewed party affiliation and chose instead to identify as "liberal and independant" (<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045398/>). *La Revista de Taos* published many editorials enjoining its readers to resist assimilation into Anglo culture (Meyer 1996:141, 170).

Las Vegas, was originally settled as a community land grant in 1835 during the Mexican Period (Ebright 1994:171-200). On the heels of the Taos Revolt, thirty Las Vegas residents were executed in 1847 for conspiring to rebel against U.S. rule (Roberts and Roberts 1988:108-109). Following the construction of a depot by the A.T & S.F Railroad Company in 1880, Las Vegas became the first city in New Mexico to experience a railroad boom. However, the company built its station and surrounding development just outside the historic boundaries of Las Vegas, on the other side of the Gallinas River, physically excluding the existing local Indo-Hispano population from ensuing economic opportunities (Roberts and Roberts 1988:144). *El Independiente*, which ran weekly out of Las Vegas between 1894-1928, was one of the most widely read Spanish-language papers in New Mexico (Meyer 1996:13). Ostensibly the official paper of Salazar County, the paper was open regarding its concern for the interests of the region's "Spanish-American" population. For example, the paper encouraged Hispanos to form a cohesive voting block (Meyer 1996:57), to acquire the skills and education necessary to compete with Anglo capitalists (Meyer 1996: 103), and advocated for their better representation in Hispanos political appointments (<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn94056852/>).

Among these New Mexican newspapers, references to Genízaros are most pronounced between 1909-1918 (Figure 3.2). This trend consists specifically in an increase in racially derogatory references to Genízaros. A total of eight references to Genízaros were made in the context of short aphorisms, while five were used as racial epithets in full-length articles. Given the level of prejudice against Genízaros by these newspapers, it is not unsurprising that there are no instances of anyone identifying themselves as having Genízaro heritage, nor of the newspaper speaking of anyone's Genízaro heritage in a value-neutral fashion.

Diverging from these trends are a small number of references to Turkish janissaries, a single reference to both soldiers pejoratively referred to as janissaries and to the historical settlement of Albuquerque by Genízaro Indians. On average, these outliers occur earlier historically. The fact that an overwhelming number of the references occurs in Spanish-language newspapers suggests the bulk of the racialization of Genízaro identity originated within the Hispano-identifying community. This argument does not, however, imply that Anglos would remain permanently isolated from this more nuanced arena of marginalization (Garcia and Dunn

2002). In order to contextualize these findings from New Mexican papers, the use of the word “Genízaro” will be examined briefly among newspapers originating outside New Mexico.

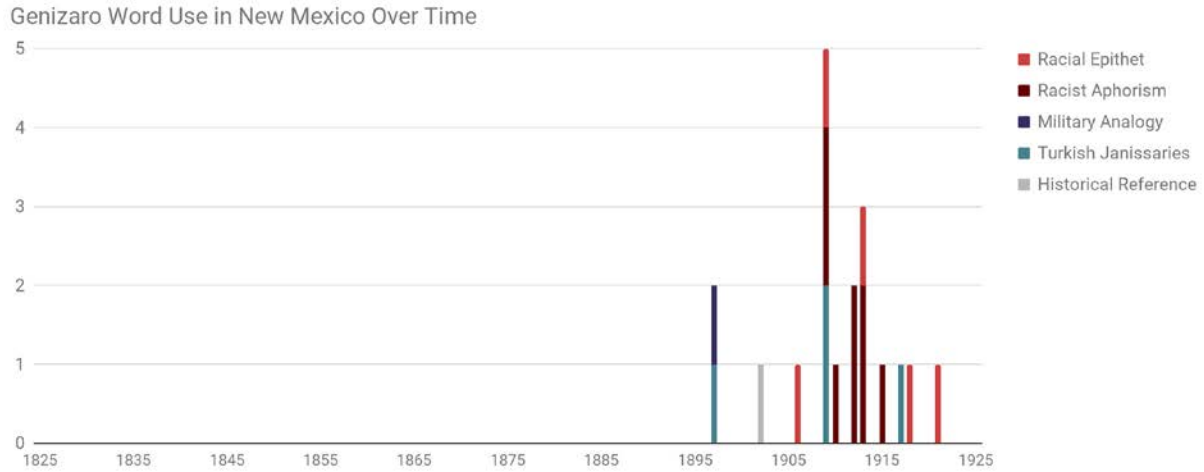


Figure 3.2.

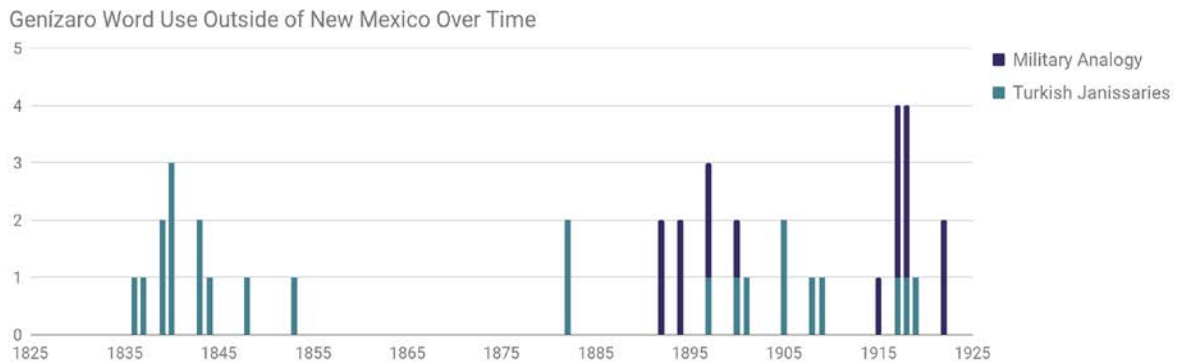


Figure 3.3.

Results from Out-of-State Sources

In all, six other newspapers employed the term: *El Fronterizo* of Tucson, AZ; *La Prensa* of San Antonio, Texas; and *Gazeta de Puerto-Rico*, *La Correspondencia de Puerto-Rico*, *La Democracia*, and *La Prensa* of Puerto Rico. The use patterns for the word “Genízaro” by out-of-

state newspapers varied from the pattern seen in New Mexican papers. While occupying fairly disparate geographical locations, the newspapers share multiple commonalities. They are all Spanish-language papers, with a left-wing political stance, situated within predominantly Hispanic communities within the United States. The newspapers from the US Southwest, *El Fronterizo* and *La Prensa*, catered to Mexican expatriate markets within their communities, frequently reporting on the Mexican Revolution and supporting revolutionary leaders from Northern Mexico. Meanwhile, the Puerto Rican newspapers catered to the native Puerto Rican population and supported greater political autonomy and resistance to the cultural, political, and economic incursions of the United States into the island (Coss Pontón 2007).

Like their New Mexican counterparts, there are clear temporal and contextual patterns in the use of the word “Genízaro” among non-New Mexican newspapers (Figure 3.3). Among these newspapers, one finds two distinct periods of Genízaro word use: one occurring between 1835-1855, and the other occurring between 1897-1923. While the later trend period occurs in tandem with use trend among New Mexican newspapers, there is no corresponding earlier trend in New Mexico. A textual analysis of these sources reveals that the word “genízaro” was used in two ways: to refer to actual Turkish (Ottoman) janissaries (N=24), and to local members of armed forces such as militia, soldiers, or army officers-turned-politicians (N=16). This latter meaning is found only during the later trend period. Despite the large pool of data, the total number of times the word Genízaro is used in out-of-state newspapers never occurs more frequently than four times in a single year. By comparison, in New Mexico alone the word appears five times in 1909.

Discussion

Janissaries at Home and Abroad

Traditionally, the term “janissary” refers to an elite group of military soldiers that eventually came to represent a very powerful segment of the hierarchy of the Ottoman Empire. The janissaries emerged in the 14th century, and consisted of Christian boys from Eastern Europe who had been captured, converted to Islam and served as soldiers for the Ottoman Empire. The janissaries would soon gain prestige for their military prowess, and formed a cohesive force from which they were able to significantly improve upon their living conditions and their status (Howard 2017: 138-139). By the 17th century, they were successful in gaining rights formerly given only to freemen (Shuval 2012:268). Their increasing levels of prestige, and were able to garner increasing levels of power and influence (Yildiz 2016:33, 100). By the early 19th century, Turkish janissaries were viewed as wielding excessive power while possessing an arcane mentality that clung to tradition (Sel Turhan 2014, Howard 2017:231)

At first glance, the degree of reporting on Turkish janissaries by American newspapers that were otherwise quite local in their outlook is a bit puzzling. Some of this interest was due to a fascination with the Orient that gripped Western readers. The image of brave and fierce troops of janissaries was recounted in newspaper columns in the form of short stories and historical narratives. However, most references to the janissary corps in both New Mexican and non-New

Mexican sources occurred while reporting on modern Turkish events. As these newspapers were left-leaning politically, they had an interest in the progressivist policies of other nations, including those of the Ottoman Empire. Events relevant to progressivism which are featured in news stories include the suppression of janissaries in 1826 by Mahmood II and the fall of the Ottoman Empire 1897.

When referring to Ottoman soldiers, the word “janissary” carried a negative connotation, particularly when the paper in question assumed a negative editorial stance towards the actions of the Turkish government. The following excerpt from a New Mexican paper relaying the Turkish invasion of Greece provides such an example:

La patria de Solón y Licurgo, de Aristides y Leónidas, de Aristóteles y Homero, ha sucumbido ante los rudos mandobles de los jenízaros del Sultán de Turquía, que han puesto en fuga á los ejércitos griegos y se han apoderado de gran porción del territorio de la Grecia. (El Independiente, May 22 1897).

[The homeland of Solon and Lycurgus, of Aristides and Leonidas, of Aristotle and Homer, has succumbed to the brutish attacks of the janissaries of the Sultan of Turkey, who have put the Greek armies to flight and have seized a large portion of the territory of Greece.]

The author contrasts the image of Greece as the cradle of Western democracy and civilization with the barbaric and tyrannical army of Turkish janissaries. As Turkish janissaries came to be associated with entrenched anti-democratic coerciveness and brutality, the term “janissary” was applied metaphorically to local politicians by democratic papers. Late 19th century journalists would reach for the word when seeking to convey their brutish and uncivilized nature:

Suprimir el voto del pueblo, la opinión del pueblo, es posible en la Rusia de los cosacos, en la Torquia de los genízaros, en el Marruecos de las kabilas, en la China de los boxers. Pero en la patria que fundaron Washington y Jefferson...no es posible other regime que el de la democracia ni otro ideal que el de la justicia... (La Democracia, August 25, 1909).

[To suppress the vote of the people-- the opinion of the people--is possible in the Russia of the Cossacks, in the Turkey of the Janissaries, in the Morocco of the Kabila, in the China of the Boxers. But in the homeland that Washington and Jefferson ... no other regime is possible than that of democracy, or another ideal than that of justice ...]

Closely related to this usage, and eventually more prevalent, the term is also used disparagingly to describe members of armed forces who, in a manner akin to Turkish janissaries, abuse their power over civilians, most often under the authority of autocratic politicians. In reaction to the

annexation of Puerto Rico by the US government, *La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico* remarks the following:

Las déspotas se apoyan siempre en esa torba: entre unos ciudadanos que mantienen el culto del honor patrio y unos genízaros que se doblagan adulando y engañando, la tiranía, elige á sus auxiliares elige á los genízaros (September 7th 1900).

[Despots always rely on this mob, comprised of citizens who maintain the cult of national honor, and janissaries that bow down in flattery and deception. Tyranny, when choosing assistants, chooses janissaries.]

Likewise, *La Prensa* refers to the Governor of Michoacan, Francisco José Múgica, being flanked by janissaries while he sought to suppress democratic elections in his state:

Por eso, cuando los independiente se refosilaban con la victoria, [Múgica] se presentó una noche en el Palacio Municipal acompañado de cincuenta genízaros, decidido a desbaratar la elección del pueblo (*La Prensa*, January 12, 1922).

[For that reason, as the Independents were reeling in victory, [Múgica] showed up one night in the Municipal Palace accompanied by fifty janissaries, determined to disrupt the election of the people.]

In this reference, the link between despotism and the mobilization of janissary-like soldiers is made clear. However, when applied epithetically to more local military forces, it is important to note that the term's negative connotation stems from the abuse of a position of authority, not from the racial characteristics of the individuals themselves.

The temporal concurrence use-trends in New Mexican and non-New Mexican newspapers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries may lead to the conclusion that "Genízaro" might not actually refer to the historical population of Genízaros in New Mexico, but may simply have been used in an allegorical sense to refer to oppressive military personnel. While both New Mexican and non-New Mexican papers make references to Turkish janissaries in their news stories, a closer textual analysis reveals that they diverge considerably in secondary definitions of the term. Namely, while non-New Mexican papers used the term to refer to authoritarian military figures, this meaning is virtually non-existent in New Mexican papers. Indeed, the only time the word "Genízaro" is used to describe corrupt politicians in a New Mexican paper, the desired meaning of the term is made abundantly clear:

El actual gobernador, el Hon, M. A. Otero manifiesta grandísimo interés en la reorganización de esta guardia, y ha adoptado una política progresista é imparcial que á

las claras hace patente su deseo de que la guardia nacional sea un cuerpo de ciudadanos dispuestos á sostener las leyes ... y no una organización de genízaros reunidos para atemorizar á la gente pacífica y hacer más absoluto el dominio del ejecutivo (El Independiente, September 23, 1897).

[The current governor, the Hon, MA Otero, manifests a great deal of intent in the reorganization of this guard, and has adopted a progressive and impartial policy that makes clear his desire that the national guard be a body of citizens willing to uphold the laws and to defend the neo-Mexican soil when it is necessary, and not an organization of janissaries gathered to frighten the peaceful people and make executive rule more absolute.]

Conversely, the use of “Genízaro” in a racially derogatory manner is totally absent among non-New Mexican newspapers. This points to the uniqueness of “Genízaro” as a New Mexican racial-ethnic category of identity, which is in itself a consequence of the significance of the captive slave trade to its history and economy.

Defining Racial Categories: Racist Aphorisms in New Mexican Newspapers

Occasionally interspersed New Mexican newspapers, one finds short interludes of anonymous poems, jokes, and aphorisms, as if almost to fill empty space that might otherwise have been occupied by advertisements. As Meyer’s study demonstrated, these short and anonymous contributions showcased aspects of traditional Hispano culture as a means of educating and edifying the newspaper’s clientele, with the hopes that this would lead to greater political empowerment (2012). It is within otherwise entertaining bits of writing that one finds the most explicitly racist references to Genízaros. The formal quality of these aphorisms reveals the process by which racist and derogatory thinking regarding Genízaros is normalized and presented as common sense, or even on occasion suggested to be backed by science. There are, for example unnamed “*verdaderos filósofos y hombres de ciencia*” [true philosophers and men of science] who are said to have identified those of “Genízaro blood” as “*la más adicta a pendencias a enredos y molestia*” [the most addicted to quarrels, entanglements and trouble]¹ (*Revista de Taos*, January 25 1918). Even the unwritten precepts of natural law are invoked to explain for this baffling logic: “*su sangre es negra y así debe ser su corazón y sus hechos por una ley natural*” [His blood is black and therefore, by natural law, so must be his heart and his works] (*Revista de Taos*, Jan 25, 1918). Such patterns of logic are akin to scientific racism, which supposes that certain mental and moral habits are intrinsic to a person’s race (Orser 2001:3, Voget 1975). It is clear that Genízaro identity is taken to be a racial category, with fictive physiological manifestations, related but not exclusive to a particular state of being (captive vs. free) or socio-economic status (itinerant vs. landowning).

¹ “[Those of Genizaro and mixed blood] are the most addicted to quarrels, entanglements and trouble.” *Revista de Taos*, January 25 1918.

At times, the term “Genízaro” was used in conjunction with other ethnic-racial designations, revealing the nuances of such terminologies in late 19th century New Mexico. For example, the following aphorism appears in the August 12, 1910 issue of *La Revista de Taos*: “*Los coyotes que poseen algo de sangre india, cuando se vuelven genízaros se convierten en indomables brutos y pierden todo uso de razón*” [the *coyotes* that possess some Indian blood, when they become Genízaros, become untamable brutes and lose all use of reason.] This aphorism refers to *coyotes*, which in traditional New Mexican taxonomy indicated an individual of mixed Spanish and Puebloan Indian ancestry, as opposed to the more traditional *sistema de casta* which used the term to refer to the product of Indian and Mestizo parents (Manghani 1990:89). It could also be the cast that the word evolved by the 19th century to indicate a person of non-Spanish European and Hispano descent (Swadesh 1974:46). In any case, the terms “*coyote*” and “Genízaro” could be perceived as synonyms, indicating a person of mixed, mostly indigenous parentage. However, the only way in which a *coyote* could “become” a Genízaro, as the aphorism suggests as a possibility, was through capture, reaffirming oral historical accounts of this activity was still known to persist into the late 19th century (Varjabedian and Wallis 1994:4). The suggests that the term “Genízaro” was applied concurrently to those who experienced captivity and to their descendants, as it had been in the 18th century (Magnaghi 1990:88, citing Thomas 1932: 91-92).

The passage also reveals the continued fear that ostensibly Hispanized Indians were at risk of reversion to indigenous of “uncivilized” ways of being via contact with non-Christian tribes. The aphorism would have its readers believe that such contact would result in both a lessening of the *coyotes*’ moral character and a total loss of their capacity for reason (“*pierden todo uso de razón*”), defeating all previous progress achieved from contact with *gente de razón*. Thus contact with non-Christian tribes during captivity added another level of prejudice faced by Genízaros to that already expressed towards those of indigenous descent. Other newspaper articles demonstrate a distinction being made between Genízaros and other identity designations. For example a January 25th 1918 article in the *Revista de Taos* asserted Genízaro blood was even more dangerous than “mixed” blood, suggesting particular qualities unique to each (*La Revista de Taos*, January 25, 1918).

Another *Revista* article sought to inform its readers regarding certain detractions made against the newspaper made by someone named “El Apache,” whom they refers to as a “*genízaro tan depravado en hechos y sentimiento*” [a Genízaro who is depraved in actions and sentiments] (Sept. 17, 1912). Though the paper speculates that El Apache’s supposed ill-will is due to “*le mezcla de las diferentes sangres indígena que circula en sus venas*” [the mixture of different indigenous blood circulating his veins], they do not question the authenticity of his nickname. The Apaches were one of the main tribes engaged in the captive trade, both as victims and perpetrators. Captive of various ethnicities might spend multiple years living amongst the Apache as servants before eventually being ransomed into Spanish households. Genízaros were also known to return to the Apaches, among other nations, when having found themselves in more favorable circumstances in their midst (Magnaghi 1990:87). A comparison between this

text and the January 25, 1918 *Revista* article suggests that the editors of the newspaper believed Genízaro “blood” to be a combination of indigenous ancestries, without any admixture of Hispano blood.

Among other aspects of Hispano traditional beliefs, aphorisms were used to remind or inform their readers as to the nature of Genízaro individuals. Genízaros were characterized as ignorant, lazy, depraved, envious, proud, vagrant, and resentful of those who work hard. A frequent “lesson” taught by the aphorisms is that no amount of education could ameliorate the true nature of a Genízaro:

Querer persuadir y oprimir de los hábitos y costumbres de los genízaros, es picar en fiero frío, porque de un burro nunca no podrá hacer un caballo de carrera, y en donde no hay chispas de buena sangre no puede haber tampoco nunca alguno de nobleza (La Revista de Taos, September 3rd, 1909).

[Wanting to persuade and suppress the habits and customs of the Genízaros, is to strike cold iron, because you can't make a racehorse out of a donkey. There can never be any nobility where there are no sparks of good blood.]

La estirpe en el género humano tiene mucho que ver en sus portes y nobleza de sentimientos. De la familia que descende de buen linaje, no importa de su educación, siempre se pueden esperar buenos actos y buenos sentimientos, así como de la que descende de linaje genízaro, por sus facciones y por sus obras, aún cuando tenga grande educación, no esperes lector actos de nobleza y de buenos sentimientos más que la envidia, la constante mala voluntad y el veneno que por su sangre roe y labora siempre en su pecho. Con los primeros busca siempre el contacto y la asociación, pero con los segundos poco o nada que hacer con ellos porque sería lo mismo que si tiraras perlas en un trochil de tierras, expuesto a que te muerdan en pago de ello. La misma psicología así lo descifra (La Revista de Taos, August 16, 1912).

[The lineage in the human race has a lot to do with its behavior and nobility of feelings. Of the family that descends of good lineage, its level of education does not matter; good acts and good feelings can always be expected. In the same way, don't wait, reader, for acts of nobility and good feelings from the family that descends of Genízaro lineage, either in their features and their works, even when they have great education, over envy, constant ill will, and the poison of their blood that constantly gnaws and works on their chest. With the former, always seek contact and association, but with the latter, have little or nothing to do with them, because it would be the same as if you throw pearls before swine, exposing yourself to being bitten in payment for it. The same psychology applies.]

These aphorisms further established the racialized nature of Genízaro identity by affirming that one remains a Genízaro regardless of other markers of acquired status. To attempt otherwise

would be futile. Due to the immutable nature of their degraded nature, readers were encouraged not to have anything to do with them (*La Revista de Taos*, March 26, 1909).

The Politics of Exclusion: “Genízaro” as a Racial Epithet

Even as Spanish-language newspapers were enjoining Hispano-Americans to form a single political block, they encouraged their readers to avoid Genízaros, despite the fact that Genízaros were also Spanish-speaking and in many cases lived within Hispano communities. The preservation of Hispano culture in New Mexico was seen as dependent on its isolation from both Genízaro and Anglo influences. The existential threat of miscegenistic marriages to the preservation of Hispano families, for example, is made explicit. Unless a girl stayed home and received the traditional “practical” Hispano education instead of being captivated by the new coarser culture, “*al fin tienen que embarcarse con cualquier jenízaro porque un hombre de algún mérito e ilustración, no importa cuan hermosa cara tenga una joven, huye siempre de tales hábitos y de costumbres que puedan ser chocantes a las suyas*” [will finally have to embark with any Genízaro because a man of merit and enlightenment will always flee from habits and customs that may be shocking to his, no matter how beautiful a young girl's face.] (*La Revista de Taos*, June 11, 1909).

Unsatisfied from excluding their company in social settings, the characterization of Genízaros as having brutish characters and lacking the capacity for reasoning capacity was used to argue that those of Genízaro background were not fit to hold public office:

...Elevad a un genízaro a un puesto público o a un trono y una vez allí los morderá cual piojo resucitado. Se creará superior a todo el mundo, los insultará a cada momento y los traicionará como Judas Iscariote a su maestro (*La Revista de Taos*, January 25, 1918).

[Elevate a genízaro to a public post or to a throne and once there he will bite like a risen louse. He will believe himself superior to the whole world, insult them at every moment and betray them like Judas Iscariot to his master.]

This particular passage contains multiple evocative and potentially revealing metaphors and allusions. It suggests that elevating a Genízaro to a position of power is a dangerous reversal of the natural order. Giving power to one who was once downtrodden arouses a paranoia that he will “bite back” at his subjects, in a sense mistreating them as he was once mistreated. The paper itself does not go so far as to say the theoretical Genízaro in power was mistreated, simply that he is akin to a louse in his disposition, or, to extrapolate from a secondary definition of a louse (in both Spanish and English), a nasty or contemptible person. The idea that a Genízaro in power would betray his people as Judas Iscariot betrayed his Master is also ripe with insinuation. Not only does it equate Genízaros with the most abhorred man in the Bible, it suggests that the natural relationship between Genízaros and their “neighbors” is of slaves to their masters.

When their own qualities were not being slandered, Genízaros were used as to typify the literary foils of good leaders. An October 24th, 1913 *Revista de Taos* article asserts the following: “*Los gobernantes honrados jamás se ensoberbesen cuando tienen conciencia de haber recibido el poder del pueblo, pues es propio solamente de jenízaros ignorantes ensoberbecerse*” [Honest rulers are never arrogant when they are aware of having received the power of the people, as it is proper only to ignorant Genízaros to act in this way]. Two other articles similarly characterize Genízaros as foils to good leaders, but their contexts imply that the word to mean Turkish janissaries, not local Genízaros. To cite one example:

El actual gobernador, el Hon, M. A. Otero manifiesta grandísimo interés en la reorganización de esta guardia, y ha adoptado una política progresista é imparcial que á las claras hace patente su deseo de que la guardia nacional sea un cuerpo de ciudadanos dispuestos á sostener las leyes y á defender el suelo neo-mexicano cuando fuere necesario, y no una organización de jenízaros reunidos para atemorizar á la gente pacífica y hacer más absoluto el dominio del ejecutivo. (El Independiente, September 23rd, 1897).

[The national guard that had its core in the capital of New Mexico during the last administration, has been transformed over time, and has become a civic and patriotic body truly useful to the peace and tranquility of this Territory. The current governor, the Hon, MA Otero, manifests a great deal of intent in the reorganization of this guard, and has adopted a progressive and impartial policy that makes clear his desire that the national guard be a body of citizens willing to uphold the laws and to defend the neo-Mexican soil when it is necessary, and not an organization of janissaries gathered to frighten the peaceful people and make executive rule more absolute.]

Nevertheless, it is possible that the purported characteristics of both Turkish janissaries and Genízaro Indians were confounded in the Hispano imagination, as both were believed to be incapable of governing in a capable manner.

A reprint of a famous account of the Chimayo Revolt of 1837 by Padre Antonio Martinez appeared in the *Revista de Taos* in 1921, and includes an epithetical Genízaro reference. Jose Gonzalez, an ill-fated leader of the revolt, is called a Genízaro by the General Armijo moments before his execution: “Padre Martinez, confiese a este jenízaro para que le den cinco balazos” [Father Martinez, hear the confession of this Genízaro, who will be given five bullets] (*La Revista de Taos*, June 3, 1921). It is clear from his account that Padre Martinez sympathized with Armijo’s cause, and referred elsewhere to the leaders of the revolt as treacherous, bloodthirsty, and motivated by a desire to avoid the payment of just debts. An additional reference in the article to Gonzalez’s right hand man as “Vigil el Coyote,” tacitly supports the author’s position that persons of polygenetic indigenous heritage are predestined to irrational and despotic

behavior. The general consensus among historians is that a significant percentage of both the leaders and participants of the revolt were of Native American ancestry, whether as Genízaros, coyotes, or citizens of Taos Pueblo (Martinez Chavez 1955, LeCompte 1985). Thus, in the context of his narrative, Martinez makes use of Armijo's comment to reflect both Gonzales' character and his heritage.

In a final example, *El Farol* translated and re-published (with editorializing annotations) an article which was originally published in the Anglo newspaper *The Outlook* (October 23rd, 1906). The author, Lee Rudisille, then outgoing Superintendent of Public Schools for Lincoln County, took offense at the selection of candidates on the local election ballot. Among other things, Rudisille accused the only two Hispanos on the ballot of being unsuitable candidates, levying accusations of both a personal and professional nature. *El Farol*, in translating this article, in turn, accused its Anglo Republican counterpart of outright lies, at one point translating *The Outlook* piece as referring to a “*Genízaro boleta*” [Genízaro ballot]. The original article referred to it as a “mongrel ticket” (*The Outlook*, October 18th, 1906). *The Outlook* ended its editorial with a rather omnos call to arms: “Republicans of Lincoln County, WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?” *El Farol*, which had repeatedly criticized the Republican Party for not nominating more Hispano candidates in previous editorials, picked up on the racial subtext of Rudisille's harsh critique of the Hispano Republican candidates. Rudisille levied his harshest comments for the more prominent of the two candidates, whom he accused of committing petty crimes, being neglectful of his duties, and abusing his wife. The accusation of the Hispano Lincoln County political candidates by a prominent Anglo-American played into the anxieties of local Hispanos of being treated as having the character of racially inferior persons, and thus not capable of successful political leadership.

“Half-Breeds”

English-speaking newspapers in New Mexico demonstrated a clear interest in articles involving “half-breeds.” In all, “half-breed(s)” were mentioned a total of 843 times between 1853-1922 (Figure 3.4). The periods of most pronounced interest occurred between 1881-1886 and between 1889 and 1922, covering the waning years of the Indians Wars and the struggle for New Mexican statehood. The level of interests demonstrates the fascination and fear of miscegenation which was pervasive in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The term is most frequently encountered in local crime reporting and in entertainment features, such as the advertising of upcoming films, or in the publication of short stories. Inevitably, “half-breeds” were portrayed as villains in fiction and in reality. Unlike the term “Genízaro,” “half-breed” was a fairly generic term, not implying any particular racial combination of a person's parentage. The term was also applied to animals who were not purebred in the context of newspaper sale notices. Ironically from a genetic perspective, but befitting contemporary ideology, half-breed animals commanded more modest market price than pedigreed livestock. In contrast, the term

“Genízaro” was not normally used when referring to an animals breeding, indicating the term’s socially and historically specific local meaning.

The unflattering image of “half-breeds” that so occupied the Anglo imagination was a threat to Hispano political, social, and economic welfare, and disruptive of their own self-concept as the noble descendants of illustrious and pure-blooded *conquistadores*. Significant opposition to the enfranchisement of such a large percentage of percentage of non-white individuals was a major factor in the delay in granting New Mexican statehood (Holtby 2012, Noel 2014). The re-formation of Hispano identity which reified Genízaro racialization in the late 19th century was no doubt influenced by the Anglo-American “one-drop” racial ideology. Despite more traditional New Mexican racial terminologies, it appears that Hispanos were at least to some degree successful in convincing Anglo Americans that Genízaro were in fact the real half-breeds.

The first known written references to the Genízaro at Abiquiú as “half-breed Indians” occurred in 1883. J.M.C. Chavez, a prominent Hispano residing in Abiquiú, refers to them as such when filing a claim with the United States Surveyor General, supposedly on their behalf (Ebright and Hendricks 2006: 253). In almost paradoxical reversal of the “one-drop” racial policy, Anglo American ideology prioritized the performance of authenticity when arbitrating protections to indigenous nations (Cipolla 2013). The term “half-breed Indians,” would be a significant blow to the former protections of indigenous land holdings. Unlike those of their Pueblo neighbors, the United States Congress failed to recognize the land grant of the “converted half-breed Indians” of Abiquiú as an indigenous land grant. This occurred in spite of the fact that Abiquiú had been recognized by the Spanish and Mexican governments, and that the US was legally required to do likewise under the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. In 1909, Taft signed a patent deeming Abiquiú a private land grant, creating a new tax burden on its residents, and rendering them particularly vulnerable to land speculators. Chavez succeeded in the US legal system where so many land speculators had failed under Spanish and Mexican rule (Ebright 2014). Chavez would go on to defraud the Genízaro of Abiquiú by purportedly collecting property taxes on their behalf, and would work with other land speculators to claim Abiquiú land for themselves (Ebright and Hendricks 2006: 254-255). This is not to say that there weren’t individuals of both indigenous and European descent living in Abiquiú. However, the presence of half-breed individuals had not, prior to the Territorial Period, been used to deny the identity of either Hispano or indigenous settlements. Both Anglo and Hispano individuals operationalized Anglo-American racial ideology to marginalize those of indigenous descent from an increasingly crowded market for social, political, and economic resources.

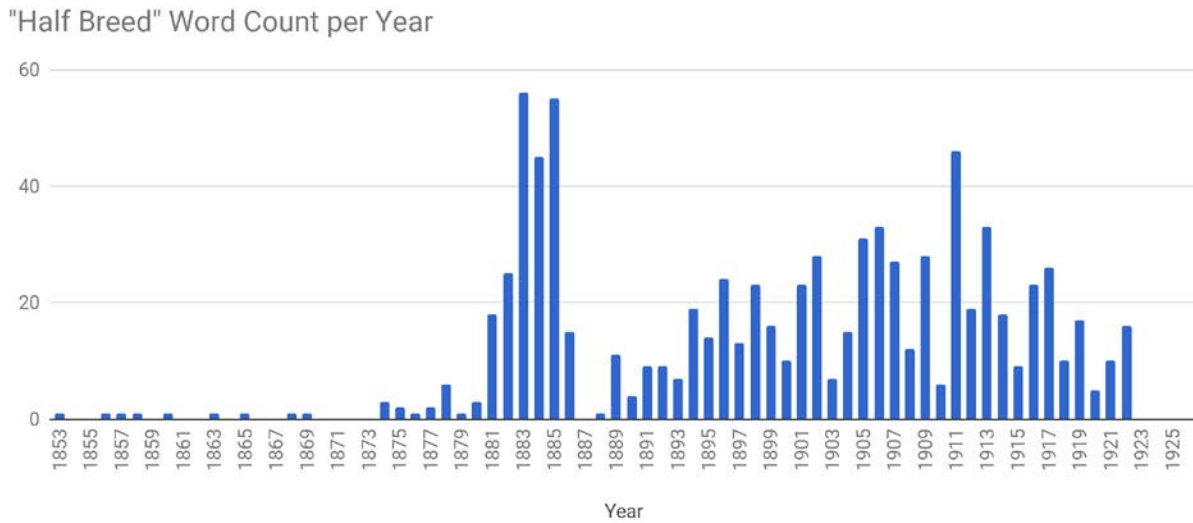


Figure 3.4. The number of references to “Half-Breeds” in New Mexican Newspapers

Conclusion

In his reflections on the nature of Genízaro identity in relation to the wider Hispano community, Brooks indicated that “questions remain... around... the quality of day-to-day relationships between Genízaros and lower-order New Mexican vecinos, and historical transformations in the nature of their servile status as the borderland economies and societies matured” (2002:126-127). This project has contributed to answering these questions by demonstrating that “Genízaro” endured as a category of identity into the late 19th and early 20th centuries. During this time, the term (and the people to which the term applied) underwent a period of more pronounced racialization in response to wider social and economic tension in New Mexico. The tendency of Anglos to confound the various echelons of New Mexican social structure into a single newly-minted racialized category: “Mexican,” a term which emerged partially due to the Territory’s having previously been part of the Mexican Republic, and perhaps also due the number of Genízaros (and others of indigenous descent) who successfully “passed” to greater socio-economic status over the course of the previous century (Frank 2000). This no doubt provoked the consternation of their Hispano neighbors, awakening old anxieties regarding the erosion of the *sistema de casta*. Tellingly, the derogatory remarks referring to Genízaro was most pronounced in areas with increased Anglo-Hispano economic tension.

Prior to the onslaught of Anglos, Hispano blood and culture were seen in the eyes of many as superior in comparison to indigeneity. Drawing from aspects of shared cultural heritage to inform emergent identity categories, Hispano individuals re-introduced “Genízaro” as a category of identity which would embody and absorb the negative racial stereotypes raged against them in the Anglo imaginary. In other words, the intentional racialization of Genízaro identity was part of a wider strategy in the 19th century stabilization of Hispano identity in the

evolving New Mexican hierarchy. While the various uses of the “vecinco” may have encompassed ethnic designations such as Hispano, Genízaro, or *casta* on official records (Frank 21996:777), racial-ethnic distinctions remained a consequential aspect of daily life in New Mexico. The reproduction of racist content in the form of the printed word served to legitimize otherwise colloquial and unverifiable ideologies of race such as they were perceived by the New Mexican population. Furthermore, there seems to be remarkable stability in the meaning of *casta* designations, such as *Genízaro* and *coyote*, despite the assertions of some scholars that the *sistema de casta* ceased to be relevant following its legal suppression (Frank 2000:180, Gonzalez 2015:107).

Like many appellatives, the word “Genízaro” both evokes and belies its cultural significance. There is, as other scholars indicated, both an etymological and a figurative association between the Genízaros of New Mexico and the janissaries of the Ottoman Empire in the New Mexican Spanish imagination. There are at times uncanny parallels between these two groups. Both cases, the term is used to describe a group of individuals whose emerged from the systematic capture, enslavement, and enculturation of young foreign children (Magnaghi 1990). Both terms connote the militaristic role the groups played in their colonizers society, as well as efforts to ransom them by pious (Magnaghi 1990, Brooks 2002:126). And yet, for all their contributions to their adoptive cultures, both were, in various ways, subject to increased suspicion and constraint. Ultimately, both New Mexican Genízaros and Turkish janissaries were among their putative neighbors the object of an uncanny fear as internalized Others.

While professing the Christian religion, speaking Spanish, and defending Spanish towns from raiding bands with their Genízaro blood, Genízaros were subject to almost perpetual suspicion and derision by their Hispano neighbors. Genízaros were suspected of persisting in practicing various modes of indigenous religiosity, and that they were capable of performing witchcraft on their neighbors, including their mission fathers, despite their persistence in performing Catholicity (Ebright and Hendricks 2008). Despite their bravery in battle, the loyalties of Genízaro troops would be questioned (Magnaghi 1990:91, Weber 1982:213). While the Spanish and Mexican powers were content to profit from this segment of their society, the inherent “foreignness” of these subjects would ensure that they were treated, as one treats the uncanny, with latent fear and loathing (Freud 1959). At the heart of that fear was the social and political ramifications of the long-term presence of an inherently foreign cultural contingent: that this once subaltern group would one day claim power away from their oppressors. This “paranoia of power” is an observed aspect of the colonial experience (Bhabha 1985), particularly among slave societies (Rasmussen 2012, Hirschkind 2014).

Chapter 4: Abiquiú in Historical and Archaeological Context

Introduction

The history of Abiquiú does not originate with the establishment of the Genízaro pueblo in 1754. Though it has been considered peripheral to traditional centers of power, it has long served as a crossroads of diverse actors and interests. As a place name, Abiquiú encompasses numerous settlements originating before and after European colonization, which can be confused without some clarification provided. This chapter reviews previous scholarship on Abiquiú in order to situate it within the broader historical and archaeological context. It also contributes archival information that affirms, clarifies, and sometimes contradicts what has been previously understood about Abiquiú and its inhabitants. Many of the primary sources referenced in this chapter originate from the Chavez Family Papers held in the Newberry Library in Chicago, and the photography of Sumner W. Matteson at the Milwaukee Public Museum.

A Note on Source Materials

The Chavez Family Papers (Ayer MS 1909) are held in the Newberry Library's Edward E. Ayer Collection, an extensive private collection of primary source documents related to Native Americans. The online catalog records for the Chavez Papers were accessioned into the Ayer Collection following their purchase from Mrs. Joseph Chaves in 1942 (Analú López, email communication, September 2017). The Chavez family owned multiple properties within and around Genízaro Pueblo of Abiquiú. It appears that many of the documents in the archive are related to authentication efforts in the Court of Private Land Claims, as compiled by José María Chavez, Sr., and his illustrious son, José María C. Chavez, Jr (often abbreviated as J.M.C. Chavez). José María Chavez's family hailed from Mexico, while his son grew up among his maternal family in Santa Clara Pueblo. J.M.C. Chavez had a very long-spanning career, first in the Mexican military, then in the United States military following the annexation of New Mexico. Following his military career, he was a successful businessman and politician, serving as a county clerk, superintendent of schools, and postmaster for Rio Arriba County. He spent the entirety of his adult life in the Genízaro Pueblo of Abiquiú. Along with the Chavez papers, the Ayer Collection holds the papers of the Gonzalez (Ayer MS 1910) and the Espinosa-Quintana families (Ayer MS1827), two additional prominent Abiquiú families, none of which have received much attention from New Mexican scholars. These collections amount to several hundred pages of historical documents on the history of Abiquiú and New Mexico more broadly. The texts newly translated and transcribed in this dissertation, helpful as they are, amount only to a minuscule portion of the information held within these resources.

Providing a valuable visual component to the text-based research presented in this chapter is the photography of Sumner W. Matteson. A self-ascribed amateur traveling correspondent from Iowa, Matteson traveled throughout New Mexico and Arizona between 1898 and 1901. Most of his photography during these trips documented aspects of daily life in Native

American villages, including the Hopi and Navajo in Arizona, and the pueblos of Taos and Isleta in New Mexico. Matteson took advantage of the nascent tourism infrastructure that closely followed the advent of railways in the Southwest beginning in the 1870s (Myrick 1990, Berthier-Foglar 2017). It is interesting to note that he took numerous photographs at Abiquiú at a time when Abiquiú, like many Hispano and Genízaro communities, were viewed simply as “Mexican” in the Anglo-American imaginary. As many of those photographs featured the Holy Week processions of the Hermanos Penitentes, Abiquiú was very likely included in tourist itineraries following Charles Lumis’ exoticizing and sensationalist reporting on their Holy Week processions in 1896 (Padget 1995). Nevertheless, Matteson’s overview shots of Abiquiú have helped envision various aspects of daily life around the plaza at the turn of the 20th century and identifying the sites of future archaeological excavations in that context.

The Genízaro Pueblo de Abiquiú in Historical Context

The Chama Valley Prior to Spanish Colonization

The first large scale occupation of the Chama Valley began in the 14th century AD, coinciding with a cultural period characterized by Southwestern archaeologists as Pueblo IV (Kidder 2000). The area had been sparsely populated previously, with no evidence of a sustained population before 1200 AD. Between 1350-1450 AD, the Chama Valley was a place bustling with activity. Scott Ortman estimates that between 1350-1600 AD, the population hovered between approximately 10,000-13,000 before dwindling dramatically to about 750 people between 1600-1625 AD, correlating with the first Spanish colonial incursions into the area. Dating techniques used on various artifact types indicate that the Tewa left the lower Chama Valley between 1550 and 1650 AD, roughly coinciding with the first wave of Spanish colonization prior to the Pueblo Revolt (Ramenovsky and Feathers 2002). Scott Ortman estimates that the Chama Valley population continued to shrink, falling between 280-403 before the establishment of the Genízaro Pueblo of Abiquiú (Ortman 2014:20, see also Duwe et al. 2016).

As was true in later centuries following Spanish colonization, the Chama Valley was populated by hunter-gathering and agricultural societies engaged in reciprocal economies (Vierra and Ford 2006). The 14th-16th centuries are marked by the development of Classic Pueblo societies, and characterized by plant cultivation, distinctive biscuit pottery styles, and, most tellingly, large site occupations able to support over 1,000 people at a time. Poshuouinge, the Puye Cliff Dwellings, and Tsama are some of the major archaeological sites in the Chama Valley that exemplify this period. Numerous written and oral historical accounts indicate that the current Genízaro Pueblo de Abiquiú had once been the site of an ancestral pueblo. Though the archaeological site of the ancestral pueblo has yet to be documented, Abiquiú is the type site for Biscuit A (“Abiquiú Black-on-Gray”), a ceramic type found in abundance throughout the lower Chama Valley (Kidder and Amsden 1931).

Frank Hibben recorded an extensive series of petroglyphs in the area of Abiquiú sixteen miles east of the Pueblo de Santo Tomás Apóstol de Abiquiú, now flooded by the Abiquiú Dam (Hibben 1937, Ebright and Hendricks 2006). These and similar petroglyphs that dot the arid mesas on both sides of the Sangre de Cristo mountains were sources of religious contention in the Spanish Colonial era. Rock art panels were targeted as sources of paganism by zealous Christians and were either covered over with pecked crosses or otherwise destroyed (McCleary 2012; Wyndham 2011:412; Bilbo and Bilbo 2006:113).

The Hopi Presence at Abiquiú and the Plaza de Moque:

No reference is made to this Hopi-Asa settlement in the existing historical documents referring to the foundation of the Genízaro Pueblo de Abiquiú in 1754. However, there is precedence in early efforts to relocate free Genízaro individuals to sites associated with indigeneity. In the 1730s, Spanish colonial governor Cruzat y Gongora sought to resettle Genízaro individuals into neighboring pueblos, who found this proposition undesirable (Ebright 2014:12). The same group of Genízaro petitioned the governor for land on the grounds of the highly defensible and unoccupied pueblo on Sandia (Ebright 2014:12). When asked by the governor for their tribal affiliation, the following were mentioned: “six Pawnees, six Jumanos, four Apaches, three Kiowas, two from the “A” tribe, one Tano, one Ute and two unidentified” (Ebright 2014:14). While Governor Cruzat y Gongora summarily rejected the Genízaro’s request for a land grant, Governor Vélez Cachupín would eventually acquiesce to a different set of Genízaro applicants in 1754, granting them four square leagues, as was the customary portion of land assigned to the Pueblos Indians for their settlements (Ebright et al. 2014). Whether this site was deliberately located due to some of the Genízaros’ historical ties to this particular ancestral pueblo is not referred to in the documentary record, but certainly not implausible. The close relationship between the Genízaro Pueblo of Abiquiú and its Tewa neighbors gives credence to this supposition, and furthers the suggestion that previous indigenous settlements were sought out alternatively by Genízaros and Spanish governors for Genízaro resettlement (Gonzales 2014:590).

Historical and contemporary sources refer to two plazas within the Pueblo de Abiquiú: the Plaza de Abiquiú close to the Chama River and the Plaza de Moque, just south and uphill of the Abiquiú plaza. “Moque” is a regional linguistic variant of “Moqui,” the Spanish term for the “Hopituh Shi-nu-mu,” the Hopi people, likely via the Tewa term “Mokibu’u” (Poling Kempes 1991:21). The Hopi community’s putative history at Abiquiú dates back before the Spanish entradas and hinges on a link between the Hopi and the Asa tribe. Writing in 1891, Alexander Stephen referred to a Hopi story of the Asa tracing their origins to the village of Kaekibi in the Chama Valley. After the Asa lost Kaekibi in the 16th century due to disease, some settled with Pueblos in New Mexico, though most settled with the Hopi on First Mesa (Stephen 1891:30, Poling Kempes 1991:20, Ebright and Hendricks 2006:11).

Brooks indicates that seventeen Hopi-Tewa criados were settled in Abiquiú in 1743 by Miguel de Montoya at Santa Rosa de Abiquiú, eleven years before the establishment of the

Genízaro Pueblo de Abiquiú (Brooks 2002:152). The continued resettlement of Hopi persons continued at least through 1792 when Franciscan friars returning from First Mesa bought two dozen of the converts who claimed Asa ancestry, who, “by fate or by chance... were resettled by the friars in the old pueblo of P’efu, Abiquiú” (Poling-Kempes 1991:20). Unlike the rejection of Genízaro Indians of Plains origins by Tewa Pueblos in the 1730s, it appears that the Asa-Hopi residents of Abiquiú co-existed with their Genízaro neighbors, as some of them were undoubtedly also affiliated with the Asa. It also seems very plausible that this transplanted community formed the original inhabitants of the Plaza de Moqui. The historically amicable relations between the Pueblo de Abiquiú and its Tewa neighbors resulted from their ties of marriage and kinship (Tessie Naranjo 2015). These relations may have been facilitated by the early integration of Asa persons within these communities. Bandelier’s informants at Santa Clara are recorded as saying that “the Genízaros came from the Moquis... there is much Hopi blood and still more Tewa blood in the present Mexican population of Abiquiú (Bandelier 1892:54, Fewkes 1900:611, Bureau of American Ethnology 1916:137)

There are historical references to periodic visits of Hopi individuals on pilgrimages to their ancestral home in Abiquiú, and ensuing dances (Ebright and Hendricks 2008:130, Poling-Kempes 1991). The 1880 land donation deed for the “morada,” or meeting house, of Los Hermanos de Nuestro Padre Jesús, colloquially referred to as the “Penitentes,” refers to the location of the future morada as the “Huertas de Moque,” which translates to “Moque Orchards” (Personal collection, Charlie Carrillo). Judging by a circa-1905 photograph by Matteson, those orchards were located beneath the Moque hillside, and along the Abiquiú Creek (Figure 4.1). The morada is still locally known as the “Morada de Moque.”

“Moqui” as a place name also appears in 1826 within a bill of land sale referring to the “Huertas de Moqui” (Ayer MS 1909-80, Appendix E). The bill of sale was archived with an undated hand-drawn map, dating to the latter half of the 19th century, sketching the relative placements of six plots detailing their size (14 varas each), owner, and relative placement within Moqui (Figure 4.2). These six land tracts are still extant and are located behind the general vicinity of the Morada de Moqui and the Abiquiú 1 excavation area.

In 1908, Harrington stated in an Ethnology Report to the Bureau of Indian Affairs that “Moqui” is seldom used as a place-name for Abiquiú. However, it is possible that he incorrectly assumed that Moqui referred to the entirety of Abiquiú, as opposed to a neighborhood therein. This error could be why he did not observe the name being used frequently in association with Abiquiú. The variant “Moque” does not appear in his report, despite his citation of a plethora of various renditions of “Abiquiú” among local indigenous languages (1916: 136).

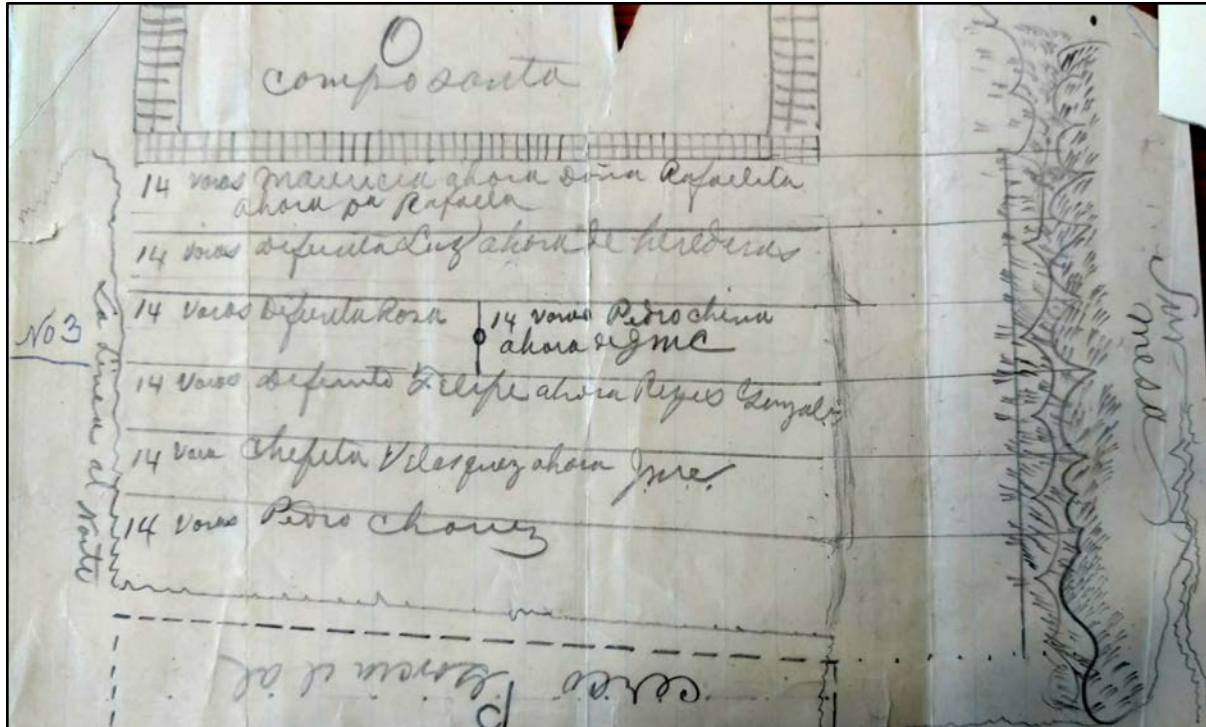


Figure 4.1. A hand-drawn map of individual lots located in Moqui and bounded by the ejido boundary to the north, and the Abiquiú mesa to the south, Cerro Pederal to the west, and the Abiquiú cemetery to the east (Chavez Family Papers, Ayer MS 1909, Newberry Library).



Figure 4.2. Overview of the Pueblo de Abiquiú facing east. Moqui is partially visible in the raised clearing south of the Abiquiú plaza.(Sumner W. Matteson Collection #44475, Milwaukee Public Museum).

Santa Rosa de Abiquiú:

The current Pueblo de Abiquiú received its name from a previous unsuccessful Spanish settlement known as Santa Rosa de Lima de Abiquiú. This settlement was established in 1734 by ten Hispano colonists of modest means (Carrillo 1999: 112). Five other settlers and their families were granted land east of their settlement a year later (Carrillo 1999:113). While its plaza located was approximately 1.5 miles east of the present-day Santo Tomás de Abiquiú, the original land grant encompassed its general vicinity on both sides of the Chama. Indeed, the first recorded Genízaro occupants were placed in the abandoned house of one of the settlers of the Santa Rosa grant Miguel Montoya (Carrillo 1999:120).

Situated within the traditional lands of the Utes and Jicarilla Apache, the strategically vulnerable small settlement of Santa Rosa de Lima de Abiquiú endured numerous raids on its people and livestock by the Utes, Apaches, and Comanches. The settlement was abandoned twice, once in 1748, and again for four years shortly after its attempted resettlement in 1750. The following occupation in 1754 was more successful, likely due to the foresight of Governor Tomás Cachupín, who ordered settlers to concentrate and reinforce their housing as better means of defense (Carrillo 1999:120). Despite the establishment of a new Abiquiú land grant, historical and archaeological evidence indicate that the Plaza de Santa Rosa continued to be occupied and its chapel maintained into the early 19th century (Carrillo 1999:121; Ayer MS 1910-14, 1909-83).

The first archaeologists to excavate Santa Rosa de Lima de Abiquiú were Frank Hibben and Herbert Dick in the 1930s and 1960s, respectively, though neither published the results of those excavations (Carrillo 1999:124). Charlie Carrillo led the first community-based archaeology project at Abiquiú under the auspices of “La Asociación de Santa Rosa de Lima” and with the assistance of Benito Córdova (Carrillo 1997:122). Between 1978-1979, the field school engaged a crew of local students to excavate a section of a room block forming the Plaza of Santa Rosa de Abiquiú. Excavations also took place within the church grounds (1997:123). Excavations of the cemetery revealed the practice of placing pieces of talco around the heads of male children, a custom also found in 19th century child burials in Alameda and Santa Fe (Will de Chaparro 2007:97). Talco refers to pulverized mica, which is found naturally in local soils. Given its reflective and aesthetically pleasing qualities, mica is used to adorn objects and space of sacred value (Boyd 1974:460).

The site was surveyed and mapped using a combination of ground survey and aerial photography taken by Charles Lindbergh in 1932 (1997:123, citing Salazar 1976). In all, Carrillo recorded twelve roomblocks, including eight placitas and the plaza major (1997:122). While multiple Tewa ceramic types were recovered, ceramics typed by Carrillo as Hispanic, including Casitas Red on Brown, El Rito Micaceous Slip, and Kapo Black, were the most abundant on site (1997:123, 1980:np). Carrillo used the ceramic assemblage from Abiquiú to underscore his thesis regarding the previously-ignored existence of the Hispano ceramic tradition in New Mexico.

In 2017, with the aid of Cordelia Snow at the Archeological Records Management Section at the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe, Tom Windes recovered and analyzed tree

ring samples collected from Santa Rosa. The incomplete and partially destroyed notes accompanying the samples indicate that ten separate samples were taken from wooden beams from “Rooms 3 and 4” of the “Santa Rosa Mission at Abiquiú” in 1958 by Herbert Dick. Dendrochronological analysis at Jemez Mountains Tree Ring Lab revealed that seven of the ten samples could be accurately dated. Of those, five were cut in 1756, one in 1757, and one was dated less confidently to 1753. While the precise provenience of the tree samples is unknown, the use of the term “mission” as opposed to “chapel” suggests they were taken from ancillary rooms. In any case, the dates reaffirm the fact that the Santa Rosa church complex continued to be maintained and beyond the foundation of Santo Tomás de Abiquiú.

Santa Rosa continues to be a culturally and spiritually significant cultural landmark for Abiquiúceños into the 20th and 21st centuries. Abiquiúceños continue to observe the fiesta de Santa Rosa, the patron saint of the older settlement, during which the Spanish cultural heritage is explicitly celebrated and remembered. This may be contrasted with the fiesta of Santo Tomás Apóstol, the patron saint of the current pueblo, during which the Genízaro cultural heritage is celebrated. In light of the different cultures being highlighted, these fiestas are marked with distinctive practices. The fiesta de Santa Rosa begins with a Catholic Mass celebrated by the local parish priest within the open walls of the old adobe church of Santa Rosa. The congregation then proceeds on foot from the church to the plaza of Santo Tomás, led by community leaders on horseback. This is a way of marking the transition and continuity from one Abiquiú settlement to another.

Santo Tomás de Abiquiú

The current Pueblo of Abiquiú is referred to in its land grant as Santo Tomás Apóstol de Abiquiú, likely named after the patron saint of the Governor Tomás Vélez Cachupín, and laid out according to the stipulations of the *Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* (Ebright and Endricks 2008:92) measured out as an Indian league (34,700 acres), a unit of measurement reserved for the allocation of Pueblo lands (Ebright et al. 2014). Most of the grant was allocated as an ejido (communal farming land), located on elevated ground and supported by an extensive irrigation system. However, this area of the grant supported the Hispano plaza community of San Antonio de Vallecitos (Gauthier and Brown 2016:124). The original residential buildings and gardens are concentrated around plazas at a lower elevation close to the banks of the Chama River. Surrounded by a defensive perimeter, the settlement's architectural pattern reflects a defensive strategy necessary for an area that was liable to raiding. Multi-family residences were organized as C-shaped or conjoining adobe roomblocks, featuring wells located within the enclosed courtyard, and at least one torreón positioned on the northeastern corner of the pueblo (Figure 4.3).



Figure 4.3. A photograph of a torreón taken in 1901, guarding the satellite community of Barranca west of Abiquiú along the banks of the Chama. (Sumner W. Matteson Collection #112548, Milwaukee Public Museum)

The early history of the Genízaro Pueblo of Abiquiú is perhaps notorious for the series of witchcraft trials that occurred between 1756 and 1766 (Ebright and Hendricks 2006). Much like its near-contemporary in Salem, the Abiquiú witch trials involved the imprisonment, trial, punishment, and even execution of accused villagers at the hands of the political and religious authorities. The accusers included mission priests, neighbors, and even relatives. The charges included devil worship (in the form of traditional indigenous practices), demonic possession, and murder via witchcraft. Suspicious of the newly baptized, any aspect of indigenous knowledge and culture could be accused of witchcraft and idolatry. To wit, rock art found close to Santo Tomás was inspected and summarily destroyed or defaced to exorcize the area of demons (Figure 4.4). Of the seventeen individuals from Abiquiú and its surroundings accused of witchcraft over the course of a decade, eleven were Genízaros, five were Indios, and one a Coyote (Ebright and Hendricks 2006: xi-xii). The witch trials highlighted the persistence of indigenous knowledge and practices among the Genízaro residents of Abiquiú, even in the face of civil and religious coercion.

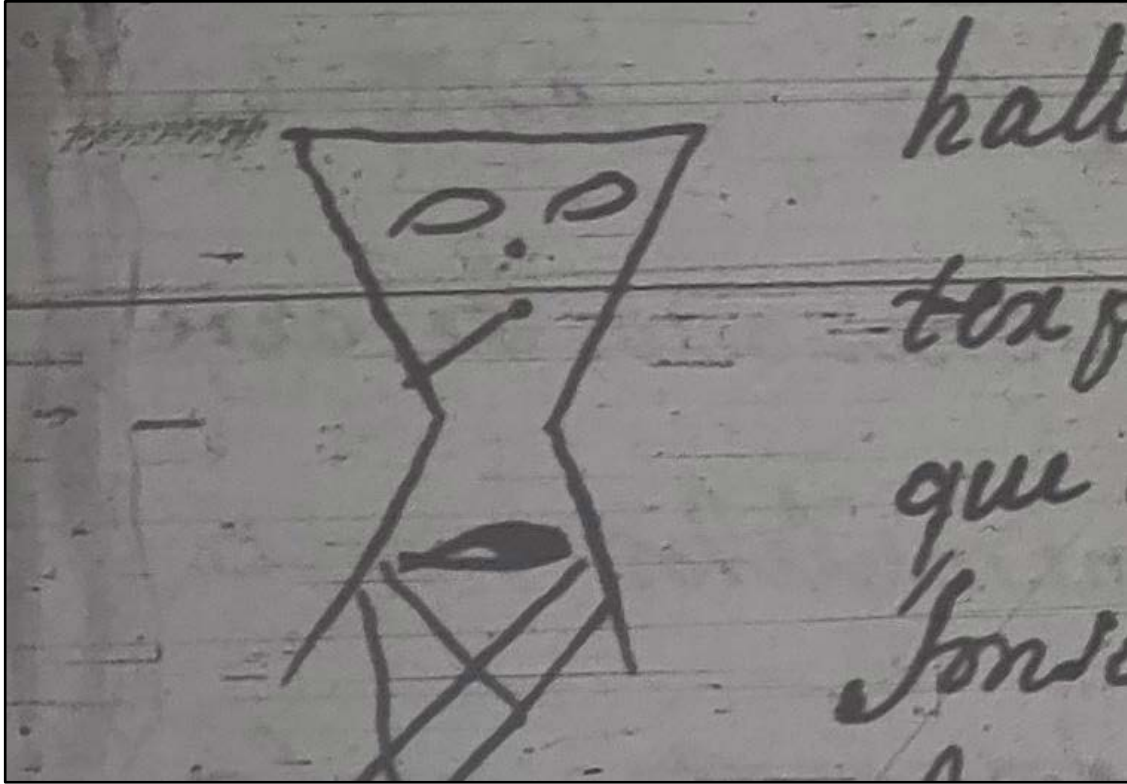


Figure 4.4. A representation of the rock art found near Abiquiú in Governor Cachupín's report of the witchcraft proceedings (Tomás Vélez Cachupín papers, 1749-1767, MSS P-E 52-61 FILM, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.)

Population Estimates for Abiquiú

An accurate sense of Abiquiú's historical population is challenging to assess, as some censuses seem to include satellite communities while others do not. In 1760, Bishop Tamarón counted 57 Genízaro families totaling 166 persons and 104 Hispanic families totaling 617 persons in Abiquiú, though it is not known precisely which adjacent plazas were included in his survey. Governor Vélez Cachupín refers to having placed 60 families in possession of the Abiquiú grant in a document concerning a witchcraft trial at Abiquiú in 1764 but by 1776 only 46 families of 136 persons remained at the Pueblo. By 1782, that number jumped to 75 families listed as part of the mission of Santo Tomás de Abiquiú and over a hundred Spanish families in the area.

The 1790 census of Abiquiú mentions several other Hispano plazas distinct from the Pueblo of Santo Tomás: the familiar Plaza Santa Rosa de Lima, Plaza de Guadalupe, Plaza de San Jose de Barranco, Plaza de San Antonio, and Plaza de Santa Rosa (Olmstead 1981). These plazas contained between ten and twenty-five families and between thirty-seven and 127 individuals each. The Pueblo de Santo Tomás had 263 families, or roughly twice the size of its largest neighboring plaza (BANC MSS P-E 52-61, Olmstead 1981). The census taker recorded

ethnic designations for the plaza occupants, but omitted the same for the Pueblo, presumably because these were all assumed to be Genízaro.

The Genízaro Pueblo de Abiquiú as a Buffer Community

As a buffer community, Abiquiú provided a line of defense for Santa Cruz de la Cañada, San Juan (Ohkay Owingeh) and Santa Clara pueblos, and a network of smaller satellite communities from the Utes and Comanche, who would attack from the north. It also defended against the Navajo and Jicarilla Apache, who would come in from the west of Abiquiú (Brooks 2002:152). Like their Hispano and Pueblo neighbors, Santo Tomás Apóstol de Abiquiú's residents were frequently subject to such raids by nomadic Indian tribes. While these entities regularly engaged peaceably with one or more of their more sedentary neighbors, attacks involving property theft, abduction, and violent loss of life were not uncommon. Raiding tended to increase when resources were scarce due to harsh climatic conditions and the shrinking of their land holdings (Brooks 2002:152, Poling-Kempes 1991:95). The reaction to these raids was often retaliatory, involving bands of local militiamen and enlisted soldiers pursuing bands of Indians thought responsible for attacks in a combination of punitive strikes and efforts to regain stolen persons and property. The militia would even take their own captives to further recoup their losses and attempt to deter future attacks. True to its nature as a buffer community, Santo Tomás de Abiquiú experienced multiple raids of varying degrees of severity since its founding. These reached their nadir in the 1770s, at the height of Comanche hostilities in New Mexico. The Pueblo was temporarily abandoned in 1769, only to be ordered resettled by Governor Mendinueta in 1770. In 1774, the alcalde of Santa Cruz de la Cañada reported to the same governor that over a thousand Comanches descended upon the Chama Valley, and included Abiquiú in their assault.

Frequent raids did not deter the Genízaros at Abiquiú from engaging in trade with their Athapaskan cousins. The practice was widespread enough in all Genízaro communities that a decree was proclaimed in 1775, which prohibited commerce between Genízaros and Utes (BANC MSS P-E 52-61). A similar prohibition was levied on Taos Pueblo against trading with the Comanches under pain of death in 1746 (Ebright 2014:15). Multiple scholars have argued that Genízaros were able to successfully trade with Athapaskan tribes due to successive generations of individuals' ties of both kinship and years of bondage within these groups (Ebright and Hendricks 2006:44, Sunseri 2018). William Wroth points out that the Chihuahuan Creek, which borders Abiquiú and Cañones, is likely named after a Ute band that wintered there every year (2014). The maintenance of these relationships may have required the situational performance of identity practices to mitigate the risk of open hostilities (Sunseri 2017, 2018).

Abiquiú remained an important place of encounter between ethno-political entities into the Territorial period. Similar to the reactions of local governments during the Spanish and Mexican periods, though with much more ample means, the United States Territorial government alternately sought to subdue and "civilize" nomadic tribes of the Southwest by military force and the promotion of Western-style education, religion, economy, and culture. Abiquiú was chosen

as the location for treaty signing and annuities at the end of a two year period of hostility between the US army, the Jicarilla Apache, and the Ute in 1855 (Poling-Kempes 1991:96). The BIA created an agency in Abiquiú in 1854 to interact primarily with the Capote Utes, Weminuche Utes, and Jicarilla Apaches. During this period, the primary function of the BIA was to distribute essential goods to the aforementioned tribes, who were facing dire straits as a result of failed attempts at farming and the loss of traditional resources. As the November 1852 Santa Fe Weekly Gazette article notes, years of sustained interaction between Abiquiú residents and Athapaskan-speaking tribes created strong ties of kinship and labor:

“At Abiquiú the Indians were upon their own ground...The people of Abiquiú are all on the most amicable terms with both the Apaches and Utahs. When the Indians go into that place, they put up with their friends and acquaintances ‘just like white folk,’ and are hospitably received and accommodated, in return for which they herd stock for the people with a great deal of faithfulness...” (Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, November 27th, 1852).

However, while the US government sought to permanently settle the Utes and Apaches in the Piedra Lumbre grant on the Chama River, the notion was vigorously resisted by local Hispano and Anglo settlers (Poling-Kempes 1991:96). The Abiquiú agency (alternatively known as the Jicarilla agency) was active until 1901, after which its office was subsumed by the Santa Fe Indian School (Hill 1981:147-148). Numerous accounts note Abiquiú as a gathering space for multiple Native American tribes, particularly in connection with its annual fiesta, and as a refuge for those who had been displaced or disassociated from their native tribe (Córdova 1973, Brooks 2002:304-305, Lamadrid 2003, Wroth 2014). In contrast to the fiesta de Santa Rosa, the fiesta de Santo Tomás Apóstol celebrates Abiquiú's indigenous heritage. J.P. Harrington notes his Tewa informants speaking of a “captive dance,” which was “much danced at Abiquiú a few generations ago. This was danced out of doors in the night-time in a specially prepared yard. Tewa, Hopi, and Mexicans took part” (Harrington 1916:137). The captive dance continues to occur at Abiquiú and other communities, wherein the dance plays a crucial role in creating and maintaining the pueblo's identity as a Genízaro community.

Social and Political Organization at the Genízaro Pueblo of Abiquiú

The adoption of the Constitution of Cadiz in 1812 heralded a challenging period for indigenous land tenure in New Mexico. Influenced by the Bourbon reforms, the Spanish government removed the special protections afforded to indigenous communities to expand citizenship to its indigenous inhabitants. This included protections against the sale of pueblo land to Spanish individuals. Even prior to this event, legal protections would not stop vecinos from repeatedly trying to acquire Indian lands, usually ending up in multi-year legal cases arbitrated by audiencias in Durango, Guadalajara, and even Mexico City. This trend also extended to Genízaro land grants such as Abiquiú (Ebright 2014). Multiple cases in New Mexico involving the illegal sale of tracts within Genízaro land grants and encroachments into their ejidos

(communal property) by neighboring Hispano settlers and wealthy landowners were successfully defended by the official *protector de indios* (Ebright 2014:29). Illegal acquisitions of Indian land was exacerbated in the last quarter of the 18th century by in a period of drastic economic and demographic growth for the Hispano population relative to the depopulation of Pueblo Indians, particularly following a particularly destructive smallpox epidemic between 1780-1782 (Will de Chaparro 2007:2, Frank 2000:139-151). The annulment of the legal protection of indigenous individuals and their communal lands in the name of equality removed what little legal recourse indigenous individuals had. The taxes imposed on Genízaros, a new burden of citizenship, increased their economic hardships. Some historians have characterized these land struggles as being “pueblo-vecino tensions” in nature, evoking a kind of New Mexican class struggle (Will de Chaparro 2007:154). Neighboring wealthy landowners such as the Chavez and Gonzalez families took advantage of the financially unstable Genízaro heirs to the Abiquiú land grant, eventually amassing the land of dozens of Genízaro individuals.

However, while the laws of protection ceased, the Genízaro Pueblo of Abiquiú continued to protect the integrity of its ejido, if not individual tracts. A vital aspect of the sustainability of land tenure was the efficient use of water irrigation systems. In establishing his land grant for the newly established Genízaros, Tomás Vélez Cachupín highlighted the suitability of the land within the ejido for irrigation multiple times. Perhaps anticipating competition, Cachupín explains that both the land and the irrigable waters would ensure that the Genízaros would “have cattle without mixing with the Spaniards” (Ebright and Hendricks 2006:270). Nevertheless, by 1797, the Governor of Mexico, Fernando Chacón, was obliged to intercede on behalf of Genízaro water rights in Abiquiú:

In attendance, Felipe Trujillo, the Gobernadorcillo of Abiquiú, along with Juan Estevan Trujillo, Gobernadorcillo of Santa Rosa of the same area.

The vecinos of the plaza of Santa Rosa have enjoyed the irrigation ditch of the town and have been trying to appropriate it. The vecinos did not own part of the irrigation ditch, and thus, they could only enjoy the benefits of the irrigation ditch if they worked on jobs, as were previously determined by my predecessor, Fernando de la Concha, on March 25th, 1789.

Those vecinos (who at this point are of the same number as those who live in the town) who wish to take advantage of the irrigation ditch that resides in the middle of the town will all have to contribute to it. In this way, the vecinos who have enjoyed the benefit of the irrigation ditch may use it until they reach the town’s land boundaries, as has hitherto been the custom.

To maintain the irrigation ditch until it reaches the heirs of the landgrant, the vecinos can take care of it and use it; however, they will be legally bound as follows: the vecinos will

never have any property rights concerning the irrigation ditch and they also do not have the right to make a claim, dispute the territory, or go to court. They only have a right to use the irrigation ditch if they are able to complete their personal contributions.

The mayor of La Cañada, or the intendante of the said jurisdiction of Abiquiú, will make this known and will punctually observe these statements and the aforementioned. We will make a decision about the statements, and it will be returned to those interested so that they can possibly save their right” (Ayer MS 1909-83).

The failure of politicians in Santa Fe to protect buffer communities from Indian raids led the residents of Abiquiú to rely on self-governance. Aside from the occasional intervention of the governor, as referenced above, the crucial work of maintaining and distributing its acequia (irrigation) systems was handled locally under the supervision of the mayordomo (Rodriguez 1992). The effective and propriety allocation of water throughout the ejido was necessary to raise enough to support both livestock and orchards, Abiquiú’s primary economic goods.

Religious Life at Abiquiú

An important aspect of autonomy and self-government, Abiquiúceños often had to support themselves spiritually. New Mexico generally was in short supply of sufficient clerical support to cater to its resident Catholic population's spiritual needs (Weigle 1976). Even when communities such as Abiquiú did have a priest in residence, their caliber could be somewhat lacking. Fr. Teodoro Alcina, the resident priest at Abiquiú between 1807 and 1823, was particularly notorious not only for his unscrupulous practices as a land speculator but also for refusing to provide adequate spiritual care of his parishioners (Ebright and Hendricks 2008:99, Ebright 2014:78). The recall of the Franciscan mission fathers back to Spain in the years following Mexican Independence left many Hispano and Indo-Hispano (Genízaro) villages without priestly attention for long periods of time. Abiquiú was finally secularized in 1826. (Secularization is meant here in the canonical sense, that is, ecclesiastical authority is transferred from a religious order such as the Franciscans to diocesan priests). Other mission churches with large Genízaro populations, including Taos and Belen, were also secularized that year. The exodus of religious communities in New Mexico left a small contingent of priests to care for the entire New Mexican Territory. Until the establishment of a new episcopal see at Santa Fe in 1854 following US annexation, the region was under the ecclesial jurisdiction of the Bishop of Durango, almost 1000 miles away from Santa Fe. Priests initially dispatched from Durango would travel throughout New Mexico to provide sacraments and rites such as baptisms, weddings, and funerals.

Though there is strong evidence to support their existence prior to Mexican independence, the lay brotherhood of the Hermanos Penitentes flourished in response to the dearth of ecclesiastical care (Espinoza 1993). Abiquiú has two Penitente moradas, one founded

in 1776, and the other in 1880. Though each initially had their own membership, today they are both maintained by the same local chapter. In addition to performing charitable deeds for their communities, Penitente practices emulated the sacramental rites ordinarily performed by Catholic priests (Weigle 1976). The rich and unique tradition of Penitente hymns (“alabados”) emerged in these contexts (Rael-Gálvez 2019). As the dead in particular can’t wait for priests, the Penitentes to this day are frequently called upon to provide spiritual and material care of the recently deceased, such as leading rosary vigils and preparing burials. Thus the Hermandad was to become a social and religious anchor of Genízaro villages that ultimately served to strengthen these communities in their capacity for solidarity and self-determination (Gutierrez 2019).

The Abiquiú Ayuntamiento

Even as the Mexican government sought independence from Spain, it also sought to centralize its authority on its outer territories by taking power away from local governments in favor of their regional governors. Responding to Mexico City, the New Mexican governor attempted to levy taxes in support of the Republic. This was an unpopular policy in more remote corners of the empire that were accustomed to a certain degree of autonomy and self-rule under the ayuntamiento system. An ayuntamiento (also referred to in English as either “town councils” or “municipalities”) refers to a form of elected local government that organized local public works, including the administration of the ejidos (Will de Chaparro 2007). Ayuntamientos were ultimately under the direction and supervision of the governor, or his representative, the alcalde. The Mexican Constitution of 1824 cites one of the roles of the governors was “to look after the fulfillment of the obligations of the ayuntamientos,” in other words, he was responsible for enforcing the rule of law (and the levying of taxes) in all corners of his providence (Mecham 1933:343). When Governor Jose Antonio Chaves wrote to the ayuntamiento of Santa Fe in 1830 to criticize them for failing to construct a new graveyard, the ayuntamiento responded emphatically by stating that “in a republic, the ayuntamiento could not force anyone to work on the cemetery” (Will de Chaparro 2007:167), indicating their belief that government should have limited power over the city’s residents. Despite general feelings of resentfulness to the new government, appeals to Mexico City were still attempted, if only to complain about the governor. For example, the Abiquiú ayuntamiento wrote to the newly independent Mexican government angrily opposing the Governor's actions in Santa Fe:

Your Excellency,

In yesterday’s session, it was agreed to raise to the knowledge of the supreme General Government, through Your Excellency, the representations and documents supported by this gentleman, who, in union with this corporation, is appointed by proxy on behalf of the entire of the jurisdiction of Abiquiú, to demand from the current jefe político the damages that all the inhabitants of that place have suffered, and for the torturous proceedings in which that official proceeded with an unlawful convocation that is

prohibited under the current regulatory laws. His attributions are diametrically opposed to the company and the latest supreme order that was placed on January 10th, 1824. The document explicitly prohibits meetings that are not arranged or authorized by the expressed laws. The remarkable abuse of said public official in these parts is a punishable major scandal.

This major scandal incited the reunion of the Most Excellent Territorial Delegation as the only consulting body that will hear the most severe and prevailing cases and refers to the law that was set in place on June 23rd, 1813, article 15 of the third chapter. But the aforementioned jefe holds this legislative prevention with contempt and instead prefers to advance with ridiculous methods in regard to severe and prevailing cases.

The jefe wants to safely maintain his authority by arbitrarily assigning his provincials spurious positions of governance, fixing elections so that they end up consisting purely of friends [“vecinos”] who serve his interests; making it so that no single individual from the militia can hold a government position. The proceedings of the aforementioned jefe have been seen as an attempt against the lives and goods of the inhabitants.

The law places the obligations for the safety, protection, and defense of each municipality under the ayuntamientos. For that very reason, Abiquiú has not excused these actions by any means, neither does it omit to put diligently into practice what it considers to be its duty, to manifest to the señor jefe the erroneously executed orders issued to defend the territory itself.

The jefe was the one in charge of the presidio campaigns and the active military, an objective mandated in the creation of the March 21st, 1826 law, and to be placed in the New Mexico Territory and to the states east and west of it. This law has remained illusory, and now the aforementioned [...] unloyal [...] troops only serve the inhabitants of this territory by cutting them down and sucking the blood and even the bone marrow of the distressed national treasury.

With respect to the two companies in the presidio of the capital, they have not rendered any service but instead whore themselves out to the jefes and the officials of their barracks, to say nothing of those who remain idle at your expense, damaging the community [“vecindario”] by neglecting to engage in continuous raids and campaigns, military detachments, prisoner custody, mechanical work, and tending to whatever generally happens in each and every pueblo that makes up this unhappy, remote, and abandoned territory

Can the supreme government see such lamentable orphanhood, remarkable prejudices and abuse, and such misfortune, without trying to put into effect an efficient remedy? The ayuntamiento of Abiquiú does not believe so; so it has not hesitated to complain to the paternal consideration and impartial judgment of the Vice-President, in his exercise of the supreme executive power.

And with my most sincere fervor, this is verified

By the conduct of Your Excellency... [the remainder of the letter is missing]

(Ayer MS 1909-4)

The fact that this letter refers to no less than three pieces of legislation suggests that the Abiquiú ayuntamiento, while being physically distant from Mexico City, nevertheless was knowledgeable of its laws and used them strategically to support its own priorities of self-governance. The first of the cited laws, the “supreme order” of January 10th, 1824, refers to the date the Western Interior States (including New Mexico) were declared a Second Constituent Congress in the 1824 Mexican Constitution (Benson 1992:128). The Congress established by the 1824 Constitution strongly favored a federal-style government with much power retained by individual states (Benson 1992). The punctiliously cited 1813 law was evidently vital to Abiquiú ayuntamiento in support of their stated complaints. In fact, the law was written by the Spanish Cortes, delineating the measures of self-governance, including the election and executive roles of the ayuntamientos, as provisioned in the Constitution of 1812 (Benson 1992: 84). While the Constitution of 1812 applied to Spanish lands, it was so popular among creole elites in Mexico that it was reestablished following Mexican Independence. As the Abiquiú ayuntamiento may very well have been aware, the suppression of the Constitution of 1812 by the Spanish King Ferdinand VII was a driving factor of the Mexican Independence movement. Thus, the ayuntamiento draws a parallel between the governor of Santa Fe and the Spanish absolutist monarch’s disdain for the democratic principles of self-government as established in the 1812 Constitution.

Finally, the 1826 law mentioned in the text likely refers to the one intending to establish three 100-men military companies in New Mexico. Like so many previous attempts to provide military support to the frontier, the execution of this law was severely lacking and did little to support New Mexican settlements against the continued threat of Indian raids (Green 1987:186). Though the letter is undated, from the description of the accusations against him, the governor in question would likely be Albino Pérez, who was in office between July 1835 and August 1837. Unlike most governors before him, Pérez was not a native of New Mexico but hailed from Veracruz in Mexico. Though achieving the rank of colonel in the Mexican army, he never participated in the perpetual cycle of raids and counter-raids against Apache, Navajo, Ute, and Comanche combatants that characterized the military service of New Mexicans. Far from supporting the ayuntamientos, Pérez had been tasked by his superiors in Mexico City to centralize authority in Santa Fe. The ayuntamiento contrasts their position as elected members

that represented their constituents with the governor's authoritarianism, whom they accuse of manipulating elections so that military and political appointments are filled purely by his “*vecinos*” and not, they complain, by soldiers recruited from buffer communities such as Abiquiú. While the letter is written on behalf of the Abiquiú ayuntamiento, its location within the Chavez family papers strongly suggests that José María Chavez authored the document. As he has distinguished himself as both a local politician and member of the military, the frustrations against the possibility of further advancement in Santa Fe certainly represented an added frustration.

It is clear that, while appealing to the centralized authority of the freshly-minted Mexican state, the Indo-Hispano communities outside of Santa Fe vehemently opposed its attempts to cement its power via territorial governors. The letter complains of the governor’s abuse of authority and the incompetence with which he manages the small military resources allocated by the Mexican government. The Abiquiú ayuntamiento contrasts the injustices of the Santa Fe-based military with their own local militia, on which they have long relied in the absence of official support. Eventually, dissatisfaction with Pérez’s authoritative style of governance would culminate in the Chimayo Rebellion of 1837. Like Abiquiú, the ayuntamientos from several Northern New Mexican settlements registered their discontentment with Governor Pérez by appealing to the very government who put him in power, and at whose behest Pérez tried to consolidate and centralize control away from the locally-elected ayuntamientos and to the office of the state-appointed governor.

In addition to the grievances listed in the letter of the Abiquiú ayuntamiento to Mexico City, historians have noted other contributing factors to the Chimayo Rebellion, including rumors of an impending increase in taxes. New Mexico at this time also saw an influx of Anglo-American traders and settlers who sought to take advantage of the new economic opportunities presented by the newly appointed Santa Fe Trail. The Santa Fe Trail connected New Mexico (and the Mexican Republic) with a network of roads, riverways, canals that ran all through the Mississippi and Ohio River Valleys and eventually onto East Coast cities such as New York and Washington, DC. While the Santa Fe Trail bore northeast through the Taos Valley, Abiquiú was the first stop along the Old Spanish Trail after Santa Fe (Sánchez 1997). Like the Santa Fe Trail, the Old Spanish Trail increasingly connected New Mexico with more extensive trade networks, in this case, with its terminus in Los Angeles. Abiquiú was not on the Santa Fe Trail and was less exposed to the new onslaught of Anglo-American traders in the first half of the 19th century as were other communities such as Santa Cruz, Chimayo, Trampas, Ranchos de Taos, and Taos itself. However, residents of Abiquiú and its surrounding villages were represented in the perpetually underfunded army, and whose distress is mentioned in the Abiquiú ayuntamiento letter. Pérez’s regime was not popular with Anglo-American merchants, as they were subject to frequent and unchecked fleecing by customs officials based in Taos. Though these merchants’ participation in the Chimayo Rebellion is unknown, it is likely that they were initially in support of it for this reason.

Nevertheless, leaders primarily from the Taos and Rio Grande valleys gathered an army of Genízaros, Hispanos, and Pueblo Indians against Pérez at Santa Cruz de la Canada in early August of 1837. Once they had arrived at Santa Cruz, most of Pérez's soldiers abandoned him and joined forces with the rebels. After retreating with the remainder of his army, Pérez was killed while trying to flee Santa Fe by a contingent of rebel soldiers from Santo Domingo Pueblo. Numerous other government officials were likewise executed and replaced by José Gonzales, a Chimayo resident with Genízaro ancestry (Chavez 1955:191). While the Gonzales regime was at first almost universally popular, he soon fell out of favor as disorganization and corruption permeated his government. While maintaining a stronghold in the Taos Valley, Gonzales was eventually deposed by counter-revolutionary forces based in Tomé (south of Albuquerque) in September of the same year. The counter-coup was led by a former New Mexican governor, Manuel Armijo, who was formally reinstated as the governor in January 1848.

In the time following the short-lived Chimayo revolt, the Mexican government did little to cement its control over the region. Meanwhile, Anglo-Americans continued to settle and gain influence in New Mexico, and many among the wealthier classes saw economic advantages to closer ties with the United States. Warned of the strength of the approaching United States Army during the Mexican-American War, Governor Armijo dismissed the militia and fled to Mexico, leaving Santa Fe to occupying forces led by General Stephen Kearny on August 15th, 1846 (Tyler 1970, Chavez 2006). Armijo's new loyalties were recognized by the United States government, which allowed him to continue as the governor of its newly-acquired Territory. At least some members of the Abiquiú ayuntamiento also seemed to have supported US occupation, as a draft proposition in support of the "Kearny Code," by which the new Territory was to be governed, in solidarity with the territory of New Mexico (Ayer MS 1909-3). Not all were pleased by the annexation of New Mexico by a foreign power, particularly among Genízaros, Pueblo Indians, and economically-disadvantaged Hispanos, fearful that the United States would not recognize their land titles. Less than a year after US occupation began, in January 1847, a host of Genízaro and Pueblo individuals organized an attack on Charles Bent, the first civilian governor of the United States, and other recently-appointed US government officials. Simeon Turley, a prominent Anglo businessman in the Taos area, was also targeted and killed in the uprising (Gonzalez 2015). Though the insurgents were soon defeated, the rebel's concerns regarding the future of their land grants were addressed in Article X of Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, signed in February 1848, which formally ended the Mexican-American War. Though Abiquiúceños do not appear to have participated in the Taos Revolt, like other New Mexicans, the survival of their land grant hinged on the US Federal Government's interpretation of Article X.

Abiquiú in the Territorial Period

Despite the relative ease with which it became a Territory, New Mexico did not officially enter the Union as a state for another sixty-four years. Prior to the Civil War, there was some controversy as to whether New Mexico would be allowed to enter the Union as a slave or a

free state. Though the Territory did not have a large population of enslaved Africans, the long-standing tradition of forced labor by Genízaros gave increased reason for some (including Kearney) to advocate that New Mexico be admitted as a slave state. Even though all US Territories were declared free in the Compromise of 1850, New Mexicans, including high-ranking federal agents, continued to own slaves, even after the Civil War. It would take a separate piece of legislation, the Peonage Act of 1867, to even ostensibly end the practice of forced labor in the Territory (Kiser 2014). Certain factions of the Catholic Church in New Mexico opposed its admittance as a State, as it feared the influence of a Protestant nation posed a threat to the Catholic identity of New Mexico and its residents (Everett 1984). The Territory was already experiencing a flood of primarily Presbyterian missionaries hailing from and financially supported by missionary societies in the United States eager to civilize Catholic Hispanos (Butts 1996, 1997). As a historical irony, certain United States politicians and government agents, and private citizens similarly opposed New Mexican statehood on the grounds of racial and cultural alterity of the majority of the New Mexican population (Holtby 2011:60-61; Noel 2011).

Following the annexation of New Mexico by the US Government in 1846, US laws accelerated the loss of indigenous land by privatizing land once held communally by tribes. Wealthy Hispano landowners and more recent settlers saw new opportunities in the regime change. In 1854, the US Congress passed a law establishing a Surveyor General for New Mexico, who would be responsible for awarding 160 acres of land to every white person living in New Mexico before 1853, and in the meantime, would evaluate all land claims made during Spanish and Mexican rule, including the validity of “pueblo” land titles. A copy of this law was found among the family papers of the Chavez family, prominent landowners who succeeded in acquiring several private land grants along the lower Chama Valley and multiple individual tracts of land within the Genízaro Pueblo of Abiquiú (Ayer MS 1909:199). In the end, both Hispano and Anglo land speculators, as well as community grant holders would suffer massive losses, as the Supreme Court decided on multiple occasions that only private land claims made under the Spanish and Mexican regimes would be recognized. Between 1872 and 1910s, the government expropriated all formerly communal lands in New Mexico (Holtby 2012:30-31). David Holtby summarizes the legal justification thus: “the Spanish and Mexican governments retained title to all communal lands when they made land grants and that therefore, after the United States took over the Southwest, the common lands belonged to the federal government” (2012:31). In other words, the United States government only recognized private land ownership in New Mexico if it was awarded to individuals, and not communally as was so commonly the case for land grants.

Though the majority of the Abiquiú Genízaro grant was upheld by the Surveyor General, the community was not safe from land speculators. Infamous participants in the Santa Fe Ring such as Amando Chavez and Thomas Catron systematically bought up and consolidated tracts of land in the Chama Valley by various and not always legal means (Correia 2013). Their large land holdings allowed them to sustain large quantities of sheep for the wool export market, and to a lesser extent cattle, orchard fruits, and lumber. Prior to the mid-1870s, the partido system played

a key role in the local New Mexican economy, where wealthy landowners would lend their flocks to shepherds (“partidarios”), who, in return for their labor would be allowed to keep a portion of the flock’s offspring and wool, thus allowing poorer individuals to gradually build up their own flocks (Upchurch 1942). In most cases, the partidarios share of the flock would be used to feed and support their families.

Ironically, with the arrival of land speculators, the partido system devolved into a novel system of debt peonage just as the captive-Genízaro trade began to dwindle, perpetuating the long-standing practice of forced labor in New Mexico (Correia 2013: 62). Instead of raising smaller flocks on communally-held lands, partidarios now raised immense flocks on newly privatized lands at increasingly unfavorable terms. As community land grants eroded, so did the ayuntamiento system. In its stead, power centralized in Santa Fe within the American political system. Political positions were monopolized by Anglo and Hispano land speculators and their entourage of corrupt lawyers and civil servants who enabled their extra-legal business practices (Caffey 2015). As a means of further consolidated control of the wealth and economy of New Mexico, land speculators either owned or were in partnership with emergent mercantile stores, which, outside of cities, had a monopoly on goods such as coffee, sugar, tobacco, and whisky, and were akin to company stores (Correia 2013:61).

In Abiquiú, the local mercantile shop was opened in 1890 by a New Yorker named Henry Grant along with his brother. Grant was also a successful sheep raiser and politician, a member of the Democratic Territorial Central Committee (Santa Fe New Mexican, August 10, 1906). At the turn of the 20th century, Grant sold the store to Miguel and Thomas Gonzales. The Gonzales brothers were also wealthy sheep owners and farmers (Santa Fe New Mexican, September 30, 1908). Thomas was the Rio Arriba County Treasurer. Miguel Gonzales sold the business to Martin Bode in 1919 (Bodes 2020). As of 2020, Bode’s General Store is still in operation. Though the operation moved from the Abiquiú plaza to the location of a former auto repair shop on Highway 84, it still corners the market as the only general store of its kind in the area.

Despite the changing political landscape, the ayuntamiento system still prevailed, albeit in an altered form in local livestock associations designed for the mutual benefit and support of its neighbors, and also providing local governance. Currently, in Abiquiú, the main local political entity is known as the Merced del Pueblo de Abiquiú. The Merced Board traces its immediate origins to 1942, when several Abiquiú landowners responded to a local crisis over the land grant’s inability to pay federal property taxes. These individuals responded to the crisis by pooling their money together and organizing themselves into the Abiquiú Cooperative Livestock Association (Poling-Kempes 144, Ebright and Hendricks 255). It is very possible that the Abiquiú Cooperative Livestock Association had a previous iteration earlier in the 20th century, which were formed in response to other existential threats to the viability of the land grant and its resident families. An average of five people are elected to serve on the Merced board, with elections being held once every four years during the annual livestock meeting. While previously only heirs of those original members of the Abiquiú Cooperative Livestock Association could be elected to the board, this was amended to include all “heirs of the land grant” following the

drafting of new bylaws in 2005. The nature of the Merced Board and its predecessor, the Abiquiú Cooperative Livestock Association, as an elected body of landowners with a focus on the governance on ejido land and livestock matters strongly suggests that these political entities represent a modern iteration of the Abiquiú ayuntamiento.

The US Territorial Period also brought opportunity to Abiquiúceños in the form of the government-funded Santa Fe Indian School. In his dissertation, Gregory Gonzales documents the enrollment of Abiquiú youth in the school alongside their Dine and Pueblo peers. Though its perception as “Mexican” (and hence ineligible for government benefits) differed overtime based on the opinions of the school’s superintendent, Abiquiú was “not only ‘Indian enough,’ it was ‘Pueblo enough’ for New Mexico-based Indian school officials” to have its children continue to enroll even as “coyote” and “mixed blood” children from former Pueblos were expelled from its rosters (Gonzales 2017:72).

Archaeological Excavations at Santo Tomás de Abiquiú

Owing to the emergence of historical archaeology in the latter half of the 20th century, and the understandable reticence on the part of the community, little archaeology has been accomplished within Santo Tomás de Abiquiú. Hand-written notes associated with recently recovered dendrochronological samples from Santa Rosa de Lima (LA 806) suggest Herbert Dick was the first to excavate at Abiquiú. The records indicate that the grounds of the Abiquiú School Yard, which had been built in 1907, was excavated in 1958. It is unclear why Dick, who was likely searching for the ancestral pueblo of Abiquiú, would have taken samples from a Spanish colonial-era church.

An additional archaeology project known to have taken place within the Pueblo de Abiquiú lies within local memory. Several residents remember excavations led by Florence Hawley Ellis in the 1970s, and at least one resident of Abiquiú remembers helping out with the project as a child. However, at the time of this dissertation, no published information can be found regarding this information. A request to locate any field records of these excavations to the Maxwell Museum at the University of New Mexico, which houses her papers, proved unsuccessful. Likewise, a search of the storage facility at the Florence Hawley Ellis Museum of Ghost Ranch also proved unsuccessful. While there were several boxes there marked “Abiquiú,” upon inspection, these were found to be associated with the survey of Tewa sites (including LA 25322) related to the Abiquiú Dam Project between 1981-1982.

The first documented and Merced-approved excavation to occur within the Pueblo de Abiquiú was the 2014 BACA season directed by Jun Sunseri. The objective of this excavation was to find and document the architectural footprint of the roomblocks which had previously encompassed the building which is now the Abiquiú Library and Cultural Center. In answer to the Library Center’s mandate, the exact location of the plazuela’s well was also sought for the purposes of public education, as it was a crucial component to the viability of the structure’s defenses. In addition to locating the well, interior walls, and foundation stones, the excavations yielded artifact concentrations associated with plaza activity. These artifact concentrations were

associated either with fiesta activities that would have occurred adjacent to the site or refuse from the saloon that once occupied the space. In the year following the 2016 field season documented in Chapter 5, Annie Danis led a BACA project documenting Abiquiú's historic acequia system, using it as a means of exploring concepts of heritage revitalization and self-governance through infrastructure (Danis 2020). Danis's project consisted primarily of survey, with the excavation of three test trenching to collect samples for micromorph analysis and Optically Stimulated Luminescence (OSL) dating (Danis 2020:111).

Conclusion

The Grant Brothers' house and mercantile features prominently in Matteson's 1907 photograph of the Abiquiú Plaza (Figure 4.4). Several men can be seen at the porch front of the Grant Brother's building, while another group of women and men lean against the neighboring adobes. Three saplings have been planted around the house entrance, extending its footprint further into the open plaza. A cart drawn by two mules stands poised between two of these trees at the house's entrance. Towards the center of the photograph, two women wearing dark shawls and carrying ollas on their heads can be seen between two of these adobe houses, identified as Hopi women by Charlie Carrillo (personal communication, 2016). Close to them is a woman and three children in somber, Victorian-style garb. A man with a confident posture wears an alpine hat cocked to one side and a three-piece suit set off by sparkling-white Arrow collar and silk tie, the only individual on the plaza astride a horse. Next to him stands a less elegantly-dressed man garbed in a shirt and vest with a bandana around his neck. Surrounding the Grant house are more modest adobe houses. Behind this entire scene, one can discern Polvadera Peak looming silently in the distance. Amid this scene, the Grant brothers' imposing pitched-roof house and walled-off garden serve to juxtapose Anglo-American economic and cultural hegemony with the Indo-Hispano community that surrounds it. While it may dominate the picture, it is clear that the Genízaro community is still there. The traditional work of bread-making in outdoor hornos was captured by Matteson on the same outing, accomplished by calico-clad women smiling as they perform their task together, with the next generation of Abiquiúceños beside them.

Tucked away in the Chama Valley, the Genízaro Pueblo of Abiquiú might appear remote from larger social and political trends. In reality, the residents of Abiquiú have shown themselves to be uncannily adept at adapting themselves against a variety of perils. Since its inception as a community land grant, the Genízaros of Abiquiú have struggled against powerful forces to maintain control and autonomy of their land from the near-constant threat of Indian raids, corrupt politicians, and unscrupulous capitalists. Although it was isolated from imperial centers of power, Abiquiú was also known locally as an important crossroad through which a plurality of individuals came through for trade, refuge, political organization, and negotiation, and, as of the early 20th century, for tourism. Its cosmopolitan nature was strategically used by many parties for trade and, in the case of the BIA field office, as a middle ground of sorts, from which to manage local nomadic Ute and Apache tribes. True to the original mandate of their land grant, Abiquiúceños have maintained an albeit permeable physical and ethnic boundary between

themselves and their neighbors to maintain their integrity as a community. With this overarching perspective, archaeological explorations of the Genízaro experience at Abiquiú will be viewed in the coming chapters.

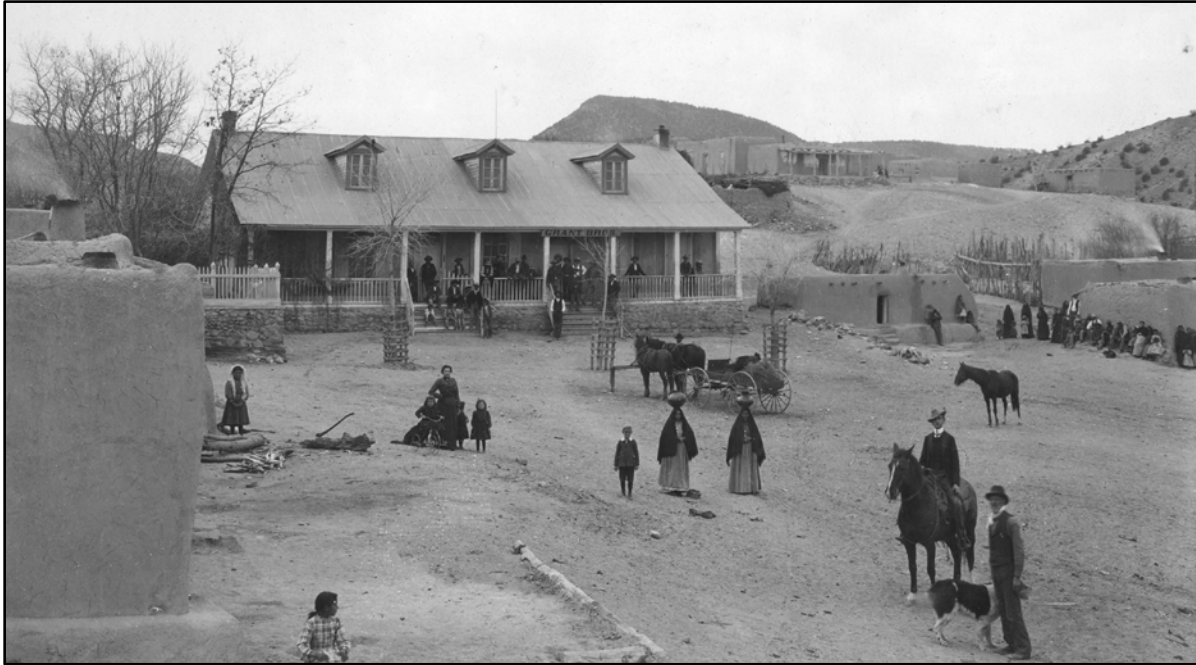


Figure 4.4. A view of the Gonzalez house, with Moqui partially visible in the background. Sumner W. Matteson Collection #44474, Milwaukee Public Museum.



Figure 4.5. Abiquiú women and children gathered around an horno baking tortillas. Sumner W. Matteson Collection #44438, Milwaukee Public Museum.

Chapter 5: Excavating Abiquiú

Unfettered by the layers of bias that tend to accumulate in the inherently selective process of writing, preserving, and interpreting historical documents, archaeological data presents a unique opportunity to more directly examine the activities of the past. Though never completely objective, examining the material remains of their daily lives of the residents of Abiquiú offers a means by which interested parties can get a glimpse into how things were, as opposed to how things were perceived or represented by third-parties. Compared to the vast archaeological record of New Mexico prior to European contact, very little of its more recent past has been uncovered, particularly in the context of Genízaro communities.

This chapter will summarize the methods and results of the archaeological excavations from the BACA 2016 field season at various sites in the Genízaro Pueblo de Abiquiú. The examination of the material qualities of daily life at Abiquiú gives insights into the nature of Genízaro identity as a lived experience within specific timeframes. With these broader research objectives in mind, several possible locations for excavations were considered and selected with the assistance of Isabel Trujillo, the Director of the Abiquiú Library and Cultural Center and with the written approval of the property owners and the Abiquiú Merced Board (Appendix E). All sites were located on privately held lands generously volunteered by their owners and residents upon hearing of the needs of the upcoming project. The selection of sites in Abiquiú was

determined by a series of practical considerations. Our interest in the more recent Genízaro settlement at Abiquiú naturally directed our attention to the land grant's main plaza. Finding space to excavate close to the plaza would have the added benefit of potentially revealing archaeological deposits associated with fiesta activities. By examining historical photographs at Abiquiú, it is clear that the plaza itself has gotten far broader. One can even perceive traces of foundations of buildings that once occupied the current plaza space in walking its perimeter. However, finding space to excavate within or close to it held its own challenges, as the entire plaza gets filled with the cars of those attending services at Santo Tomás church. Having exposed units in this space over the course of a month would prove both dangerous and impractical.

With this in mind, we searched for suitable locations within spaces immediately adjacent to the plaza. This, too, was difficult, as private property boundaries were such that even a small plazuela courtyard could have several possible owners, each with their own concerns about the logistics, liabilities, and disruptions caused by archaeological excavations. We examined several areas around both the Santo Tomás plaza and Moqui plaza where we had been invited to excavate by the property owners. We were also careful to avoid excavating within the prehistoric pueblo, whose boundaries have still yet to be entirely determined, as its cultural constituents were beyond the scope of this dissertation project. Sites that had some prior historic interest to Abiquiú residents, and were available to excavate (such as Abiquiú 2, which was considered by some to have been the oldest house at Abiquiú, or Abiquiú 1, which was said to be the general location of a watchtower) were also given preference.

In all, three sites were selected, and referred to as Abiquiú 1, 2, and 3. Abiquiú 2 and 3 were selected for their proximity to the Abiquiú plaza. Representing domestic-use structures and space, these sites would yield data regarding the daily life and foodways of their inhabitants. Abiquiú 1 was selected due to its approximate location of an archaeological feature of particular local interest: a torreón, or watch tower, in the Moqui neighborhood of Abiquiú. Prior to excavation, Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) was used to guide the excavation of specific excavation units towards archaeological features relevant to our research interests, such as trash middens and architectural features, and to ensure that no burials or utility lines would be disturbed by the excavation process.

Unlike historical research, which tends to be a largely solitary activity, archaeological research requires the collaboration of multiple individuals. Beyond the narratives produced by the analysis of archaeological data, the process itself is an opportunity to strengthen a community's identification with their past by the experience of its physicality. In order to capitalize on this opportunity to benefit the Abiquiú community, the 2016 excavations were organized as a field school, and attended both by undergraduate students from UC Berkeley and high school students and recent graduates from the Abiquiú area. High school students were paired with at least one college student to facilitate a tiered participatory learning framework of mentorship and knowledge transfer (Lave 1990). The inclusion of local high school students in the field school was an important component of the BACA project's educational outreach, as mandated by the Abiquiú Merced Board. Jun Sunseri worked with the Abiquiú Library and

Cultural Center and United Way of Northern New Mexico to recruit participants and secure funding for their participation.

This chapter begins with a description of the survey, excavation, and lab methods used for the 2016 BACA field season. The rest of the chapter is divided sequentially by site. For each site, the GPR results are presented first and their use in determining the placement of excavation units is discussed. Then a description of the archaeological excavations is given. These are organized by their relative locations within each site. The sites are then interpreted based on stratigraphic context and artifact analysis. The chapter concludes with a summary archaeological interpretation and comparison of the sites and a determination of which data will be most useful for faunal analysis.

Survey, Excavation, and Lab Methods

Survey Method

Ground Penetrating Radar is a method of geophysical survey involving the measurement of radio waves emitted by a device as it is pulled along a transect. These radio waves travel through different media at different rates. The differential rates at which the waves travel can be visually represented as individual slides, or “patched” together at specific depths to create plan maps (also known as amplitude slice maps) of an entire survey area. This geophysical survey method is used by archaeologists to identify potential archaeological features prior to excavation (Conyers 2012, Goodman and Piro 2013).

In addition to avoiding sensitive features, the GPR data was used to identify possible features such as middens and architectural features for excavation. A 400 MHz GSSI SIR-3000 owned by the Archaeological Research Facility (ARF) was used to collect the data. At each site, transects were placed at 50 cm spacings. As most of the soil encountered was dry and usually quite compact clay, the wavelength penetration was limited to an estimated 1-1.2 meters below surface. However, when the GPR transects were “ground truthed” following excavation, wavelength penetration was found to be closer to the 0.8-1.0 meter range. No evidence of human burials were found using the GPR survey, and likewise no human remains of any kind were encountered during excavation.

Following data collection, the raw SIR-3000 data was converted into a suitable digital format using Larry Conyer’s GPR_Process software. The GPR reflection profiles were then rendered using Jeff Lucius’s GPR Viewer Plus (GprViewer+) software and further processed for visual clarity. This entailed using a background filter to remove excess “noise” from the image, resetting the time-zero, and adjusting the gains within + 6-9 dB at particular depths to highlight potential features. The resulting reflection profiles can be found in Appendix B.

The amplitude slice maps were created using GPR_Process. The number of data points sampled for each slice was determined using the following formulas: $n=33(x \text{ meters})$ in the direction of the profiles, and $n= 2(x \text{ meters})+1$ for the perpendicular direction. Four slices were taken of each site, resulting in slices that range between 7-8 nanoseconds in thickness. The

interpolation distance between transects in both the x and y directions was .2 meters. The resulting slice maps were visually rendered as contour maps using Surfer 8. For the sake of internal consistency, the same relative color scale was used for all slice maps. The (0,0) mark on the slice maps represents the southwest corner of the survey areas. Numbered ticks on the axes represent meter lengths.

It should be noted that narrow areas of high amplitude can be seen around the edges of survey areas in most of the slice maps, particularly at lower depths. It is possible that this was the result of the GPR machine reflecting the materials used to grid out the site areas or potentially the result of stopping and starting the rig at the margins of the grid. Parallel mid-to-high amplitude lines visible in some maps that run in the same direction as the GPR transect may be disregarded. These are likely due to the GPR transects being placed too close together, which results in several of the same data points being collected in different transects, essentially duplicating data and creating a false reading (Personal Communication, Scott Bynam, May 2016).

Excavation Field Forms

The excavation field forms were entirely digital and created using Open Data Kit (ODK), an open-source, Android-based software program. The decision to use a digital platform was made for a variety of reasons, but primarily to meet the needs and concerns of the Abiquiú community. Digital forms remove the amount of time required to digitize forms in the post-field season. However, a significant amount of time must be invested ahead of the excavation to set up a cloud-based server, to compose the electronic forms, and to download the app and the forms onto each tablet. Once this process is complete, however, collaborators may access completed field form in real time, and can follow the progress of the excavation without having to visit the site. As an open-sourced, android-based platform, ODK is a more economic choice when compared with similar proprietary Apple-based products. ODK was also selected because the company does not collect its users' data, satisfying certain concerns for information privacy.

During the 2016 field season, the ODK files were downloaded onto tablets owned either by the Bear Bones Zooarchaeology Lab or by members of the BACA crew. Usually, a single tablet was assigned to a two-person team working on a unit. Digital field form attributes included: provenience, soil color and composition, and visible features or artifact types observed. Text boxes for more narrative-style site descriptions and interpretations were also included. In addition to logging the excavation information, the field crew would map and photograph each unit at the end of every 10 cm level. A photo would be taken of the map and both the excavation and map photos were saved to the ODK forms. The field forms were backed up to the cloud every day, and uploaded to the BACA shared Google Drive several times over the course of the field school.

Excavation Methods

Unless indicated, the excavation units measured 1 x 1 meters, while the test trenches were sized based on the particular needs of the site. The sediment was excavated primarily via trowel and with hand picks when the sun-baked clayish ground proved too consolidated and onerous to excavate otherwise. Units were excavated by arbitrary 10 cm levels, with the exception of the western-most units of Abiquiú 2, which were covered by a layer of recent adobe melt from the adjoining *casita*. The first level of these units measured 20 cm, which rendered them flush with their adjoining units. Test trenches were excavated primarily with shovels by 20 cm arbitrary levels. In artifact-rich contexts, the excavator would use a trowel. Most of the removed sediment was dry screened through 1/8 inch mesh, apart from those collected for soil samples. Excavated areas were mapped using a Sokkia total station and a site-specific datum georeferenced with a Trimble GeoX GPS. Both the total station and the GPS are owned by the UC Berkeley Archaeological Research Facility (ARF). Excavations would end once 10 cm of sterile soil was encountered, or, in the case of Abiquiú 3, by constraint of time.

Soil Samples

Multiple soil samples were collected during the 2016 excavation. A seven liter sample was collected from each unit level, screened with a 1/16 inch mesh, and separated using manual flotation to recover microartifacts. The light fraction was kept after the flotation process, awaiting analysis. The flotation took place at the field house at Abiquiú by the BACA field crew and in the UC Berkeley Soils Lab by myself and Felicia de la Pena.

An additional soil sample was taken from each unit level for future analysis. These were collected using a metal spoon rinsed in distilled water and placed in 4 x 6 in plastic bags. This was done to prevent soil cross-contamination in the event of future phytolith, starch, or pollen analyses.

Micromorphology

Micromorphology samples were taken from various side walls from each site. Three samples were taken from Abiquiú 1: one from the east side wall of unit C1, one from the southern side wall of A3, and one from the off-side boundary wall. From Abiquiú 2: two samples were taken, one from the west wall of unit A1 and one from the west wall of Test Trench 1. From Abiquiú 3: two samples were taken, one from the east wall of unit B5 and one from the north wall of unit A7. These were collected using disposable aluminum bread trays and stabilized with toilet paper and duct tape. The samples were sent to Spectrum Petrographics in Vancouver, WA for slide preparation. The lab returned 5X7cm slides of standard thickness (30µm), made using clear epoxy resin with no staining. Each sample features a removable coverslip with orientation and sample ID marked. The cut blocks were returned with the prepared samples.

Lab Methods

After the conclusion of the field season, artifacts were processed in the Bear Bones Lab at UC Berkeley. All artifacts (except fragile bone and metal artifacts) were washed using tap water and soft nylon toothbrushes. After cleaning, the artifacts were placed inside fume hoods for efficient drying. They were then sorted into categories based on material class, including faunal bone, metal, ceramic, glass, plastic, charcoal, botanical, and miscellaneous. The term “botanical” was assigned to any plant-based artifact, including construction material (i.e., wood), mulch, and fruit pits. Despite being a plant-based product, charcoal was given its own distinctive category. Any item whose material composition was indeterminate or mixed-media (such as tar paper or concrete) was referred to as “miscellaneous.” The term “faunal” was preferred to that of “bone” in order to emphasize the fact that all bone recovered on site was of a non-human nature. The artifacts were counted, weighed, tagged and placed inside six mm polyurethane bags and stored in banker’s boxes. Charcoal pieces were not counted. A complete list of artifact type counts and weights in grams for each site unit-level is available in Appendix C.

A Note on Ceramics

Where ceramics are referred to in this chapter’s discussion of artifacts, only “primary context” ceramics will be considered. In this discussion “secondary context” refers to highly fragmented and worn ceramic sherds, which were likely removed from their primary context and used in the manufacture of adobe bricks. Though this is an imperfect method, it aims to account for the very frequent turbation and inclusion of ceramic sherds in the processes of adobe building construction. Building materials, including adobe bricks and wooden vigas were very frequently taken from older buildings. Especially in areas such as Abiquiú whose modern pueblo was built upon an ancestral pueblo with a much higher population, any attempt at seriation would otherwise be entirely useless. The ceramics sherds designated by “primary context” were generally larger than average and in relatively good condition, suggesting these were not used in adobe brick manufacturing. The designation of primary/secondary contexts was assigned by Heather Atherton and Jun Sunseri.



Figure 5.1. An overview of Abiquiú 1 survey grid, facing west

Abiquiú 1

Site overview and background

Abiquiú 1 is located within an apple orchard that dates to the 1970s on property currently owned by Jeff Pollock and tended by the Trujillo family (Figure 5.1). The space is also used as an enclosure for smaller barnyard animals. An adobe wall runs along the southern end of the property line, beyond which lies an acequia ditch. Abiquiú 1 is situated in the area of Abiquiú known as “Moqui,” which is roughly a quarter mile uphill from the Abiquiú plaza. As “Moqui” is a Spanish colonial word for “Hopi,” the place name evokes the Hopi community that formerly occupied this area of Abiquiú.

This site was chosen based on local interest in the area as a possible location of a torreón, or watch tower. From the wall’s vantage point, one has a clear line of vision of the trails coming down from the Abiquiú mesa and the Vallecitos and Frijoles Canyons to the south. This location therefore added credibility to the idea that a torreón might be placed near this location. Torreónes were fairly common in the Chama Valley, given the frequent occurrence of raids in the area. This is true even prior to Spanish colonization, as torreónes associated with the Gallina culture have been documented in the lower Chama Valley (Hibben 1937). The location and possible excavation of a torreón would be an interesting glimpse into the history of Abiquiú as one of the

“buffer” communities established to be the first line of defense for more centrally located Spanish settlements. Virgil Trujillo, who operates the apple orchard in which the site is located, reported that his grandfather remembered playing by the ruins of the torreón as a child. However, as the man grew blind in his old age, he was not able to point out the exact location. Other neighbors of the Trujillos also remembered the older generation referring to the torreón and there was some disagreement over its possible location. The fact that our survey area was quite small and in an area that had experienced agricultural disturbance further limited the likelihood of recovering evidence of the torreón. Knowing the unlikelihood of actually finding the torreón, this site was chosen as the first excavation area, as this would give trainee excavators a chance to learn their skill without potentially damaging any features.

Potential torreónes aside, the adobe wall which borders the property is locally known to be a historic border between private lots within the pueblo that spans the length of the pueblo. It is also understood to have previously divided the “sitia” (the residential area) from the “ejido,” or common lands. The fact that the camposanto is located just beyond this border wall supports this assertion.

GPR at Abiquiú 1

A small 3.5 x 3.5 meter area was chosen in an area not currently occupied by orchard trees or animal enclosures, in a corner between the orchard gate and the southern adobe boundary wall. The first slice map (0-10 cm) reveals a linear feature of moderate amplitude running north-south through the center of the survey area (Figure 5.2). While initially thought to be the result of machine feedback, the excavation of Unit A2 revealed this to be an animal burrow (Figure 5.3). The second slice (10-20 cmbs) contains a larger area of moderate and high amplitude in the southeast corner of the grid. This area was avoided during excavation as this high amplitude area was thought to be a continuation of a recent charcoal and ash deposit visible on the surface of the grid (visible in the foreground of Figure 5.1).

An examination of the individual reflection profiles of Abiquiú 1 revealed a 2 meter long planar reflection located beneath small undulating hyperbolas between 0.7 and 2.5 meters from the northern end of the grid at an approximate depth of 5-10 cmbs (Figure 5.4). This feature is located at an estimated depth of 0.2-0.4 meters in the southwest quadrant, in the area roughly corresponding to units B1 and C1 on the excavation grid (Figure 5.2). Both the reflection profiles and the amplitude slice maps indicate that the last 20-40 cmbs of the Abiquiú 1 survey area do not contain readings that would indicate archeological features.

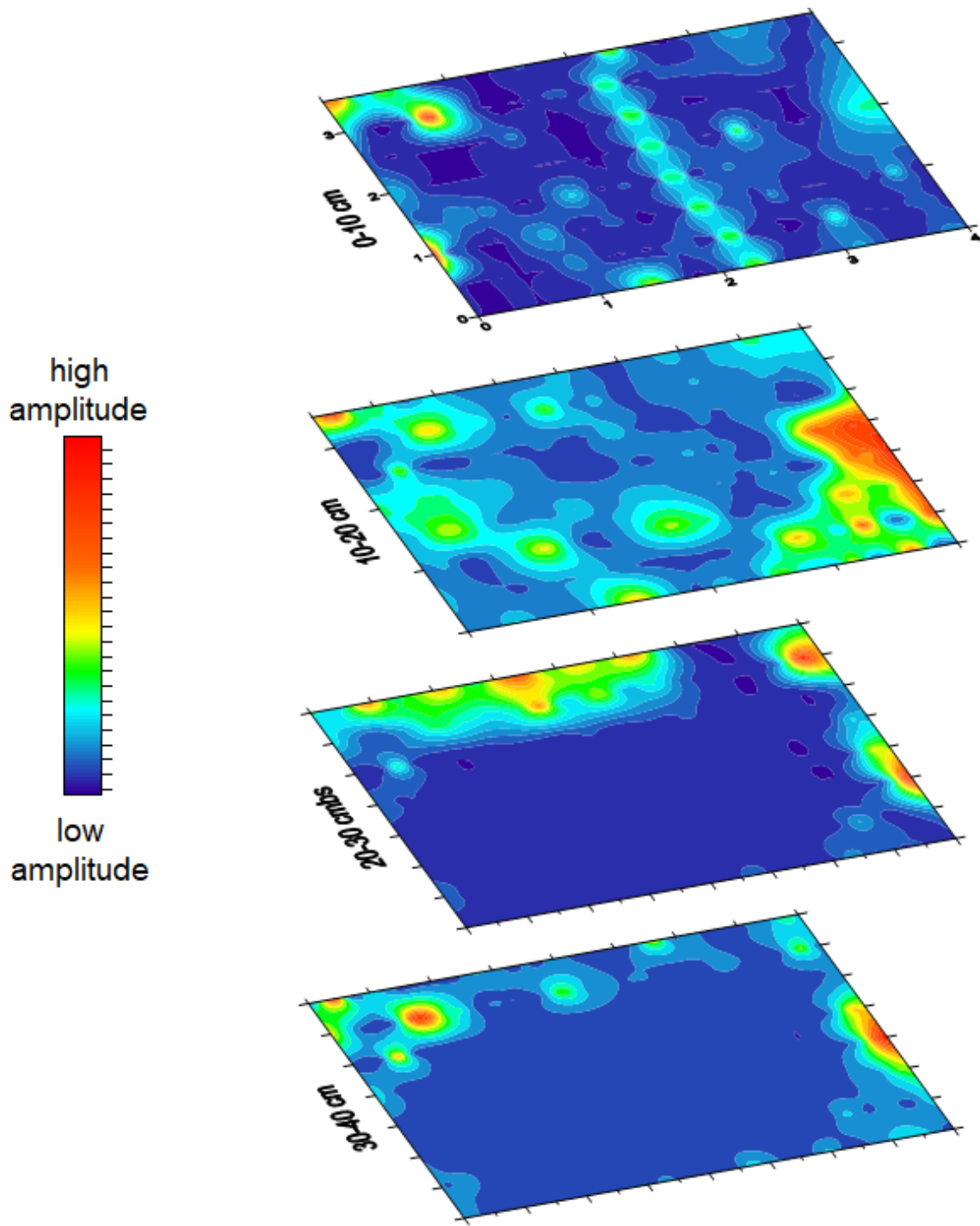


Figure 5.2 Amplitude slice maps of Abiquiú 1

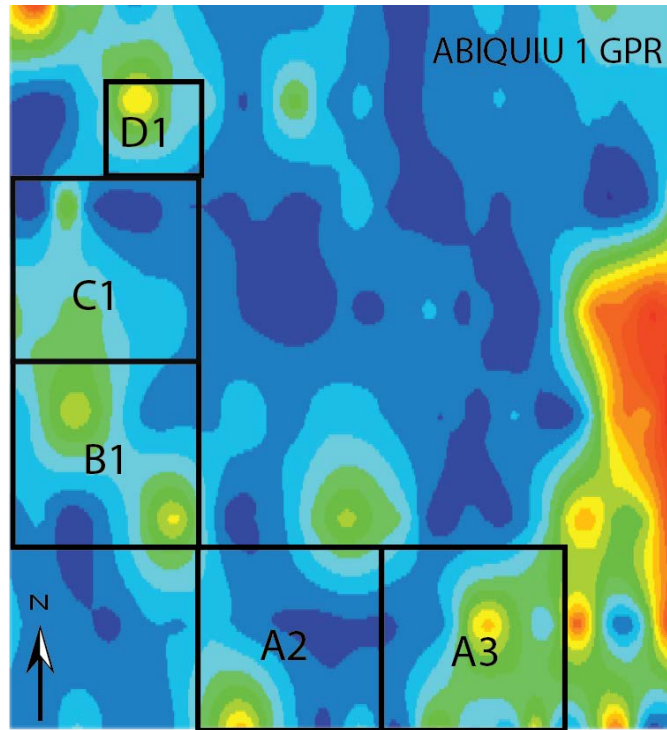


Figure 5.3 Map of Abiquiu 1 with transposed excavation units.

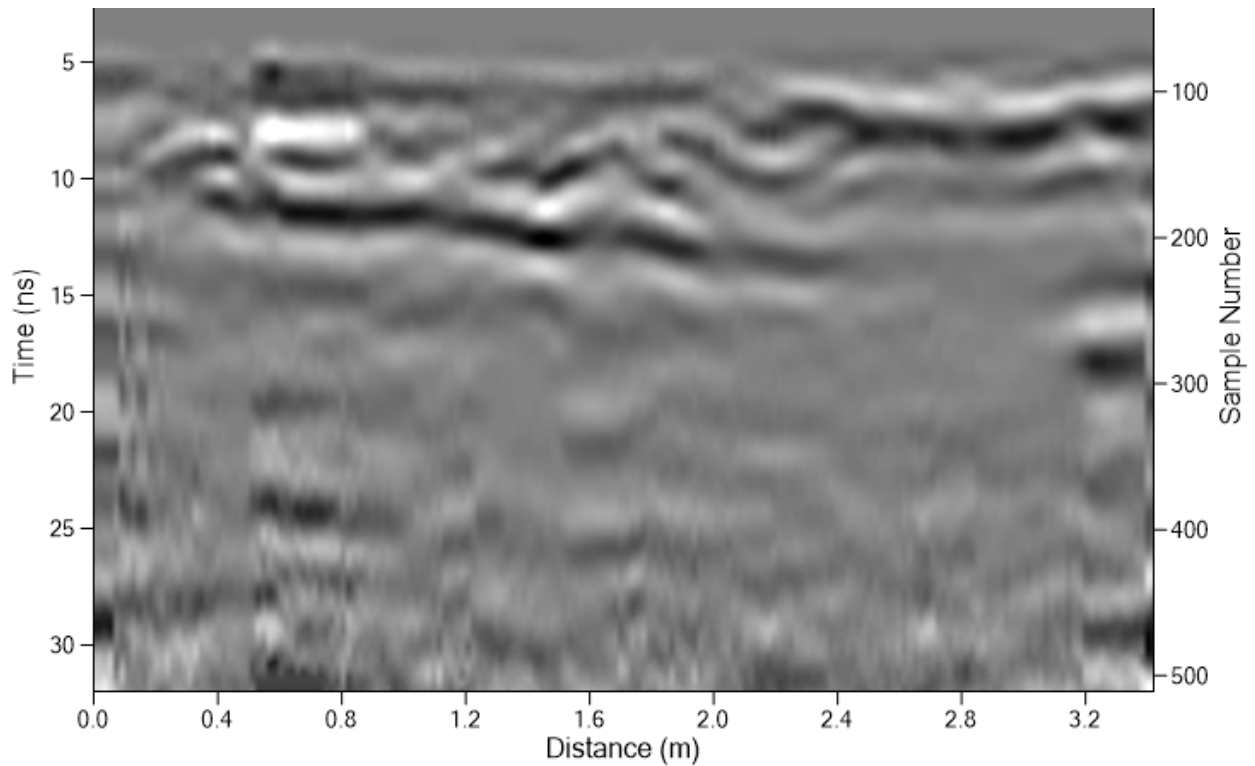


Figure 5.4. A GPR transect showing planar reflections between 0.7 and 2.5 meters from the northern end of the grid at an approximate depth of 5-10 cmbs.

Excavation Results

A total of four 1 x 1 meter units and one 50 x 50 cm shovel test pit (D1) were excavated from this site, yielding 4 m³ of total volume (Table 5.1, Figure 5.6). In order to investigate the single anomaly found in the GPR survey, we first opened units B1 and Unit C1. Unit C1 yielded a faintly rectilinear feature (Feature 1), measuring 30 cm thick, and traversing the diagonally length of the unit. Unit A3 and a small 50 cm x 50 cm Shovel Test Pit (STP) D1 were then opened in order to see whether this feature continued further, and whether we could see any appreciable difference in artifact yield. Feature 1 did not appear to continue into these areas, though some other potentially architectural elements such as plaster and cobbles were recovered in units A3. Due to time constraints, we were not able to open a unit at B2, which would have also fallen along the perceived trajectory of the wall feature.

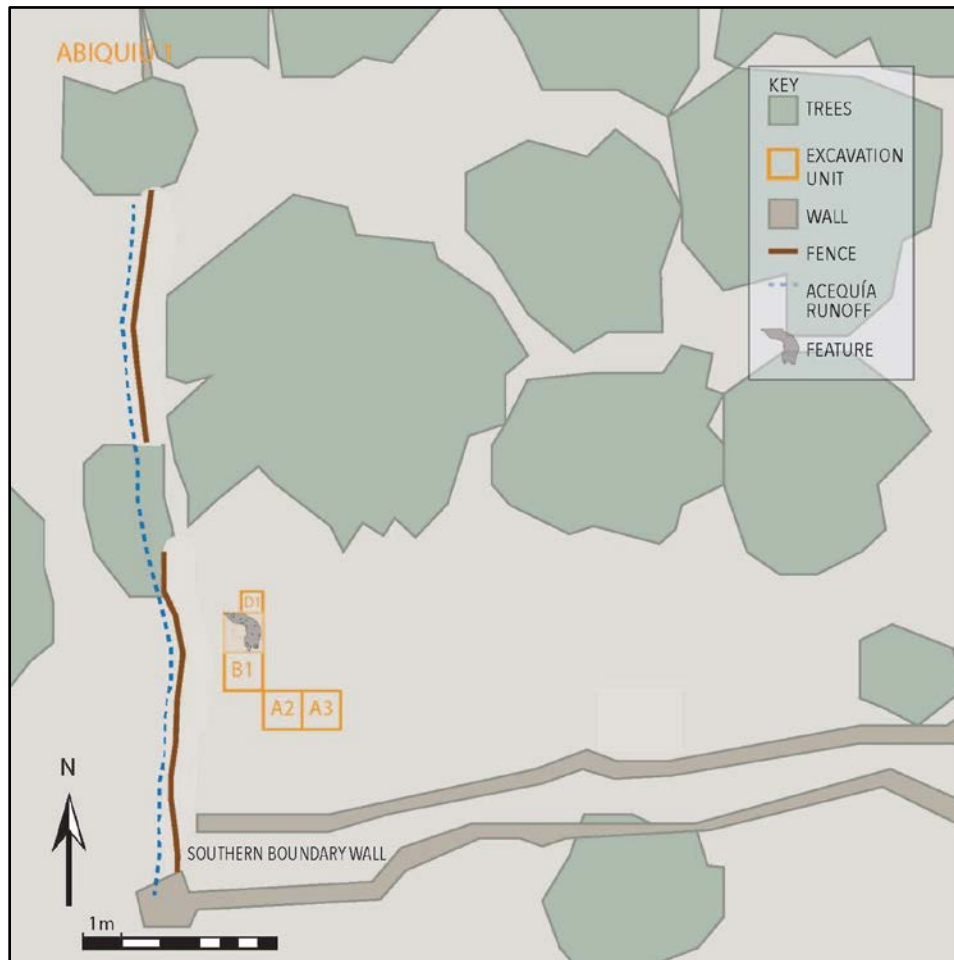


Figure 5.6 A map of Abiquiú 1 showing the relative location of the excavation units.

ABIQUIÚ 1 UNITS	AREA	FINAL DEPTH
A2	1 m ²	20 cmbs
A3	1 m ²	30 cmbs
B1	1 m ²	30 cmbs
C1	1 m ²	20 cmbs
D1	0.25 m ²	10 cmbs

Table 5.1. Overview of Abiquiú 1 excavation units

Units B1, C1, and D1

A very thin first natural stratum (0-10 cmbs) recorded in Units B1 and C1 consisted of a lightly compacted very dark gray (10 YR 3/1) sandy loam with no gravels or cobbles present (Figure 5.6). This sediment is consistent with the current agricultural use of the area. The surface between B1 and C1 slopes downwards 10 cm, with both natural strata I and II following this downslope.

The second natural stratum occurs between 5-25 cmbs, and consists of a compact dark brown (10 YR 3/1) clay interspersed with large chunks of light colored adobe and flecks of plaster. The small wall feature (Feature 1) was found within this strata, within 3 cmbs at its highest point. The wall feature consisted of rounded cobbles filled with a grey pasty mortar. A sample was taken of the mortar, and a micromorph sample was taken close to the feature along the south side wall of unit C1. A large 15 cm x 10 cm rock was found coming out of the southern sidewall of B1 between Strata II and III, indicating that Strata II is associated with Feature 1. Artifacts recovered between 0-10 cmbs included ceramics, charcoal, faunal bone, glass, lithics, and metal. Between 10-20 cmbs, only ceramics, charcoal and lithics were recovered. Excavation of C1 ceased after 20 cmbs, so as to not destroy the feature. An exploratory test pit was placed in the D1 grid in an attempt to see if the wall feature was visible in this unit. As it was not, excavation ceased after 10 cmbs.

Excavation in B1 continued through 30 cmbs. The third natural strata occurred between 22-30 cmbs, and consisted of a brown to dark yellowish brown clay (10 YR 4/3-4/6). Artifacts recovered from this level included charcoal and lithics. No further evidence of the wall feature was found past the second natural stratum.

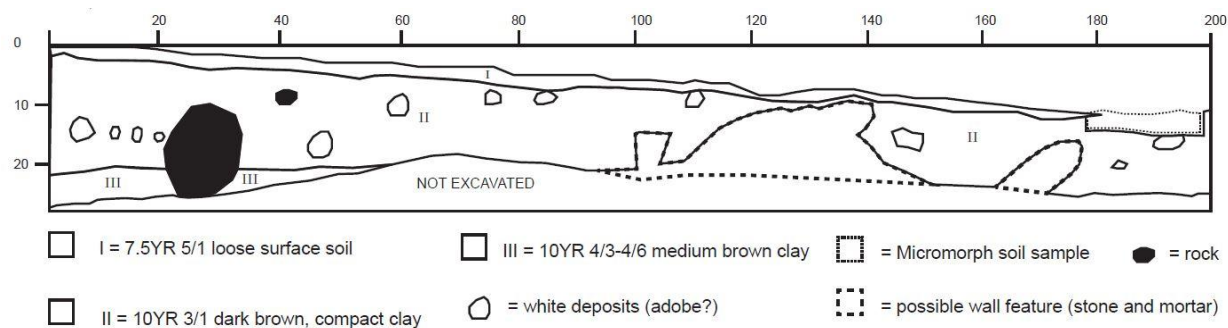


Figure 5.6 West profile map of Abiquiú 1 Units B1 and C1

Units A2 and A3

The first natural stratum (0-8 cmbs) recorded in Units A2 and A3 was a lightly compacted very dark gray (10 YR 3/1) loamy clay with some rootlets and no large gravels or cobbles (Figure 5.7). Few artifacts were found in this context, and most of these were found within the first 10 cm below surface. Artifacts recovered were primarily ceramics and botanicals, followed by trace numbers of lithics (including one arrowhead), metal, charcoal, faunal bone, glass.

The second natural stratum (8-20 cmbs) was considerably more compact, and experienced a change in color to the brown to dark yellowish brown range (7.5 YR 4/3-4/6). This second stratum also included several large cobbles and small clods of light pinkish gray clay (7.5 YR 7/2), all found between 8-15 cmbs. This pattern suggests cobble footings and adobe plaster consistent with the remains of a construction event. Fewer artifacts were found between 10-20 cmbs, consisting primarily of ceramics, with trace pieces of lithics and charcoal. The excavation of Unit A2 ceased at 20 cmbs due to the sterility of the unit following a change in natural strata.

Between 20-30 cmbs, the sediment color trended yellower, ranging from yellowish brown to dark yellowish brown (7.5 YR 5/6-4/6), with a layer of dark brown clay soil (7.5 YR 3/4) beginning in the northwest corner of unit A3. A micromorph sample was taken at the transition between these two sediments. There are no cobbles or clods present in this level, excepting one large clod in the south wall of Unit A3. Trace amounts of artifacts were found in this unit, including ceramics, lithics, charcoal, and a tiny piece of cortical bone. Excavation of A3 ceased at 30 cmbs.

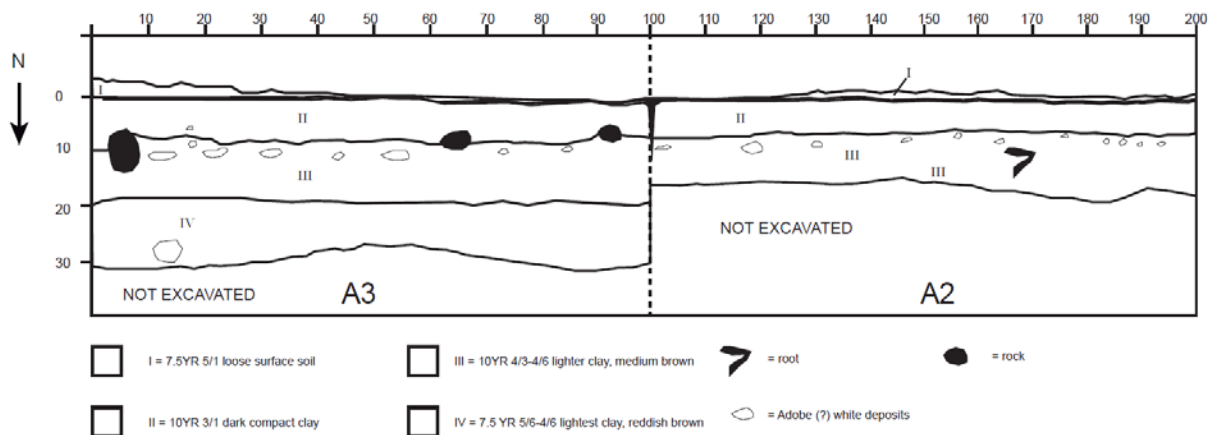


Figure 5.7 South profile map of Abiquiú 1 Units A2 and A3

Boundary Wall

The eroding southern boundary wall was documented as Feature 2. The wall measures 60 cm high, and its exterior appeared to have faint outlines of adobe brick (Figure 5.1). To determine its composition, the edges of its walls were cleared of adobe melt to better understand the composition of the wall. Once this was done, no evidence of adobe brick construction was found. The wall appears to have been made with successive buildup of sandy clays, similar to an *acequia* berm. Much of the interior of the wall had been turbated by tree roots. Most of the top 40-60cm of the wall was primarily composed of clay, with heavy inclusions by tree roots between 20-40 cm, followed by a layer of loose sandy clay at the base of the wall. A micromorph sample was taken close to the base of the wall for future study.

Interpretation of Excavation Findings at Abiquiú 1

Very few artifacts were recovered during the excavation of Abiquiú 1, and the overall density of artifacts from this site was sparse (Figure 5.8). This is not surprising given that the site is currently located in an area used historically for agricultural purposes, with no known associated domestic structures within the immediate area of the site. Only trace amounts of glass, fauna, botanicals, or plastic were found onsite, and most of these were found between 10 cmbs (see Appendix C. Ceramics were by far the most abundant material type recovered. Even so, this only amounted to 117 ceramic sherds total. Of these, over 60% of the primary context ceramics are either Biscuit A (Abiquiú Black-on-Grey) or Potsui'i incised. These ceramic types together date between 1375-1550 (Wilson 2005: 18, 31). Among the rest of the ceramics are plain and micaceouswares without conclusive date ranges, with no whitewares present. Together with the comparatively high proportion of pre-European contact ceramics and lithic flakes, this suggests the site dates prior to European contact. The next most frequently encountered artifact type were lithics, including a small obsidian arrowhead. Though these artifacts are not dateable, it makes sense that projectiles would be associated with a defensive structure such as a torreón.

Confirming that it is difficult to prove a negative, while no conclusive evidence of the torreón was found, the overall lack of historic-era artifacts could also be interpreted as being part of the material signature of a rudimentary defensive structure. The lack of archaeological material could also be explained by plow zone activity. Virgil Trujillo, who manages the orchard, mentioned having once cleared a large mound from the area several years back. The mound of moved earth was still visible in the southeast corner of the lot. Based on a visual inspection of the number of artifacts emerging from the mound, it is possible that it might have actually been the remains of the torreón itself. In any case, the proportion and condition of pre-European contact ceramics found on site supports the notion that the ancestral pueblo of Abiquiú is found somewhere along the Plaza de Moqui. It is even possible that the possible interior wall feature found on site was constructed prior to the establishment of the modern pueblo of Abiquiú.

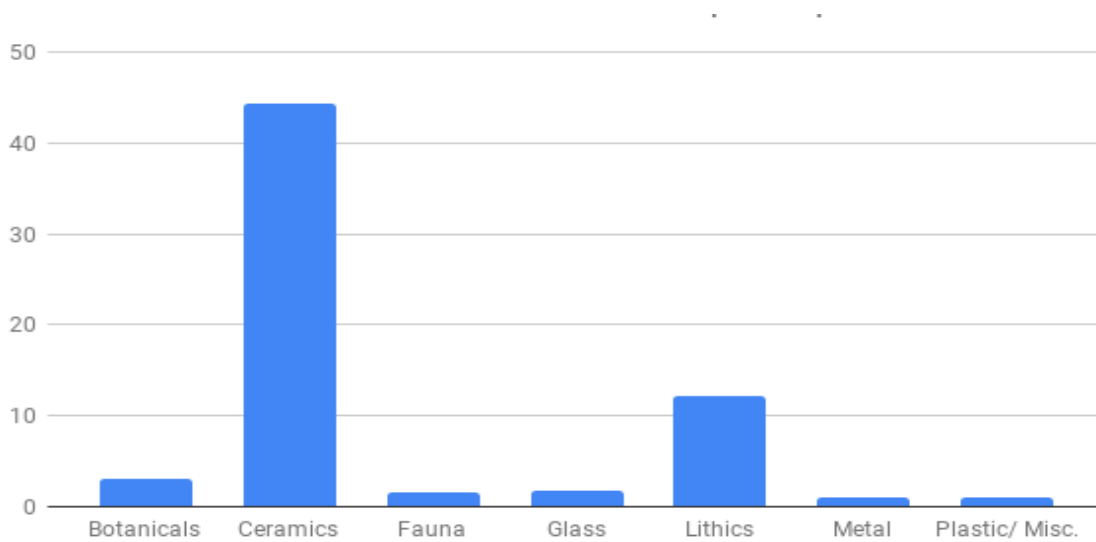


Figure 5.8 Overview of Abiquiú 1 artifact densities per cubic meter.



Figure 5.9. A view of Abiquiú 2 Casita in the foreground overlooking the Abiquiú Plaza, Room C is visible in the far right corner. Photo by Witter Bynner, 1922. NMSU Library Archives



Figure 5.10. Overview of the Abiquiú 2 survey grid, facing west.

Abiquiú 2

Site Overview and Background

Abiquiú 2 is located on a small outcrop uphill from the Abiquiú plaza (Figure 5.9). The only structure currently located on the clearing is an unoccupied *casita* owned by Charlie Carrillo (Figure 5.10). The *casita* was most recently occupied in the 1950s by the grandmother of Debbie Carrillo, Charlie's wife. Abutted by a south-facing stone retaining wall, the building is currently composed of two rooms. The westernmost room was constructed using jacales, a wattle-and-daub construction created by filling in a series of closely-spaced and vertically aligned wooden posts with a clay-based mixture. This western room is referred to in this dissertation as "Room A", while the eastern room is referred to as "Room B". Room B is made of adobes, suggesting a separate construction event from Room A. The archaeological footprint of the non-extant room constructed with jacales is referred to as "Room C". The extant *casita* is in a current state of decay, the outer layer of eastern wall of Room B having collapsed and formed a thick layer of adobe melt over the excavation area (Room C).

GPR Survey Results for Abiquiú 2

Recent stone and adobe buttressing of the retaining wall behind the *casita* visible in Figure 5.9 meant that only the northernmost part of Room C could be adequately GPRed and excavated. Due to the polygonal shape of the overall area, two rectangular grids were established as survey areas, measuring 1.5 m x 6 m and 17 x 5 m, respectively. In all, 94 m² were surveyed (Figure 5.11). Two large anthills can be seen on the surface of the survey area in Figure 5.10. Fearful of the presence of red ants while we were working in the area, the property owner set fire to the larger of the two anthills. The resulting circular, medium-high amplitude anomaly can be seen in the Abiquiú 2 slice maps between meters 4-5 on the X-axis (Figure 5.11).

The resulting reflection profiles from the Abiquiú 2 survey included an anomaly featuring several small, equally-spaced hyperbolas located close to the surface and immediately east of the *casita*. These can be seen in the first and second Abiquiú 2 slice maps as an L-shaped pattern of small asymmetrical circles of moderate amplitude in the top two slice maps of the smaller rectangular survey area, between the 5 and 10 meter marks along the horizontal axis (Figure 5.11). These were interpreted to be the architectural footprint of an additional room associated with the current *casita* roomblock. This interpretation was corroborated by a 1922 historical photograph overlooking the Abiquiú Plaza taken immediately behind the *casita*, facing north (Figure 5.10). Excavation units were laid out in order to locate this additional room (known as "Room C").

The GPR survey also revealed an area immediately north of the center of the *casita* with a concentration of discontinuously assorted high amplitude reflections, visible in the plan maps after the first 20 cm slice. This area was interpreted as the possible location of a large midden. A

2 m x 0.5 m test trench was laid out between Rooms A and B in order to investigate this possible feature.

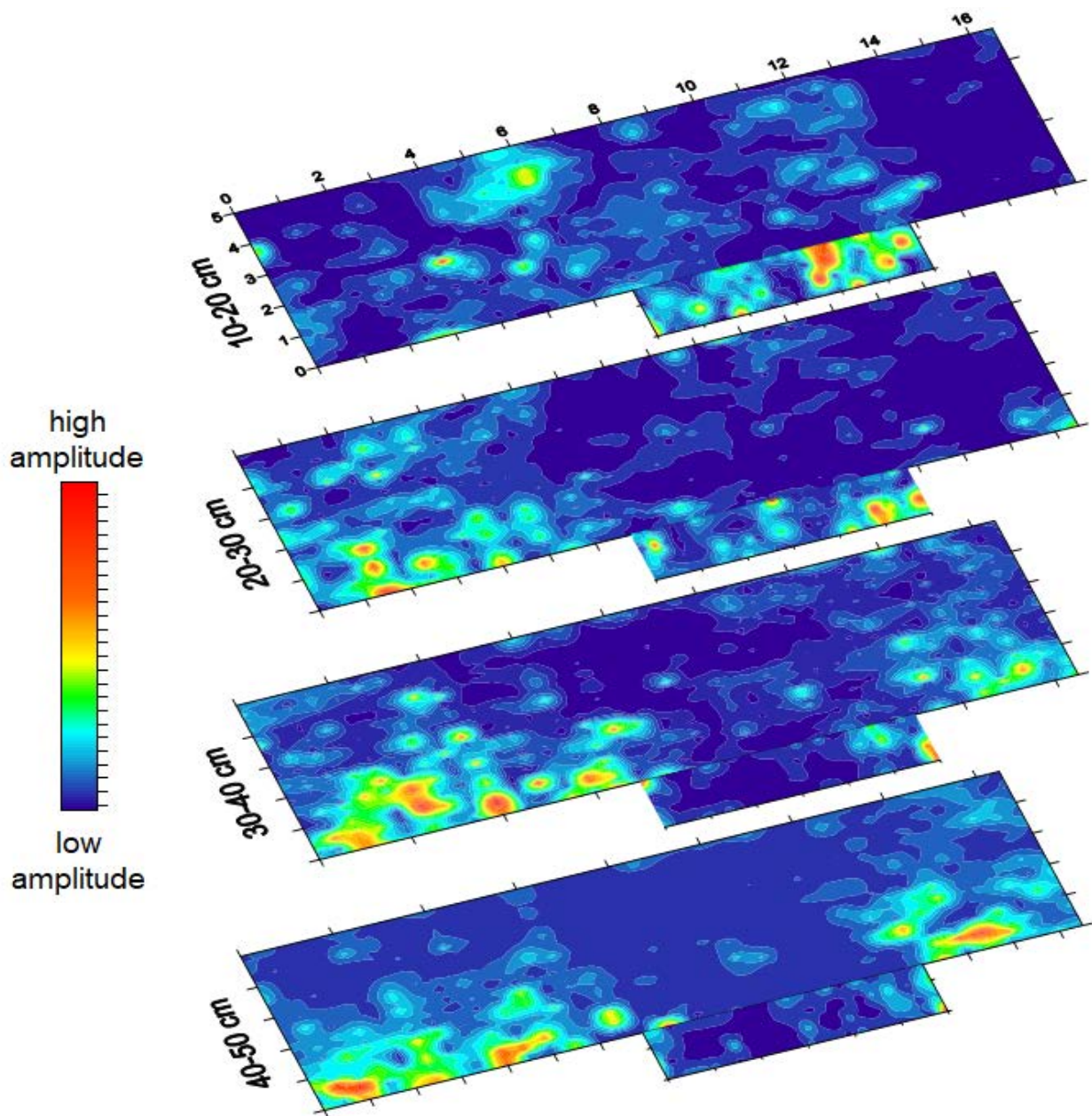


Figure 5.11. Amplitude slice maps of Abiquiú 2

Excavation Results

Most of the excavation units were placed in the location of Room C, as identified with the aid of historical photographs and GPR profile maps (Figure 5.12). Additional consecutive units were placed north of Room C. A total of eleven 1x1 meter units were excavated, yielding 35.65 m³ of total volume (Table 5.2). The GPR survey recorded concentrations of higher amplitude reflections in this area which were hoped to be midden deposits. In the end, these turned out to be large rocks which formed the prepared surface surrounding the front of Room C. Following another anomaly on the GPR, Test Trench 1 was placed in front of the extant *casita*, close to the interior wall separating Rooms A and B. The anomalous readings turned out to be the result of a demolition event, which suggests the preparation of the surface outside of the *casita* was concurrent with the demolition of Room C.

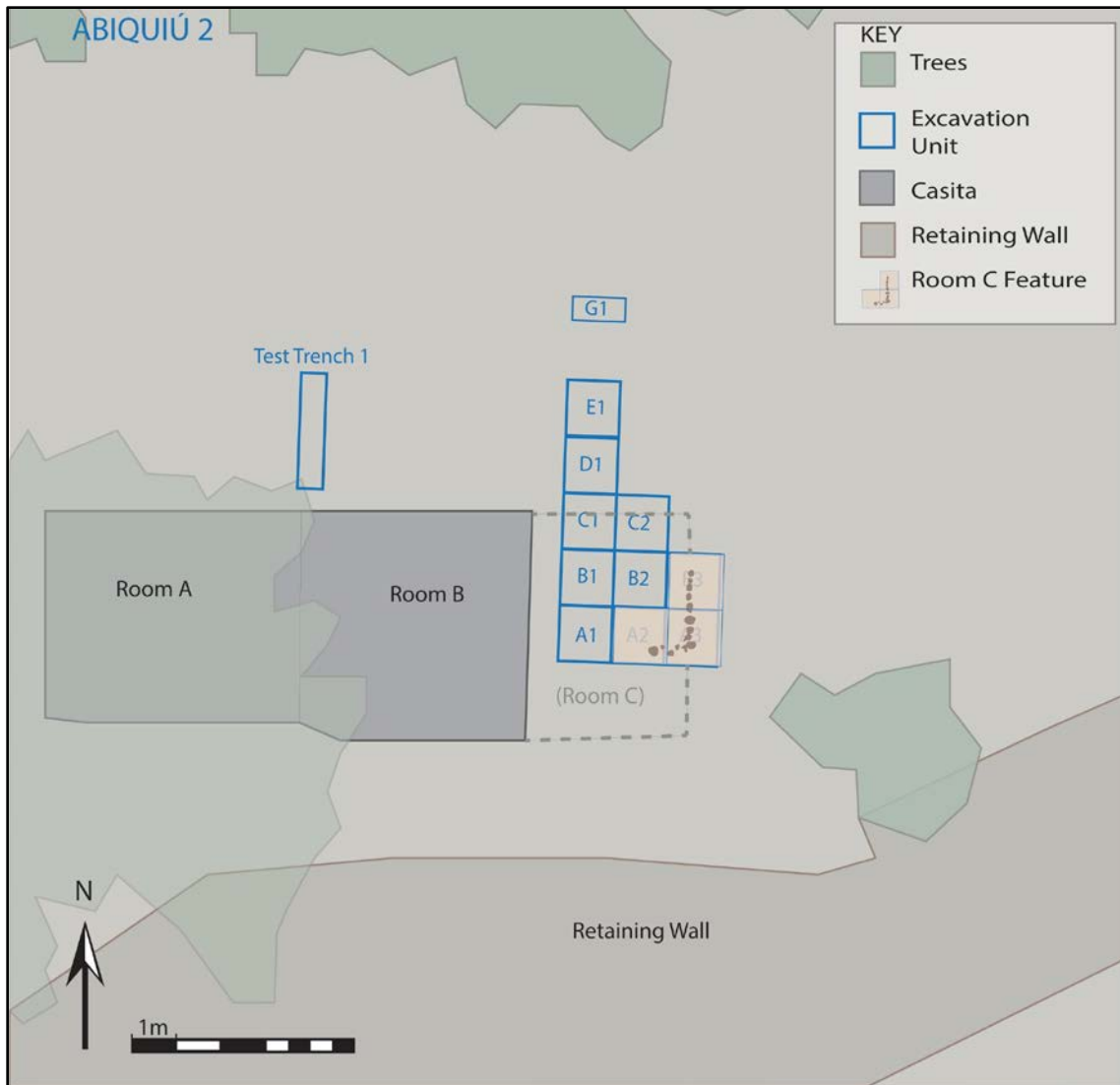


Figure 5.12. A map of Abiquiú 2 showing the relative location of excavation units

ABIQUIÚ 2 UNITS	AREA	FINAL DEPTH
Test Trench 1	1 m ²	30 cmbs
A1	1 m ²	30 cmbs
A2	1 m ²	20 cmbs
A3	1 m ²	30 cmbs
B1	1 m ²	30 cmbs
B2	1 m ²	30 cmbs
B3	1 m ²	20 cmbs
C1	1 m ²	20 cmbs
C2	1 m ²	30 cmbs

D1	1 m ²	30 cmbs
E1	1 m ²	20 cmbs
G1	0.5 m ²	20 cmbs

Table 5.2. An overview of Abiquiú 2 excavation units

Room C: Units A1, A2, A3, B1, B2, B3

The excavation of the northern half of Room C covered a 3 x 3 meter area (Figure 5.12). 10 cm of adobe melt from the Room B wall fall had to be removed from units A1 and B1 before they were flush with the surface area of the other units. The sediment between 0-10 cmbs was a loose light yellowing brown (10yr 6/4) sandy loam interspersed with gravels and light grey clumps of adobe (Figure 5.13). Artifacts found within the first 10 cm below surface included pieces of wood, ceramics, charcoal, glass, lithics, and metal.

Between 10-20 cmbs, there was a sediment color change ranging between dull orange (7.5 YR 7/3) to very pale brown (10 YR 7/3) sandy loam. The matrix continued to be loosely structured, while its texture became finer. Clearly defined jacal stumps emerged within 5-15 cm below surface. These were 8-10 cm wide, preserved in situ, and surrounded by a mortar-like abode heavily occluded with small pebbles. Five jacales running east-west were recorded in units A2 and A3, represents an interior wall of Room C. The jacal line then turned northward at a 90 degree angle, and ran in a contiguous line from Unit A3 to Unit B3. In total, a line of nine jacales ended midway through unit B3. These represent part of the east-facing external wall of Room C.

No jacales were found in units B1, C1 or C2, which would have been the location of the north-facing external wall of Room C. However, a loose scattering of small to medium sized cobbles were found in these loci between 20-30 cmbs. Artifacts recovered from this context included ceramics, lithics, faunal bone, metal, wood, charcoal, and glass (see Appendix C). Most of the metal artifacts were architectural in nature, including nails, but also included several aluminum pull tabs. The stratigraphy of these units more closely resembled those contained in the jacal feature, rather than those outside the general area in Room C.

Apart from the two best preserved jacales, the jacal wall feature was not removed. Instead, the excavation of Room C continued around the jacales. The stratum surrounding the jacales, representing the interior of Room C, was composed of densely packed sandy loam, though no visible difference between the internal and external wall space was detected. A maximum depth of 30 cmbs was achieved in Unit B2. Below the jacal layer, between 20-30 cmbs, a dramatic shift in sediment occurs, revealing a very loose yellowish brown to dark yellowish brown sand (7.5YR 5/4-4/4) interspersed with rounded to subangular cobbles. This change was most evident in the southern half of Units B2 and B3. The north halves of the units more closely resembled the Prepared Surface context, and featured compact pink to light brown clay (7.5YR 6/3-7/3). The sandy context was sterile. Excavations in Abiquiú 2 ceased when this sterile stratum was reached. It is very possible that the sterile sand represented an intentional means of filling in the natural slope so as to create a level surface, as opposed to a natural sediment layer, and older contexts might have been found beneath this layer. We did not

continue excavating lest we encounter a pre-European contact feature, as such a context is beyond the scope of this project.

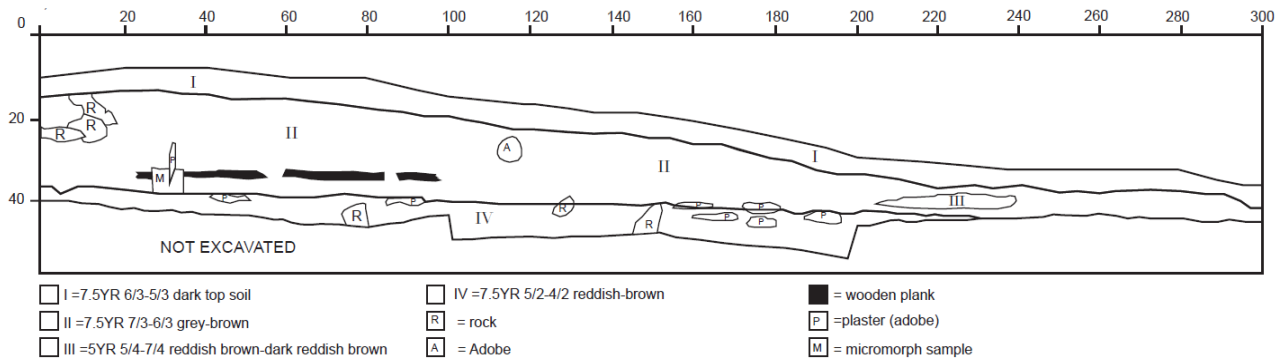


Figure 5.13. West Profile Map of Abiquiú 2 Units A1-C1

Prepared Surface: D1, E1, and G1

As we excavated away from the jacales, the sediment changed dramatically. Units D1-G1 had a different stratigraphic sequence from the Room C units (Figure 5.14). However, the deepest stratum excavated was a light yellowish brown loamy sand (10 YR 6/4) found between 15-20 cmbs in the southern portion of Unit D1 and 25-30 cmbs in the southern portion of unit G6. This stratum is similar to the one found beneath the jacales in Room C.

The first stratum encountered in this context was located within the top 20 cm of the northern half of Unit C1, consisting of a layer of sub-angular cobbles packed within an extremely compact brown (7.5 R 5/4 -4/4) sandy loam. This stratum trended downwards between 10-30 cm below the surface of the northern portion of Unit D1 and the southern portion of Unit E1. As Unit C1 was the first unit to be excavated from this context, it was initially thought to represent an adobe wall, possibly replacing or built along the perimeter of the jacal wall. However, as we continued to excavate outward from Room C, it was apparent that this layer represented a prepared surface flush with Room C that continued to the edge of the hillside.

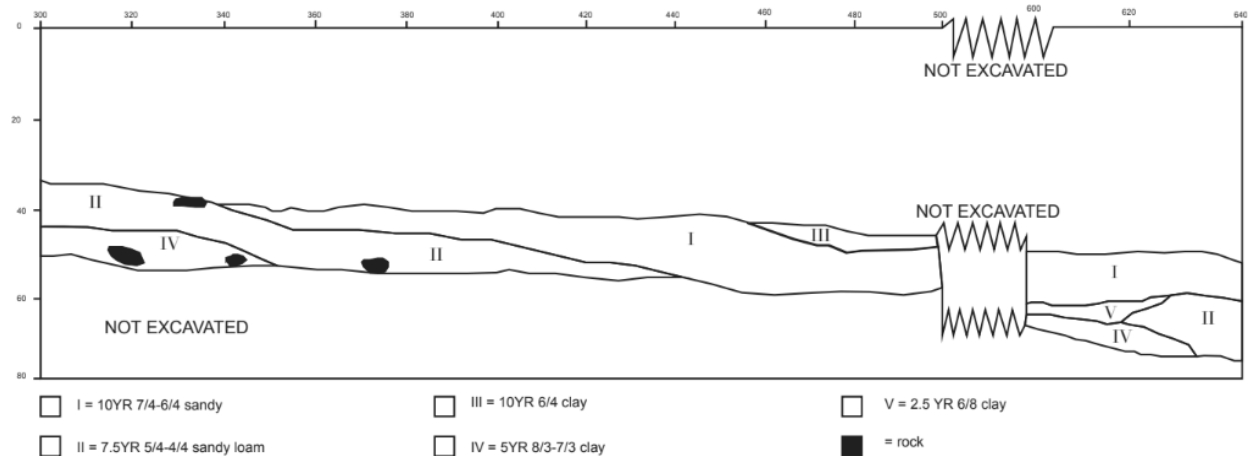


Figure 5.14. West Profile Map of Abiquiú 2 Units D1-F1

The west wall profiles of these units showed an additional stratum above this layer, which consisted of a very pale to light yellowish brown sandy clay (10 YR 7/4 - 6/4). This stratum is found between 0-20 cmbs from the northern half of Unit D1 though to Unit G1. While having a higher clay content and subtle color change, this stratum also featured a dense layer of sub-angular rocks and compact matrix and was not identified during excavation.

Artifacts found within the first artificial level (0-10 cmbs) included glass, charcoal, lithics, ceramics, faunal bone, and plastic. The second artificial level (10-20 cmbs), roughly corresponding to the second natural stratum, featured mostly lithic, ceramic, and faunal bone artifacts. No artifacts were recovered between 20-30 cmbs, the artificial level roughly corresponding to the sandy stratum beneath the Prepared Surface (see Appendix C).

Test Trench 1

The excavation of Test Trench 1 began in order to determine the nature of a high amplitude reflection area in front of the extant *casita*, as recorded during the GPR survey. The excavation found an area composed almost exclusively of wood and adobe building refuse that appeared extremely similar in appearance to the extant *casita*. It is possible that this material is associated with previous iterations of the *casita*, including that of Room C. This suggests that the *casita* was refurbished at some point during its lifespan, and that refuse was used to fill and level out the landing area facing the *casita*.

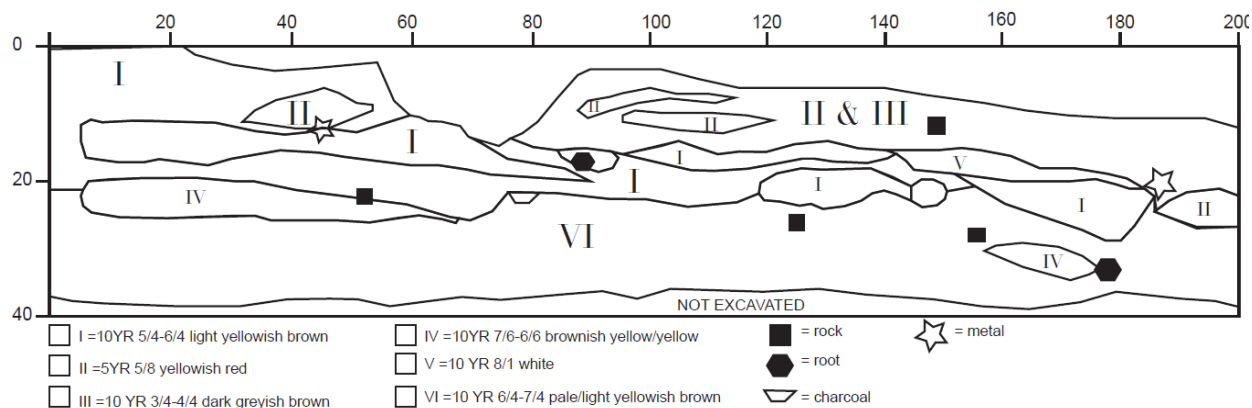


Figure 5.15. West Profile Map of Abiquiú 2 Test Trench 1

The wall profile of Test Trench 1 looks very different from those recorded in the Room C and Prepared Surface areas (Figure 5.15). The first 10 cm featured a stratum consisting of a mottled, slightly compact sandy clay ranging in color between light yellowish brown to dark greyish brown (10 YR 5/4-7/6). Beneath this stratum was a soil color change to light yellowish brown (10YR 6 /4) whose matrix was heavily occluded with architectural debris, primarily cobble-sized rocks, large pieces of unidentified wood, and a yellowish red (5 YR 5/8) adobe plaster that matched the color of the exterior of the room block. This discontinued at around 25 cmbs. The architectural artifacts discontinued, giving rise to a pale to light yellowish brown (10 YR 6/4-7/4) sediment. No artifacts were found in this layer, and excavation ceased at 35 cmbs.

Interpretation of Excavation Findings at Abiquiú 2

Excavations in Abiquiú 2 located a jacal wall feature, which represents a structure (Room C) associated with the current two-room casita. The stratigraphy of the area north of Room C suggests the deliberate placement of a prepared surface in the area in front of the room block. The construction of this prepared soil over the sandy sediment below would have stabilized the ground above, facilitating pedestrian usage.

Despite the obvious domestic nature of the site, not many artifacts were recovered from Abiquiú 2 (Figure 5.16, Appendix C). This is most likely due to the fact that a midden associated with the roomblock was not located. Nevertheless, a higher average number of artifacts was encountered compared to Abiquiú 1, reinforcing the characterization between domestic vs. agricultural activity areas. Unlike Abiquiú 1, a relatively small proportion of ceramics and lithics were found (Appendix C). The most abundant primary context ceramic types were plainwares (N=122) and micaceouswares (N=118). Whitewares (N=88) were also fairly abundant, as were biscuitwares (N=76).

Despite the absence of middens, Abiquiú 2 yielded by far the largest amount of glass fragments. 4,466 fragments were recovered in total, compared to the 3,172 fragments recovered

from Abiquiú 3, which contained both a modern and a historic midden (Appendix C). Most of these glass fragments were found within the first layer of excavation, and represent modern beer bottles. Some fragments of milk glass containers were also recorded, whose early-to-mid 20th century popularity coincides with the last domestic occupation of the casita. The prevalence of beer bottle fragments and drug paraphernalia observed on the surface of the site and inside the casita suggests that the area was used surreptitiously following the roomblock’s permanent vacancy.

Following glass, the most abundant artifact classes found on site were metal, plastic and miscellaneous, and botanicals, which together represent building debris from the roomblock. Wood fragments from the *jacal* wall and floorboard fragments account for the “botanicals.” Likewise, most of the metal artifacts were nails. Chunks of plaster and adobe that matched the interior and exterior of the extant roomblock account for much of the quantified “miscellaneous” artifacts. While this building debris dominated the contents of Test Trench 1 located in front of the *casita*, it was also found in the area associated with Room C. This suggests that when Room C was eventually demolished, its material was used as surface fill to create a prepared surface for the front of the remaining roomblock.

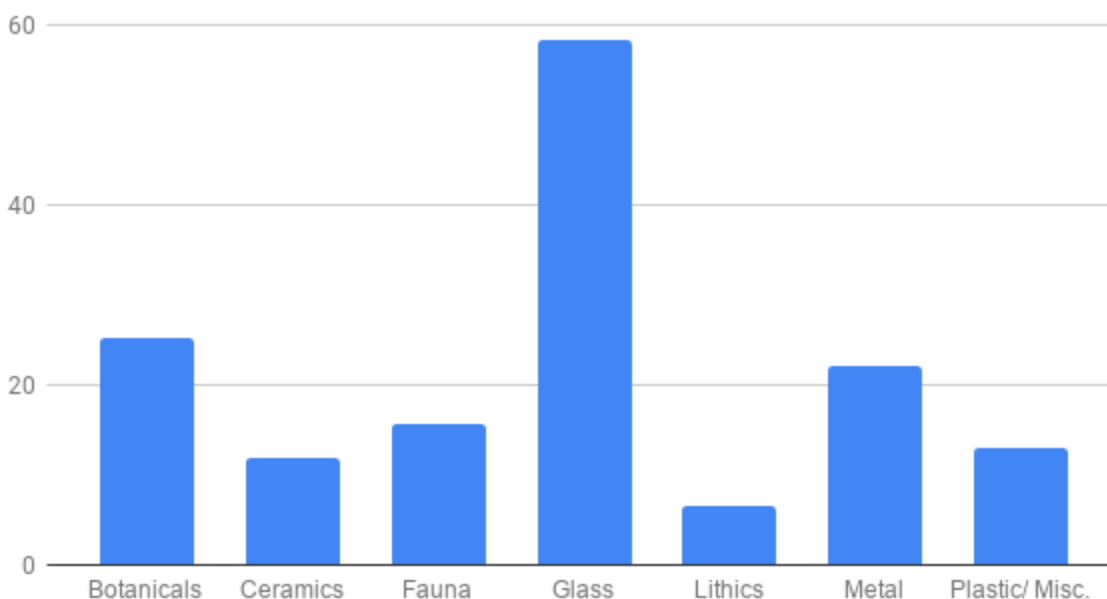


Figure 5.16. An overview of Abiquiú 2 artifact densities per cubic meter

Dendrochronology at Abiquiú 2 (full Dendrochronology Report in Appendix D)

During the Abiquiú 2 excavation, the land owner requested that dendrochronology samples be taken from the casita, as he was planning a major renovation of the building. Tom Windes and Leigh Cominiello graciously agreed to visit the site, and to identify, map, and collect the samples. Windes arranged for the samples to be sent to Thomas W. Swetnam at the Jemez Mountains Tree-Ring Lab at Jemez Springs, New Mexico.

A total of seventeen samples taken: seven from Room A of the casita, eight from Room B, and two from the best preserved jacales from Room C. Samples were taken from vigas, jacales, and bond beams. On closer inspection, Windes determined four of the samples from Room A to be insufficiently preserved for the purposes of analysis, leaving thirteen sent to Jemez Mountains Tree-Ring Lab for analysis.

Lab analysis identified the samples as *Pinus edulis* (N=2), *Pinus ponderosa* (N=3), and *Juniperus* (juniper) species (N=7). Two remained unidentifiable. Juniper trees are not amenable to dendrochronological dating, as they are known to produce “false” rings during warmer and wetter seasons. Four of the remaining five *Pinus* (pine) samples were in sufficiently good condition to be accurately dated. All four had an outer date of 1915. This date is significantly later than was previously assumed from the “oldest house” in Abiquiú. However, it is likely that these pine samples actually represent repairs of an older structure, as they are of a different genus than the juniper trees that form the majority of the casita’s building materials. This interpretation was corroborated by Jun Sunseri and Charlie Carrillo, who observed during the renovations of the *casita* in 2017, that at least one of the pine logs still bore the metal tag of a telegraph or other type of early 20th century utility pole.



Figure 5.17. Overview of the Abiquiú 3 survey area prior to grid being laid out, facing north.

Abiquiú 3

Site Overview

Abiquiú 3 (Figure 5.17) is located on a clearing immediately behind a currently uninhabited and fire-damaged house situated off of the southwest corner of the Abiquiú Plaza. It

is known as “Lala’s house,” named after a former occupant. The land is currently owned by Nina Armijo. Lala’s house was burned in an arson event in the 1990s, when the previous tenants were planning to open a cafe in the front parlor (Personal Communication, Isabel Trujillo, March 2016). The clearing behind the house is flush with other currently unoccupied and dilapidated buildings, suggesting a structure might have at one time been located alongside a detached alignment of buildings in this general vicinity.

Abiquiú 3 GPR Survey Results

A single survey grid encompassed most of the clearing, covering an 11.5 x 11.5 meter area. The field had to be cleared of tall, dry, and densely-packed grasses before the GPR could be passed along the transects within a sufficient proximity to the ground. The ground surface of the survey grid was devoid of features such as ash deposits or large ant nests that might affect the GPR results.

The GPR slice maps of Abiquiú 3 produced a faint rectilinear featuring a 90° angle in the southeast quadrant of the survey area, originating between 40-60 cmbs and becoming fainter between 60-80 cmbs, notwithstanding the increase in amorphous medium and high amplitude anomalies in its general vicinity (Figure 5.18). This rectilinear feature suggests a possible structure located in the survey area (Figure 5.18). However, an early 20th century photograph suggests the area was used as a small orchard (visible in the foreground of Figure 5.9). In order to better characterize the site, two sets of two 1x1 meter excavation units (Units A6 and A7 and units B5 and C5) located perpendicular to each other were placed in the area where the rectilinear feature of the GPR was most perceptible.

The GPR also detected a cylindrical feature located close to the surface of the northwestern quadrant of the survey grid (Figure 5.19). Test Trench 1 was placed in order to locate the cylindrical feature as a means of ground truthing the GPR results before we set out to locate the deeper feature in the southwestern quadrant. This was done because an Abiquiú resident said he remembered an outhouse located on the *northeast* area of the clearing, and it was thought wise to confirm the directional accuracy of the plan map before proceeding. Excavation units were placed along the corner of the rectilinear feature. Test Trench 2 was laid out to investigate an area of high amplitude hyperbolas found in the southeast corner of the survey grid, at what appeared to be the other side of the rectilinear feature.

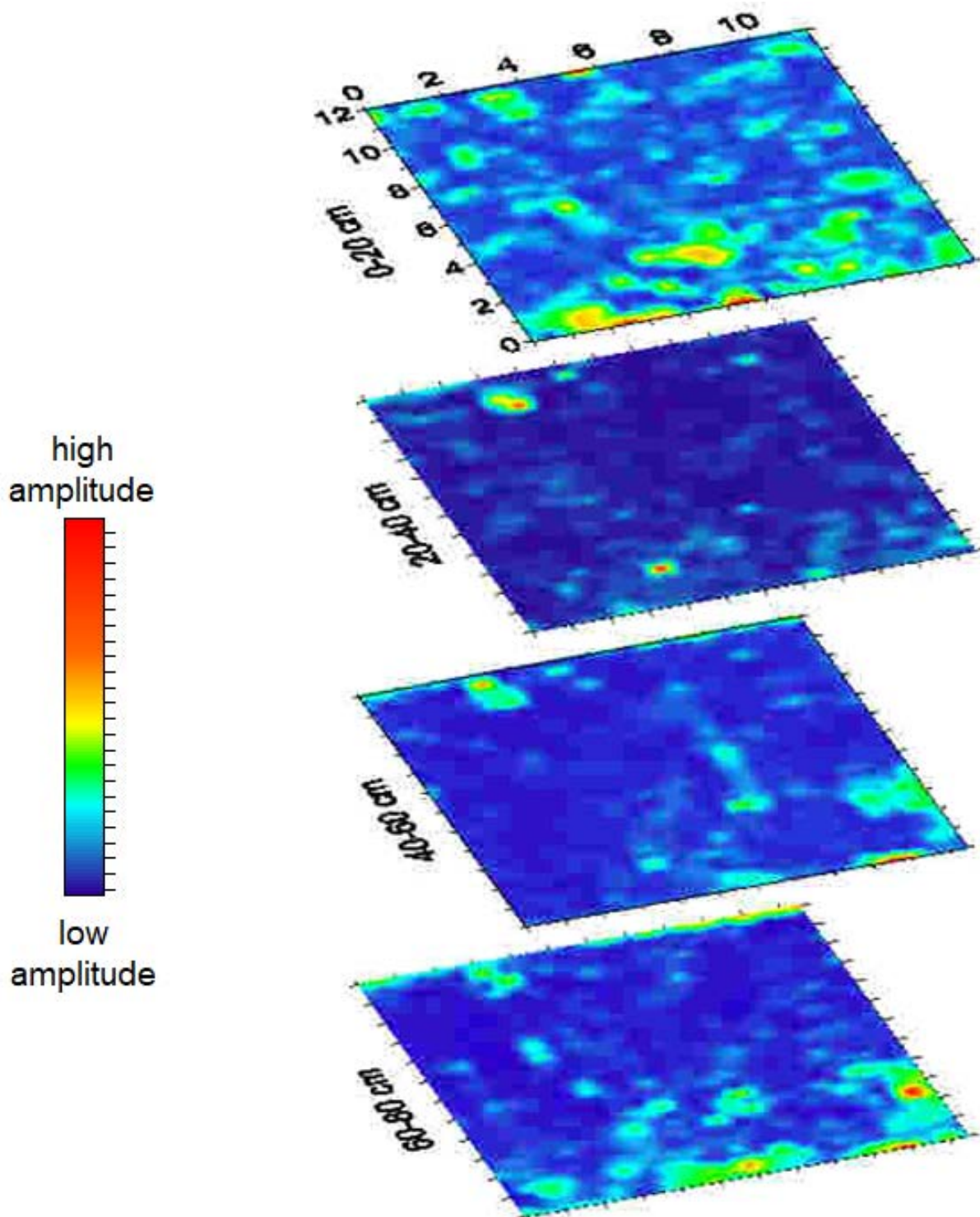


Figure 5.18. Amplitude slice maps of Abiquiú 3

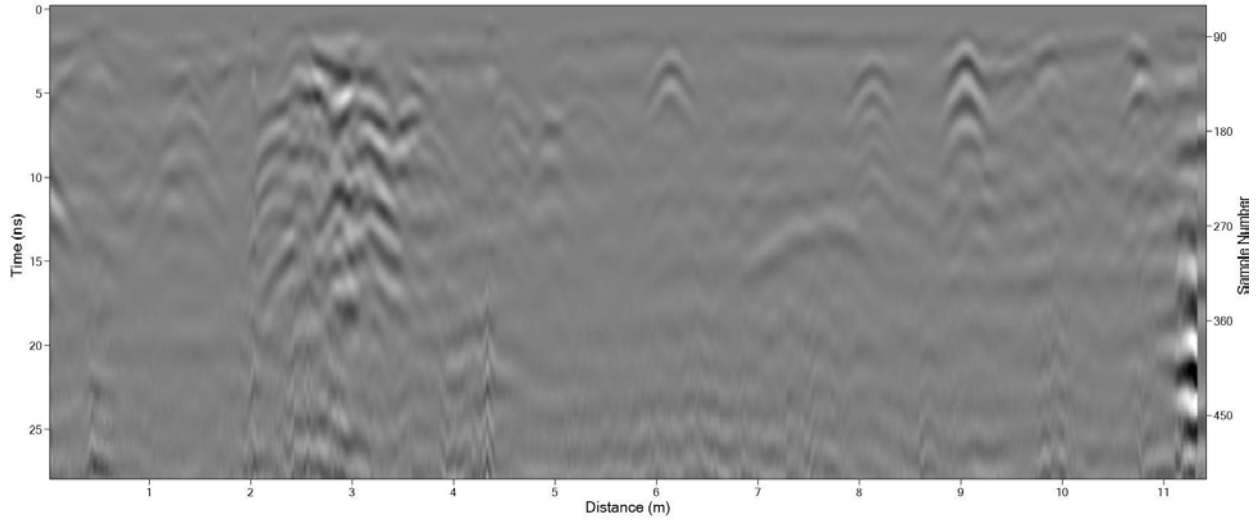


Figure 5.19. Reflection profile from Abiquiú 3 showing a very distinct cylindrical feature originating close to the surface 2-3 meters from the western edge of the grid.

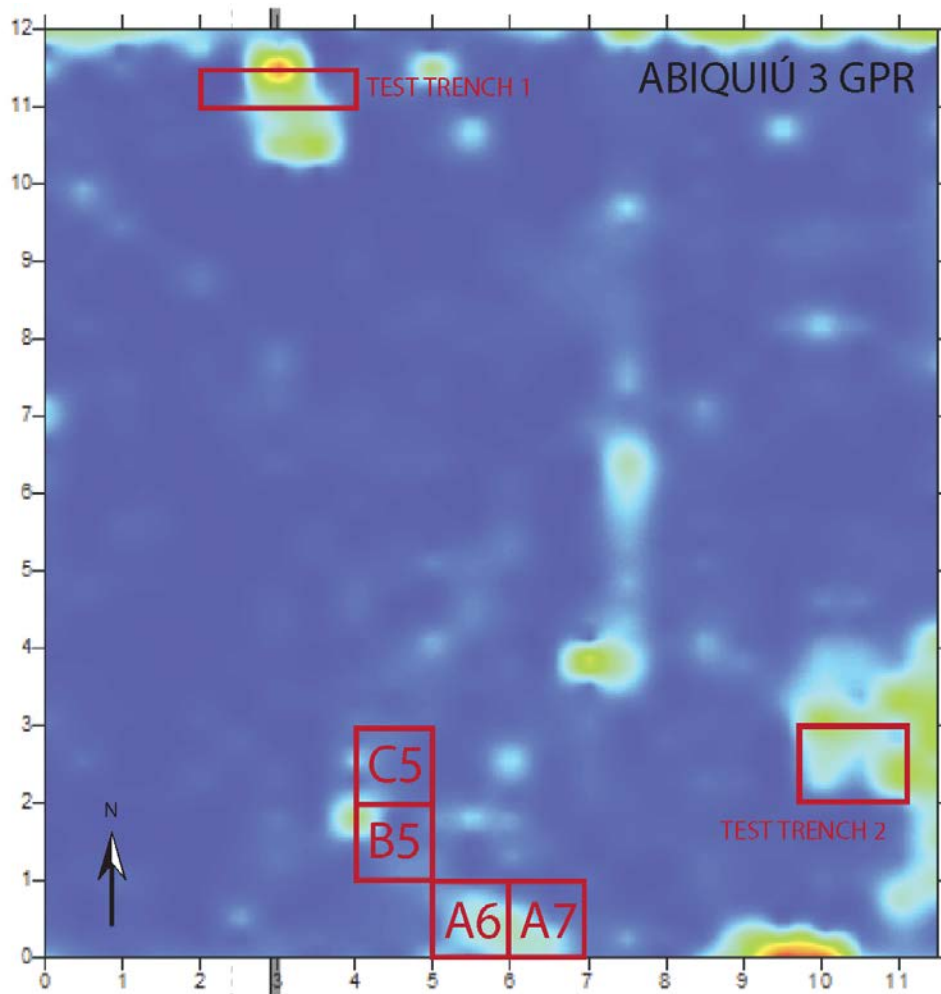


Figure 5.20. A map of Abiquiú 3 showing the relative location of the excavation units.

ABIQUIÚ 3 UNITS	AREA	FINAL DEPTH
Test Trench 1	1 m ²	10 cmbs
Test Trench 2	2 m ²	60 cmbs
A6	1 m ²	60 cmbs
A7	1 m ²	50 cmbs
B5	1 m ²	50 cmbs
C5	1 m ²	60 cmbs

Table 5.3. Overview of Abiquiú 3 excavation units

Excavation Results

A total of four 1 x 1 meter units and two test trenches were excavated from Abiquiú 3, yielding 20.3 m³ of total volume (Figure 5.19, Table 5.3). Test Trench 1 (0.5 x 2 m) was placed in order to ground-truth the GPR survey and provide more accurate depth estimates for the GPR slice maps. Test Trench 2 (1 x 2 m) was placed in the southeast quadrant of the survey area to investigate an area of the GPR grid that suggested an artifact concentration. The excavation units were placed to identify the nature of the rectilinear alignments between meters 4 and 7 along the x-axis of the surveyed area.

The excavation units were intended to locate a possible building foundation. Rather than finding any building foundations, the linear features from the GPR represent a recent land filling event. The modern trash fill seems to be most concentrated in the Unit B5-C5 area, as these feature larger artifacts, including an intact 21st century Bud Light beer bottle. The sediments between Units B5 and C5 are quite mottled and less consistent than those found across Units A6 and A7. However, the base of the Unit A6 and A7 area matches the stratigraphy of Units B5 and C5, suggesting the trash pile originating within the Unit B5-C5 area sloped outwards and became shallower as it extended towards the area covered in Units A6 and A7. It is likely that this trash deposit was dug, filled and leveled with the same sediment in relatively quick succession. In this scenario, the faint linear anomaly in the GPR could be explained by trenching activity, though a distinct “cut” was not found in the stratigraphy. Test Trench 2, however, had a very different artifact and soil composition than the Excavation Units, which suggested an older, possibly Territorial Period refuse area.

Test Trench 1

Test Trench 1 measured 0.5 x 2 m, and designed to overlap with a cylindrical anomaly located close to the surface recorded in the GPR survey. Within 5 cmbs, a trash pit was discovered consisting of ash and partially burned plastics (including a plastic grocery bag and doll parts), metals, ceramics, and beer glass (see Appendix C). The ceramic sherds consisted of a ceramic blue sheep figurine. Having proved our hypothesis, and not wishing to further excavate

what was likely to have originally been a late 20th century outhouse, excavation of Test Trench 1 ceased at 10 cmbs.

Excavation Units A6 and A7

Adjacent to one another, Units A6 and A7 form a 2 x 2 meter trench running east-west (Figure 5.20). The first stratum occurs between 0-10 cmbs, and is composed of brown to yellowish-brown (10 YR 5/3 - 5/4) loose sandy loam with roots and trace amounts of large pebbles. Artifacts recovered from this stratum included ceramics, charcoal, faunal bone, glass, lithics, and metal (including nails, sheet metal flakes, aluminum foil, a votive candle holder, and a jean rivet) (see Appendix C).

The second stratum, found between 5-20 cmbs, was composed of a compact pale brown (10 YR 6/3) sandy loam that transitioned to a light brownish grey (10 YR 6/2) with depth. The number of large pebbles and small cobbles also increased slightly with depth. Artifacts recovered from this stratum include metal artifacts (sheet metal, nails, screws, bottle and can tops), lithics, faunal bone, charcoal, glass, and ceramics.

Stratum III was found between 28-50 cmbs, and produced a more pronounced transition than the previous two strata. The matrix was composed of a dark greyish brown (10 YR 4/2) sandy loam sediment occluded with a large amount of charcoal and subangular to subrounded cobbles. These cobbles increase in number with depth, eventually condensing into large pockets of cobbles interspersed with very dark grey (10 YR 3/1) clay. This stratum yielded the largest number of artifacts, including ceramics, lithics, faunal bone, metal, and glass. The pockets of cobbles were left unexcavated, as were originally assumed to be associated with an architectural feature. Trace ceramics found in Unit A7 were the only artifacts recovered from this stratum. While charcoal, ceramics, lithics, and faunal bone were recovered from this context, no metal or plastic artifacts were found. Unit A6 was brought to 40 cmbs, after a layer of sterile sand was uncovered at the bottom of the unit level. Unit A7 was brought down a further 10 cm to further investigate the nature of the area of condensed rock and ash-colored clay soil, which continued deeper than it did in Unit A6, but did not yield any artifacts.

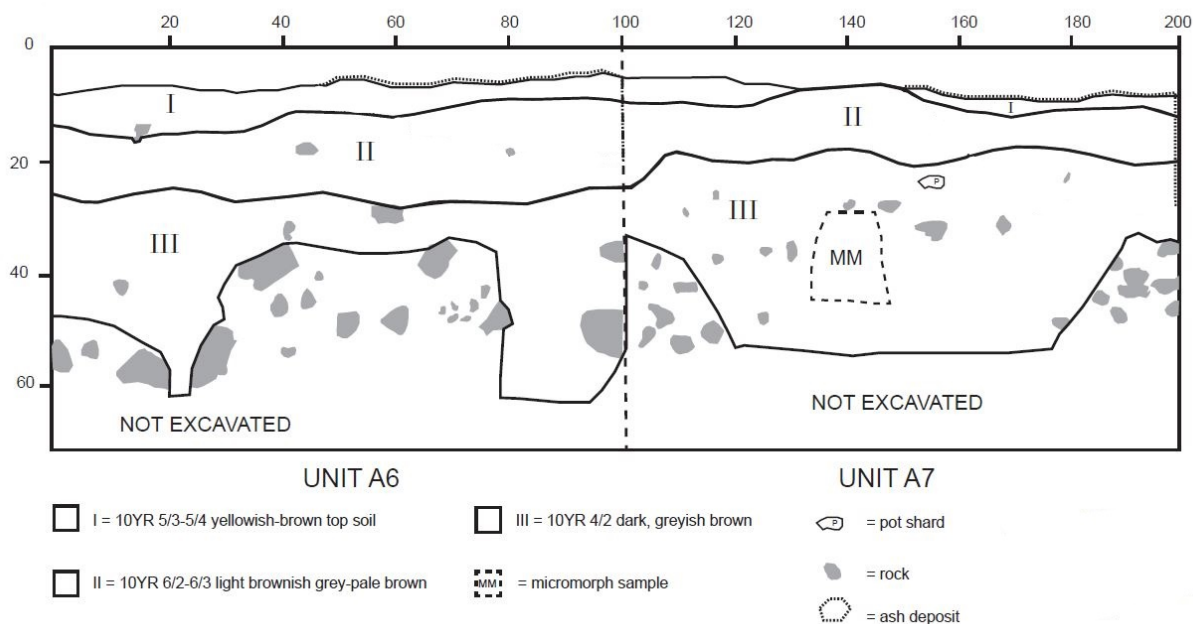


Figure 5.21. North profile map of Abiquiú 3 Units A6 and A7

Excavation Units B5 and C5

The first 5 cmbs of Unit B5 is composed of a dark reddish brown to brown (2.5 Y 5/3-7.5 YR 5/4) topsoil (Feature 5.21). The following 10 cmbs is a grayish brown (10 YR 5/2-5/3) sandy loam which covers the surface area of most of the two units. Beneath this first stratum, however, there are multiple and irregular stratigraphic deposits. This suggests the underlying modern trash fill was capped by this stratum. Artifacts recovered from this level included ethnobotanicals (including fruit pits), ceramics, charcoal, faunal bone, glass, lithics, and metals (including bottle tops, nails, beer tab, sheet fragments, rivets, and grommets) (see Appendix C). As the changes in sediment were only visible in the side walls after excavation, the units continued to be excavated using artificial 10 cm levels.

Between 10-20 cmbs, the matrix was of the same consistency, though color shifts and increasing compactness were recorded with depth. The sediment at this depth in Unit B5 is brown to pale brown (10 YR 5/3-6/3), while in Unit C5 the color is more mottled, shifting between grayish brown and towards yellowish brown (7.5 YR 5/2- 5/4). Artifact frequency remained consistent. At the end of the level, the top of a wooden post appeared in the southwest corner of Unit B5, which slanted downwards towards Unit B5. An intact cow pat was also found but not collected near the top of the post.

Between 20-30 cmbs, the sediment became sandier and coarser in texture with depth. In B5, the sediments maintained the brown to pale brown color range recorded at 10-20 cmbs. Unit C5 experienced a lens of gray sandy loam (10 YR 6/1- 5/2) at the beginning of level, which then reverted back to yellowish brown sandy loam (10 YR 5/2-5/4) towards the bottom of the level. A

wide variety of artifacts continue recovered from this artificial 10 cm level, including, botanicals, ceramics, charcoal, faunal bone, glass, lithics, and metal (Appendix C).

At around 40 cmbs, the sediment experienced a color change to yellowish brown to dark yellowish brown (10 YR 6/4 - 5/4) sandy loam. A Bud Light bottle dated to March 2003 was found at 40 cmbs, close to a metal barbeque grate. An ashy deposit is found at the base of the wooden post, covering the easternmost third of Unit C5. A wide variety of other artifacts were recovered between 40-50 cmbs, including faunal bone, colored and clear glass, ceramic sherds, corroded pieces of metal, metal nails, and plastics (Appendix C).

Because of the very recent nature of this trash deposit, excavations ceased at 40 cmbs in Unit B5 and 50 cmbs in Unit C5. At 45 cmbs, the southern half of B5 revealed a lens of dark grey clay, the same lens that appears in the northwest corner of Unit A6. In the last centimeter of the unit level, the lens terminates and is replaced with the dark brown loose loamy sand covering the entire unit floor at the end of the level. The sand begins coarse but becomes softer with depth. At 50 cmbs, the floor of Unit C5 is composed entirely of dark brown sand. A micromorph sample was taken from the east wall of Unit C5, at the interface between three separate sediments.

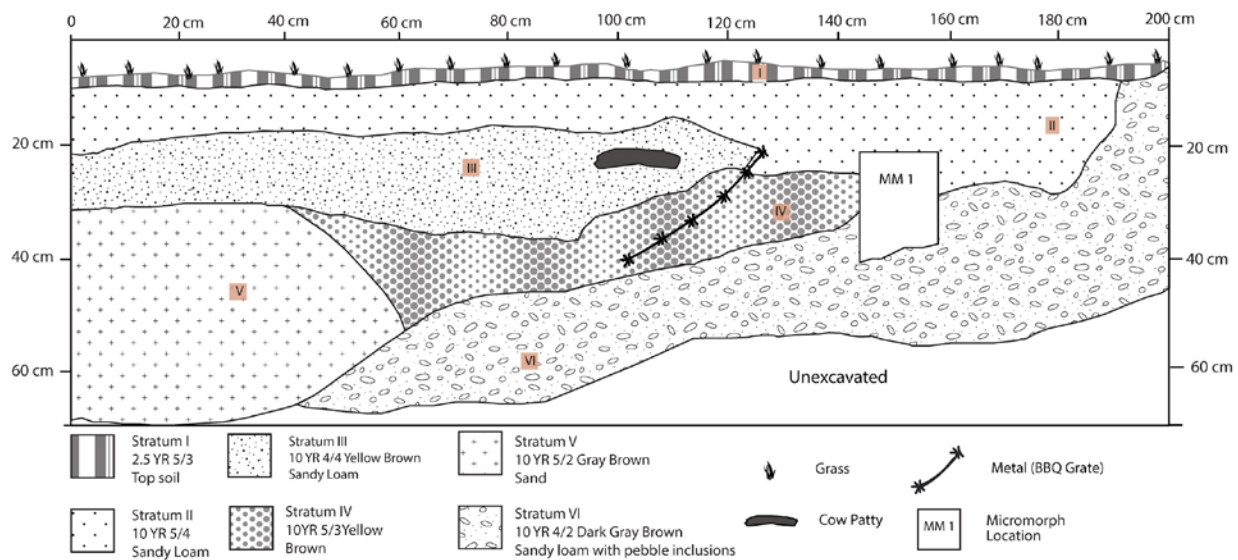


Figure 5.22. East Profile map of Abiquiú 3 Units B5 and C5

Test Trench 2

Stratum I of Test Trench 2 was recorded between 0-25 cmbs, and consists of a pale brown to light yellowish brown (10 YR 6/3-6/4) sandy loam (Figure 5.23). This was followed by Stratum II, which was found between 25-40 cmbs. The sediment of Stratum II features a color change to pale brown to brown (10 YR 6/3- 5/3) sandy loam. Stratum III, found between 40-65 cmbs of the western portion of the trench, was a greyish brown to light brown gray (10 YR 5/2 - 6/2) compacted clay loam with pebble inclusions. This stratum thinned out to a small lens in the northwest corner of the trench. Along the north wall of the trench, Stratum II is surrounded by

Stratum II. A lens of light yellowish brown clay loam (10 YR 6/4) was also recorded in the north sidewall of Test Trench 2. Artifacts recovered included ceramics, lithics, fauna, charcoal, and glass (Appendix C). Loose sterile sand was found at the bottom of the unit, between 60-65 cmbs. Excavations ceased following this change in strata. A micromorph sample was taken midway across the north wall, at the interface between Strata II and III (38-55 cmbs).

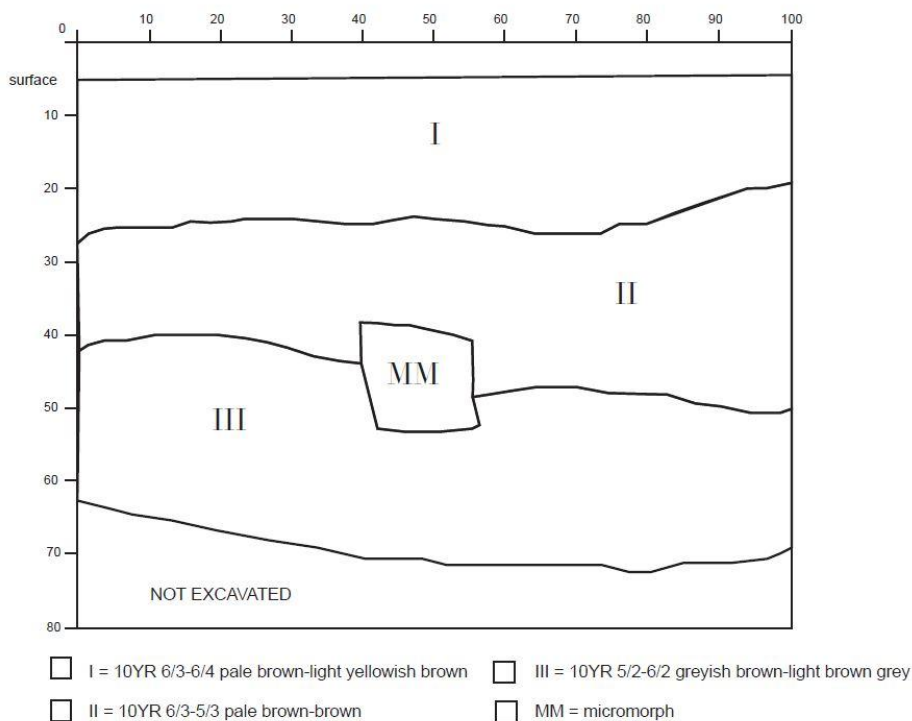


Figure 5.23. North profile map of Abiquiú 3 Test Trench 2.

Interpretation of Excavation Findings at Abiquiú 3

Most of the artifacts from the excavation units are associated with 20-21st century household items, including items of clothing (jean rivets and manufactured shell buttons), food preparation and storage (foil, grill, and beer bottles), and accessories (a plastic brake light, plastic toys and .22 caliber bullet cartridge) (Appendix C). These artifacts were most concentrated within the first two strata of Units A6, A7, and B5, and throughout Unit C5 (Appendix C).

Stratum III (~30-50 cmbs) of Units B5 and C5 contained an artifact concentration of construction materials. The concentration featured large amounts of dark clay sediment, cobbles, burned adobe and adobe plaster supports this hypothesis. However, more modern materials such as plastics, tar paper or linoleum or a significant number of nails (N=1) were absent from this artifact concentration (Appendix C). The lack of plastics and metal suggests a secondary deposit of an earlier architectural feature that was built without such materials, as is the case with

traditional adobe structures. This material signature is also visible in the lower levels of Units B5, which was found to include the same Stratum III as Units A6 and A7.

The lower strata of Test Trench 2 is distinct from that of the excavation units, and does not contain modern artifacts, suggesting this area is stratigraphically distinct from the excavation units. However, the upper strata are similar, indicating that both Test Trench 2 and the excavation units were filled and leveled off with the same soil. Test Trench 2 is unique in the sheer quantity of artifacts, particularly faunal material, and the complete absence of plastics after the first 10 cm of excavation. Micaceous and plainware ceramics were present in abundance, while whiteware ceramics are also present to a lesser degree and in decreasing quantities with depth (Appendix C). These factors indicate the archaeological signature of a historic-era primary context midden. The comparatively large quantity of whole and low meat-yielding bone suggests this midden was associated with an animal enclosure, or at the very least an area in which primary animal butchery took place. The faunal material will be discussed at length in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

Unique to the excavation units in Abiquiú 3, particularly Units B5 and C5, are the presence of relatively large quantities of pits from the *Prunus* family, likely cherries. The MNI of cherries in these units was 101; an additional 19 cherry pits were recovered from Test Trench 1. The stones of a larger member of the *Prunus* family, likely peaches, were also recovered but much less frequently than cherries were (MNI= 4) By comparison, Abiquiú 1, which is currently located adjacent to a small cherry orchard, yielded an MNI of 8 cherry pits. Peaches were favored at Abiquiú 2 (MNI = 8) over cherries (MNI= 3). Almost all of the fruit pits encountered across the sites were not burned, which is highly indicative that these are very recent deposits.

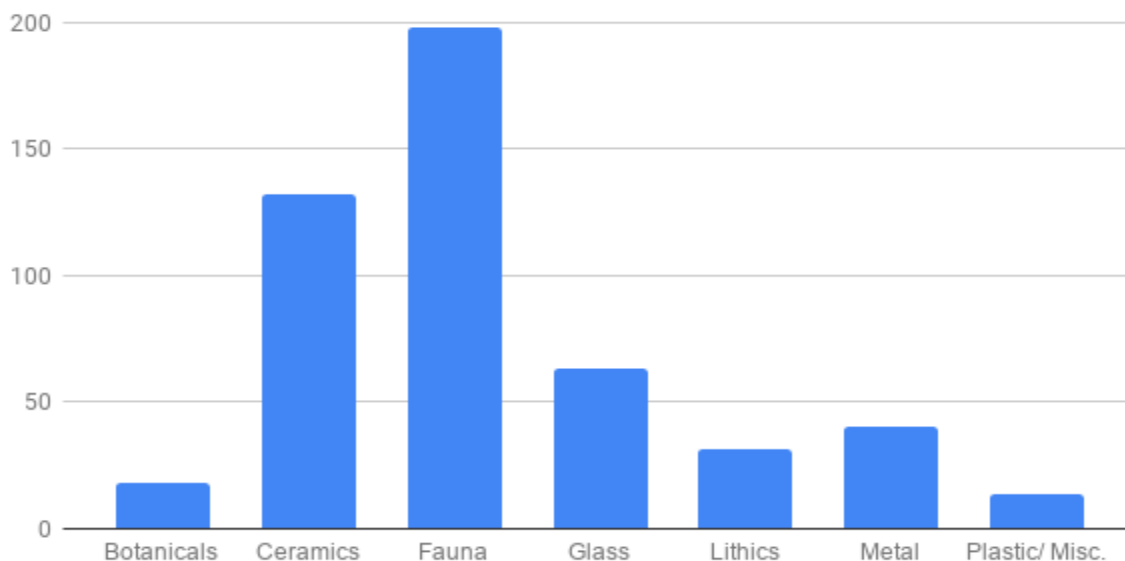


Figure 5.24. Overview of Abiquiú 3 artifact densities per cubic meter

Conclusion

As can be expected of an area with multiple occupation periods, the interpretation of archaeological sites in New Mexico is complicated by the admixture of prehistoric artifacts (most obvious among the ceramics) in historic-era contexts. This can be explained by the commonly-observed practice of using local clay-rich sediment to construct adobe bricks. Artifacts found within the clay are most often left to act as temper for the bricks. As traditional adobe brick making continues in villages throughout New Mexico, one sees the addition of historic-period artifacts within bricks. The near identical nature of the content of the ground and the most commonly used architectural material makes distinguishing architectural features such as walls (in the form of “adobe melt”) and floors difficult. Even with the aid of Ground Penetrating Radar, identifying primary context sites remains a challenging experience. As historical archaeology in New Mexico continues to expand, the GPR survey data collected from these sites will help characterize the geophysical patterns of archaeological features typically encountered in communities with similar sedimentary composition and occupational sequences.

Nevertheless, the sites excavated in the 2016 field season of the BACA project are sufficiently distinct so as to discern a variety of different historical and spatial contexts, including agricultural space, domestic architecture, and domestic refuse. Abiquiú 1 is located within an area used as agricultural space since at least the early 19th century. Abiquiú 2 represents the location and environs of a small domestic structure, albeit with no known associated midden, whose occupation can be conservatively dated between the late-19th to mid-20th centuries. Abiquiú 3 represented open space that most likely used as an animal enclosure likely throughout the 19th century. More recently, it has been used informally for landfill. Frustrated attempts to locate more colonial and historic-era features was mitigated by the recovery of a Territorial-era midden in Test Trench 2 of Abiquiú 3, which by far proved to be the most artifactually rich site of the 2016 field season (Figure 5.25). Together with those collected from the 2014 field season, the faunal assemblages from this site will form the basis of the zooarchaeological analysis for this dissertation project.

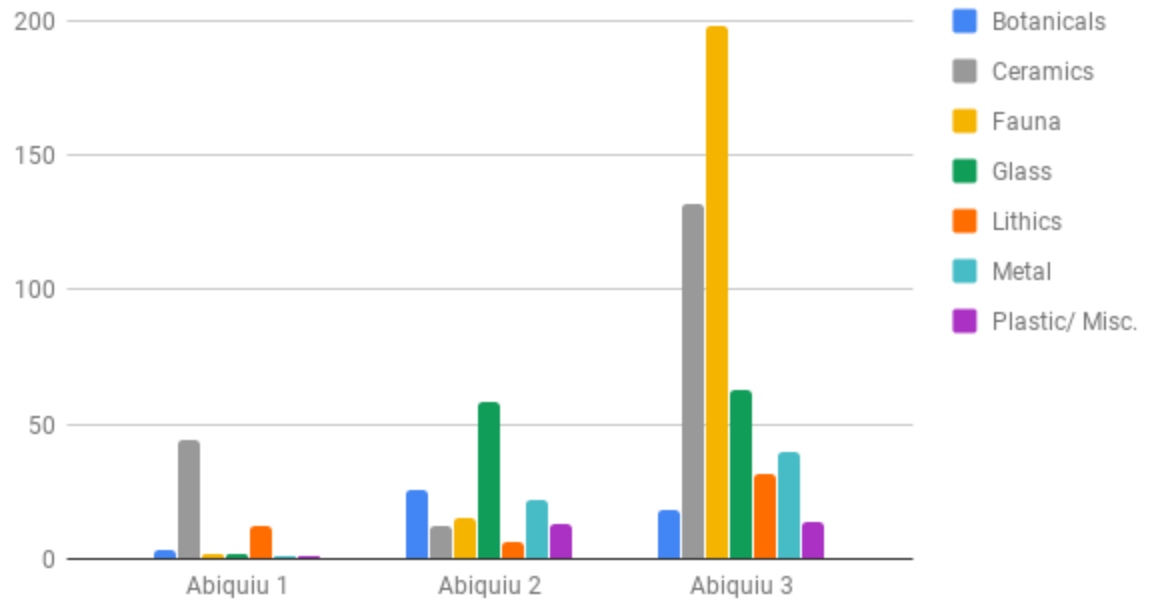


Figure 5.25. A comparison of artifact densities at Abiquiú sites 1, 2, and 3. See Appendix C for full counts of artifacts.

Chapter 6: A Zooarchaeological Examination of Genízaro Foodways



Figure 6.1. Goats browsing near the Abiquiú camposanto

Introduction

The history of Genízaro ethnogenesis, labor, and land tenure is closely intertwined with fauna. In establishing his land grant for the newly established Genízaros, Tomás Vélez Cachupín highlighted the suitability of the land within the ejido for irrigation in multiple land grants, including Abiquiú. Perhaps anticipating competition, Cachupín explains that the land and the irrigable waters would ensure that the Genízaros “can have cattle without mixing with the Spaniards” (Ebright and Hendricks 2006:270). When the Genízaros were granted their own land, attention to their own herds was a key part of ensuring the success and viability of their enterprise. Faced with a harsh and arid climate, a complex system of acequias coursing through the mountainous landscape was intended to provide water to grow animal feed as much as cultivars for human consumption. Building strong and healthy animal herds indicated not only economic success but were a sign that the owners were civilized, knowledgeable, and hardworking individuals. Already at a disadvantage due to various forms of racial discrimination, Genízaros had all the more to lose should their livestock prove substandard.

Beyond a measure of their socio-economic success, however, meat consumption was a meaningful mark of community belonging in Genízaro communities. On special occasions, such as the fiestas of Santo Tomás, food signifies and reaffirms communal unity and identity within the group and to those attending from the surrounding regions. Food consumption varies between public and private spaces, as the former caters to the crowd, while the latter is more likely to express the individual circumstances of a particular family. Food choice among marginalized communities such as the Genízaro is not absolute, but is deeply informed by and speaks to social, economic, and ecological realities (Melton 2018).

The nature and temporal variation of foodways is an appropriate body of data that speaks to the reality of cultural transformation, hybridity and ethnogenesis among colonial communities (Sunseri 2017, Franklin 2001, Dell 2000, Deagan 1998). As the high labor and energy costs associated with raising and consuming domesticated animals creates opportunities for more and higher-visibility social signaling, zooarchaeological analysis provides a unique opportunity to examine consumption practices in Genízaro communities. The ability of Genízaro individuals to deploy foodways in both socially meaningful and politically empowering ways is predicated on their historical ability to tactfully maintain their land tenure, the disruption of which was precisely the motivation behind the oppression they faced.

The questions driving this chapter are the following: What livestock was raised at Abiquiú? What meat was consumed by its residents, and in what contexts? Are there any discernible archaeological signatures of Genízaro foodways that are visible across multiple Genízaro land grant communities?

Because choices regarding, for example, meat type and cut are usually predicated on a series of social and economic circumstances affecting consumers, zooarchaeological analysis accesses the racialized and ethnically-informed nature of foodways. The faunal material necessary for this dissertation research was collected from a total of three sites in the Pueblo de Abiquiú, excavated in 2014 and 2016. These sites include contexts representing open plaza feasting space, household middens, and domestic living space. The variety of activity areas represented allows us to assess how food consumption is differentiated across different households and public vs. private space. Additional faunal datasets from recently excavated Genízaro/Indo-Hispano sites will be used for comparative purposes in order to trace the variation of Genízaro foodways at a larger scale. These ancillary sites include Casitas Viejas, San José de las Huertas, and San Miguel del Vado. The complete faunal data records for this project are located in Appendix E.

Because taxon lists of which animals were present or absent in the record are insufficient to discern the all the nuances of culinary practice, a morphological and taphonomic faunal analysis is being conducted according to standard zooarchaeological methodology and recording procedures (Gifford and Crader 1977, Gifford Gonzalez 2018). These techniques place human interactions with animals in context of a range of relationships surrounding hunting and animal husbandry on a complex cultural landscape of possible actions.

Methodology

Taxonomic Identification

Following standard lab cleaning and sorting, faunal bone was visually inspected and first sorted into Non-Identifiable, Less Identifiable, and Identifiable. Non-Identifiable (“NID”) refers to highly fragmented bone material that could not be identified to any level of taxonomic resolution beyond the subphylum Vertebrata. Less Identifiable indicates the bone specimens could be identified to only taxonomic class, including, in this case, Mammalia (mammal), Aves (bird), and Mollusca (mollusks). When possible, the Less Identifiable elements would be further sorted by size into the following categories: Very Small, Small, Medium, Large, and Extra Large Mammal (Table 6.1). When determinable, size-classed animal specimens would be further identified as Artiodactyla.

The Identifiable bones were then sorted by element type (cranium, tibia, etc.) and their portion, segment, and siding described and recorded (Gifford and Crader 1997, Appendix E). Thus organized synoptically, each specimen’s macromorphology could be systematically examined against the UCB Bear Bones Zooarchaeology Lab’s collection of comparative specimens in order to achieve the highest degree of taxonomic resolution possible. The Bear Bones Lab specializes in North American domesticated species, including multiple sheep and goat comparatives raised in northern New Mexico. This was particularly useful in identifying archaeological caprine bones to genus and species, as sheep and goats bones can be quite difficult to distinguish and can have regionally-specific morphologies (Halstead and Collins 2002, Zelder and Lapham 2010, Gifford-Gonzalez and Sunseri 2007). At the time of analysis, however, the Bear Bones Lab was lacking in some comparatives for species present in New Mexico, including *Equus asinus* (donkey), and *Bison bison* (bison). To address the lack of comparatives, when exact matches could not be made with the available comparatives, a higher taxonomic category was deferred to. So, for example, when the bones of a very large, non-cervid artiodactyl did not precisely conform to the diagnostic criteria exemplified with the *Bos taurus* comparatives, the bone was identified as of the family Bovidae, as this includes both *Bos* and *Bison* genres. Identification efforts using comparative specimens were supplemented by illustrated bone manuals, as well as my own identification notes and illustrations (Gilbert 1990; Broughton and Miller 2016; Olsen 2015a, 2015b; Gifford-Gonzales 2018:106).

	Very Small Mammal	Small Mammal	Medium Mammal	Large Mammal	Extra Large Mammal
Possible Corresponding Species	Rodents, Lagomorphs	Cat, dog, wolf, coyote, fox, racoon, bobcat, badger, beaver,	Sheep, goat	Deer, pronghorn donkey,	Horse, mule, bear, elk, cattle, bison

Table 6.1. List of Mammals According to Size Category

Taphonomy

Upon taxonomic identification, the faunal remains were inspected for taphonomic signatures of human, animal, and plant effects, as well as natural weathering. Human behavior signatures relate to the skinning, butchering, processing, preparation, and disposal of animal bodies. Signs of butchery include stone and metal tool cuts, hand and band sawing, chopping, and percussive marks on the bone (Lyman 1994, Gifford-Gonzales 2018). Thermal modification is an additional indication of human activity, which was observed and described as to their placement and color, from shades of brown to black, charred or vitrified bone, each indicating a different degree of heat treatment on the bone (Appendix E). For example, brown discoloration, particularly at articular or freshly fractured surfaces is indicative of roasting, while charred and vitrified bone suggests they were burned over time at a high temperature, such as during a trash burning event (Shipman 1981, Gifford-Gonzalez 2018). A myriad of animal effects on bone can also be discerned, including canine crenellation, pitting, and scooping, claw marks from birds of prey, and rodent gnawing (Lyman 1994, Gifford-Gonzalez 2018). These can indicate depositional practices, and infer the presence of commensal species in the archaeological record (Gifford-Gonzalez and Sunseri 2007). Finally, root etching and signs of weathering can indicate disposal methods and post-depositional processes (Figure 6.2). Bones, when left for prolonged periods of time on the ground surface, are subject to weathering effects that can be classified according to a sequential series of exfoliation and longitudinal cracking (Behrensmeyer 1978). However, bones buried at shallow depths may be exposed to plant roots, whose acidic qualities leave a permanent trace on the surface of bones (Gifford-Gonzales 2018:344-345).



Figure 6.2: Refuse lightly piled against an adobe house on the Abiquiú Plaza. Matteson and his companions pose before a mule-drawn wagon, Matteson # 112169, Milwaukee Public Museum.

Abiquiú Site Loci

For the purposes of this study, three Abiquiú site loci are used: Abiquiú 2, Abiquiú 3, and the Abiquiú Library. As each site is associated with distinct activities, distinctive patterning within the faunal assemblage is expected at each locus. , Abiquiú 2 represents a small residential site located close to Moqui. Abiquiú 3 represents an open area perhaps used as an orchard or animal enclosure, and is located closer to the Abiquiú plaza. Because the excavation units in Abiquiú 3 were shown to be highly disturbed with modern debris, only fauna recovered from Test Trench 2 will be used from this site. Both Abiquiú 2 and 3 represent Territorial-era contexts, though Abiquiú 3 has a far greater concentration of artifacts (Chapter 5, Figure 5.25). Detailed descriptions of Abiquiú 2 and 3 were provided in Chapter 5. Abiquiú 1 was not included for this analysis, because of the extremely small sample size (NISP=3), and the fact that the site constituents could not be definitively associated with the Genízaro Pueblo de Abiquiú (Chapter 5).

The Abiquiú Library is located along the Abiquiú Plaza and very likely dates to the 18th century beginnings of the land grant. The extant roomblock, now used as the Abiquiú Library and Cultural Center, has thick walls and was once fully enclosed, with a well dug in the central atrium (“plazuela”), demonstrating the defense-oriented nature of Spanish colonial-era architecture . A privately-owned building (“Palmita’s House”) comprises the other half of the roomblock (Figure 6.3.). The roomblock was a residential structure up until the beginning of the 20th century. In 1912, Ignacio L. Ortiz, opened a saloon on the property, and advertised his business in the Spanish-language editions of the *Revista de Taos* on several occasions over the

course of that year. In each case, Ortiz included the fact that he solicited the business of all in the copy. The roomblock continued to be used as a saloon and social space well into the 20th century before becoming the current location for the Abiquiú Library and Cultural Center. Aided by the results of a ground-penetrating radar survey, the 2014 excavations located several features associated with prior segments of the roomblock and other associated features. These features included adobe wall melt, several post holes, evidence for a jacal structure, a segment of foundation wall, a well, and a midden feature (Atherton 2017:7). Much of the faunal assemblage from the 2014 excavations came from this midden feature (located in Units G5 and G6).

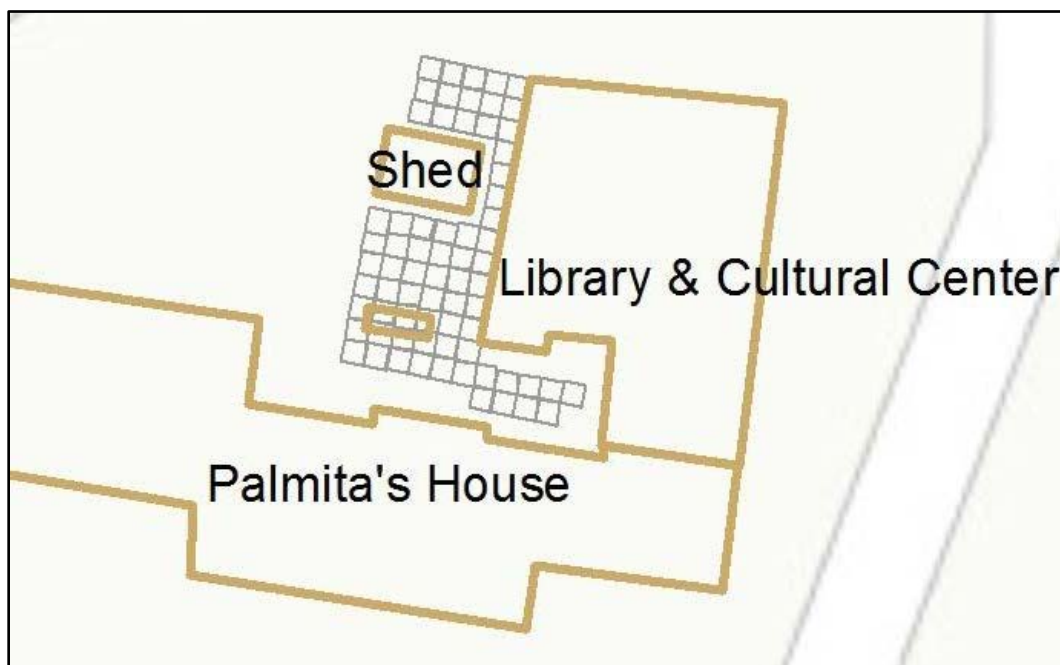


Figure 6.3. Schematic of the grid used for the 2014 Abiquiú Library excavations.

Results

Represented Domesticated Species

The species represented in all three Abiquiú loci show a range of wild and domesticated mammal and bird species (Figures 6.4, 6.5, and 6.6). Sheep and goat (*Capra hircus*, *Oves aries*, and *Caprinae*) dominate the Number of Identified Specimen (NISP) counts, followed by cattle (*Bos taurus*) and pigs (*Sus scrofa*) (Figure 6.4). Dogs (*Canis familiaris*) and cats (*Felis catus*) are present in very small quantities. One of the dog bones, a fused thoracic vertebrae found at the Abiquiú Library originated from a toy-breed size specimen (Appendix E). For ease of reading, additional lesser-identifiable mammal and artiodactyl specimens have been represented in separate graphs (Figure 6.7, 6.8, Table 6.1). These counts tend to replicate the relative

abundances of more identified NISP counts, though proportionally more small (predominantly carnivores) and large-sized animals (deer, pronghorn, and donkeys) appear to be present.

Sheep were the most numerous livestock, and their physiology was well-adapted to the New Mexican socio-political, economic, and geographic context. Especially when compared with cattle, raising sheep required much fewer financial resources and acres of pasture to raise. Sheep can consume a slightly more varied diet than cattle and are also able to cover rougher terrain. Sheep reach maturity earlier than larger stock, allowing for an accelerated return on investment. In addition to producing mutton, sheep can provide wool, even when being raised for slaughter. In his account of New Mexico in the 1840s, Josiah Gregg describes sheep as “exceedingly small, with very coarse wool, and scarcely fit for anything else than mutton, for which, indeed, they are justly celebrated... The flesh of the sheep is to the New Mexicans what that of the hog is to the people of our Western States” (1844:191).

Though they do not figure considerably into the market economy, goats are found in abundance in the Abiquiú assemblages, as elsewhere in historic-period New Mexico (Trigg 2005:102-103). When compared with cattle raising, sheep and goats share similar benefits. Like sheep, goats require less land than cattle to sustain, and cycle through their lifespan at a much faster rate (caprines reach sexual maturity in nine months, while it can take a milk cow up to twice as long to fully mature). However, as goats are browsers, able to eat from a variety of brush plants, they do not need the same quality of grass pasture as grazing sheep and cows do: “the goat...sustains itself upon the mere rubbish that grows in the mountain passes, and on the most barren hills, where cows could not exist without being regularly fed” (Gregg 1844:19). Therefore, goats provided sustenance in the form of meat and dairy to poorer people, and as such, were present in large quantities in the New Mexican landscape (Gregg 1844:19).

Taken together, the combined NISP counts of sheep, goats, and undifferentiated caprines dominate the assemblages at Abiquiú, representing 57%, 69%, and 55% of the identified meat-bearing species at Abiquiú 2, 3, and the Library, respectively (Figure 6.9). By “meat-bearing” species, I mean those species known to have been used in Native and Hispano culinary traditions, including lagomorphs, chickens, turkeys, sheep, goats, cow, bison, and deer, pronghorn, and elk (Trigg 2005).

Sheep are fairly similarly represented in their relative abundance at Abiquiú 2 and 3, indicating that the residents of the Pueblo of Abiquiú participated in the sheep economy, while also maintaining goats. Having a greater number of caprines reinforces the hypothesis that this area was used as a small orchard and animal enclosure. At the Abiquiú Library, however, there are twice as many goats as there are sheep in the assemblage. This quantity of goat suggests valuing quantity over quality, as would be the case in fiesta contexts, where one is feeding a larger crowd. Meals served in historic saloons typically feature a similar approach to quantity over quality approach (Schultz and Gust 1984).

Among introduced domesticates, almost none have more social and economic capital than cattle. As demonstrated by their repeated reference in the language of Governor Cachuín’s land grant award, possessing the land, water, and security support for cattle was symbolic of

social and economic achievement (Hennessy 1978:114). Cattle breeding was also stipulated in Philip II's Royal Ordinances of 1573 as an immediate requirement for forming new settlements, alongside planting seeds and building acequias. Cattle formed a significant aspect of the economy throughout many regions of New Spain, particularly for their hide and tallow (Dunmire 2004:154, Pavao-Zuckerman 2011b). Leather from hides provided a flexible, durable, and water-resistant material from which to construct all manner of clothing, accessories, protective coverings and equipment. Tallow, or beef fat, would be extracted from bone via by skimming fat off of bones placed in boiling water. The tallow would then be used as a food item or rendered into other materials such as candles and lubricants. Long bone elements would also be sawn longitudinally or smashed using a hammerstone to extract the rich marrow contained within them. Beef was a significant source of animal protein in early Spanish colonial sites outside of New Mexico as well, including Alta California, Arizona and Florida (Dunmire 2004:155). Spanish colonial settlers originally favored the import of cattle over caprines for economic investment in New Mexico (Trigg 2005). While the Royal Ordinances refers specifically to cattle, as colonies matured, mutton tended to replace beef as a source of animal protein. Dunmire suggests this was due to a Spanish cultural preference for mutton over beef (2004:155). Pavao-Zuckerman suggests that differences in the rates of sheep to cows in presidio vs. mission sites in Pimera Alta, Arizona were deliberate and intended to be complementary economies (2017:298, Table 11.1).

In New Mexico, the economically devastating realities of Indian raiding made cattle raising too risky an investment for most. Cattle were more expensive commodities per head, and required significantly more acreage to raise, and so were much more vulnerable to be carried off in raids than caprines (Pavao-Zuckerman 2017:303, Merrill 1994:137; Weber 1992:310). Sheep and their wool became the primary economic product for rich and poor alike. Cattle continued to be raised, including on the Abiquiú ejido and in surrounding areas, but in reduced quantities compared to caprines (Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, April 28th, 1855). Their presence on the Abiquiú landscape, and their economic value can also be discerned in probate records and bills of sale (Ayer 1909; Ayer 1908). The limited but sustained presence of *Bos* can be observed in the archaeological record at all three Abiquiú sites as well. Among the sites, Abiquiú 2 has the highest proportion of *Bos* (18% of identified species, NISP= 5). Abiquiú 3 had a slightly lower proportion of *Bos* (16% of the identified species, NISP=18). At the Abiquiú Library, *Bos* comprised only 12% of the assemblage (NISP=20). The Minimum Number of Individual (MNI) count for *Bos* at Abiquiú 2 and the Abiquiú Library is 1, while at Abiquiú 3, it is 2. At the Abiquiú Library, all anatomic regions of the skeleton (axial, forelimb, and hindlimb) are present, and, with the exception of a solitary ulnar carpal, were all found within the same midden context. At Abiquiú 2, left-sided, lower axial and forelimb elements were exclusively recovered. This suggests meat-sharing strategies existed between households across Abiquiú, particularly for taxa representing high-status meats (Waguespack 2002). At Abiquiú 3, many of the elements recovered represent lower- and non-meat yielding bones and cuts of meat, including several phalanges, and portions of the rump, shank, and hind shank.

When cattle is present in the archaeological record at Abiquiú, it is subject to more intensive processing, as demonstrated in the comparison of the overall number of butchery marks present on cow bones to all other animal species at Abiquiú, particularly if one includes Very Large Mammals and Artiodactyls in this category (Figure 6.10). The highly fragmented nature of the *Bos* and Very Large Mammal and Artiodactyla bones (largely representing long bone shafts and trabecular bone fragments) suggests that animal processing included grease and bone marrow rendering (Appendix F, Binford 1978). It stands to reason that more meat on the hoof would require an equivalent investment in the labor involved in processing that meat. The extent of the meat processing reflected in *Bos* also strongly suggests that cattle were raised primarily for their meat, rather than for their hides (Pavao-Zuckerman 2011, Smith-Linter 2007).

Like cows, horses are a large domesticated species and require considerable economic investment in their production. Beyond their meat-bearing capacities, horses occupied a unique position as a high-status animal. In Spanish culture, horses were associated with nobility, land ownership, and conquest. Horses and mules alike were useful as pack animals for travelling long distances, and for herding cattle. When introduced into their economy following the Pueblo Revolt, horses also played an integral role in the culture of nomadic tribes such as the Utes, Apache, and Comanche.

Because of their high symbolic status, there has been some controversy as to whether the consumption of horseflesh was taboo among Hispanic individuals. Favoring the food-taboo narrative, Sunseri points to two separate oral histories, where Hispano families observed, with consternation, that nomadic Indians consumed some of their horses following a raid (Archibeque, et al. 2000 and Beebe and Senkewicz 2001 in Sunseri 2007:111). Ostensibly not sharing the same food taboos as the Hispanos, Sunseri interprets the oral historical record as speaking to the perceived barbarity of the raiding Indians. Enrique LaMadrid also finds reference to the association of eating horseflesh with indigenous alterity in the verses from the folk classic *Marcelina la Cautiva*: “Marcelina the captive woman, / now she goes, now they take her/ to those famous lands/ to eat mare’s meat...” (2015:237). Aside from horses, donkeys (burros) were also present in New Mexico. These were generally employed by those who could not afford to keep a horse, though the animals were similarly useful as beasts of burden and modes of transportation (Gregg 1844:187). Ironically, donkeys seem to be much less represented in the New Mexican archaeological record, even when compared to horses, and there is no current discussion as to the use of their meat for consumption.

While the horse undoubtedly looms large in Hispano worldview, the adherence to a culturally-ascribed taboo on horsemeat is complicated by the archaeological record. There have been numerous reports of *Perissodactyla* bones (albeit unbutchered) being found in food debris (Barbour 2011:72). Butchered horse bones have even been recorded in early and middle Spanish Colonial contexts at the Palace of the Governors (Barbour 2011:72). Carrillo espouses a utilitarian interpretation of horsemeat consumption, indicating that the rule among all Hispanos was waste not, want not: “Horsemeat consumption at Hispanic sites informs us that meat was meat-- a food commodity, used by anyone who had access to it, not necessarily Genízaros

(2019:169). It remains possible that their consumption was either limited or attributed to those of indigenous and Genízaro ancestry, such as Marcelina la Cautiva, individuals who were exposed to other culinary traditions, and for whom the symbolic nature of horsemeat might not have carried so much weight. The more varied diet of such individuals was likely a source of racialized disgust, similar to the disgust shown to the diet of raiding Indians in the oral historical record, and subject to more intense scrutiny on the part of Hispanos. The racialization of foodways consumed by the larger population but attributed and vilified among the oppressed is a trend observed in other North American contexts (Franklin 2001).

The only horse bone found in the archaeological assemblage at Abiquiú was recovered from Abiquiú 2. The bone is a fragment of the proximal articulation of a humerus showing saw marks and carnivore crenellation. There is also a faint cut mark on the medial portion of the head of the humerus, which indicates efforts to disarticulate the forelimb from the rest of the carcass. The presence of the saw marks at a point of articulation of a long bone suggests that it might have been processed for grease and marrow extraction following its disarticulation. The articular surface is very porous, indicating that it was stewed. The extant portion of the element is too small to reveal any other modifications to the bone, such as might suggest defleshing for meat consumption. The bone shows moderate signs of weathering (Stage 3 on the Behrensmeyer Weathering Scale), indicating that it was left out on the ground surface for a fairly extensive period of time, which would also explain its fortuitous discovery by a canine. One might be tempted to interpret the presence of carnivore crenellation on the bone to indicate that horse carcasses were rendered down to give to pets, though it seems unlikely that anyone would go to the trouble of processing such a large animal solely for that purpose.

Though among the first species introduced during Spanish colonization, pigs do not feature heavily in the historical or archaeological record in New Mexico (Gregg 1844:191, Trigg 2005:100, Hammond and Rey 1953). The most common explanation given is that they do not fare well in the hot, dry, and high-altitude New Mexican environment (Sunseri 2018:135, Trigg 2005:101, Snow and Bowen, n.d.), though they are still present on the landscape, and New Mexico currently has a large wild hog population. Hispano colonists may have favored sheep and goats over pigs because they provided a more diverse set of animal by-products. As many Jewish people fled to New Spain after their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula, some scholars have suggested that pork might have been kept in small quantities during the early colonial New Mexico to convince the Mexican Inquisition of their true nature as Christians (Sunseri 2008:308-309, Harris 1997). As there were indeed hidden and converted Jewish settlers in New Mexico, this explanation is plausible. Still, it does not explain the enduring presence of pork in the archaeological record following the disbandment of the Mexican Inquisition in 1820. The arrival of Anglo Americans in the 19th century also likely influenced the presence of pork, as they tend to prefer the taste of pork to mutton (Gregg 1844:191) Pigs also served an important function in the Anglo domestic economies, particularly in association with whiskey distillation (Becher 2000). Unlike other domesticates, pigs are able to consume mash, a bi-product of the distillation process, as well as other domestic refuse. Upon visiting the home of Simeon Turley, the first

major Anglo entrepreneur of the Territorial Era, an English traveler noted that Turley had “innumerable” pigs at his grist mill and distillery, setting him apart from his New Mexican neighbors in more ways than one (Ruxson 1848: 203, Gonzalez 2017:179).

Sus scrofa is present in small quantities throughout the excavated sites at Abiquiú. The MNI is 1 at each site, and represent 15, 4, and 6 percent of the NISP count at Abiquiú 2, 3, and the Library, respectively. At Abiquiú 2, a vertebra, two fragments of the proximal end of a right ulna, and the proximal end of a rib, and a single tooth were recovered, indicating the consumption of a picnic cut (manitas de cerdo). Pork shoulder today is frequently added to pozole, a popular traditional soup in New Mexico made with chiles and hominy. The rib fragment and mandible implies the presence of other cuts of pork were also consumed here. At Abiquiú 3 and at the Abiquiú Library, the anatomical portions of *Sus* are focused on the forelimbs and front axial areas (Appendix F). In addition to the presence of another shoulder cut, the presence of sesamoids and a mandible indicate that pork cheek, hocks, and trotters were used, while the cut marks present on two mandibles at the Abiquiú Library indicate that pork cheek were also sought after. As the rear axial and hind limbs are not accounted for at all in any of the sites, it is likely that pigs were not being raised on site, but were rather purchased by cuts. Pork cheek, shoulder, hock, and trotters are all cheaper cuts of meat, but they provide good flavor when cooked appropriately.

Like pigs, chickens represent a small but visible portion of New Mexican faunal assemblages (Trigg 2005:100). At Abiquiú, they are only present at the Library site (Figure 6.6, MNI=1). While most of the anatomic portions of the chicken are present, the cranium and lower, post-femoral appendicular bones (i.e., chicken feet) are absent, suggesting the chicken was processed elsewhere and then consumed on site.

Represented Wild Species

Wild Artiodactyls represented in the Abiquiú archaeological record include, in order of abundance, mule deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*), pronghorn (*Antilocapra americana*), and elk (*Cervus canadensis*). Other wild species present in the assemblage include various species of Leporidae (including hares and cottontails) and Carnivora. Carnivora may include more portions of domesticated cat and dog, but may also be wild species such as bobcats, mustelids, coyote, and fox. One element of the latter (*Vulpes sp.*) was recovered from Abiquiú 3. Rodents are present at the Abiquiú Library site, including a single beaver (*Castor canadensis*) phalanx, though most of the rodents appear to be varieties of mouse, rat, and deer mouse (Appendix F).

While hunting wild species of large artiodactyla was a noble pastime in Europe, the action takes on a new meaning in the colonies. In colonial context, domesticated species brought in from Europe are symbolic of civilization, providing ties to the Old World through the exercise of their production and consumption. When practiced by Hispanos in New Mexico, the predation of wild species is not as likely to be associated with sport, as it is in Spain, but with necessity born of hardship. These attitudes are long-lasting, far beyond the initial generations of colonizers. For example, there is an account of early 19th-century Mexican soldiers in the

Territory of Texas that references their being forced to hunt buffalo and deer for food as a demonstration of the severity of their lack of provisioning (Green 1987:185). Rather than hunt, Spanish settlers in Arizona preferred to eat cheaper cuts of meat from introduced species, a meat diet practically identical to that of poorer colonists (Pavao-Zuckerman and Loren 2012).

On the other hand, the inclusion of wild species is a known occurrence in similar Spanish colonial contexts, and considered a classic characteristic of creolization and mestizaje (Pavao-Zuckerman and Reitz 2011, Reitz 2017). In Hispano New Mexican contexts such as at the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe, wild species are present in the assemblage only in trace amounts. By way of contrast, the archaeology at Pueblo conventos demonstrates that wild species, including both artiodactyls, turkeys, and lagomorphs--all sources of animal protein in pre-colonial diets, remain in the archaeological record alongside domesticates, albeit in smaller relative quantities (Trigg 2005). Additionally, some wild species of birds, such as raptors, held ritual significance to indigenous New Mexican populations (Sunseri 2009:309).

Of the sites examined, Abiquiú 2 has the least number and proportion of wild species: one Cervid innominate fragment, and one *Odocoileus* phalanx, neither of which show obvious signs of human consumption such as butcher marks (Figure 6.5 Appendix F). Both Abiquiú 3 and Abiquiú Library show greater representation of wild Artiodactyla. At Abiquiú 3, deer accounts for 11% of the identified species (MNI=1) (Figure 6.9). Aside from six proximal and distal phalanges, elements include an ulna, two ribs, a cervical vertebra, and a femur. While a cervical vertebra is present, the preponderance of appendicular portions of the deer indicate that these were disarticulated elsewhere (likely at the kill site), and then brought to Abiquiú 3. Among the elements present, a metal tool cut was observed on the mid-portion of a rib. Two chop marks were also observed at the proximal end and shaft of a left ulna. The chop marks were angled downwards, aiding in the disarticulation of the limb close to the point of fusion between ulna and radius (Appendix F). Fragments of a pronghorn tooth and a mandible were also recovered from Abiquiú 3. At the Abiquiú Library, the NISP count for deer is 11 (MNI=1), or 9% of the identified species (Figures 6.5, 6.9). In contrast to Abiquiú 3, all anatomical portions of the deer are represented, including cranial, axial, and front and hind limbs. Furthermore, these were found in the same trash midden, suggesting an entire animal was consumed at the site. Both metal and stone tools were used at the cervical and thoracic vertebrae, as well as the humerus, in order to disarticulate the deer into smaller cuts (Appendix F). The mandible and thoracic vertebra of a pronghorn are also present at the Abiquiú Library. Neither show taphonomic signatures of butchery or other human interventions. Finally, the only identified species of elk, an unmodified atlas vertebra, was recovered at the Library. Of the four specimens identified to Cervidae, three were found at Abiquiú Library while the fourth, a tooth, was recovered at Abiquiú 2 (Appendix E). However, these do not affect the MNI count or the anatomical portions of cervids recorded at these sites. Along those identified to genus and species, more cervids may be present among the lesser-identifiable large and very large mammals and artiodactyls (Figures 6.7 and 6.8). There is a possibility that bison bones are represented in these categories, or among the Bovidae counts, but none were identified to species.

Turkey and Leporidae remain the other wild species that likely found their ways into the meals of Abiquiúceños, though turkeys exist in both wild and domesticated varieties. In any case, only a single turkey bone was recovered in Abiquiú, at the Library site. Most counts of Leporidae (N=5), including *Sylvilagus* and *Lepus*, were also found at the Library site. Smaller fauna such as lagomorphs can be disarticulated without the assistance of stone or metal tools. One cannot assume, therefore, that the absence of cut marks on these species should be taken to mean they were not consumed.

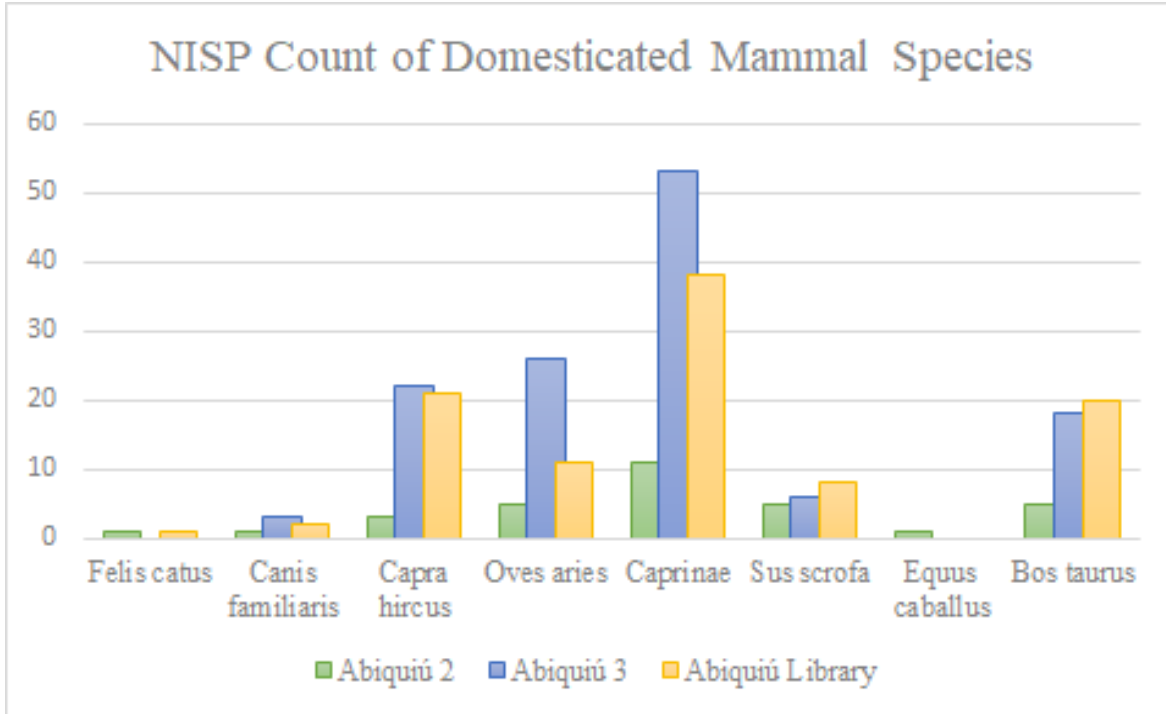


Figure 6.4.

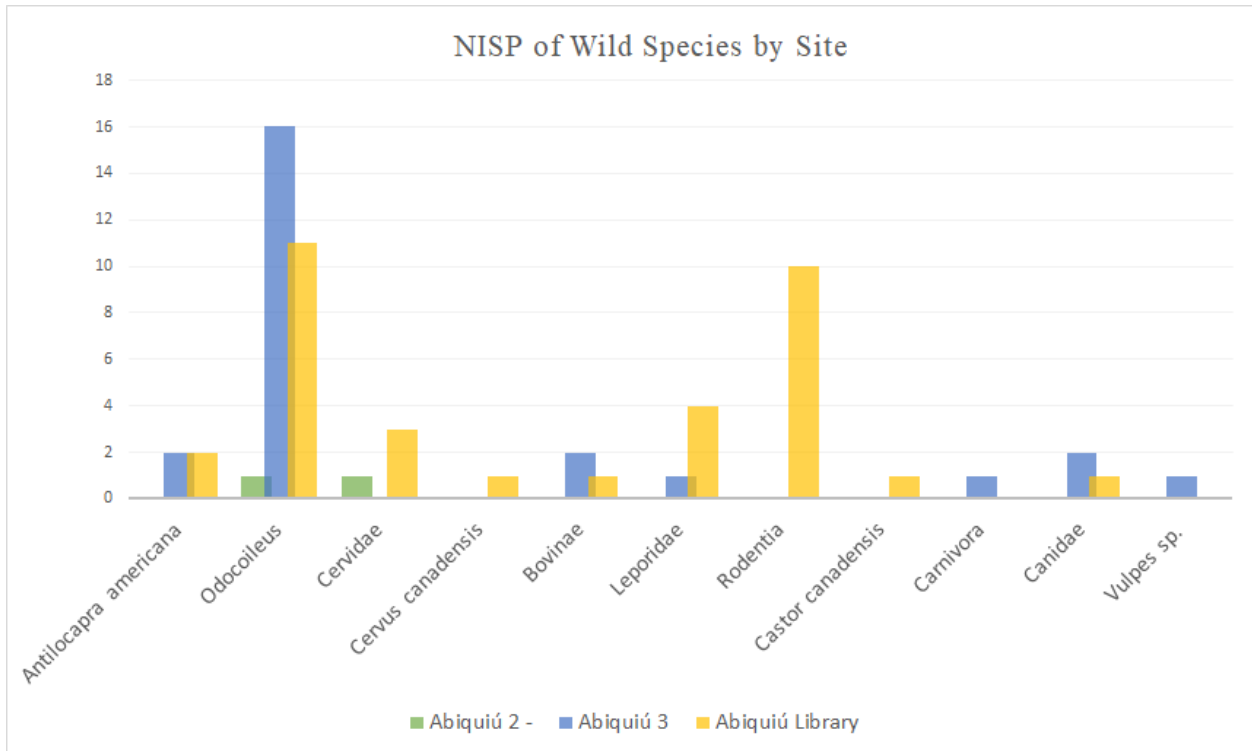


Figure 6.5.

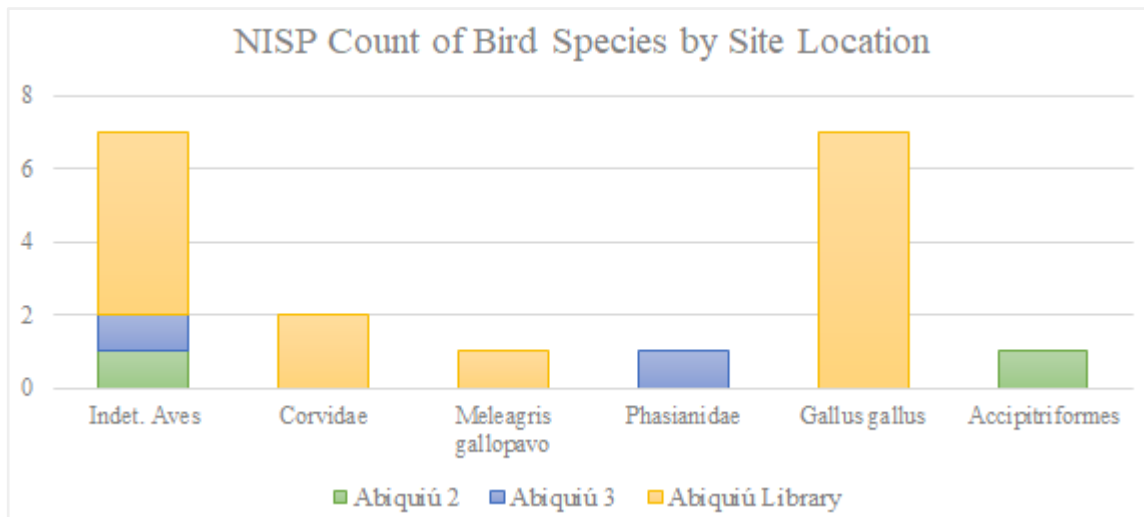


Figure 6.6.

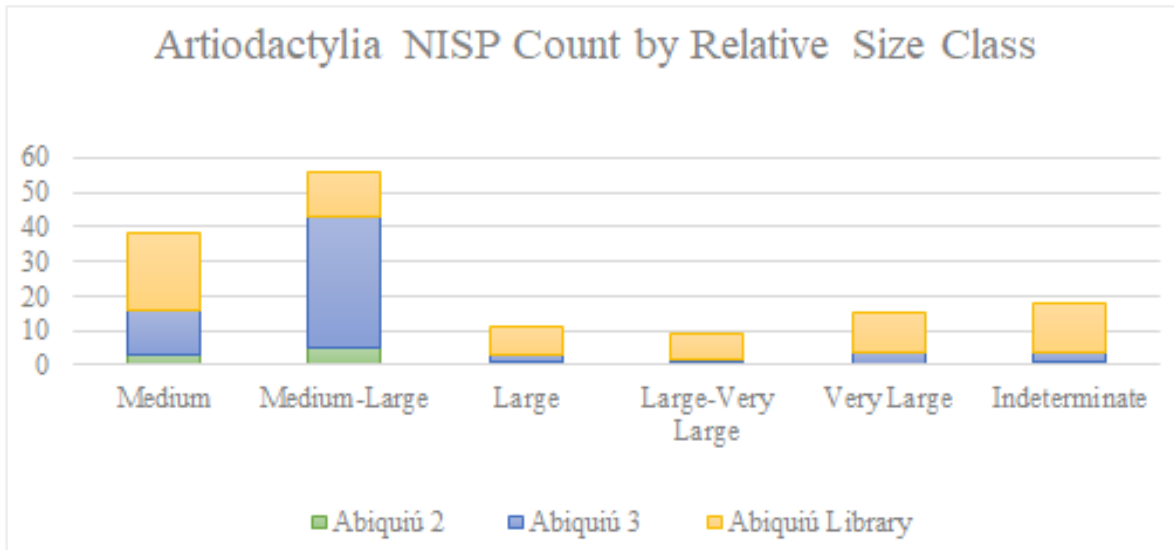


Figure 6.7.

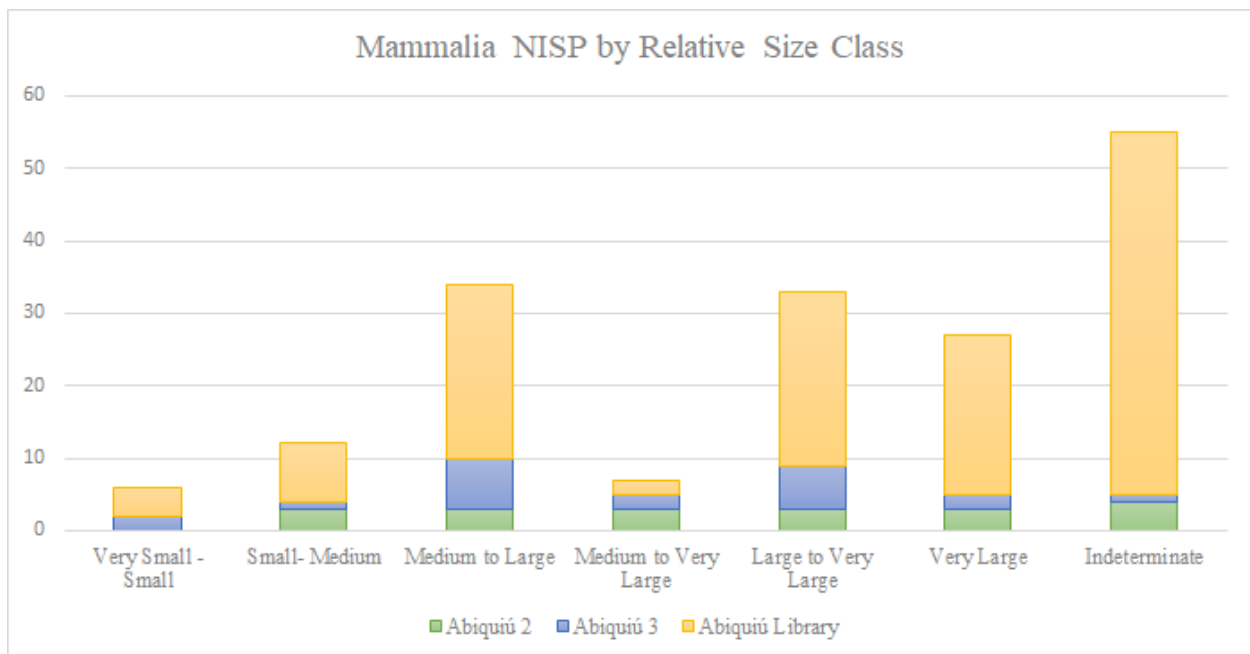


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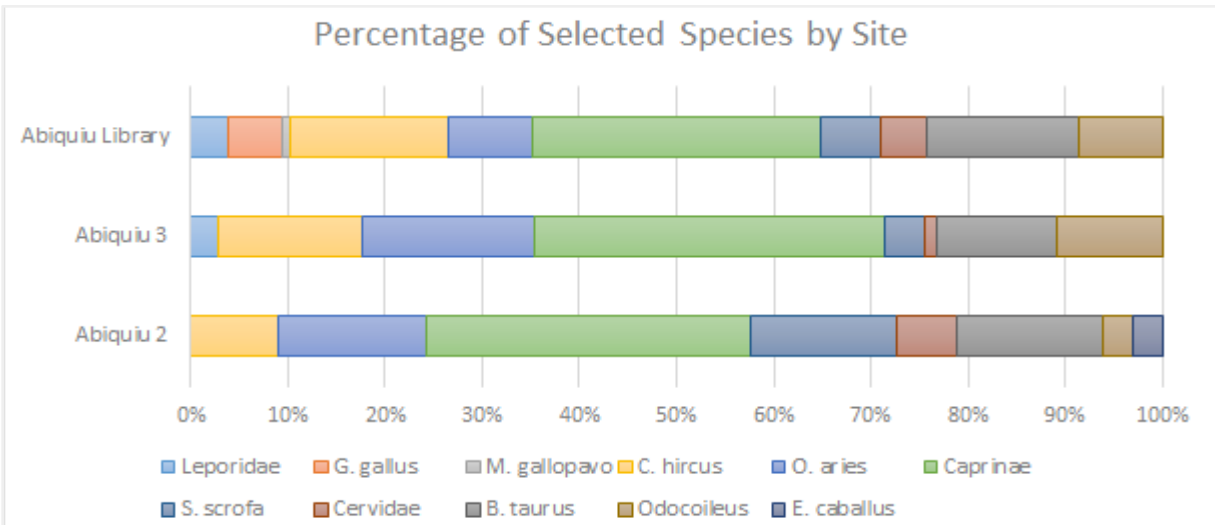


Figure 6.9

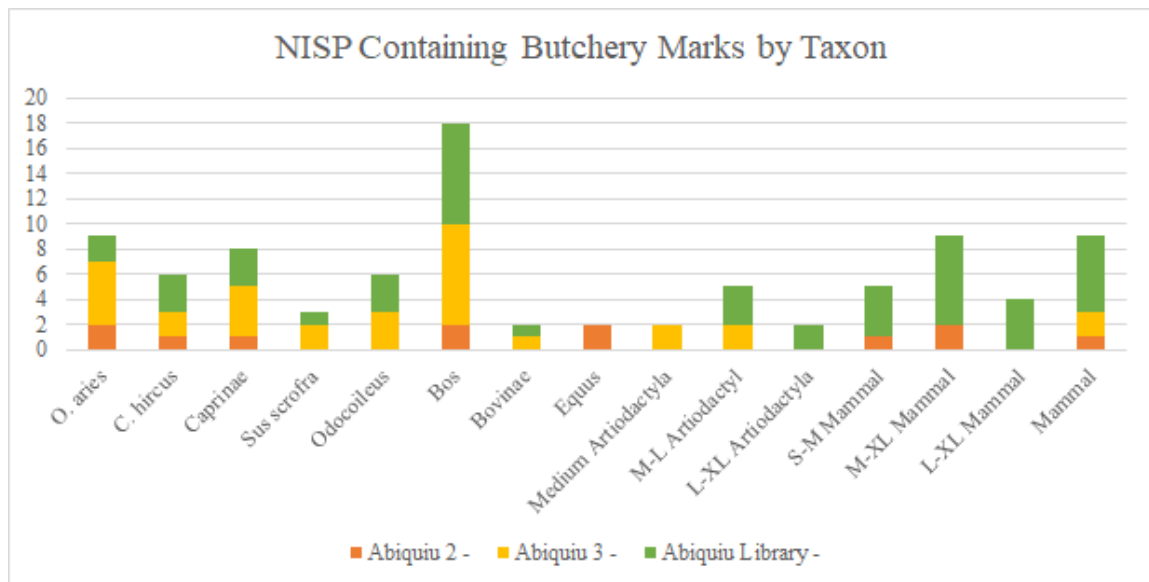


Figure 6.10.

Taphonomic Results

In the taxonomic results of this chapter, butchery practices have been distinguished by Abiquiú site and animal type. Holistically, it is important to note that the rate of butchery marks tends to increase with the size of the animal being processed (Figure 6.10). This phenomenon has been observed at other sites as well (Sunseri 2017:135). At Abiquiú, pig and deer seem to buck the trend, showing fewer cuts when compared to the smaller-sized caprines. However, when their proportionate taxonomic representation is taken into account, they do in fact tend to receive more cuts per NISP than the caprines do. Both stone and metal tools cuts have been observed in the Abiquiú assemblage, though there does not appear to be any correlation with the kind of tool used and the animal on which it was used (Appendix F). The greater degree of root etching compared to rodent gnawing and carnivore damage serves to demonstrate that most of the bone

assemblage had been disposed of by burying them alongside other trash. The downward trend of weathering stages on the bones Abiquiú Library and Abiquiú 3 likewise suggest that most discarded bones were not disposed of on the ground surface, but rather buried beneath the ground, their cortical surfaces thus spared from the damaging effects of sun, rain, and sudden temperature changes. At Abiquiú 2, however, bones tended to have more weathering damage (Stages 4 and 5). This might be explained by deposited trash being uncovered from the ground (where they were exposed to root etching), and redeposited on the ground surface, where they were then exposed to weathering.

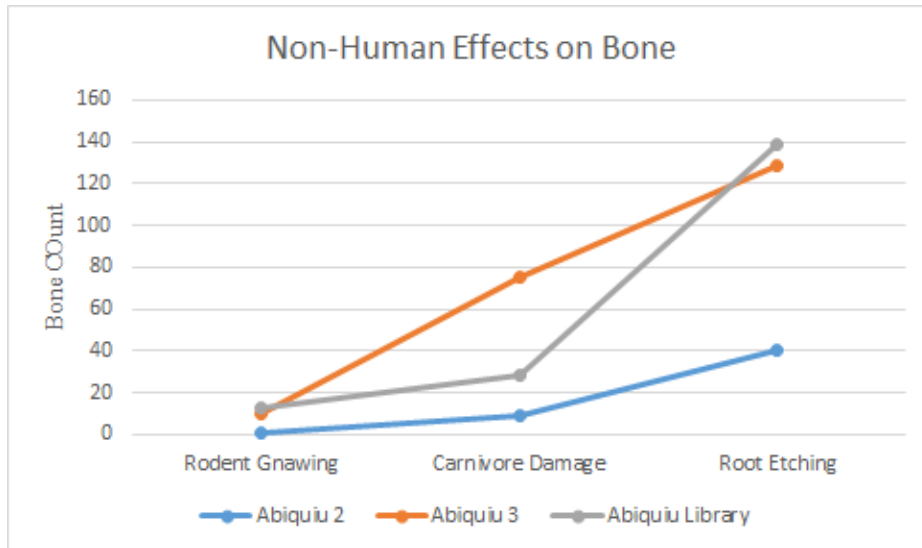


Figure 6.11.

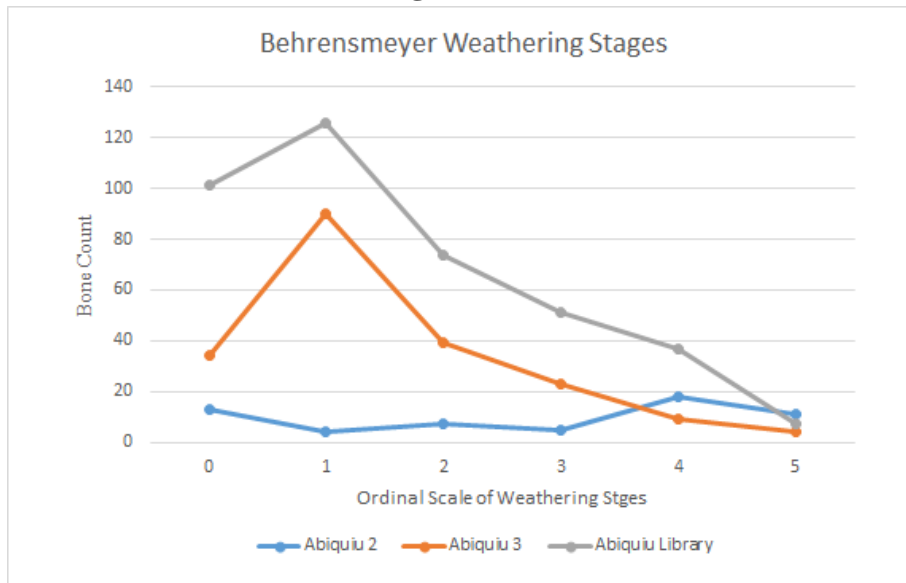


Figure 6.12.

Summary of Faunal Studies from Comparable Sites

Santa Rosa de Abiquiú (LA 6602)

Unfortunately, the artifacts previously collected from excavations at Santa Rosa de Abiquiú were destroyed in a fire, thus denying the opportunity to compare faunal data between the Hispano and Genízaro settlements at Abiquiú. Though no significant faunal analysis was accomplished prior to their destruction, Charlie Carrillo mentions some specifics in a 1979 field report. Within a 4 x 2-foot test trench at the corner of a room block representing plaza space, Carrillo reports: “In this narrow space the amount of faunal remains near the plaza surface was enormous. The fragments were larger and perhaps indicate a butchered cranium of a cow” (1980:3). Carrillo also reports scattered ash lenses in this area, which lead him to believe the area was used for food preparation. Though no real analysis can be performed with so little information, Carrillo’s observation of large quantities of *Bos* does align with the taxonomic patterning of early Spanish-Colonial Hispano settlements, which tended to favor domesticate over wild species, and cattle over sheep or goats (Trigg 2005).

Casitas Viejas

Casitas Viejas, also known as Las Casitas (LA 917) is a colonial-era Genízaro settlement located a short distance from El Rito, consisting of a fortified and mostly enclosed roomblock centered around a small plaza. As its fortifications suggest, the settlement was particularly vulnerable to attacks from nomadic tribes, which is likely why the site was eventually abandoned in favor of the larger and more strategically-situated communities of El Rito and Abiquiú. The site was excavated by Herbert Dick in the early twentieth century, though Jun Sunseri has since analyzed the faunal and ceramic data recovered from this site at the request and mandate of the local community (Sunseri 2009, 2016). The artifact assemblage of Las Casitas was retrieved from three spatially distinct loci (A, B, and C), representing middens likely associated with different households (Sunseri 2009:29).

In his faunal analysis, Sunseri discovered different taxonomic representation, tool use, meat portioning, cooking strategies, and nutrient extraction in each possible household locus. Sheep and goat comprised the majority of each locus’s faunal assemblage, though they also all contained small quantities of domesticates such as cow, and pig and wild species of deer, elk, and antelope. However, each locus was distinct from one another. Locus B, for example, contained the largest and most varied quantities of wild species, including butchered carnivores (Sunseri 2018:135). Locus A was the only midden to contain chicken while lacking the bison and horse elements present at Loci B and C. Loci A also contains a much higher proportion of appendicular skeletal elements, particularly when compared to the other two loci (Sunseri 2018:134, 149). Locus C shared some of the traits of the other loci, while having the greater proportion of deer axial elements (Sunseri 2018:150). Sunseri concludes his observations by noting that none of the three families represented at *Casitas Viejas* fit neatly within essentialized ethnic identity practice (Sunseri 2018:154). Sunseri also pushes back on the assumption made by

other scholars that the occupants of small plazuelas formed close kin relations that reinforced homogenous daily practices. He argues instead that their occupants strategically employed their knowledge of multiple cultural practices in such a way as would best assist them in their quest for their survival and self-sufficiency as individual families and as a community (2018:154).

San Miguel del Vado

San Miguel del Vado was established in 1794 as a Genízaro buffer community, one of the last established explicitly for this purpose (Gonzales 2014:592, Boyd 1971, Bustamente 1991, Horvath 1977). The community of San Miguel was predominantly Genízaro and continued to accept new Genízaro settlers once it was established. Marriage documents confirm that the Genízaros of San Miguel frequently intermarried with individuals from neighboring Pecos Pueblo (Gonzales 2014:593). In fact, the BIA field office administering to Pecos was based out of San Miguel del Vado, as many former residents of Pecos sought refuge there from repeated Comanche attacks (Levine 1999: 90, Jenks 2011:50). Thus, like Abiquiú, the community enjoyed a rich shared ethnic Genízaro/Plains-Pueblo heritage, while also maintaining close economic ties with the neighboring nomadic Indian tribes, in this case, the Comanche (Gonzales 2014:594). Like Abiquiú, it continues to function as a community land grant, with its own self-governing Merced board.

For her dissertation project, Kelly Jenks excavated the “Territorial House,” a large adobe roomblock at San Miguel that was originally a residence for an extended local family. Dendrochronological studies show the lumber used for the house to date between the early 1820s (following the establishment of the Santa Fe Trail) to the mid-1900s (Jenks 2011:50). Sections of this house also functioned as a saloon and dancehall until 1920, when it was converted into a general store following Prohibition (Boyd 1971:24; Jenks 2011:114).

Jenks received permission from the landowner of the Territorial House to excavate 21 1-by-1 meter test units within its enclosed yard and immediately east of the house, adjacent to the Santa Fe Trail (2011:161). 95% percent of the units were screened through ¼ inch mesh, while the remaining 5% were screened using a ⅛ inch mesh (Jenks 2011: 163). Nine units were placed along the walls and interiors of two former residential units, while the remainder were placed in the yard. The faunal assemblage from this excavation was analyzed by Rachel Diaz de Valdez using the Stanley J. Olsen Laboratory of Zooarchaeology at the Arizona State Museum (Jenks 2011:180). When unable to sort bones beyond Mammalia, Diaz de Valdez sorted them into one of four size categories, very small, small, medium, and large. The large category applied to any specimen equal to or larger than a deer (including horses, cows, and bison).

The faunal assemblage from the Territorial House consists of sucker (fish), turkey, chicken, raven, pocket mouse, domestic dog, mule deer, bison, pig, elk, cow, and caprines (Jenks 2011:203). Horse bones were not present. Most of the identified bones were caprine in origin, followed by cow, with minimal counts of pig. It is likely that the pork was purchased in portions from a non-local butcher, rather than being raised and consumed whole on site (Jenks 2011:356). None of the faunal bone exhibited gnaw marks, which suggests the bones were rapidly disposed

of following consumption. Of the identified bones, 22 showed signs of either manual or industrial saw marks ($n = 7$) and cut marks ($n = 15$). All recorded saw marks were observed on cow bones, while cut marks were observed on the bones of cows and caprines. Jenks remarks that “the distribution of cow, caprine, and pig bone elements include most or all portions of the body, suggesting that these animals were butchered on site,” though she also observes a preponderance of cow ribs and forequarters, which she interprets as stew cuts (2011:204). Interestingly, the rib and vertebra were the elements most commonly observed in the undomesticated species of elk and deer. Jenks suggests that is evidence that the specimens were killed and butchered elsewhere (2011:204). However, such axial elements are not the carcass portions typically taken from kill sites, as they require additional processing to be portioned out. Fore and hindquarters are far easier to separate from the carcass and carry out. This suggests a meat-sharing strategy employed for these wild cervids, as the appendicular portions of the animals were likely also brought back to San Miguel and shared with another family.

San José de las Huertas

San José de las Huertas is located at the northern end of the Sandia Mountains. The community grant was formerly established in 1767 and awarded to 21 families by Governor Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta (Atherton 2008:34). Though some of its occupants were of mixed ancestry (primarily Mestizos and Genízaros), both ecclesiastical and civil census of the era describes most of the residents as españoles (Atherton and Rothchild 2008:256). Like Abiquiú and San Miguel del Vado, San Jose de las Huertas functioned as a buffer community for Albuquerque. Its tactical resources were not limited to its location, as in addition to their subsistence farming, the community was also responsible for supplying the Spanish colonial government with lead for the production of ammunition (Atherton and Rothchild 2008:254). The newly-established Mexican government ordered the abandonment of San Jose de las Huertas and other buffer communities in the shadow of the Sandias in 1823 in response to a surge of nomadic Indian hostilities in the area, giving a relatively short and discrete period of occupation for the site. The site remained largely unoccupied, though the neighboring settlement of Placitas was eventually established in its stead, and has now grown to become a suburb of Albuquerque.

A contingent of scholars from Columbia University (PI: Nan Rothschild) conducted multiple surveys and excavations at San Jose between 1999 and 2004, with the approval of the current landowner, the Archaeological Conservancy. A pedestrian survey conducted within the area surrounded by the extant boundary wall recorded 8-10 structures visible on the surface within a 3.5-acre area. Unlike Abiquiú, there is no evidence that San Jose was built over a pre-European contact settlement (Atherton and Rothschild 2008:42). The excavation strategy focused on sampling eleven different locations across the entirety of the settlement and placed over anomalies detected during prior geophysical surveys (Atherton 2008:74). 101 1-by-1 meter units were excavated over the course of three field seasons using 10 cm arbitrary levels screened through $\frac{1}{4}$ in mesh. According to Atherton, “unearthed features included portions of four houses,

the trenching of two interior walls, two trash-filled pits, a cart road, a section of plaza surface, and a corral that was once a smelting feature” (2008:75).

The artifact assemblage showed evidence that lead production did indeed occur at San Jose, though most of it spoke to a distinctly local economy (Atherton and Rothchild 2008: 255). Despite evidence of slag (a by-product of metallurgy), no metal artifacts were found. Instead, lithic materials such as blades and groundstones were used. Likewise, most of the ceramics recovered from the sites were produced locally, though no less than seven different types of majolicas were recovered, indicating some cultural and economic ties with Spanish colonial centers of power (Atherton and Rothchild 2008:59).

Despite the extent of data recovery efforts at San Jose de las Huertas, only 513 faunal specimens were collected (Atherton 2008:233). The low presence of Rodentia and Aves (1.3% total) in the assemblage is likely attributable to the larger, 1/4 inch mesh used for screening artifacts, compared to the 1/8 and 1/16 inch mesh used at Abiquiú. The majority of the faunal assemblage (55%) was recovered from a 15 square-meter unit area (“Area 8”) representing a one, possibly two-room residence with a ramada (Atherton 2008:87). Area 1, interpreted as a house, provided the second-most abundant source of faunal material (13.6% of all fauna recovered from San Jose). At least one member of the descendant community suggested the area “resembled the outdoor space in which one might have ‘tied up your goats’” (Atherton 2008:99).

The faunal identification and analysis were conducted by Phoebe Anderson of the University of Washington under the supervision of Professor Donald Grayson (Atherton 2008:231). Unfortunately, Anderson did not have sufficient comparatives at her disposal to distinguish between sheep and goat or between cattle and bison. To improve the taxonomic resolution, the Maxwell Museum at the University of New Mexico loaned the faunal assemblage from the site to the author for the purposes of reanalyzing the Las Huertas faunal assemblage (Appendix F). This analysis focused on taxonomic identification, and resulted in the identification of dozens of specimens, particularly sheep, goat, and deer (Figure 6.13).

Just over 50% of the total faunal assemblage could be identified as Capridae (sheep or goat), while the Bos/Bison category accounted for 20% of the assemblage on average. The ratio of caprine skeletal elements roughly corroborates with their representation in the bone (i.e., ribs, teeth, and metapodials occur most frequently), suggesting that these were butchered for local domestic consumption (Atherton 2008:233). The mortality profile and detection of only 12 unfused elements (i.e. of juvenile origin) suggest that most of the livestock were raised into adulthood. This gives support to Atherton’s speculation that more goats were raised at San Jose de las Huertas than sheep, and that these goats were likely raised for their milk (Atherton 2008:236). My analysis of the San Jose assemblage confirmed that, as at Abiquiú, goat bones were present at San Jose at greater rates than sheep. However, there may be a discrepancy between the numbers of sheep that were actually present on the landscape and their representation in the faunal record, as sheep were raised to be sold on the hoof, while goats were usually kept for local consumption. In any case, the preponderance of goats in household

maddens confirms that these were consumed in greater quantities than sheep in land grant communities.

Bone cut analysis indicates that “maces, cleavers, or knives (either of stone or of metal)” were used to butcher meat, while saw marks were absent (2008:243). Both pig and equine (horse or mule) are almost entirely absent from San Jose de las Huertas. Though deer is present in the assemblage, identified either as large-sized Artiodactyla or *Odocoileus hemionus*, antlers were the only element present (Atherton 2008:240). This suggests a primarily non-alimentary use of deer, which Atherton notes is a pattern of usage found in the Spanish Colonial component of the La Puente site near Abiquiú (Moore et al. 2004:87).

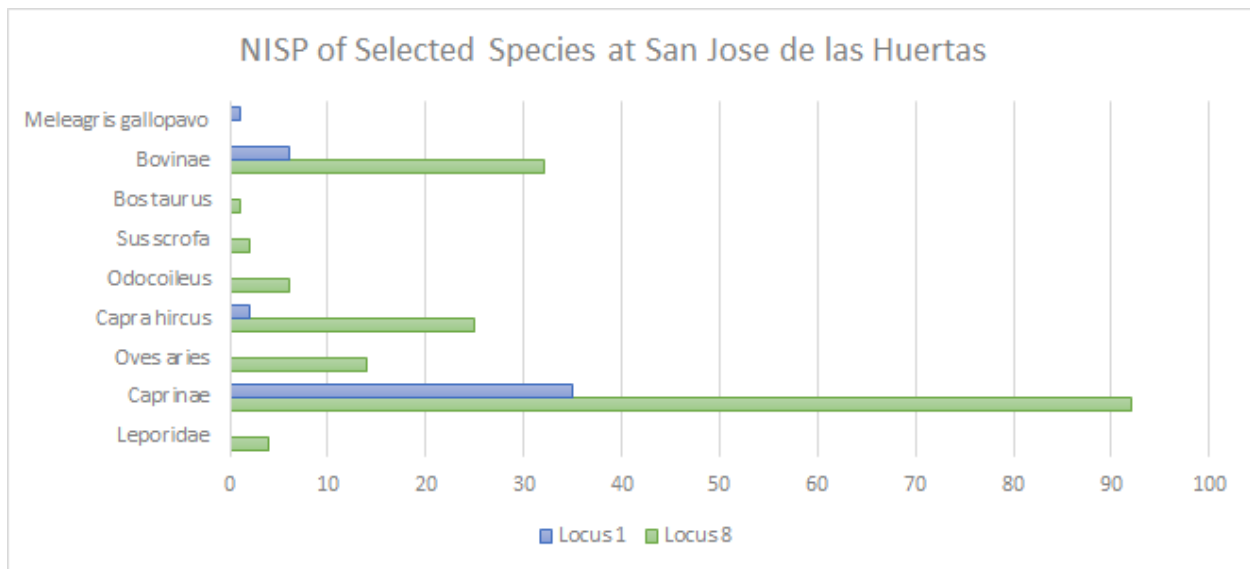


Figure 6.13.

Discussion and Conclusions:

Studying and comparing the faunal assemblages of Genízaro and Indo-Hispano contexts allows us a greater understanding of the regionally, historically, and socially contingent nature of foodways in New Mexico. At Casitas Viejas, for example, being the earliest site discussed in this chapter has perhaps the most inter-site variation of foodways. While still maintaining broad ratios of domestic vs. wild species we have observed throughout (i.e., caprine dominant), the nature of the Casitas Viejas loci as family-specific middens allows us to examine individualized assemblage. Sunseri demonstrates a great diversity of food preparation and consumption practices within these loci. Given the early time frame of the site, and the fairly ephemeral nature of the settlement, one can discern the contingent nature of Genízaro settlements, as it was most likely composed of diverse individuals for whom detribalization and captivity were a very recent memory.

The Territorial House at San Miguel del Vado most closely resembles Abiquiú in terms of the occupational dates represented in the faunal record and as a Genízaro community land grant established in the late 18th-century. Admittedly, Jenks provides little detail on the faunal assemblage of the site, though the overall patterning of domestic and wild species appears to be similar across the two sites, including the favoring of goats over sheep in the local diet. As in Abiquiú, sheep, goats and cows are the most abundant species at San Miguel. However, pigs are more numerous there than in Abiquiú, where deer is the fourth most abundant species. Deer, along with elk, are also present at San Miguel, though in presumably smaller quantities. Another distinction between San Miguel and Abiquiú is the presence of suckerfish for the local stream. While the Abiquiú assemblages did not feature any fish varieties, despite also being close to a creek, two freshwater snail shells were found at the Abiquiú Library site, indicating the freshwater resources were used in some capacity at both locales.

Finally, the faunal assemblage at San Jose de las Huertas is most divergent from the other Genízaro communities described in this chapter. San Jose is notable for the sheer relative abundance of caprines, representing no less than 76% of the identified species, and the complete absence of meat-yielding deer bones or the presence of any other cervid. Other wild species such as turkey and lagomorphs are present in trace amounts. In other words, San Jose de las Huertas more closely approximates the foodways recorded at Hispano sites than Genízaro ones. This may not be surprising, as while it may have functioned as a buffer settlement for Abiquiú, the land grant was not awarded with the intention of granting lands to Genízaros, specifically. Rather, most are listed as españoles. Thus both the historical and the archaeological record support the characterization of the site as Hispano.

Unity in Diversity

The Abiquiú sites show variety in animal consumption practices, which reflect both differential activity patterning and culturally-informed food choices. Abiquiú 2 is associated with a single residential roomblock at some distance away from the Abiquiú plaza, and would thus reflect the food choices of a single household. This household consumed roughly the same species as found elsewhere on site, though at different rates. Beef and pork were enjoyed here in greater quantities, perhaps reflecting the growing influence of Anglo-informed foodways in the Territorial period. Among the three sites, Abiquiú 2 has the smallest ratio of wild species, with its inhabitants consuming only about two-thirds of the amount of cervids. Likewise, other wild menu items such as rabbits are missing, so too are chickens and turkeys. Their absence at the site may be in part due to the small sample size, although it is also important to note that Abiquiú 2 is the only site where a horse bone was located. Thus the small sample size here does not entirely preclude the recovery of rarer species.

Of the three sites, Abiquiú 3 held the largest and densest yield of artifacts. This density suggests the area may also have been used as a borrow pit, rather than smaller amounts of debris that would collect around the perimeters of adobe houses (Figure 6.2.). Borrow pits occur when large amounts of clay taken out of the soil as used for construction was eventually replaced with

trash debris (Sunseri 2009:28). Caprines are the most abundant species present at the site, sheep in particular. Perhaps owing to its convenient location as an open space within a stone's throw from the market space of the Abiquiú Plaza, Abiquiú 3 may have functioned as an area where sheep and goats were corralled and dispatched. Abiquiú 3 has the least diversity of taxa and the lowest proportions of other domesticates such as pig and cow. The portions of the cow present on site are largely of low-to-non meat-yielding varieties, suggesting either the household could only afford to consume the least expensive cuts of beef. Wild species are still represented, however, in the form of rabbits and cervids, which are present in nearly the same proportion as the Abiquiú Library site. However, only certain cuts of cervid are present at Abiquiú 3, suggesting the cervids were dispatched and brought in from elsewhere

The Abiquiú Library site features a diversity of animal species and meat cuts befitting a fiesta-oriented space. Species not present elsewhere at Abiquiú are present here, including elk, hares, chicken and turkey. While cows, deer, and pigs are present elsewhere, complete anatomical portions for these species are present and in the same midden contexts, where elsewhere only certain cuts are represented. This suggests that whole animals were consumed by a large number of people over the course of a single event. The greater number of goats over sheep and the higher quantities of small meat-bearing animals such as poultry and hares suggests the accomodation of a large number of people. These animals may even have been brought over as hospitality of guests by those coming from afar to attend the celebration. The representation of wild species, in particular, speaks to the fact that the Genízaro fiesta of Santo Tomás would be attended by those of all ethnic backgrounds, but especially neighboring Pueblo and Ute tribes. At this fiesta in particular, one sees diverse foods being brought to the table, each providing according to their tastes and means, and each reflecting the unity and diversity of the Genízaro residents of Abiquiú.

Many scholars argued that Hispano settlements, including those with predominantly Genízaro inhabitants, became increasingly culturally homogenized under the banner of a vecino corporate identity. However, Genízaro sites are, in fact, different from other colonial New Mexican sites in their faunal assemblages because they tend to have more wild species. The greater representation of wild fauna can speak to many aspects of Genízaro culture. Wild species can supplement the amount of animal protein provided by domesticates, without the same prerequisite investment of resources. Therefore, it seems logical that the inhabitants of frontier settlements would take advantage of these natural resources, particularly when their livestock would be taken from them during raids. However, in the racialized, colonial environment of New Mexico, the consumption of native species among Hispanos was looked down upon. Hispanos instead favored animals of European origin, which they consumed even when resources were strained as a means of maintaining their association with Spain and the status afforded by that association. Genízaros, on the other hand, while adhering to the pastoral requirements of their land grant under Spanish law, may not have had the same deeply-held affinities to domesticated animals and their symbolic ties to Spain. The higher quantities of wild fauna in fiesta contexts speak to the close relationships Genízaros maintained with outlying tribes through social

relations and exchange. Drawing from multiple sources of knowledge and tradition, Genízaros were able to take advantage of the natural resources available to them in their endeavor to survive and thrive in a socially, politically, and ecologically challenging environment.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

In this moment of resurgent Genízaro consciousness, this dissertation has aimed at answering the question of “who were the Genízaro Indians?” by considering their historical trajectory in the realm of ethnic and racial discourse in New Mexico between the late 18th and early 20th centuries. To a large extent, the means of documentary and archaeological research employed to support this aim have largely complemented each other. Despite decades of scholarship suggesting otherwise, there is a considerable lack of historical evidence to support the notion of an emergent vecino identity among the diverse New Mexican population. In contrast, the examination of historic newspapers and the autobiographical accounts of Genízaro individuals support the notion that individuals continued to identify and be identified as Genízaro from their emergence in the 18th century through to the present day.

Spanish-language newspaper records demonstrate that when referring to themselves and their readers, the preferred terms were “*hispano-americanos*,” or “*del pueblo hispano-americano*.” When referring to New Mexicans collectively, the term “*Neo-Americano/a*” was used. The word “*vecino*” is not used to identify people on an ethnic or socio-economic basis. Rather, the term is used most often to refer to a neighbor, whether referring to a person’s actual neighbor, or when used as collective pronouns, such as the “*vecindad de los Estados Unidos*” (*El Nuevo Mexicano*, September 18, 1919). In contrast, newspapers employed “Genízaro” to refer to specific individuals in a way that was both overtly racial and uniquely New Mexican.

In the historical record, “vecino” was at times used in censuses, particularly by Franciscan friars, to identify individuals living outside of a particular settlement who were tithes-paying members of a specific church. Almost by default, this designates that these individual had land-owning status (Ebright 2016:66, Ross 1996:744). Meanwhile, Frances Levine observed that the term “Genízaro” would be applied by Franciscans to any long-term resident of Genízaro Pueblos such as Abiquiu and Belen, be they of Puebloan, mestizo, or even non-Indian descent (Levine 1999: 92). Though one may speak of a “vecino” of a certain place, and those places may indeed be composed of genetically-diverse occupants, it does not follow that previously-existing racial and ethnic identities should lose their meaning or significance in the New Mexican social, cultural and political landscape. Moreover, ignoring the lived experiences of Genízaros, past and present, and arguing that they are indistinguishable from the rest of the Hispano population is a form of historical erasure that is harmful to the wellbeing of the contemporary Genízaro community.

The distinctiveness of Genízaro lifeways is reflected in the archaeological record at Genízaro communities, in a manner distinct from those observed in Hispano settlements. My analysis of the faunal data from multiple sites within the Pueblo de Abiquiu and corroborating data from other Genízaro settlements reflect the diverse cultural backgrounds of their occupants. More specifically, foodways in Genízaro settlements demonstrates the fact that Genízaros were active participants in the New Mexican pastoral economy, which was dominated by sheep and goats, and to a lesser extent, pigs and cattle. Along with residential architectural planning and

irrigation systems, Genízaros receiving communal land grants had to adhere to Spanish colonial laws requiring the cultivation of introduced domesticated plants and animals in order to keep their land. Beyond these mandates, however, the archaeological record affirms the fact that Genízaros were willing and able to supplement their diet of colonized foods with wild species of lagomorphs and artiodactyls such as deer, antelope, and elk to a far greater extent than their Hispano neighbors. The skills and knowledge to procure and prepare these wild species for consumption can be traced back both to the close ties Genízaros shared with other Native communities, many times bound to their via kinship, and to the indigenous traditions passed down through generations of Genízaros. When compared to other colonial New Mexican sites, the greater number and variety of wild species in Genízaros sites suggest a continued, close relationship with outlying tribes that probably signifies continued exchange and social relations. While at the household scale, one might see a high degree of variation in foodways that reflect a range of choices informed by economic circumstance, religious beliefs, and cultural mores. As such it is impossible to determine a distinctly Genízaro faunal signature via the characterization of a particular combination of animal species. However, looking at the bigger picture, the presence of larger quantities of wild species within a faunal assemblage largely dominated by domesticated animals encapsulates the attitudes, tastes, and values that inform Genízaro foodways.

Different waves of colonization in New Mexico's more recent history each had a profound impact on the political, cultural, and economic organization and delineation of ethnic boundaries. The demand for cheap labor and the evangelical justification of forced labor that arose with the arrival of Spanish colonists produced a large population of displaced Indians to the region. The *casta* system introduced by the Spanish colonial establishment ensured that those of indigenous origins faced considerable structural impediments to social and economic advancement even as it provided Genízaros an opportunity for land ownership in buffer communities under a legally-protected status. The onslaught of Anglo-American expansion brought an additional layer of racial ideology and social and economic capital. Some wealthy Hispano individuals such as J.M.C. Chavez and Thomas Gonzales were able to leverage their wealth and influence and partner with Anglo fortune-seekers, while those with an already tenuous economic standing faced the realities of downward social and economic mobility, from erstwhile heirs of a communal land-grant to *partideros* supposedly unworthy of American citizenship. The rapidly growing influence of Anglo-Americans, and the racial ideologies brought with them during the Territorial Period lead some to stress their Hispano heritage rather than be lumped together with those of indigenous heritage and summarily dismissed as "Mexicans" and "half-breeds." Those of Genízaro heritage, unable or unwilling to pass as Hispano, had to navigate those racial tensions in such a way as to require the suppression of outward manifestations of their indigenous heritage for their own survival.

In the midst of the harsh realities of colonial entanglements, the strength of Abiquiu population lay in their ability to maintain their integrity as a Genízaro land grant community despite a seemingly never-ending sequence of existential threats. Historically, those threats took

the form of deadly Indian raids, followed by land theft by Hispanos that intensified with Anglo American speculations. At present, rural gentrification (another form of land speculation) has raised property taxes considerably, once again threatening the displacement of the community from their land. Water rights disputes jeopardize the future of livestock farming, while poverty and gang-related crime imperil the youth of the community in particular. All the while, Genízaro land grant communities are not recognized by the US Government. Rather than ignore these historical and contemporary realities, scholars should work in tandem with communities to ensure mutually-beneficial research projects that benefit from and respect the sovereignty Genízaro communities have over their own heritage.

To that end, this project has benefited immensely from the direction and oversight of the Genízaro community of Abiquiú, who alone can state what is truly beneficial to them. As with other iterations of the Berkeley-Abiquiu Collaborative Archaeology, this dissertation project provided a venue for the Abiquiu community to actively participate in the production and interpretation of archaeological data to which they are culturally affiliated. For members of the Abiquiu youth especially, the field school provided not only a professional skill set but also a means of engaging in direct contact with the material culture of their ancestors in a way intended to strengthen inter-generational community ties and nurture a sense of pride in their rich heritage. Following the completion of sorting, cataloging, and in the case of the faunal material, standard lab analysis, the artifacts recovered from the 2014 and 2016 field seasons were returned to the Abiquiu. They are being stored under the supervision of the Abiquiu Library and Cultural Center.

The regular reporting of our progress to the Merced Board and the Abiquiu community at large provided an opportunity to have those discussions. They also offered an opportunity for us to experience a continued assurance that our work was affirmed and welcomed by them, which meant the world to me, and gave me the encouragement I needed to see this project to the end. As indigenous and other marginalized groups become increasingly empowered to shape their own narratives, the future of archaeology lies in the ability of archaeologists to respect and support them in this endeavor for the mutual benefit of those communities and of the field to provide more and better lines of evidence in support of itself. Building on an oft-repeated quote about the discipline: archaeology is accountable or it is nothing. In the meantime, the Genízaro people of the Pueblo of Abiquiu are alive and well.

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Appendix A: References to Genízaros in Historic Newspapers Published in the United States and its Territories

Year	Date	Origin	Newspaper	Context	Text	Translation
1871	Nov 4	Las Vegas, NM	<u>El Independiente</u>	Turkish Janissaries	Esta persecucion odiosa y vergonzosa instituida unicamente para que los fiscales ganáran sus propinas, adquirió desde un principio proporciones gigantescas bajo algunos fiscales que querian enriquecerse á toda costa y que con ese fin inauguraron una persecucion tan ilegal y tan arbitraria que dejó muy atrás á las persecuciones de los sátrapas de la Persia y de los jenízaros del sultan de la Turquía.	This hateful and shameful persecution instituted only for prosecutors to earn their tips, has acquired gigantic proportions from the outset, under some prosecutors who wanted to enrich themselves at all costs, and who for that purpose inaugurated a persecution so illegal and so arbitrary that it surpasses those of the satraps of Persia and the Janissaries of the Sultan of Turkey
1897	Sep 23	Las Vegas, NM	<u>El Independiente</u>	Militia	La guardia pretoriana que tenia su nucleo y ser en la capital de Nuevo Mexico durante la última administración territorial, se va transformando y lleva traza de convertirse, con el tiempo, en un cuerpo cívico y patriótico verdaderamente útil á la paz y tranquilidad de este Territorio. El actual gobernador, el Hon. M. A. Otero manifiesta grandísimo interés en la reorganización de esta guardia,	The national guard that had its core in the capital of New Mexico during the last administration, is being transformed and is aiming to turn, in time, into a civic and patriotic body truly useful to the peace and tranquility of this Territory. The current governor, the Honorable, MA Otero, manifests a great deal of intent in the reorganization of this

					<p>y ha adoptado una política progresista é imparcial que á las claras hace patente su deseo de que la guardia nacional sea un cuerpo de ciudadanos dispuestos á sostener las leyes y á defender el suelo neomexicano cuando fuere necesario, y no una organización de genízaros reunidos para atemorizar á la gente pacífica y hacer más absoluto el dominio del ejecutivo.</p>	<p>guard, and has adopted a progressive and impartial policy that makes clear his desire that the national guard be a body of citizens willing to uphold the laws and to defend the neomexican soil when it is necessary, and not an organization of Janissaries gathered to frighten the peaceful people and make executive rule more absolute.</p>
1897	May 22	Las Vegas, NM	<u>El Independiente</u>	Turkish Janissaries	<p>La patria de Solón y Licurgo, de Arístides y Leonidas, de Aristóteles y Homero, ha sucumbido ante los rudos mandobles de los jenízaros del Sultán de Turquía, que han puesto en fuga á los ejércitos griegos y se han apoderado de gran porción del territorio de la Grecia.</p>	<p>The homeland of Solon and Lycurgus, of Aristides and Leonidas, of Aristotle and Homer, has succumbed to the brutish attacks of the janissaries of the Sultan of Turkey, who have put the Greek armies to flight and have seized a large portion of the territory of Greece</p>
1902	May 17	Albuquerque, NM	<u>The Albuquerque Daily Citizen</u>	Historical Reference	<p>At this time a number of genizaros (mixed blood) families lived at Belen and Tome, and were looked down upon by the pure bloods of Spain, or Albuquerque and other parts.</p>	N/A

1906	Oct 23	Lincoln, NM	<u>El Farol</u>	Racial Epithet	<p>"Tambien estaba promiente en esa delegacion del precinto No. 1 un individuo - un torcido disfraz de la varonilidad - quien despues de haber cometido varias ofensas mezquinas cuales fueron sobre llevados por la gente de su pueblo, fue al fin aprehendido por descalamiento, juzgado y sentenciado á la penitenciaria. Fue indultado, nadie sabe por que razon, y no mas unos cuantos dias antes de esta asi, llamada convencion, se puso de registro por el despreciable crimen de plagar á su muger." "Estos son dos de los sujetos que en gran médida son responsables por el personal del genízaro boleta ahora ante los votantes, y quienes tienen el desvergonzado descaro de proclamar á hombres fuera del partido porque no se someten voluntariamente, como perros asotados, al dominio."</p> <p>"Republicanos del condado de Lincoln, como van hacer?" Lo antecedente es una traduccion, el mas correcto posible por el que lo hizo, del articulo que apareció en el papel mencionado, en su salida del dia 18 del corriente. El que lo escribio es el actual superintendente</p>	<p>"There was also an interest in that delegation of the precinct No. 1, an individual - a twisted disguise of manliness - who after having committed several petty offenses on the people of his town, was finally apprehended for being shamed, tried and sentenced to the penitentiary (note: penitentiary is synonym for prison). He was pardoned, no one knows for what reason, and no more a few days before this, called a convention, he registered himself for the despicable crime of plaguing his wife. "These are two of the subjects that in great measure are responsible for the personnel of the Genízaro ticket now before the voters, and who have the shameless nerve of complaining to the men outside of the party for not voluntarily submitting, like beaten dogs, to the dominion." "Republicans of Lincoln County, what are you to do?" The foregoing is a translation, the most correct possible by the one who did it, of the article that appeared in the mentioned paper, in its exit</p>
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				de escuelas del condado y se jacta de republicano.	of the 18th day of the current. The one who wrote it is the current superintendent of schools in the county and boasts of being a Republican.	
1909	Jun 11	Taos, NM	<u>La Revisita de Taos</u>	Racial Epithet	<p>...triste condicon para esas pobres jovenes, que pudiendo ser señoritas respetables y atrayentas, debio a sus costumbres habituales y a su modo de ser, no podran alcanzar jamas situacion mejor a la que podrian alcanzar con ua educacion practica y de buenas maneras y al fin tienen que embarcarse con cualquier jenízaro porque un hombre de algún mérito e ilustración, no importa cuan hermosa cara tenga una joven, huye siempre de tales hábitos y de costumbres que puedan ser chocantes a las suyas. Es por esto, pues, que el tratado de urbanidad y buenas maneras deberia enseñarse de cuando en cuando a los educandos, que, no solo seria de buen credito para la escuela y para el maestro, sino que al mismo tiempo algo se perfeccionaria nuestra juventud y que mucho lo necesita para el buen nombre de la raza y de los pueblos.</p>	<p>...These poor young ladies, who could have been respectable and attractive, will never be able to reach a better situation than they could achieve with a practical education and good manners due to their habitual customs and their way of being, and will finally have to embark with any Genizaro because a man of merit and illustration will always flee from habits and customs that may be shocking to his, no matter how beautiful a young girl's face. It is for this reason that lesons in urbanity and good manners should be taught from time to time to the students, which, not only would be good credit for the school and for the teacher, but at the same time something would be perfected in our youth and that much is necessary for the good</p>

						name of the race and of the towns.
1909	Sep 3	Taos, NM	<u>La Revisita de Taos</u>	Racist Aphorism	Querer persuadir y oprimir de los hábitos y costumbres de los genízaros, es picar en fierro frío, porque de un burro nunca no podrá hacer un caballo de carrera, y en donde no hay chispas de buena sangre no puede haber tampoco nunca alguno de nobleza.	Wanting to persuade and suppress the habits and customs of the genízaros, is to strike cold iron, because you can't make a racehorse out of a donkey. There can never be any nobility where there are no sparks of good blood.
1909	Mar 26	Taos, NM	<u>La Revisita de Taos</u>	Racist Aphorism	No te asocies con ese populacho resolanero y vagabundo, si no quieres ser victima de su lengua venenosa para denigrate a ti y tu familia en las cantinas y resolanas. Con esos jenízaros ni palabras buenas ni malas, mas que enseñarles su lugar. El hipocrita es un zagano peligroso; delante de uno adula con bajezas, y por atras le unde el puñal por las espaldas. con esos tipos poco o ningun contacto.	Do not associate with that lazy and vagabond populace, if you do not want to be a victim of their poisonous language to denigrate you and your family in cantinas and living rooms. With these genízaros use neither good nor bad words, unless to teach them their place. The hypocrite is a dangerous schmuck; in front of a person he flatters basely, while behind him he takes a dagger to his back. With those guys have little or no contact.

1909	Apr 29	Las Vegas, NM	<u>El Independiente</u>	Turkish Janissaries	Los tropas se han rebelado en Constantinopla en contra del partido de la jóven Turquía, imitando en esto la conducta de los antiguos jenízaros que quitaban y ponían reyes y sultanes á su antojo.	The troops have rebelled in Constantinople against the party of the young Turkey, imitating in this the behavior of the old Janissaries who installed and deposed kings and sultans at will.
1910	Aug 12	Taos, NM	<u>La Revisita de Taos</u>	Racist Aphorism	Los coyotes que poseen algo de sangre india, cuando se vuelven genízaros se convierten en indomables brutos y pierden todo uso de razón.	The coyotes that possess some Indian blood, when they become genizaros, become untamable brutes and lose all use of reason. (I wonder if "coyotes" here means people engaged in contraband, since that's what it means colloquially today).
1912	Nov 22	Taos, NM	<u>La Revisita de Taos</u>	Racist Aphorism	En asuntos de privilegios personales, descendencia, meritos y calificaciones, los mas ignorantes y jenízaros tienen la palabra.	In matters of personal privilege, descent, merits and qualifications, the most ignorant and genízaros have the say.

1912	Aug 16	Taos, NM	<u>La Revisita de Taos</u>	Racist Aphorism	<p>La estirpe en el género humano tiene mucho que ver en sus portes y nobleza de sentimientos. De la familia que desciende de buen linaje, no importa de su educación, siempre se pueden esperar buenos actos y buenos sentimientos, así como de la que desciende de linaje jenízaro, por sus facciones y por sus obras, aún cuando tenga grande educación, no esperes lector actos de nobleza y de buenos sentimientos más que la envidia, la constante mala voluntad y el veneno que por su sangre roe y labora siempre en su pecho. Con los primeros busca siempre el contacto y la asociación, pero con los segundos poco o nada que hacer con ellos porque sería lo mismo que si tierras perlas en un trochil de tieras, expuesto a que te muerdan en pago de ello. La misma psicología así lo descifra.</p>	<p>[The lineage in the human race has a lot to do with its behavior and nobility of feelings. Of the family that descends of good lineage, its level of education does not matter; good acts and good feelings can always be expected. In the same way, don't wait, reader, for acts of nobility and good feelings from the family that descends of Genízaro lineage, either in their features and their works, even when they have great education, over envy, constant ill will, and the poison of their blood that constantly gnaws and works on their chest. With the former, always seek contact and association, but with the latter, have little or nothing to do with them, because it would be the same as if you throw pearls before swine, exposing yourself to being bitten in payment for it. The same psychology applies.]</p>
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1913	Apr 18	Taos, NM	<u>La Revisita de Taos</u>	Racial Epithet	Los Sres Donasciano Graham y Bonifacio Fernandez, de Ranchito, partieron para Chico el miercoles para atender a los ahijaderos de su ganado lanar. Les acompanaba un "gentleman" de pelo colorado y nada jenízaro, que sin duda fue importado a este mundo de contrabando, dado su color tan fino y delicado, y quien dara instrucciones al Sr. Fernanez en asuntos ganaderos	The Sirs Donasciano Graham and Bonifacio Fernandez, from Ranchito [it's the name of a small ranch], went towards Chico on Wednesday to assist in the operation that consists in making the females of their sheep livestock adopt other babies as their own. A "gentleman" of red hair who was not a Genízaro accompanied them, who without doubt was imported to this world smuggled, given his so fine and delicate skin color, and who will give instructions to Mr. Fernanez in livestock matters.
1913	Feb 28	Taos, NM	<u>La Revisita de Taos</u>	Racist Aphorism	El plebeyo jenízaro siempre detesta y odia a los hombres honrados y de carácter que se dedican al trabajo honoroso	The plebian genízaro always detests and hates honest men of good character who dedicate themselves to honorable work.
1913	Oct 24	Taos, NM	<u>La Revisita de Taos</u>	Racist Aphorism	Los gobernantes honrados jamas se ensoberbesen cuando tienen conciencia de haber recibido el poder del pueblo, pues es propio solamente de jenízaros ignorantes en ensoberbecerse.	Honest rulers are never arrogant when they are aware of having received the power of the people, as it is proper only to ignorant genízaros to act in this way.

1915	Sept 17	Taos, NM	<u>La Revisita de Taos</u>	Racial Epithet	<p>El Apache, cuya tarea ha sido siempre hacernos todo el mal posible, confeso en dias pasados a un oficial de condado, que nos "la estaba metiendo a lo macizo," refiriendose a que done quiera nos denigraba, tanto capacidad oficial del editor de este periodico como en nuestra empresa periodistica, aconsejando aun a varios de nuestros abonados de que no nos pagaran la suscripcion. Es un enemigo gratuito que se presento en conta nuestra empresa desde que establecimos <i>La Revista</i>, ignorando nosotros todavia la razon, que juzgamos nosotros deriva solamente por la mezcla de las diferentes sangres indigena que circulaen sus venas.</p> <p>Hace anos lo notamos nosotros,y aún que muchas personas nos llegaron a llamar la atención de lo que decía el Apache contra nosotros, nunca dimos importancia alguna a sus denigraciones, por considerarlo muy insignificante y muy inferior a nuestra estirpe y descendencia, y que en muchos casos considerábamos como una afrenta a nuestro buen nombre contestar las insolencias y denigraciones de</p>	<p>El Apache, whose task has always been to do us the most possible evil, confessed days ago to a county official that he was going to “drop something big,” meaning he could denigrate us whenever he wants. The editor of the newspaper in our journalistic company has so much power, that he advised some of our subscribers not to pay us the subscription. He is a gratuitous enemy that has appeared against our company since we established LA REVISTA. We still ignore the reasons; we judge that it derives from the mixture of different indigenous blood circulating his veins. We noticed this, years ago, and even though a lot of people called to our attention the many things that El Apache said against us, we never gave importance to any of his denigrations, for we considered it very insignificant and inferior to our ancestry and descendants, and in many cases we considered it an affront to our good name to answer the</p>
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genízaro tan depravado en hechos y sentimientos. Sin embargo, el caso ha llegado ya al colmo y por sus propios hechos infames, que el mundo ya conoce, ahora el caso ha llegado ya al colmo y vamos a ver quien la "esta metiendo mas macizo".

insolences and denigrations of a genízaro who is depraved in actions and sentiments. However, the case has reached the maximum height and by its own infamous facts, as the world already knows, now the case has reached the limit and we will see who is going to "drop something big."

1917	Feb 2	Taos, NM	<u>La Revisita de Taos</u>	Turkish Janissaries	<p>Los turcos otomanos eran una pequena tribu conquistadora del Asia central, quienes fureron regidos durants los primeros dos siglos de sus conquistas por una sucension de sultanes singularmente habiles y sin escrupulos que subyugaron a la poblacion cristiana del Asia Menor y al Sureste de Europa, obligando a una parte de esas poblaciones a abrazar el mahometismo, y apoyaban a sus propias potencias apoderandose de los hijos del resto, convirtiendolos por la fuerza al islamismo y haciendo de ellos un ejercito permantente de jenízaros por cuyo valor y disciplina las guerras turcas de conquista fueron leevadas desde a principioos del siglo decimo quinto hasta la decima novena centuria.</p>	<p>...The Ottoman Turks were a small conquering tribe of Central Asia, who were ruled during the first two centuries of their conquests by a succession of singularly skilled and unscrupulous sultans that subjugated the Christian population of Asia Minor and Southeast Europe, forcing a part of these populations to embrace Mohammedanism, and supported their own powers by seizing the children of the rest, converting them by force to Islamism and making them a permanent army of Janissaries for whose courage and discipline the Turkish wars of conquest were retold from the beginnings of the fifteenth century to the nineteenth century.</p>
1918	Jan 25	Taos, NM	<u>La Revisita de Taos</u>	Political and derogatory	<p>La sangre mixta y la sangre genízara, ha sido dicho por verdaderos filosofos y hombres de ciencia, es la mas adicta a pendencias, a enredos y molestia. La sangre mixta pelea en el vertice de la cabeza humana. Tiene momentos de sociego y de nobleza sin igual, y</p>	<p>Mixed blood and genízaro blood, has been said by true philosophers and men of science, are the most addicted to quarrels, entanglements and trouble. Mixed blood fights at the apex of the human head. [A person with mixed blood] has</p>

tiene momentos de locura. Cuando esta viene es fatua; se forma calculos extravagantes, se suena millones, se cree superior a los demas seres humanos, a sus vecinos y allegados; pinta catorce por docena y en su loco desvario habla, miente y puede aun insultar a Dios y al Rey si se presentan a su frente. El genízaro es mas peligroso aun.

Elevad a un genízaro a un puesto público o a un trono y una vez allí los morderá cual piojo resucitado. Se creará superior a todo el mundo, los insultara a cada momento y los traicionara como Judas Iscariote a su maestro. Su sangre es negra y asi debe ser su corazon y sus hechos por una ley natural. Sin embargo, ni unos ni otros tienen suceso en sus hechos y pronto son repudiado del pueblo y de la sociedad. El indio de sangre pura es mas noble y sus hechos pueden ser mejores.

moments of partnership and nobility without equal, and has moments of madness. When that comes he is fatuous; extravagant calculations are formed, he dreams of millions, and thinks himself superior to the rest of humanity, to his neighbors and close friends. He writes fourteen as a dozen, he lies and he would even insult God and the King if they come before him. The genizaro is even more dangerous. Elevate a genízaro to a public post or to a throne and once there he will bite like a risen louse. He will believe himself superior to the whole world, insult them at every moment and betray them like Judas Iscariot to his master.

His blood is black and therefore, by natural law, so must be his heart and his works. However, neither have success in their actions and are soon repudiated from the people and society. the pureblood Indian is more noble and his deeds can be better.

1921	June 3	Taos, NM	<u>La Revisita de Taos</u>	Racial Epithet	Padre Martinez, confiese a este genízaro para que le den cinco balazos	"Father Martinez, hear the confession of this Genízaro, for they will give him five bullets"
1892	July 05	Puerto Rico	<u>La Democracia</u>	Militia	Y resultó que al establecerse los consumos don Eusebio era un alcalde rígido e impecable, mal avenido con las casas mercantiles, pronto a caer sobre los defraudadores, adversario de los matuteros... "nada de blanduras - decía - nada de contemplaciones. Ante todo la Administración. Genízaros del fielato: vigilancia! Y los Genízaros vigilaban.	And it turned out that consumption found Don Eusebio to be rigid and impeccable mayor, ill at ease with the merchant houses, soon to fall on the fraudsters, adversary of the smugglers... "Nothing of softness - he said - don't even contemplate it. In front of the Administration: janissaries of the customs office: be vigilant!" And the janissaries were vigilant.
1892	Feb 18	Puerto Rico	<u>La Democracia</u>	Militia	Véase lo que dice don Esteban Ramos en este número de La Democracia. Don Esteban Ramos que era uno de los admiradores estáticos del gigante [Don Anecto]. Uno de los genízaros del insigne Bajá. Uno de aquellos que le aplaudieron en sus ultimas jornadas. Hoy le deja también, adondonado y triste, en lo explanada de sus desengaños.	See what Don Esteban Ramos says in this issue of La Democracia. Don Esteban Ramos who was one of the static admirers of the giant [Don Anecto]. One of the janissaries of the famous Pasha. One of those who applauded him even in his last days. Today also leaves him, drowned and sad, in the esplanade of his disappointments.

1894	June 21	Puerto Rico	<u>La Democracia</u>	Militia	<p>Para tender ideas propias y mantener las con toda la energia necesaria, hay que formarse el caracter en otra escuela que no sea la del incondicionalismo.</p> <p>Acostumbrados esos senores a la coyunda bovina de Cangrejos; habiendo sido toda la vida soldados obedientes del gran genízaro de la patrioteria, asustales la idea de rebelarse contra la mano que siempre les fustigara.</p>	<p>To build your own ideas and maintain them with all the necessary energy, you have to train your character in a school other than unconditionalism.</p> <p>Those gentlemen are accustomed to the cattle yoke of Cangrejos; having been obedient soldiers all the lives to the great janissary of the Patrioteria, they are afraid to rebel against the hand that has always lashed them.</p>
1894	Feb 09	Puerto Rico	<u>La Democracia</u>	Militia	<p>Si nosotros no unimos á él, con él subiremos á la cumbre; pero dejamos á Ubarri - ó al que mande á los genizaros de Cangrejos - un amplísimo horizonte para ofrecer su adhesión á Zorrilla, á Castelar y á Pí Margall.</p>	<p>If we are united to him, we will go up to the summit with him; but we leave to Ubarri - or to the one who sends the janissaries of Cangrejos - a very broad horizon to offer his adhesion to Zorrilla, Castelar and Pí Margall.</p>
1897	Sep 9	Puerto Rico	<u>La Democracia</u>	Militia	<p>Afilan hoy sus dardos los genízaros de Egozcue y de Villar. Y diz que se preparan los tribunos á un duelo singular.</p>	<p>The janissaries of Egozcue and Villar sharpen their darts today / And it is said that the tribunones are preparing for a singular duel.</p>

1897	Feb 17	Puerto Rico	<u>La Correspondencia de Puerto-Rico</u>	Militia	Mientras no hubo fuerzas suficientes para operar, los que se salvaron de aquellos genzaros se recogieron en los pocos pueblos que no fueron arrasados, y estuvieron á la defensiva; pero en cuanto tu vieron tropas en número bastante para tomar la revancha, constituyeron guerrillas y operaron con resolución y fé.	The losers approached the occasion to satisfy revenge, settle accounts and enjoy the women who had spurned them. Those who were saved from those janissaries were picked up in the few towns that were not razed; while there were not enough forces to operate, they were on the defensive; but as soon as they had enough troops to take revenge, they formed guerrillas and operated with resolution and zeal.
1900	Sep 07	Puerto Rico	<u>La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico</u>	Militia	Las déspotas se apoyan siempre en esa turba: entre unos ciudadanos que mantienen el culto del honor patrio y unos genzaros que se doblegan adulando y engañando, la tiranía, elige á sus auxiliares elige á los genzaros	Despots always rely on this mob: between citizens who maintain the cult of national honor and janissaries that bow down in flattering and deception. Tyranny, when choosing assistants, chooses janissaries.
1909	Aug 29	Puerto Rico	<u>La Democracia</u>	Militia	Suprimir el voto del pueblo, la opinión del pueblo, es posible en la Rusia de los cosacos, en la Torquia de los genzaros, en el Marruecos de las kabilas, en la China de los boxers. Pero en la patria que fundaron Washington y Jefferson...no es posible other	To suppress the vote of the people-- the opinion of the people--is possible in the Russia of the Cossacks, in the Turkey of the Janissaries, in the Morocco of the Kabila, in the China of the Boxers. But in the homeland that Washington and

					regime que el de la democracia ni otro ideal que el de la justicia...	Jefferson ... no other regime is possible than that of democracy, or another ideal than that of justice ...
1915	Sep 20	San Antonio, TX	<u>La Prensa</u>	Militia	Diez minutos despues, mientras los genízaros dejaban a Salmeron en el chiquero, el Agente del Ministerio Publico y el Defenso de Oficio, metidos en la cantina frente a la carcel, comentaban el "caso".	Ten minutes later, while the janissaries left Salmeron in the pigpen, the Public Ministry Agent and the Defeno de Oficio, tucked inside the canteen in front of the jail, and commented on the "case."
1917	Sep 20	San Antonio, TX	<u>La Prensa</u>	Militia	omunican de Chihuahua que Pancho Villa le ha enviado una carta a Pancho Murguia en la cual, despues de hacerle a este genizaro el reconcentrado insulto de llamarlo carrancista, trae a cuentas el ex-Jefe de las Operaciones los servicios que ha prestado a la "causa del pueblo" y echa en cara a don Venus y a los suyos la persecucion que le vien en haciendo...	They communicate from Chihuahua that Pancho Villa has sent a letter to Pancho Murguia in which, after making this janissary the overriding insult of calling him a Carrancista, he brings to account the former Chief of Operations the services he has rendered to the "cause of the people "and reproaches Don Venus and his followers for the persecution they have been doing ...

1917	April 22	San Antonio, TX	<u>La Prensa</u>	Militia	En aquel tiempo dijo el Barbón a sus genízaros: no haremos caso del bombardeo de Veracruz. Y ayudaremos a los americanos a tumbar a Huerta. Y pum! Y los genízaros obedecieron al pie de la letra. Y les volvió a decir el Barbon: ríanse ustedes de Azueta! Y los genízaros dijeron que sí, y soltaron la carcajada. Y lo calificaron de bruto, de científico, y hasta de traidor.	At that time, Barbón said to his janissaries: we will not listen to the bombing of Veracruz. And we will help the Americans to overthrow Huerta. And boom! The janissaries obeyed literally. And the Barbon said to them again: you laugh at Azueta! And the janissaries said yes, and they laughed. And they called him a brute, a scientist, and even a traitor.
1917	Jan 08	San Antonio, TX	<u>La Prensa</u>	Militia	el milagro se aproxima: Torreón, San Luis y Zacatecas tomados; y, no sabemos si San Angel, Tacubaya y Guadalupe, en sus correspondencias privadas y alegres como las cuentas del proverbio, estarán ya en poder de Zapata del los genízaros villistas.	The miracle is approaching: Torreón, San Luis and Zacatecas are taken; and, we do not know if San Angel, Tacubaya and Guadalupe, in their private and happy correspondences as the proverb goes, will already be in the power of Zapata from the Villista janissaries.
1918	Feb 28	San Antonio, TX	<u>La Prensa</u>	Militia	Pos los testimonios rendido saparece que este soldado vio a las dos mujeres riñendo en la esquina de la acenida de Amsterdam con la calle 147 ayer en la mañana y trato de ponerlas en paz y que arreglaran sus diferencias pacíficamente. Miss Bowers durante la riña cayó al suelo	After the testimonies rendered, it appears that this soldier [Reilly] saw the two women quarreling in the corner of the Amsterdam avenue and 147th Street yesterday morning and tried bring them to peace and settle their differences

1918	July 15	San Antonio, TX	<u>La Prensa</u>	Militia	<p>fracturandose la cadera y la otra mujer escapó inmediatamente del lugar de los hechos. Reilly permaneció junto a la mujer lesionada y llamó a un policia, para que tomara nota del case. Cuando el guardián llegó e interrogó a la herida, la sorpresa del soldado no tuvo limites al oír que ésta lo acusaba de haber ayudado a Miss George a asaltarla, por lo que el genízaro cargó con el q' a imitación del "buen samaritano," trató de poner la paz en donde no le hablaban. Posteriormente Miss George fué aprehendida y ella confesó que Reilly no habia tenido ninguna participacion en la riña.</p>	<p>peacefully. During the fight Miss Bowers fell to the ground fracturing her hip and the other woman escaped immediately from the scene. Reilly remained with the injured woman and called a policeman to take note of the case. When the guard arrived and questioned the wounded, the soldier was not a little surprised to hear that she accused him of having helped Miss George to assault her, and so the janissary charged him who imitating a "Good Samaritan," ried to put peace where they did not ask him. Later, Miss George was apprehended and she confessed that Reilly had not participated in the fight.</p>
					<p>... los que apostrofaban con los ecos resonantes de los libertadores y abogaban por la manumision politica del "pueblo," condenando las persecuciones y las ergástulas, son ahora los peores enemigos de la libertad, del orden y la ley, y forman legión las que han ido a sentar plaza de alguaciles, de genízaros y corchetes, en las cohortes policiacas</p>	<p>... those who apostrophied with the resounding echoes of liberators and advocated the political manumission of the "people," condemning persecutions and incarcerations, are now the worst enemies of freedom, order, and law, and form a legion that had gone to seat deputy constables,</p>

					de los antros del más puro y refinado carrancismo.	janissaries and bailiffs, in the police cohorts, the dens of the purest and most refined Carrancismo.
1918	Jan 22	San Antonio, TX	<u>La Prensa</u>	Militia	La señora se quedara con sus "boleas", los transeuntes con sus trancazos y el genízaro con la piel acribillada...	The lady will still have her shiners, the passers-by with their strikes, and the janissary with his skin riddled with bullets...
1922	Jan 12	San Antonio, TX	<u>La Prensa</u>	Militia	Por eso, cuando los independiente so reforsilaban con la victoria, él se presentó una noche en el Palacio Municipal acompañado de cincuenta genízaros, decidido a desbaratar la elección del pueblo.	For that reason, when the independents were rejoining with the victory, [Múgica] showed up one night in the Municipal Palace accompanied by fifty janissaries, determined to disrupt the election of the people.
1922	Dec 6	San Antonio, TX	<u>La Prensa</u>	Militia	Los periódicos de México vienen indignados porque el Kalifa de Córdoba se ha encerrado en su fortaleza acompañado de genízaros que lo defiendan de las iras del populacho enfurecido porque no tiene agua.	Mexican newspapers are outraged because the Kalifa of Cordoba has locked himself in his fortress accompanied by Genízaros who defended him from the wrath of the mob who are enraged because they have no water.

Appendix B: Ground-Penetrating Radar Profile Images

Summary

The following images represent GPR reflection profiles using GPR Viewer. The data used in these images were collected during March 2016 using a 400 MHz GSSI SIR 3000. The estimated depths listed were approximated using cross-referenced excavation notes and profile maps from BACA June 2016 excavations. The transects were run 50 cm apart, starting in the southwest corner, unless otherwise indicated. Further details are provided in Chapter 5. Each File Number represents a single transect.

Abiquiú 1

File Numbers 11-18 represent transects placed in a north-south direction, beginning from the northeast corner of the survey area. The transects were laid out in this manner because the southern property wall prevented the free movement of the GPR if we were to have begun the survey from the southwest corner. To avoid confusion when creating the slice maps, the .dzt files were realigned to ensure that (0,0) represented the southwest corner. File Numbers 19-26 represent the same survey area, with the direction of the transects running east-west. These profiles were not used to create slice maps.

Abiquiú 2

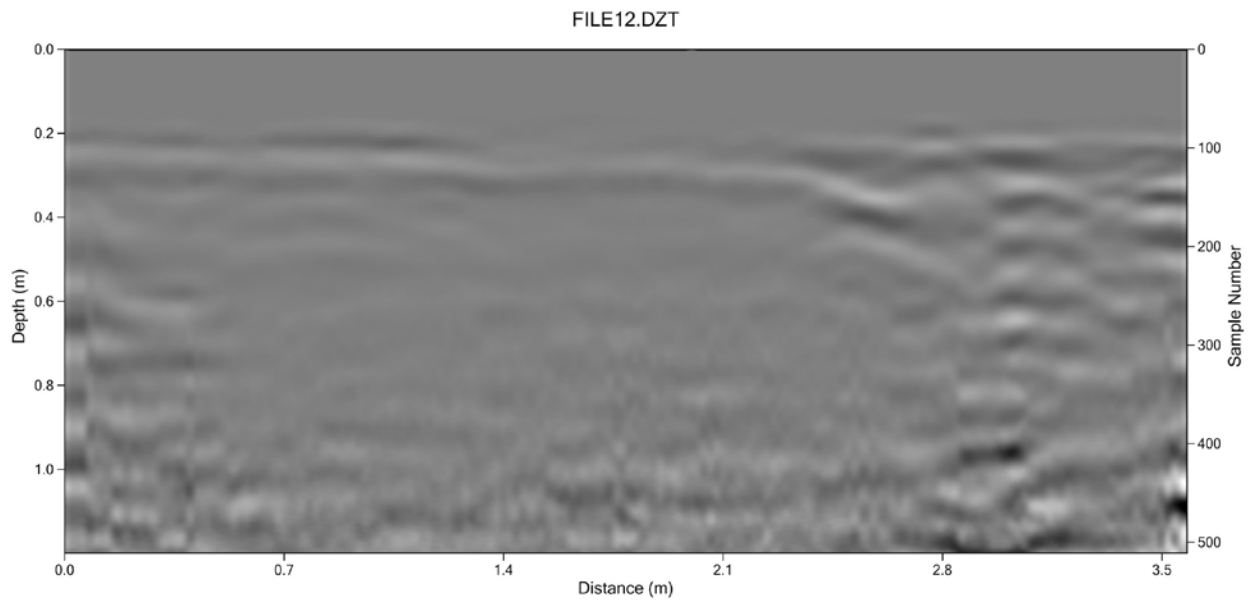
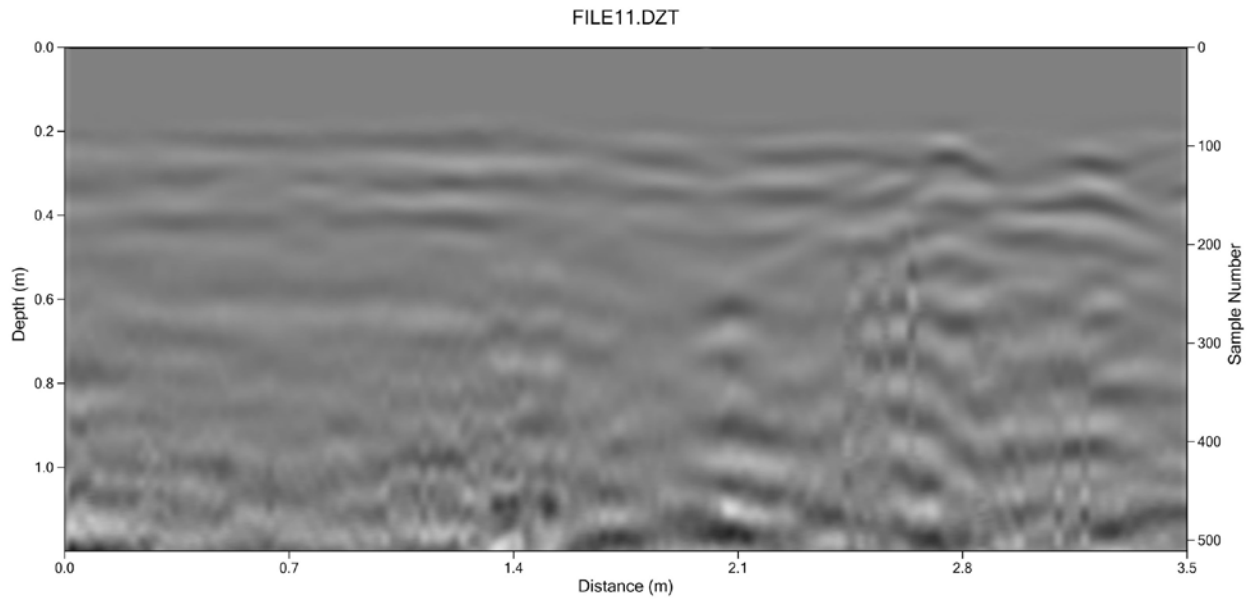
The GPR survey of Abiquiú 2 required the placement of two survey areas. Both areas were surveyed twice in perpendicular directions (south-north and west-east). File Numbers 28-31 represent the first survey block, located to the immediate west of the casita. The survey began in the southwest corner running west to east. File Numbers 32-43 represent transects running south-north in the same survey area.

File Numbers 50-83 represent the larger survey block located in front of the casita. The survey began in the southwest corner, with transects running south to north. The casita proved a physical impediment for the GPR survey wheel. While the crew attempted to resolve the issue by running the survey wheel along the casita wall when necessary, this action may have distorted the results of this survey block. For this reason, this batch was not used to render the slice maps for this survey block. Instead, File Numbers 84-95 were used. These reflection profiles represent the same larger survey block, with transects running west to east.

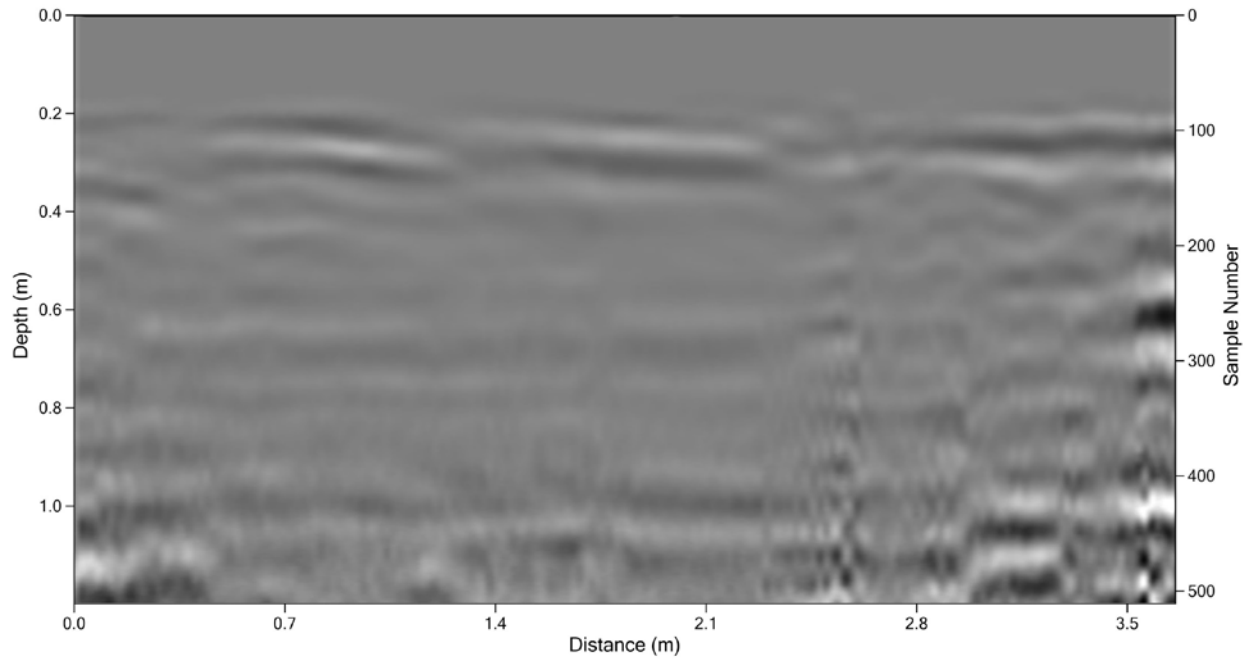
Abiquiú 3

Lastly, the results of the Abiquiú 3 survey are represented in File Numbers 97-145. The area was surveyed twice in perpendicular directions. File Numbers 97- 113 represent transects running west to east, beginning in the southwest corner. These reflections are used to create the slice maps for Abiquiú 3. The transects represented in File Numbers 121-145 also began in the southwest corner but were placed moving south to north.

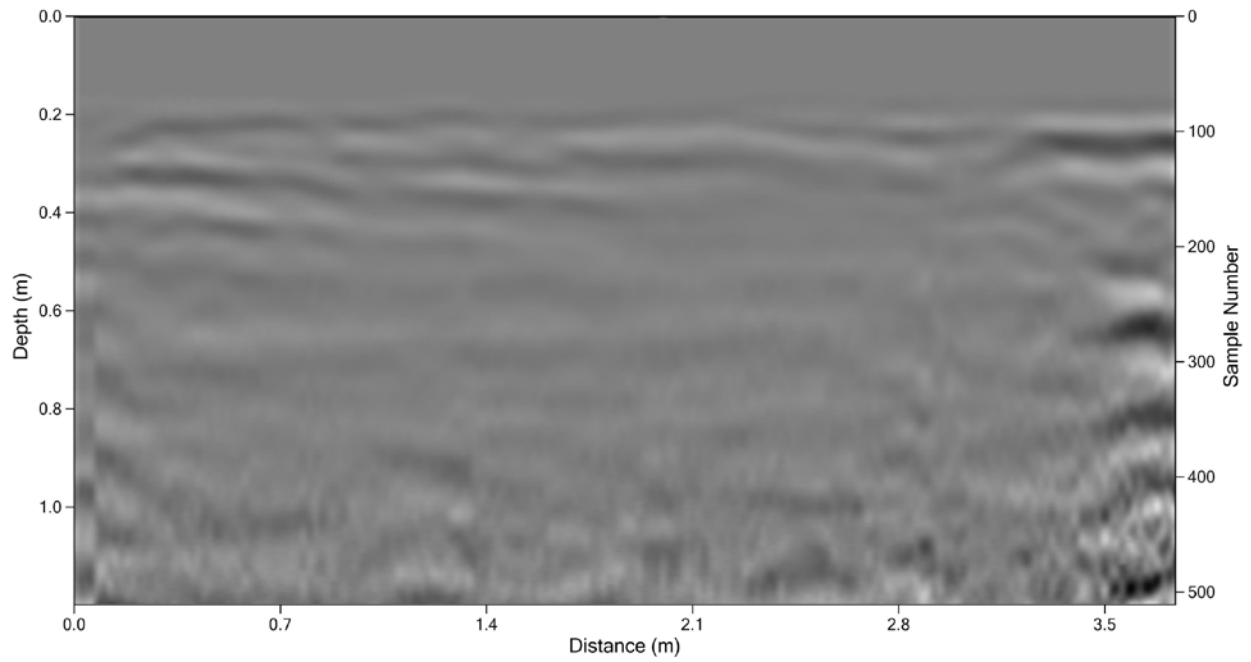
Abiquiú 1



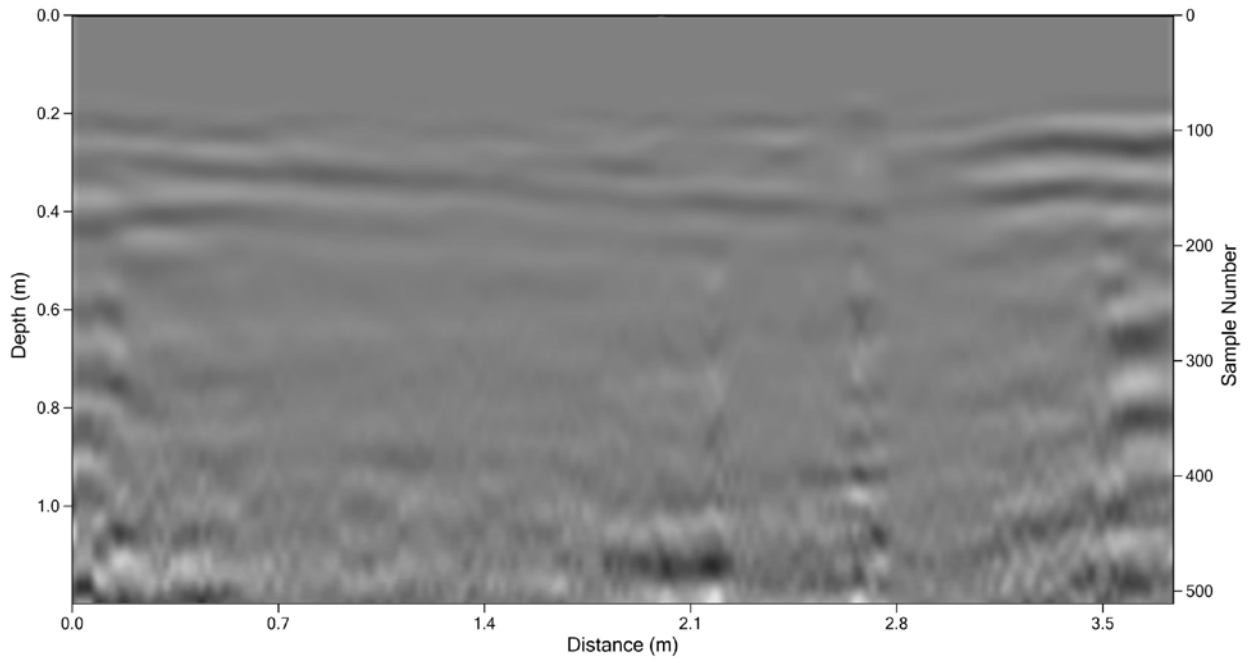
FILE13.DZT



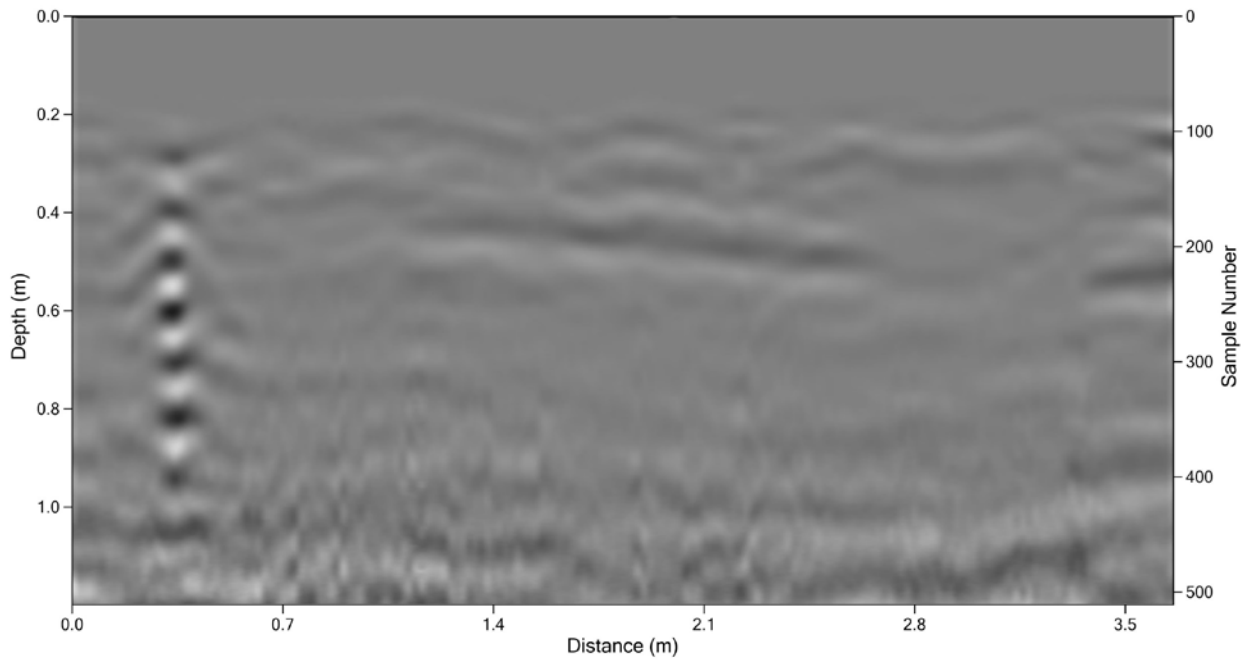
FILE14.DZT



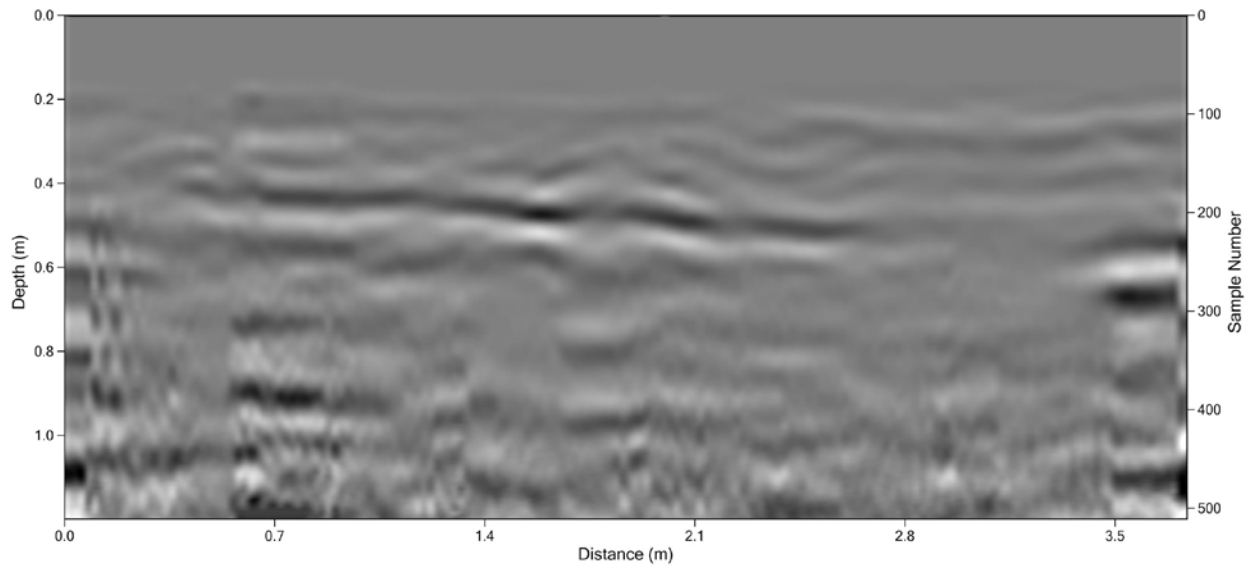
FILE15.DZT



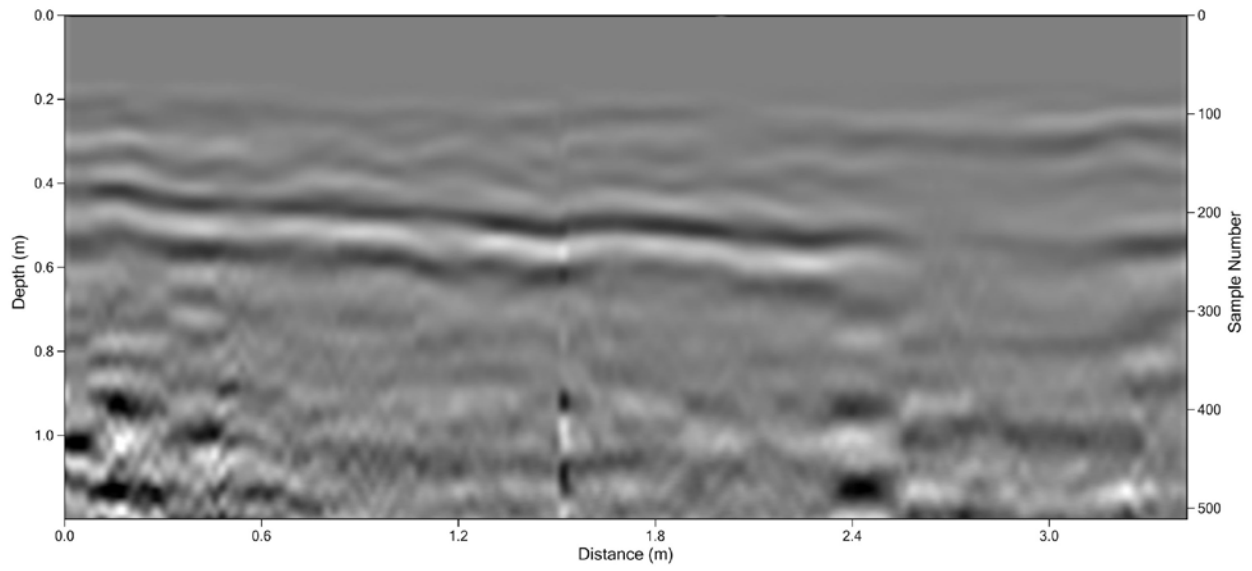
FILE16.DZT



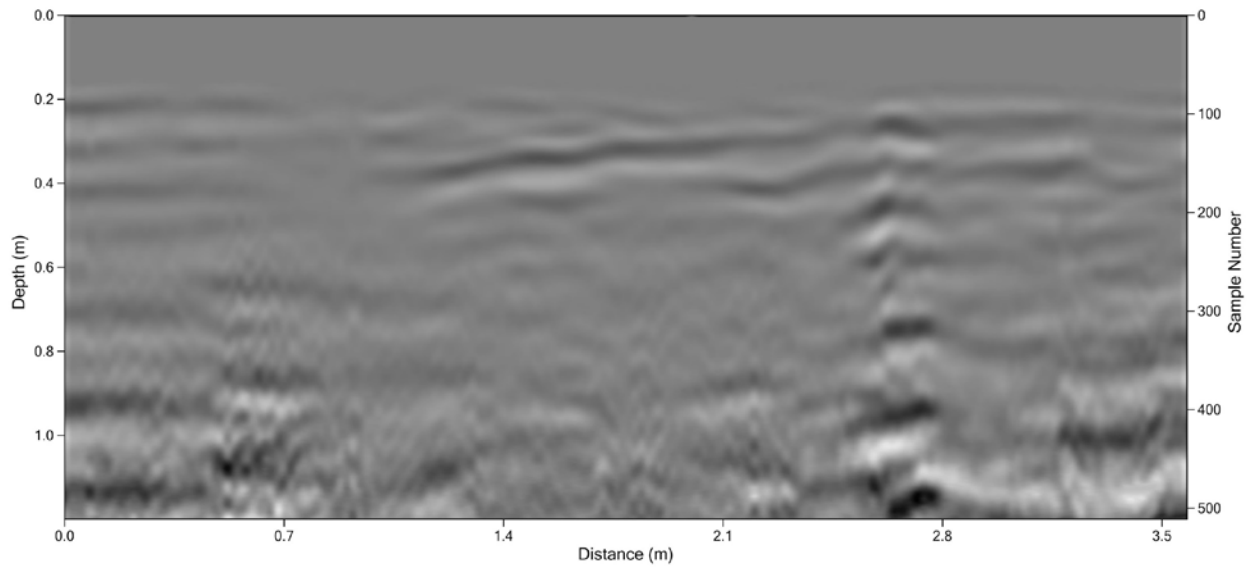
FILE17.DZT



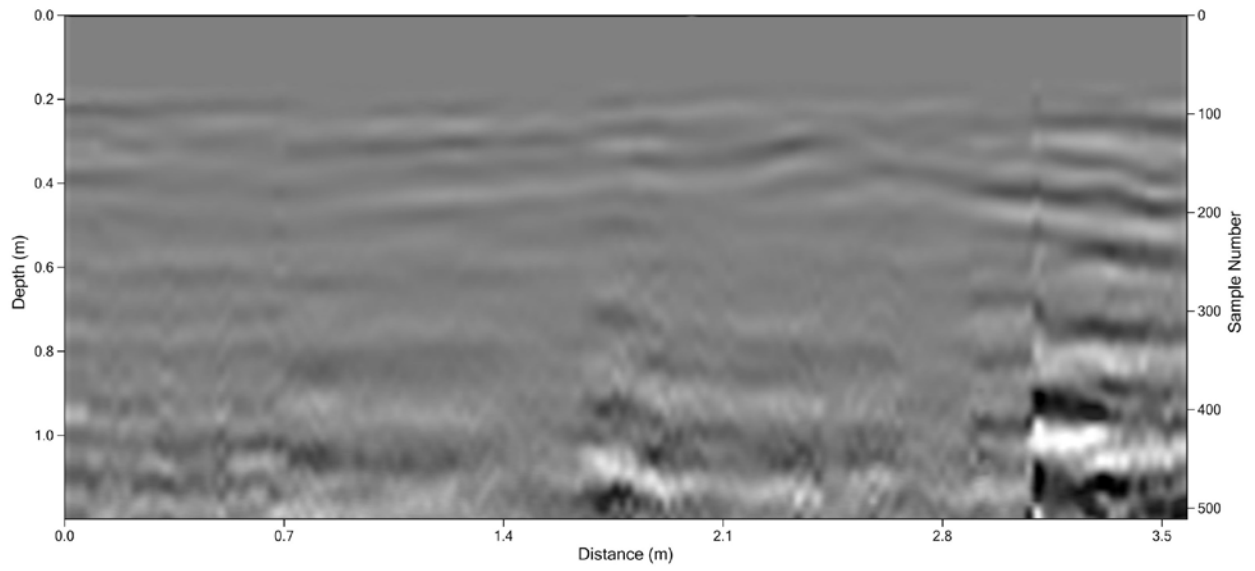
FILE18.DZT



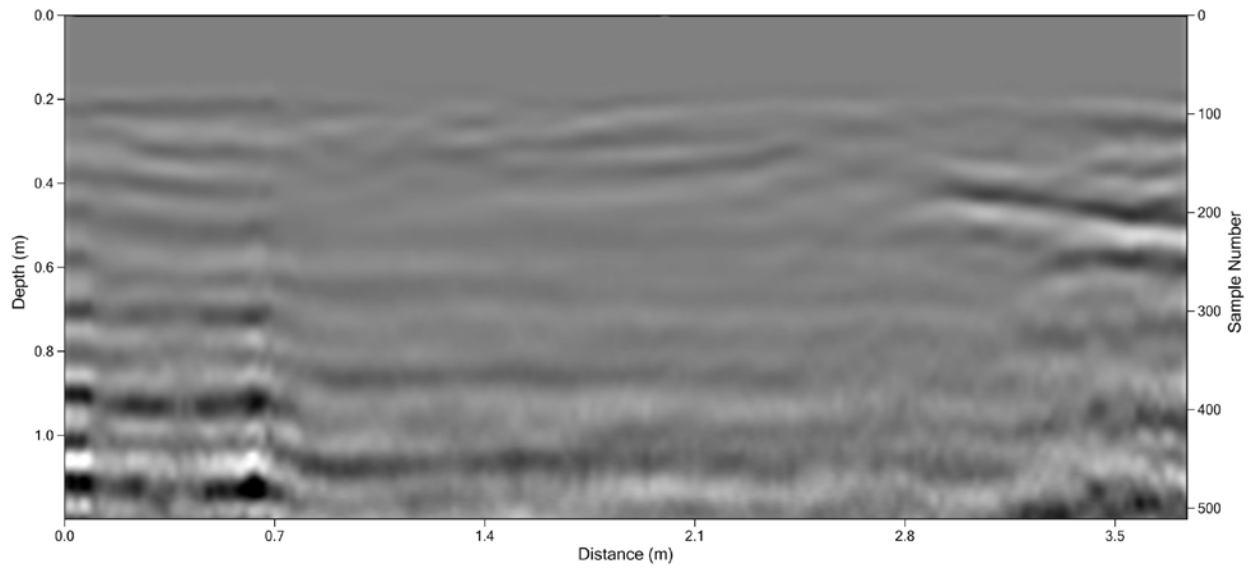
FILE19.DZT



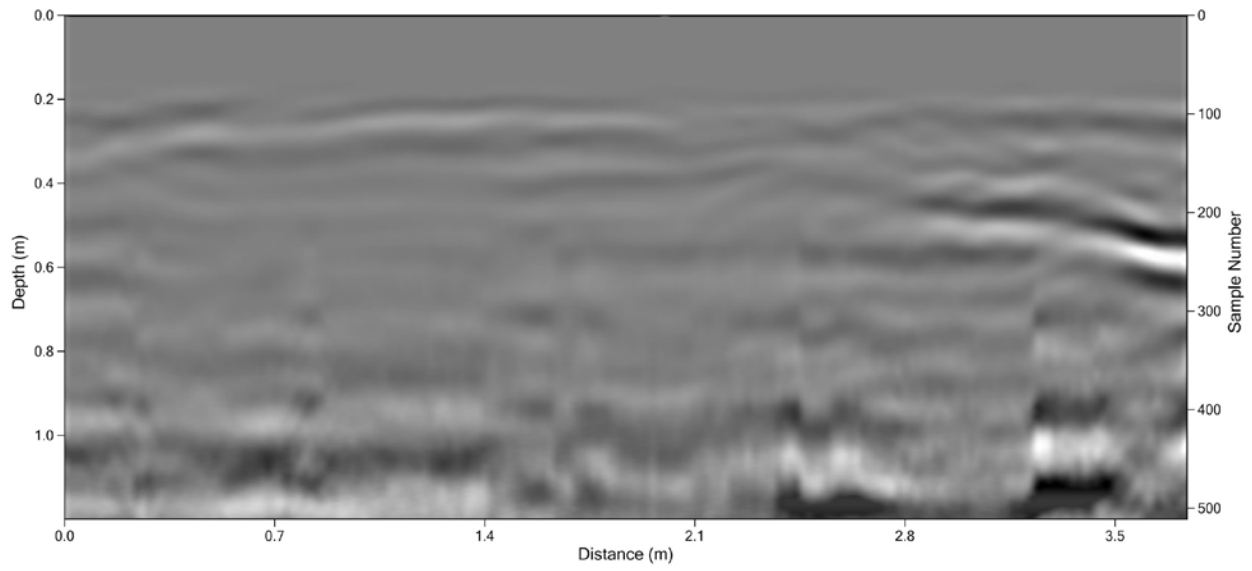
FILE20.DZT



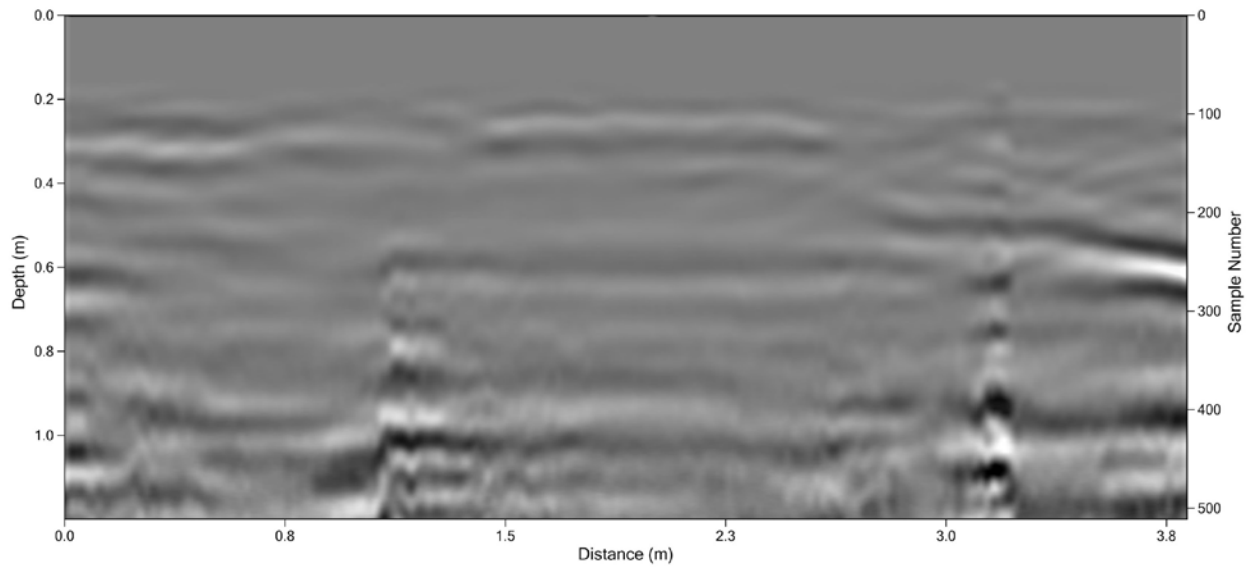
FILE21.DZT



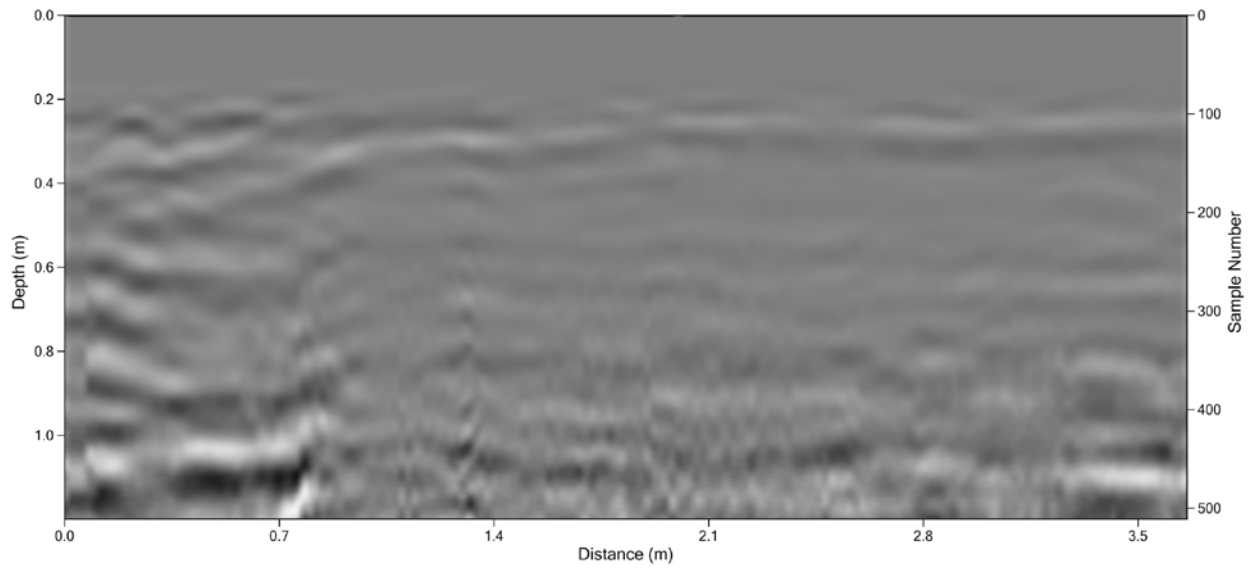
FILE22.DZT



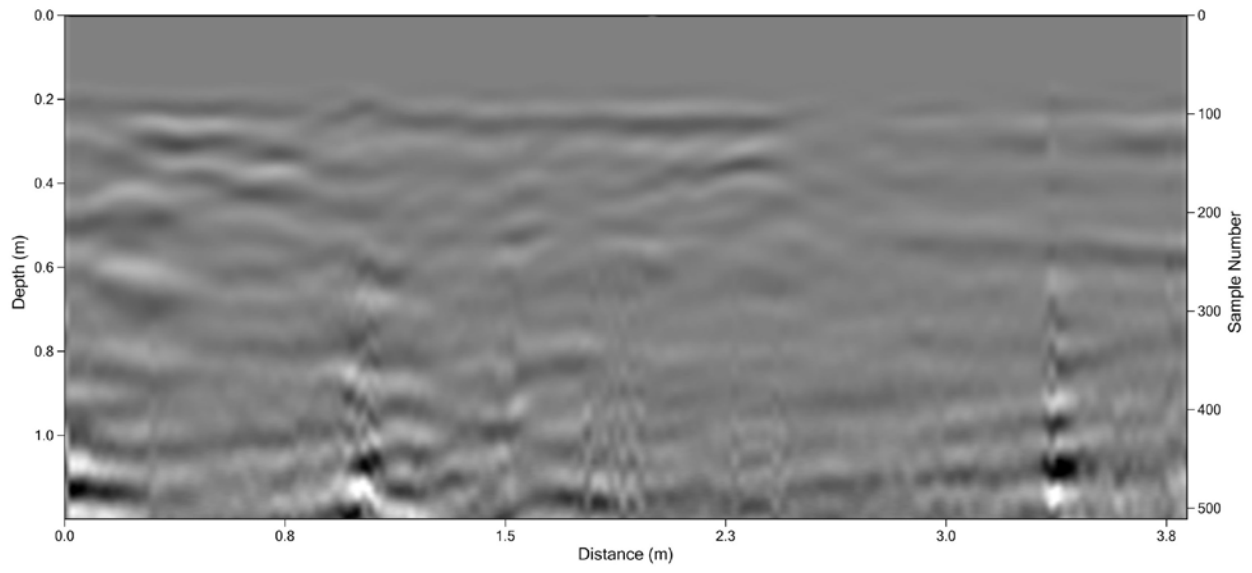
FILE23.DZT



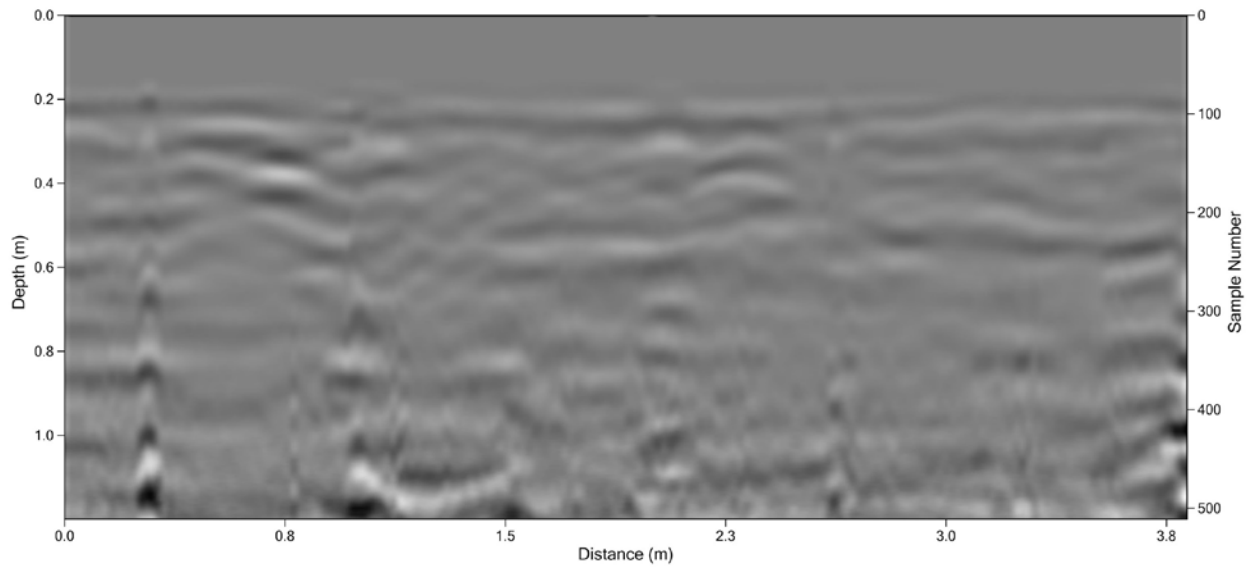
FILE24.DZT



FILE25.DZT

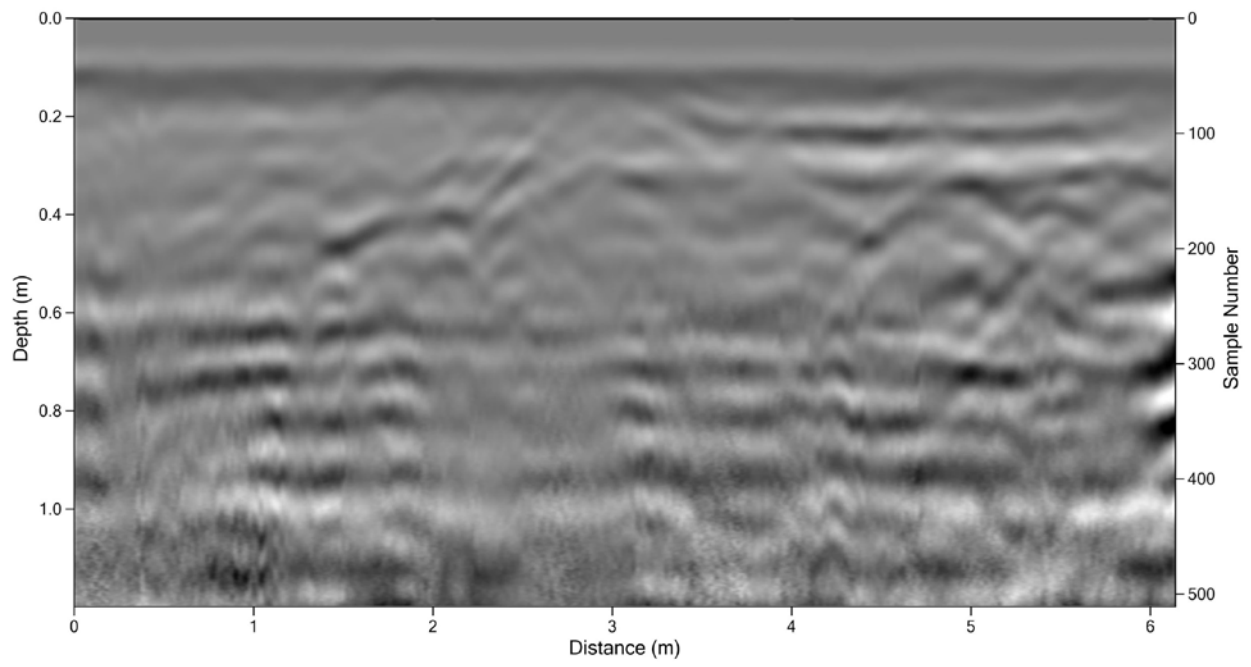


FILE26.DZT

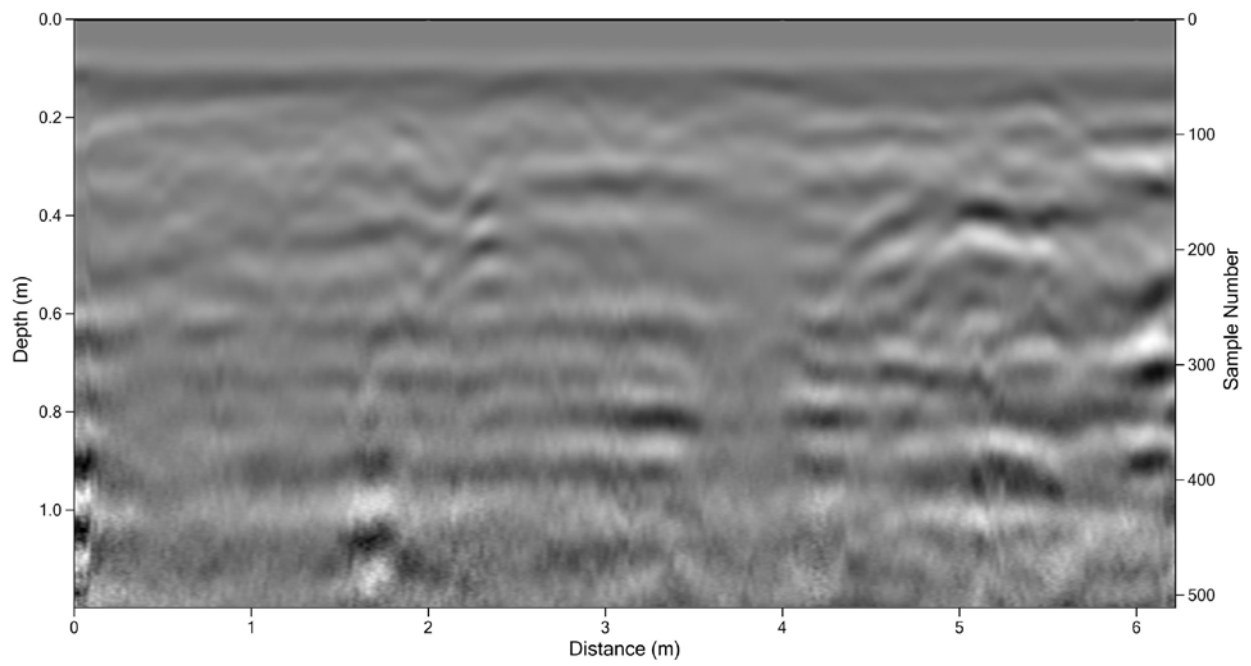


Abiquiú 2
First Quadrant

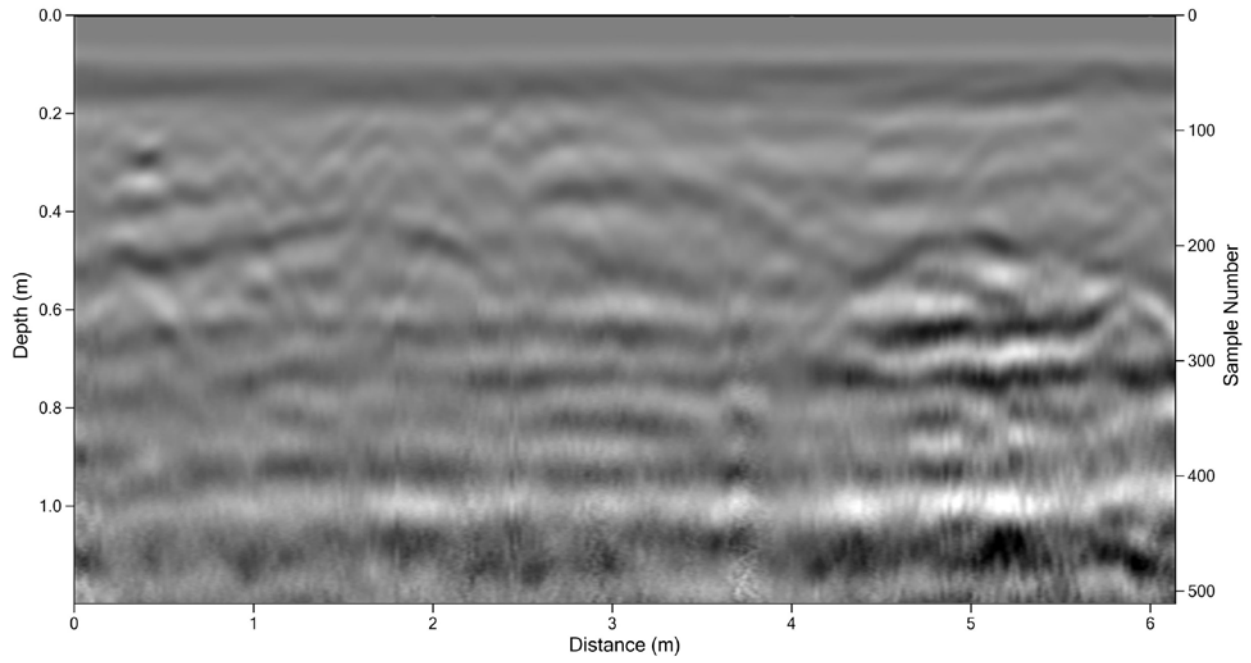
FILE28.DZT



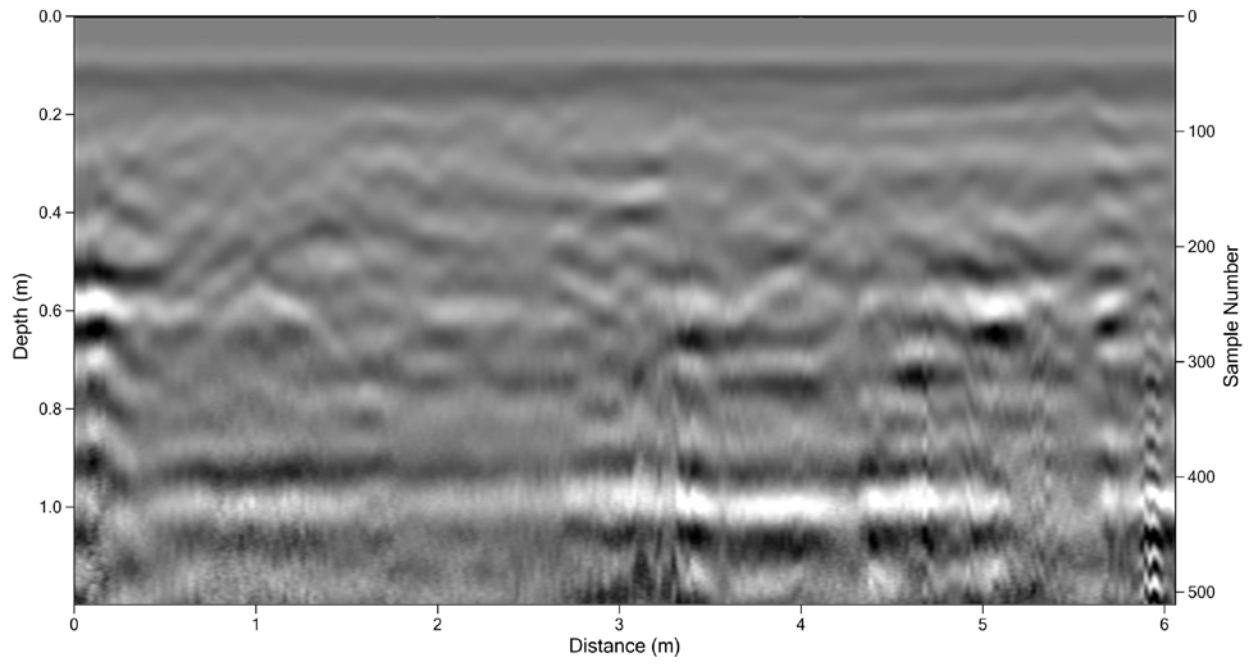
FILE29.DZT



FILE30.DZT

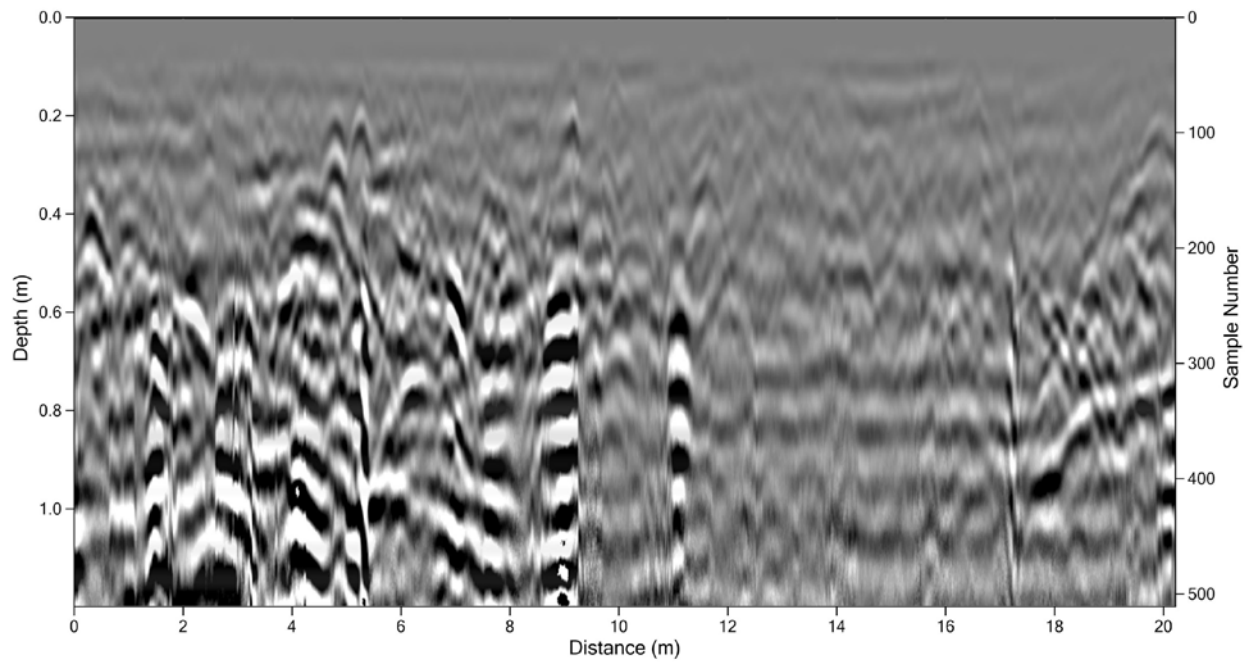


FILE31.DZT

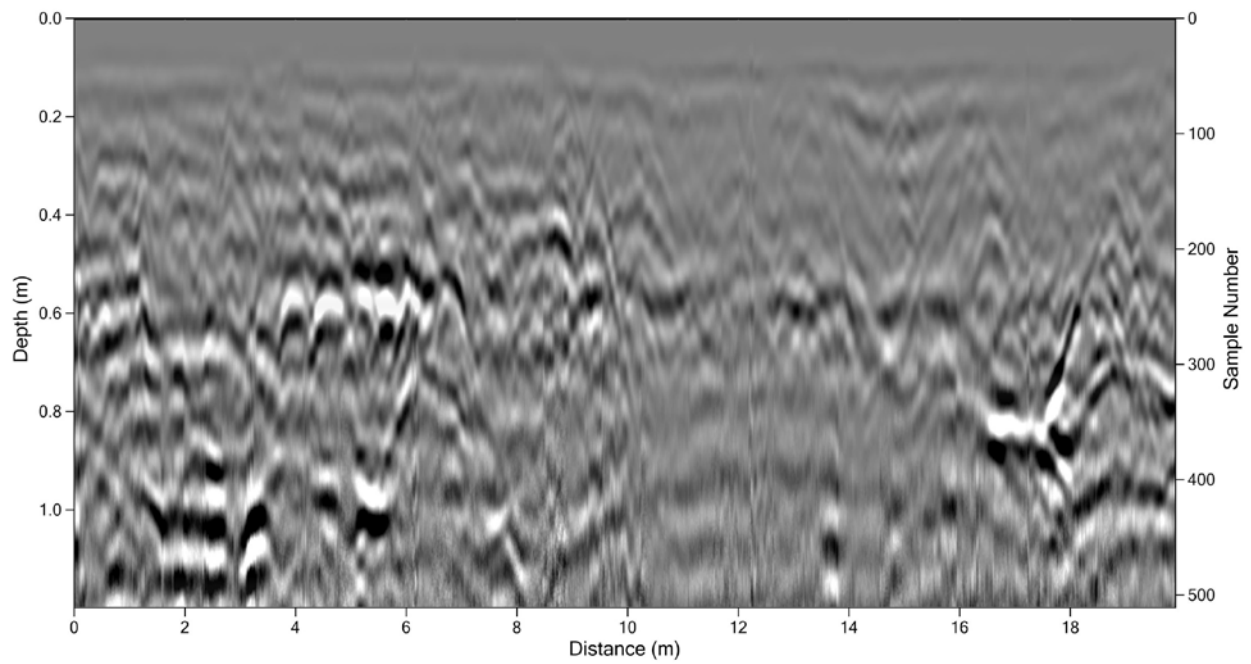


Second Quadrant

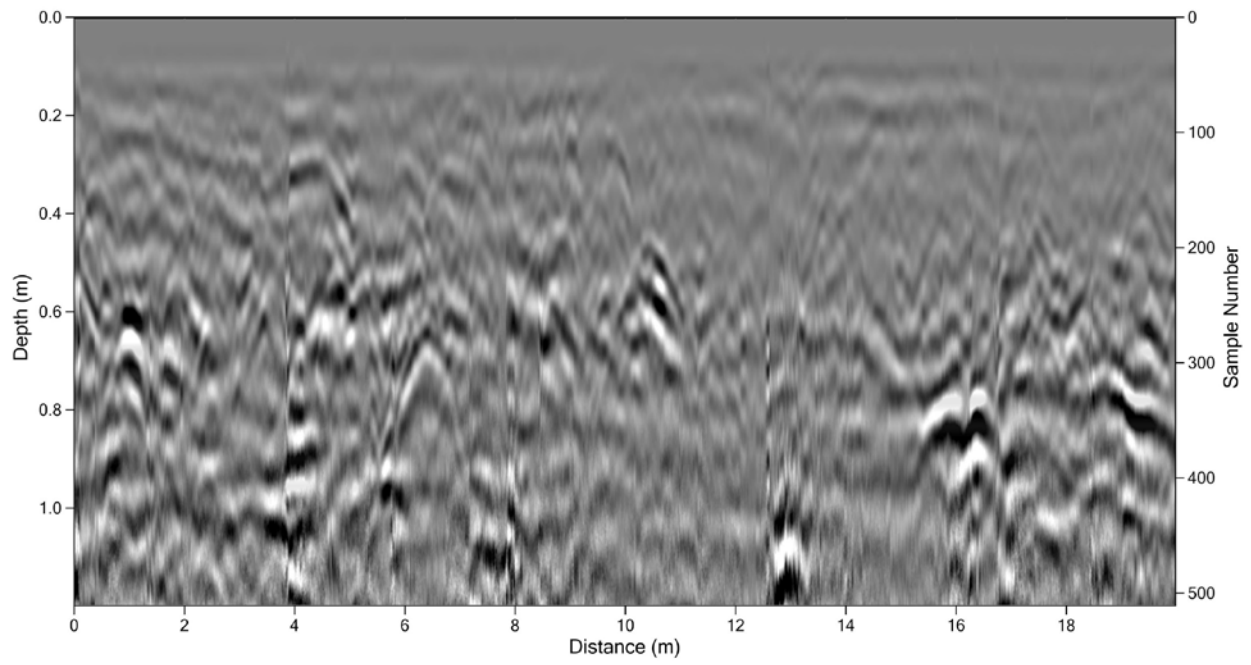
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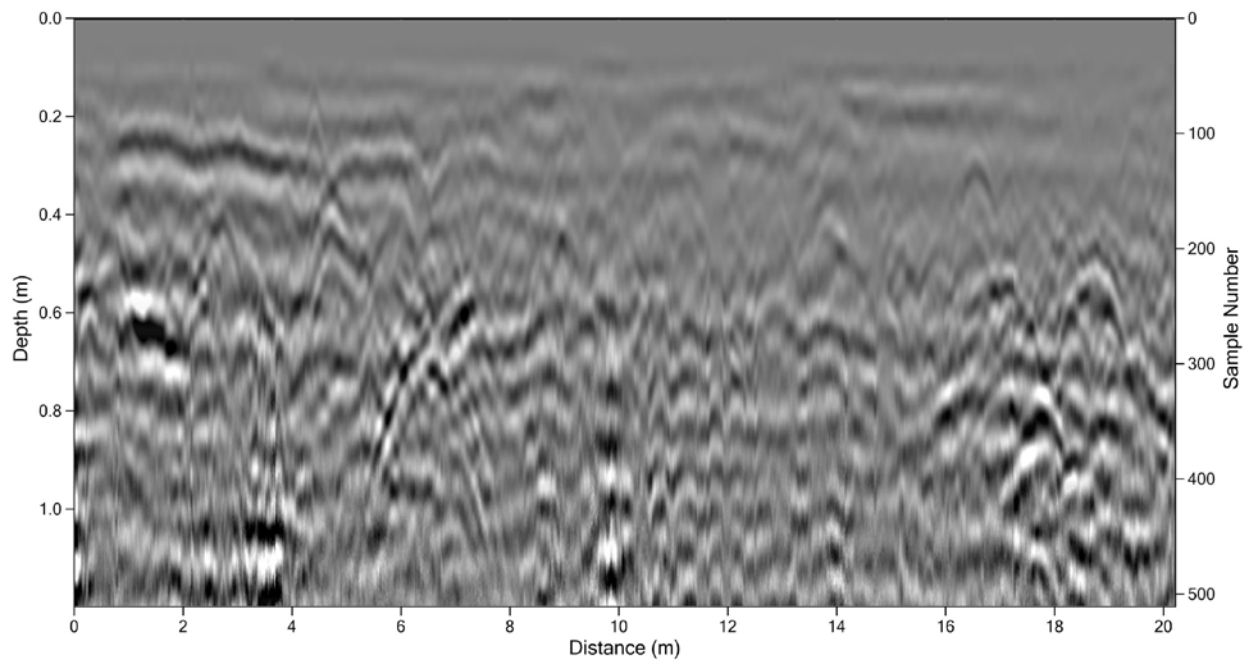
FILE33.DZT



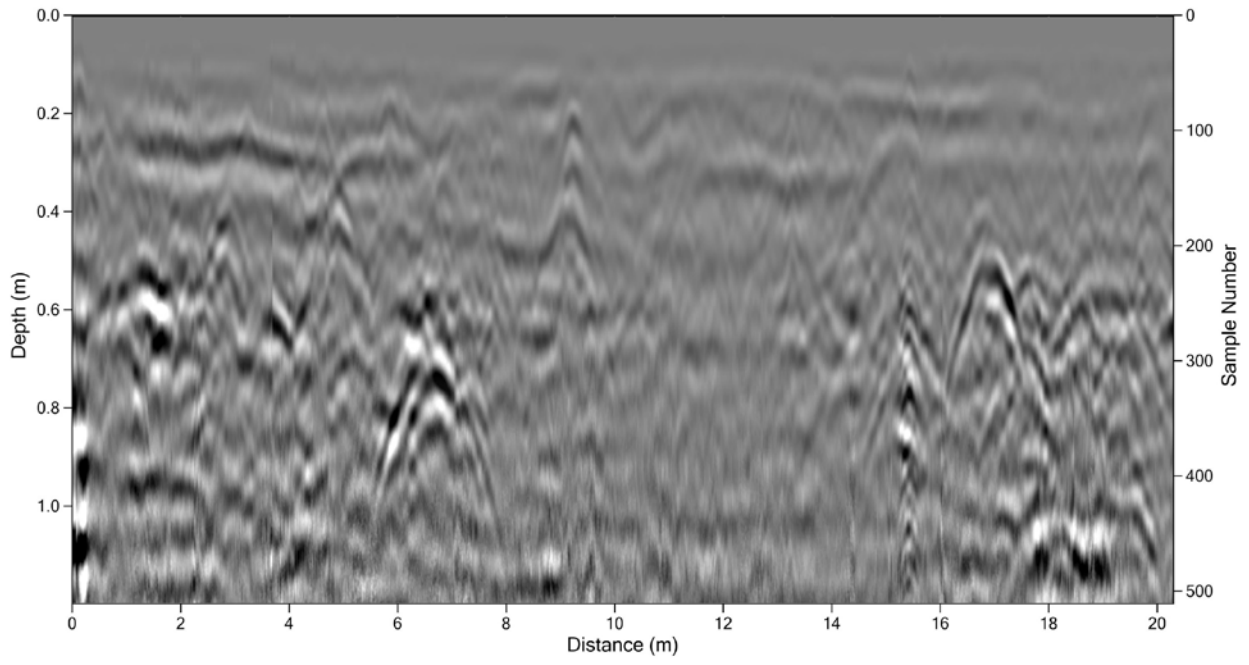
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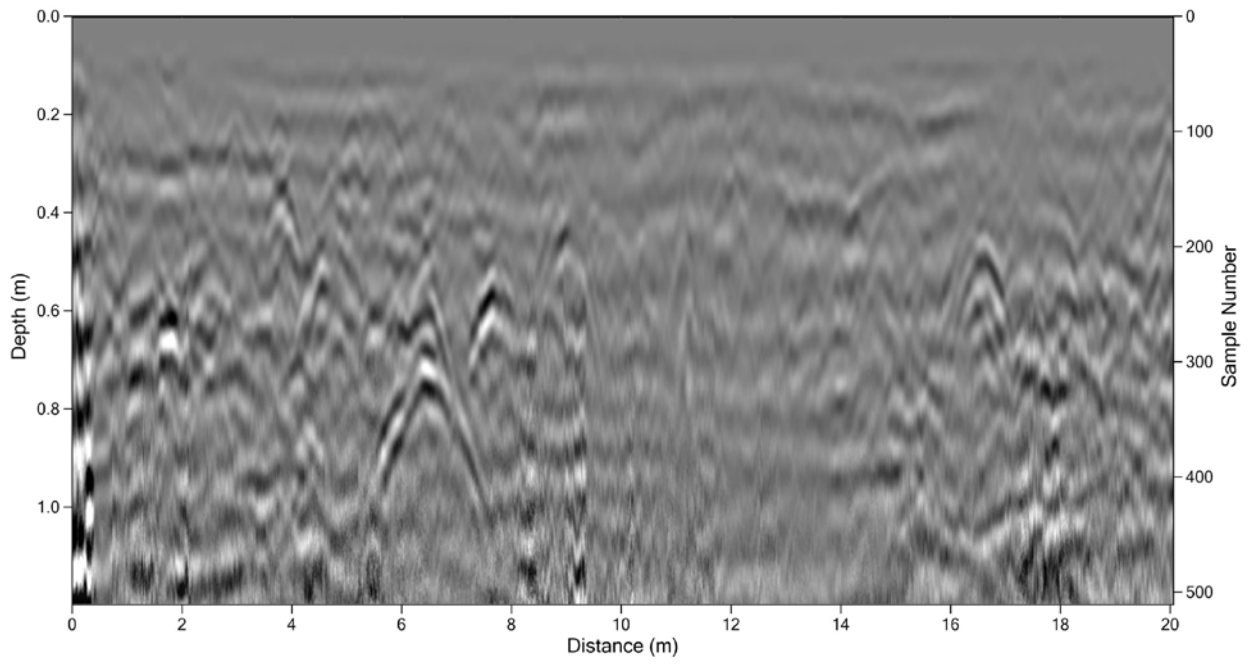
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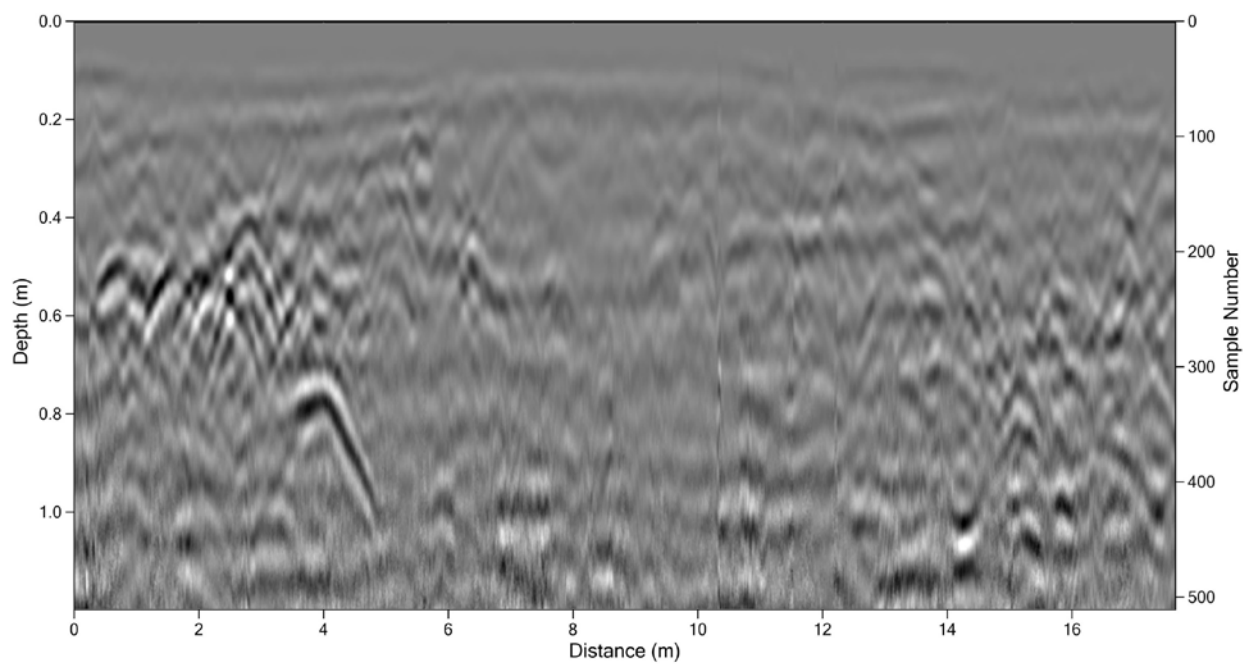
FILE36.DZT



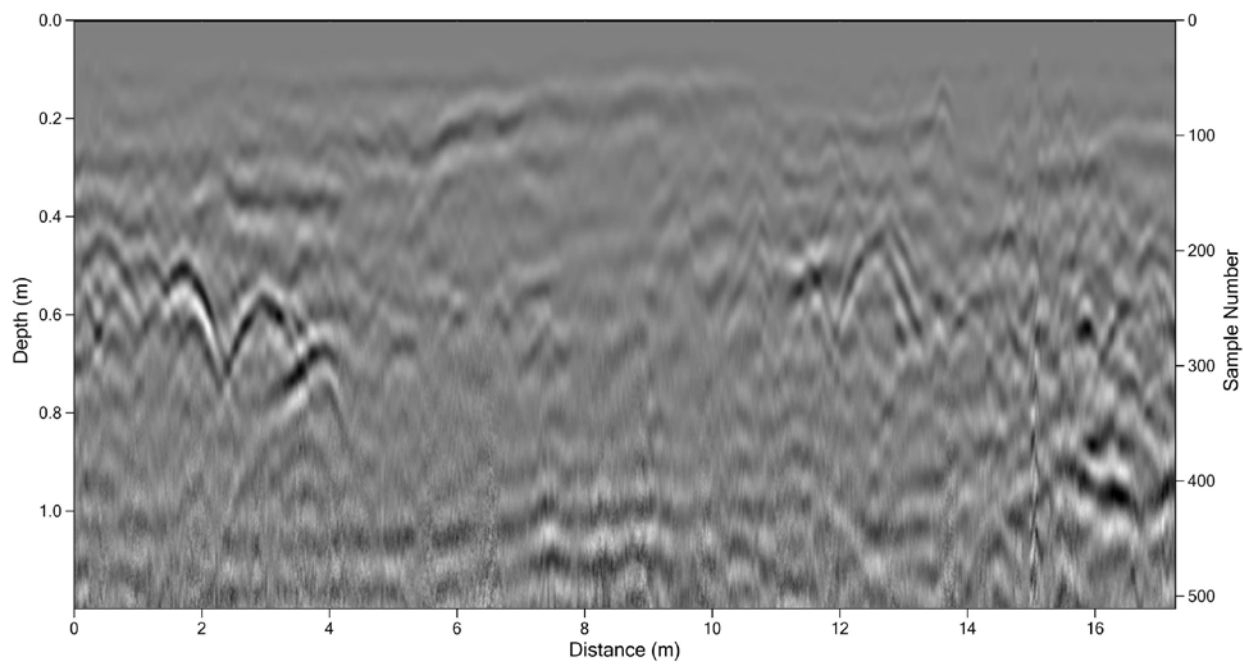
FILE37.DZT



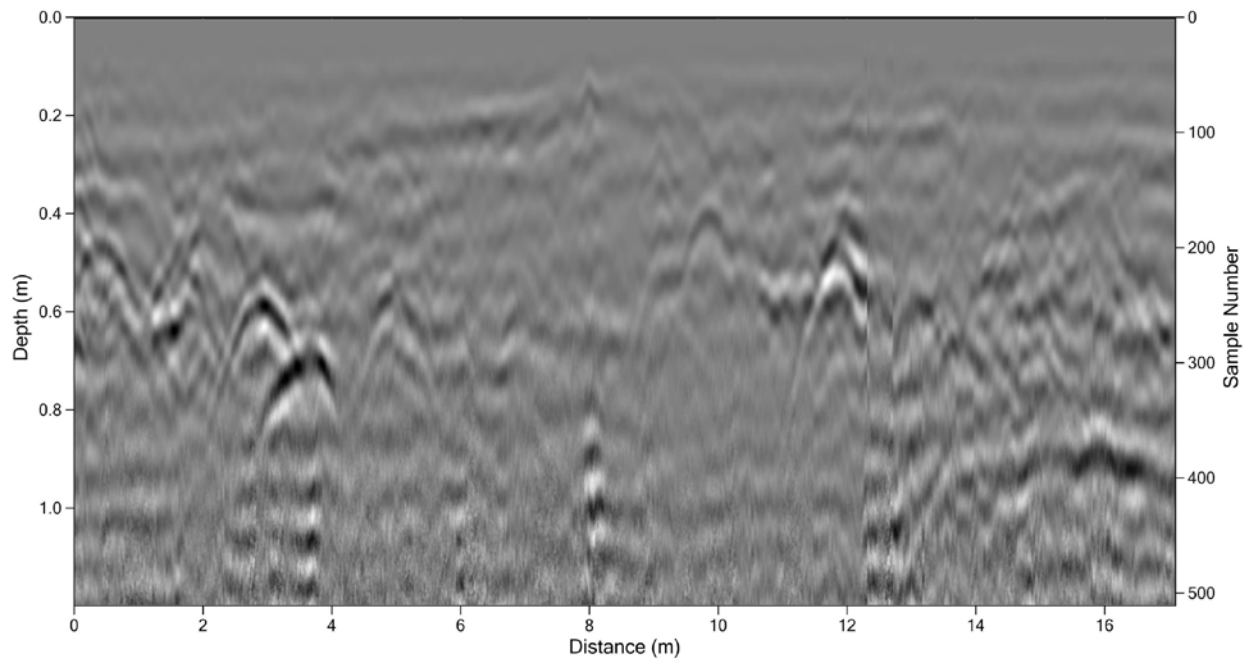
FILE38.DZT



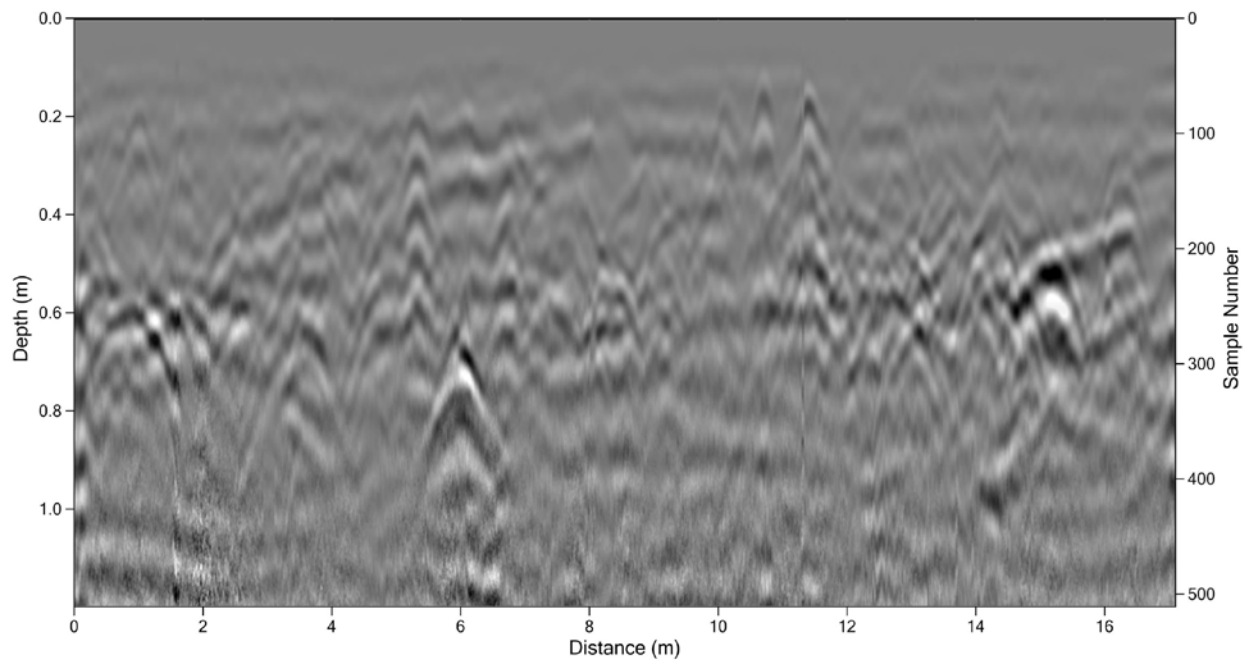
FILE39.DZT



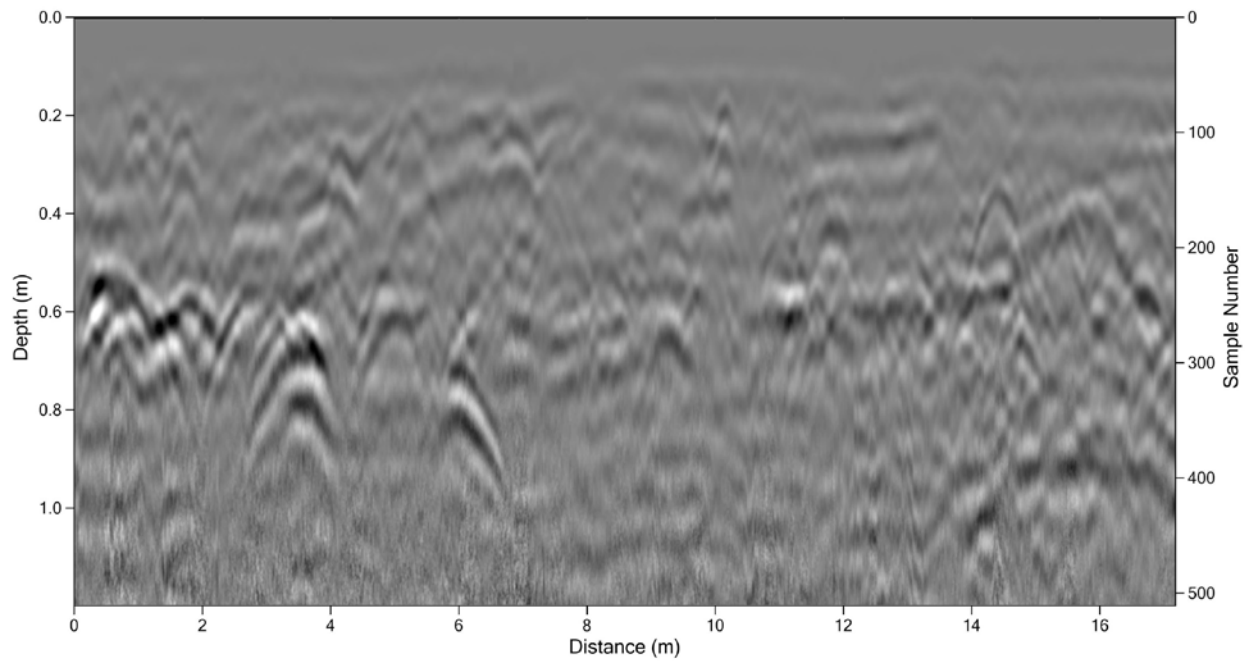
FILE40.DZT



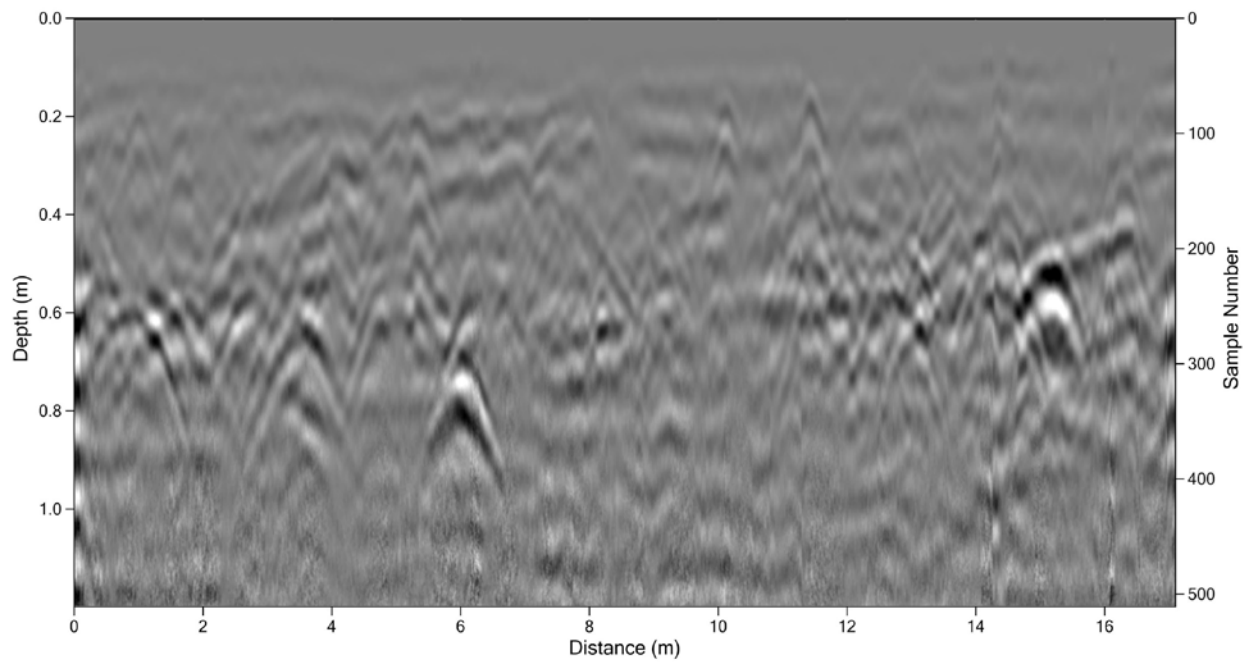
FILE41.DZT



FILE42.DZT

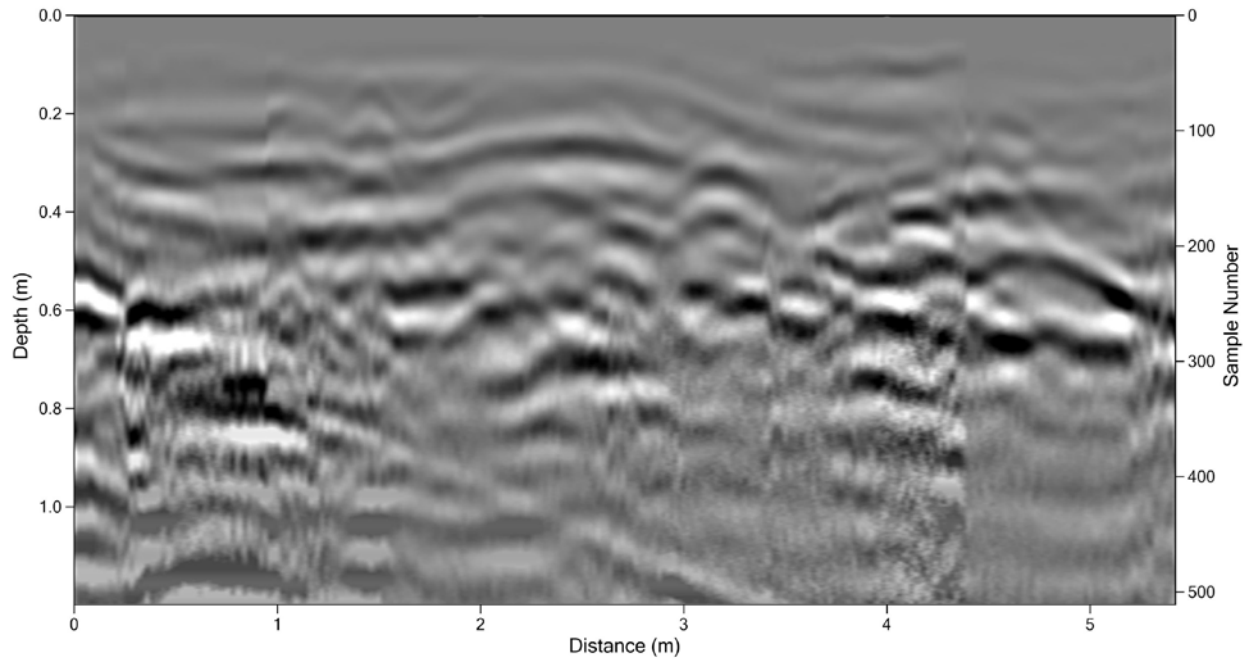


FILE43.DZT

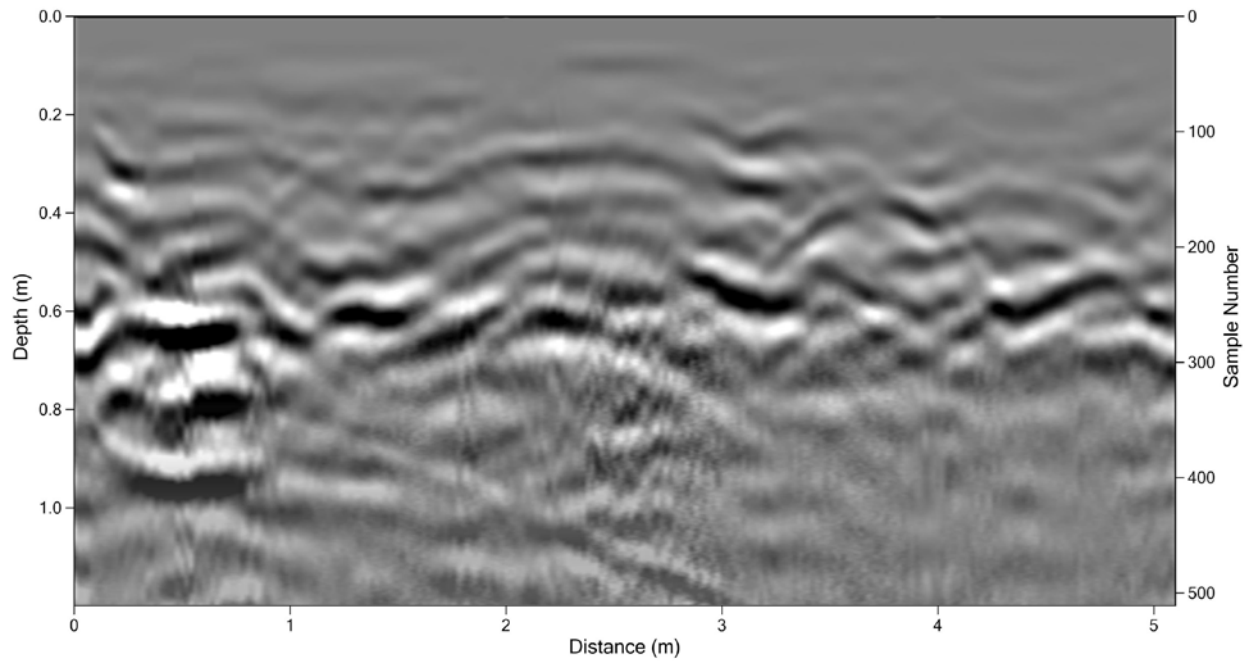


Third Quadrant

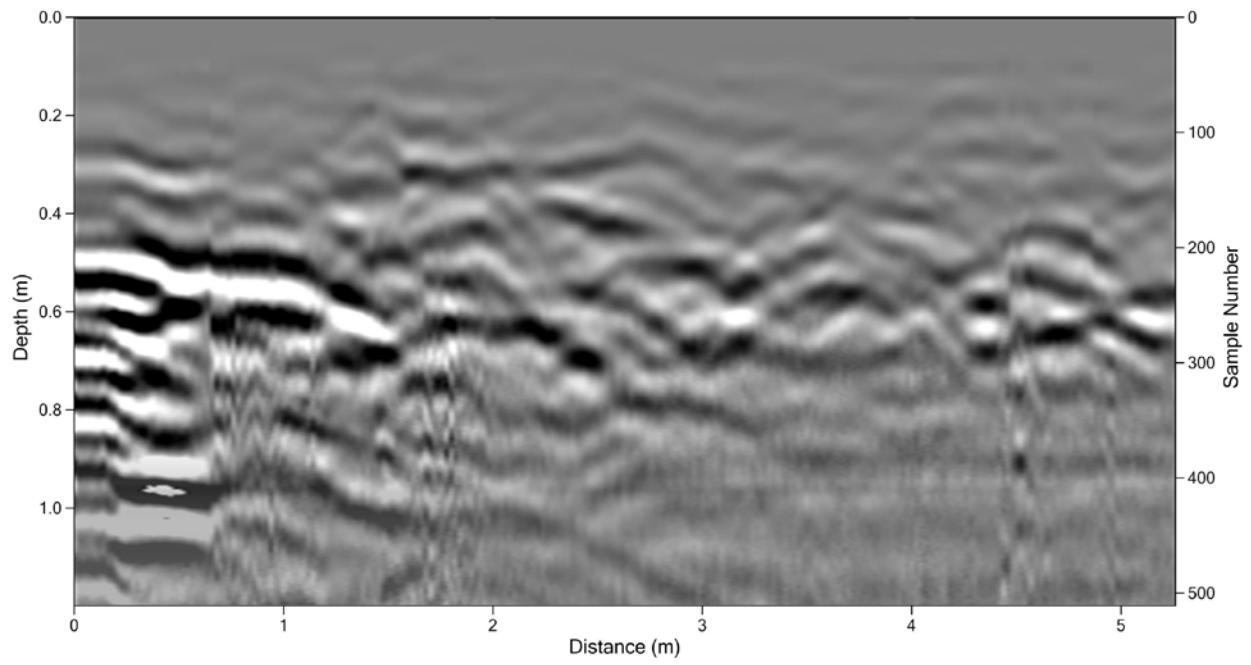
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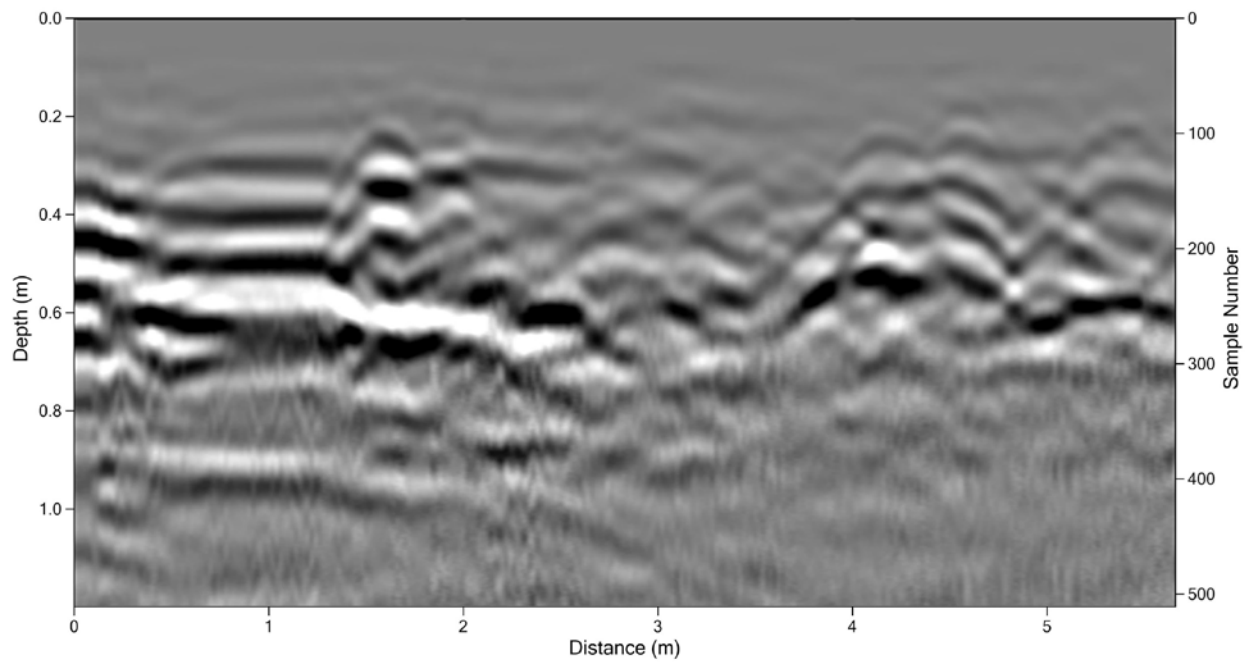
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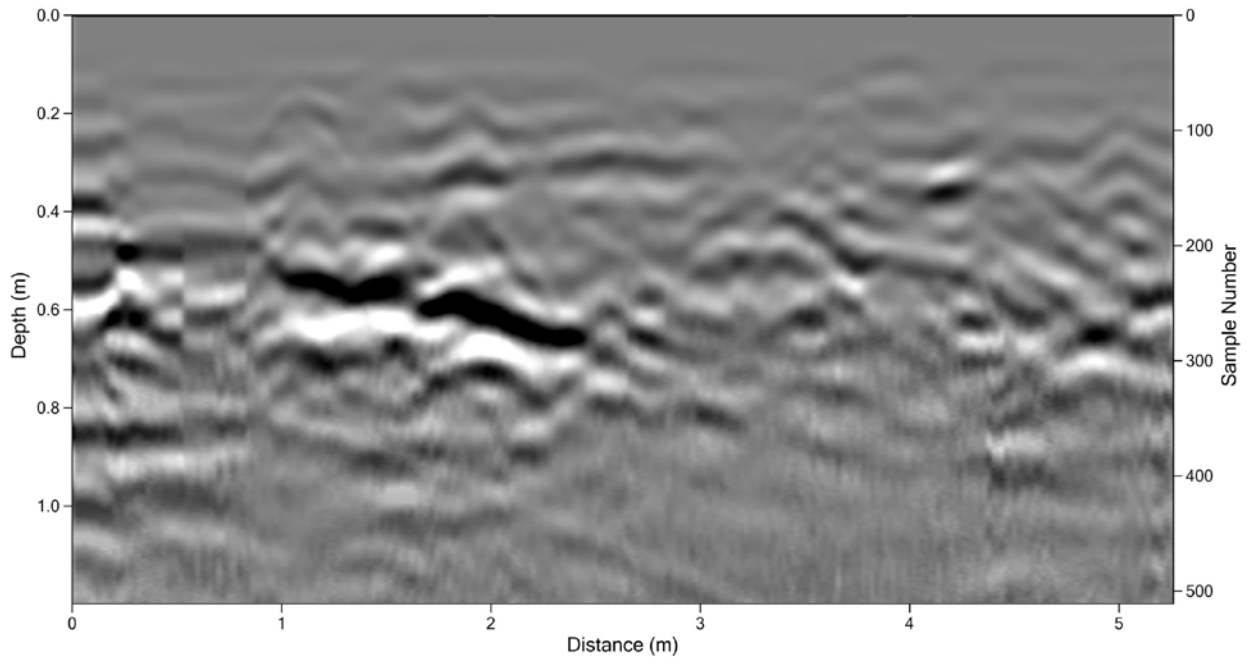
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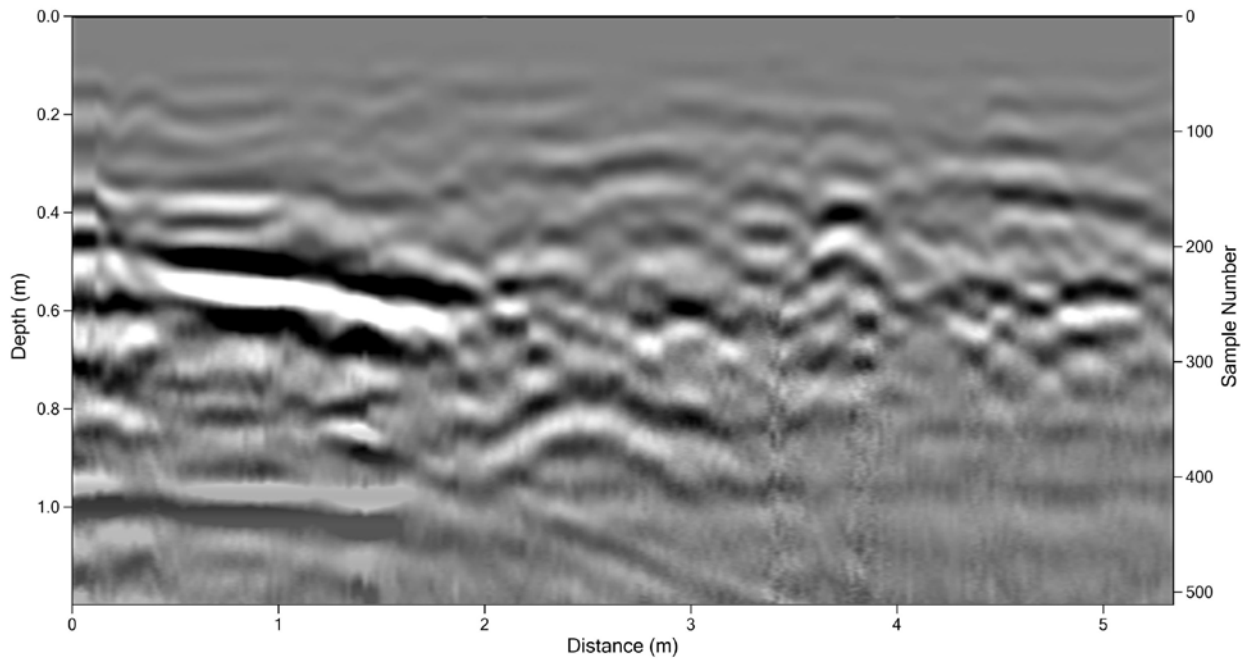
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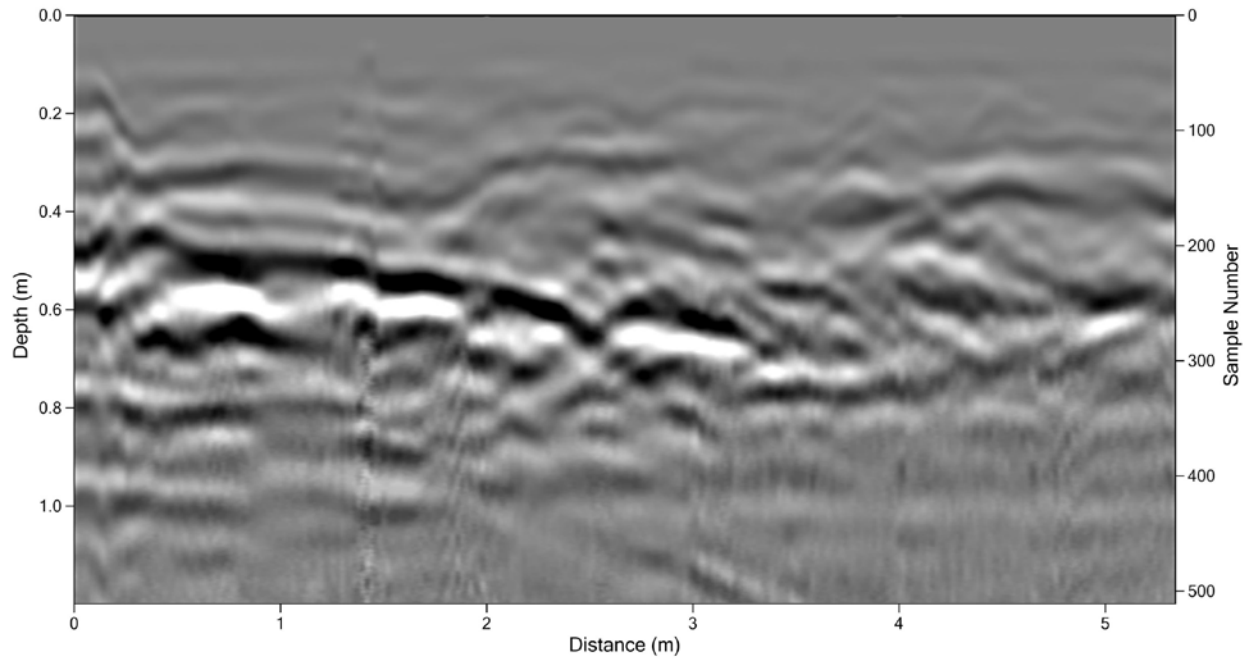
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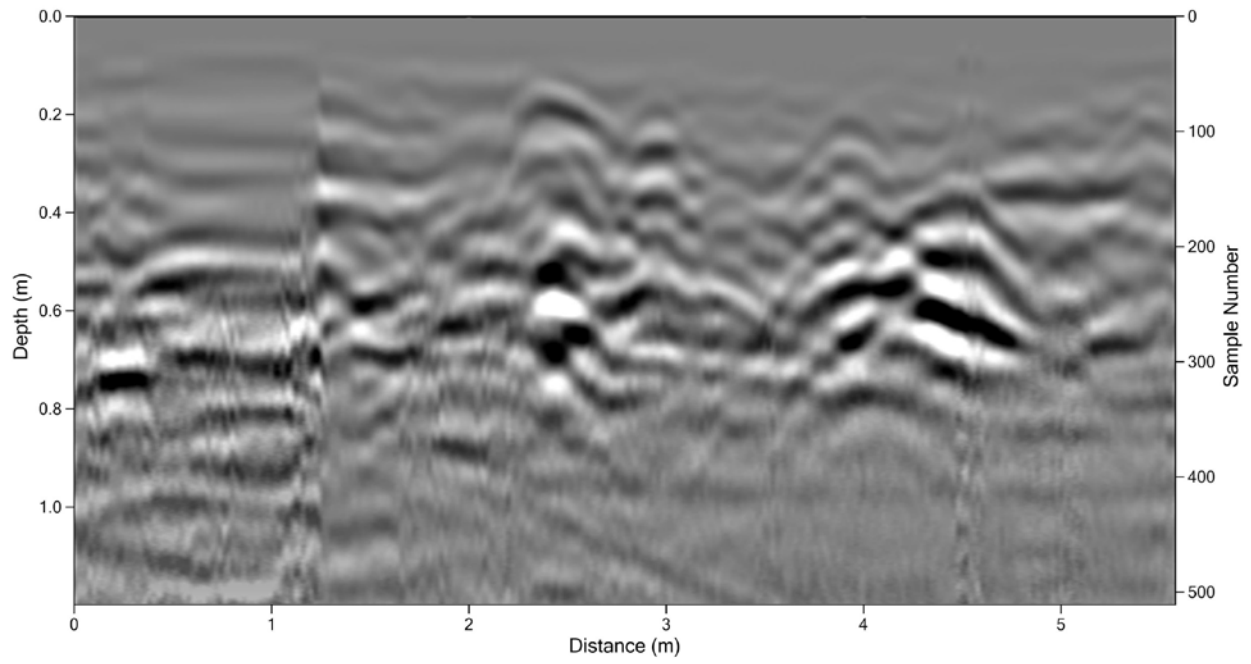
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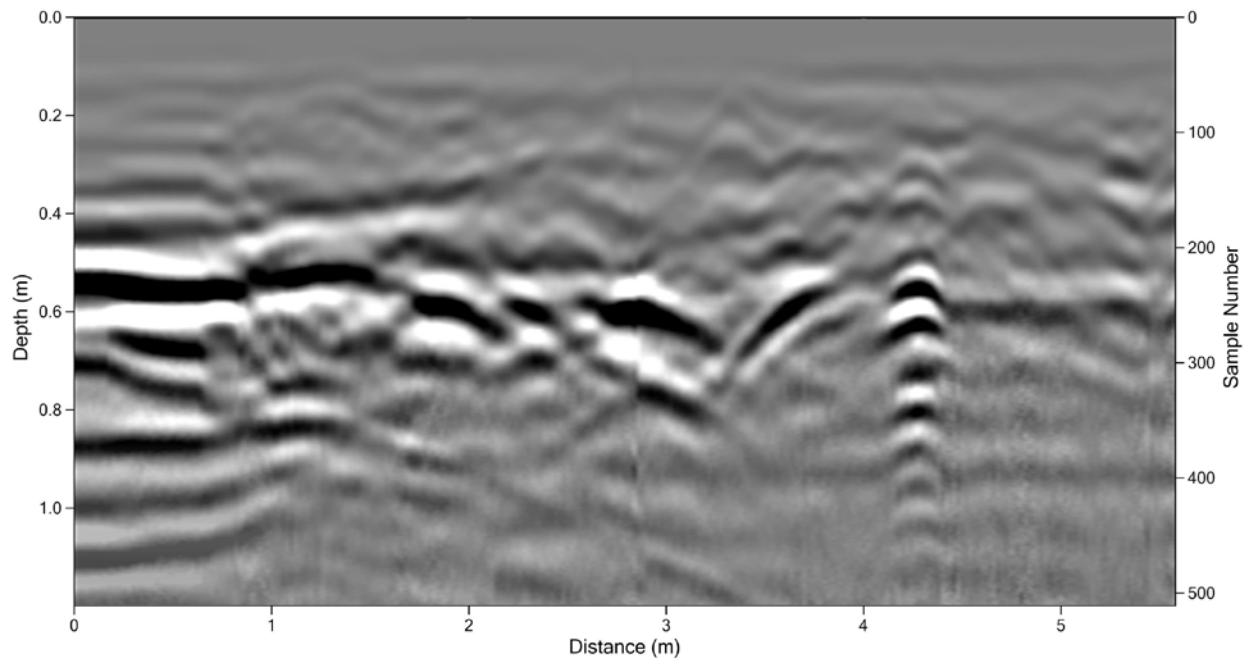
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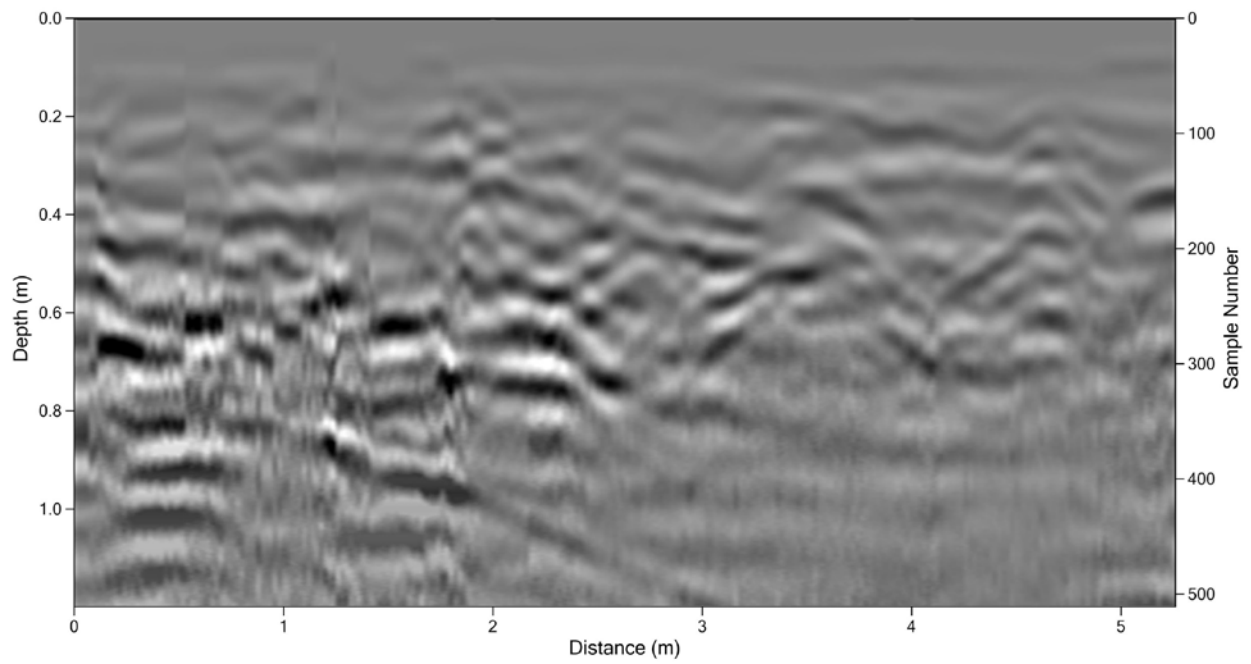
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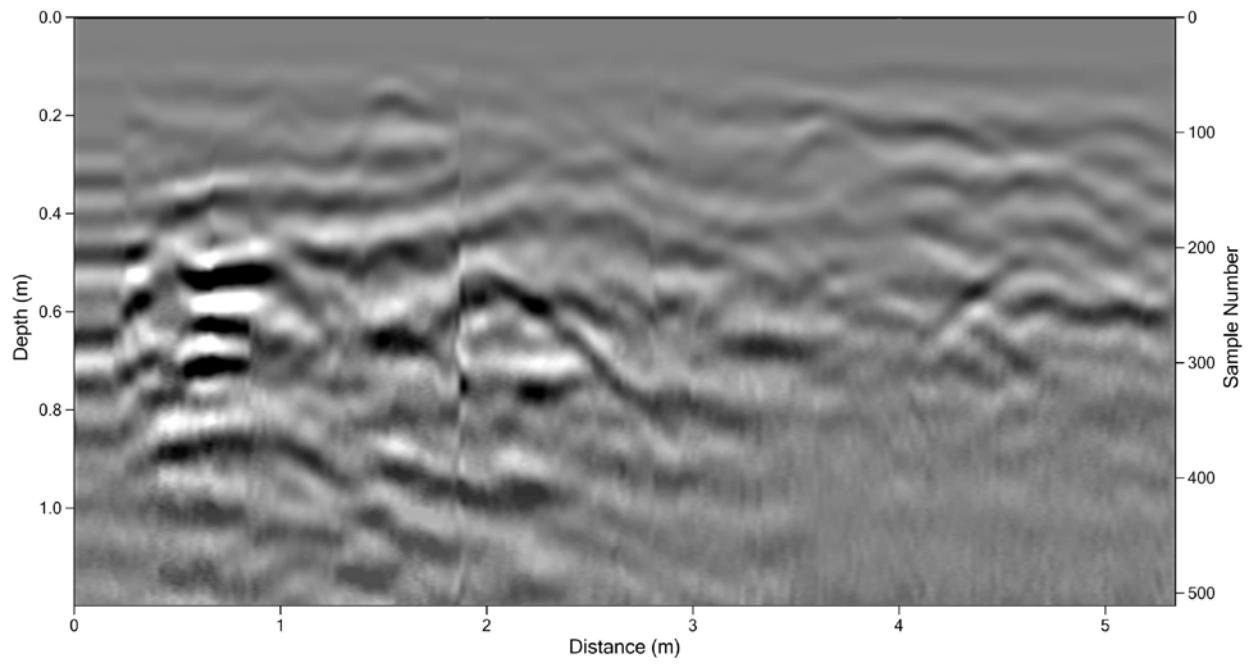
FILE58.DZT



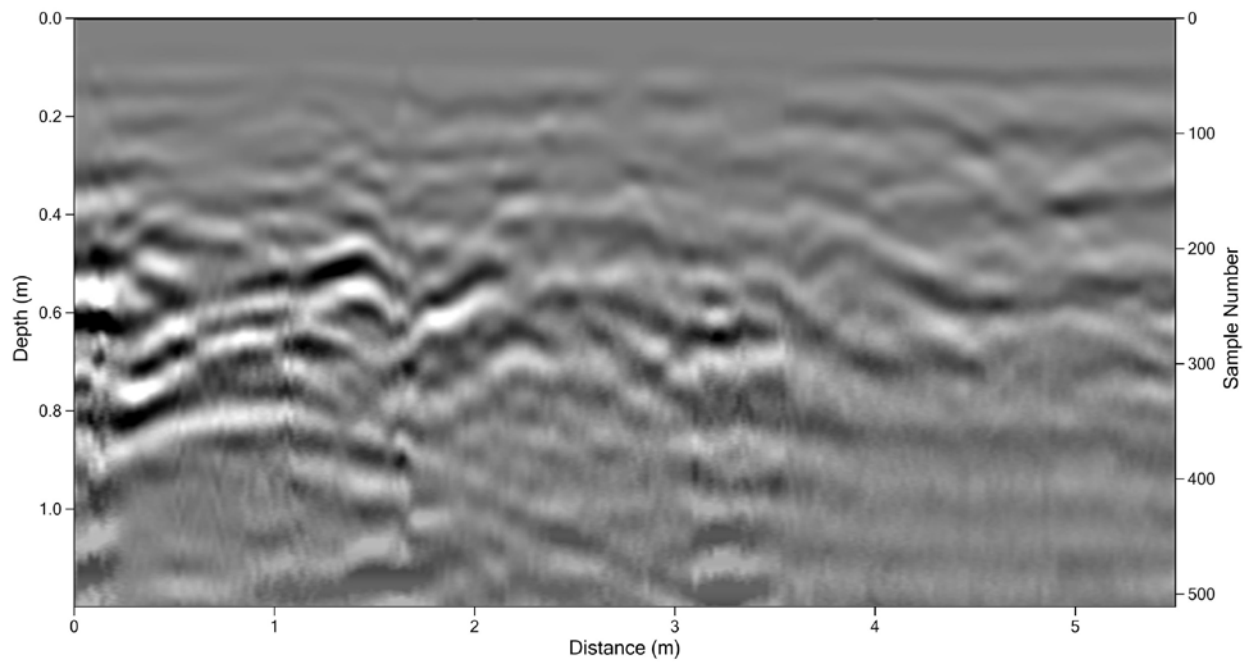
FILE59.DZT



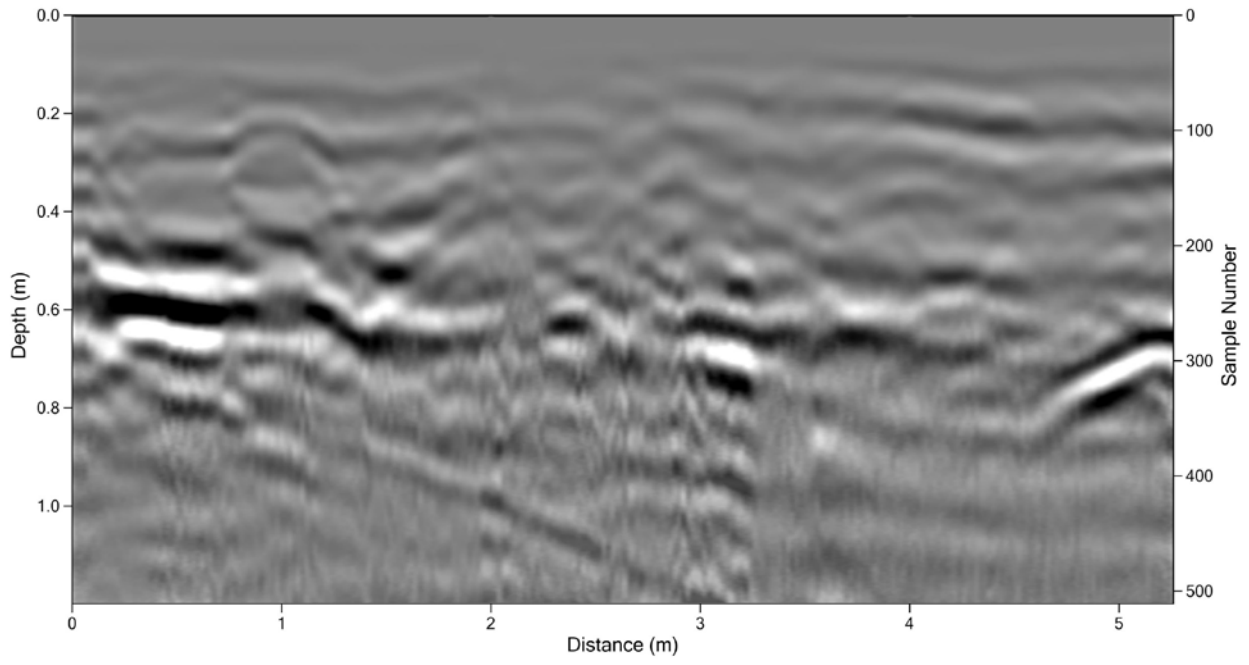
FILE60.DZT



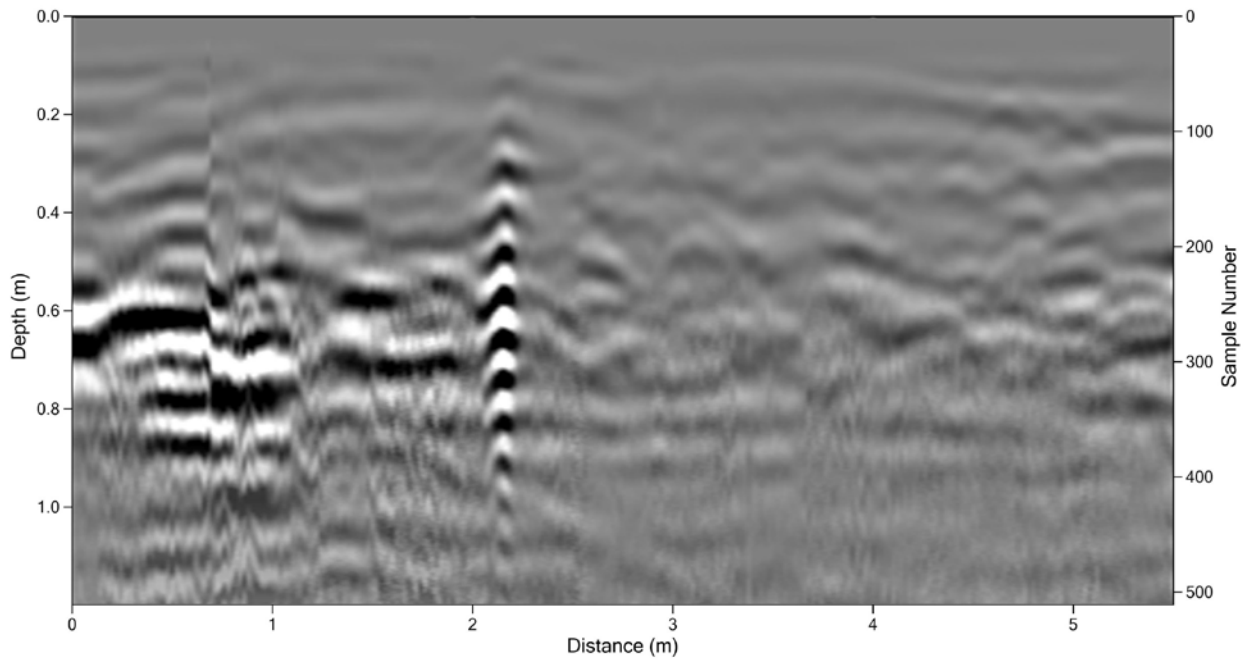
FILE61.DZT



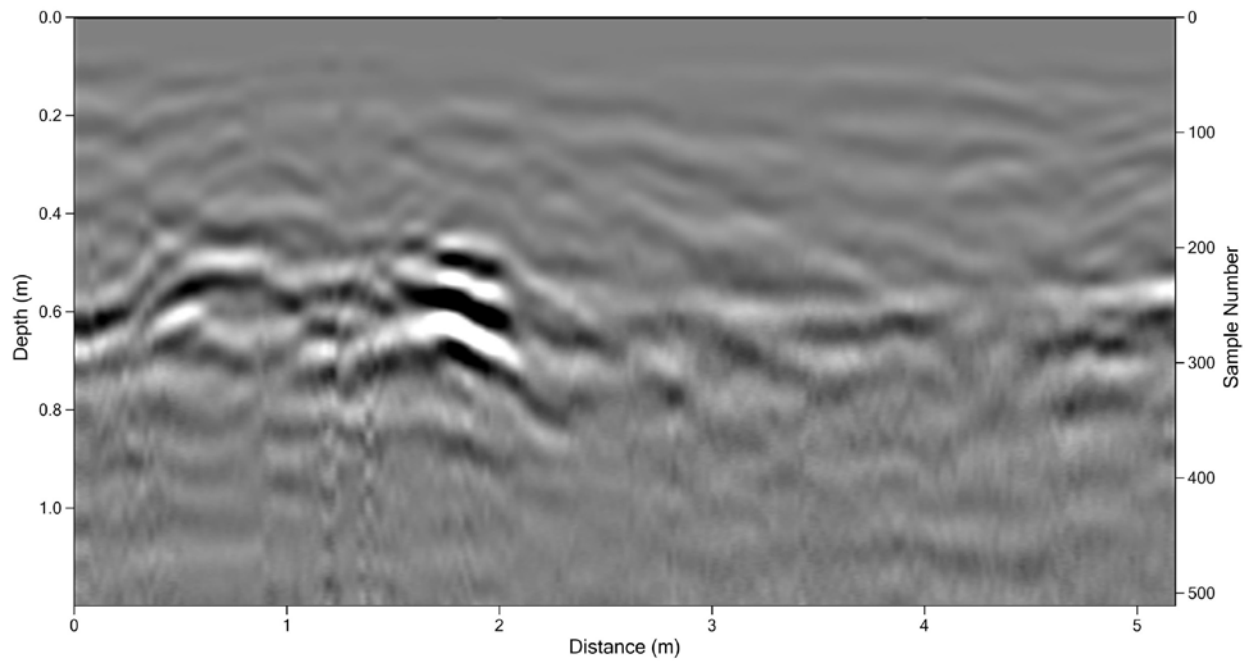
FILE62.DZT



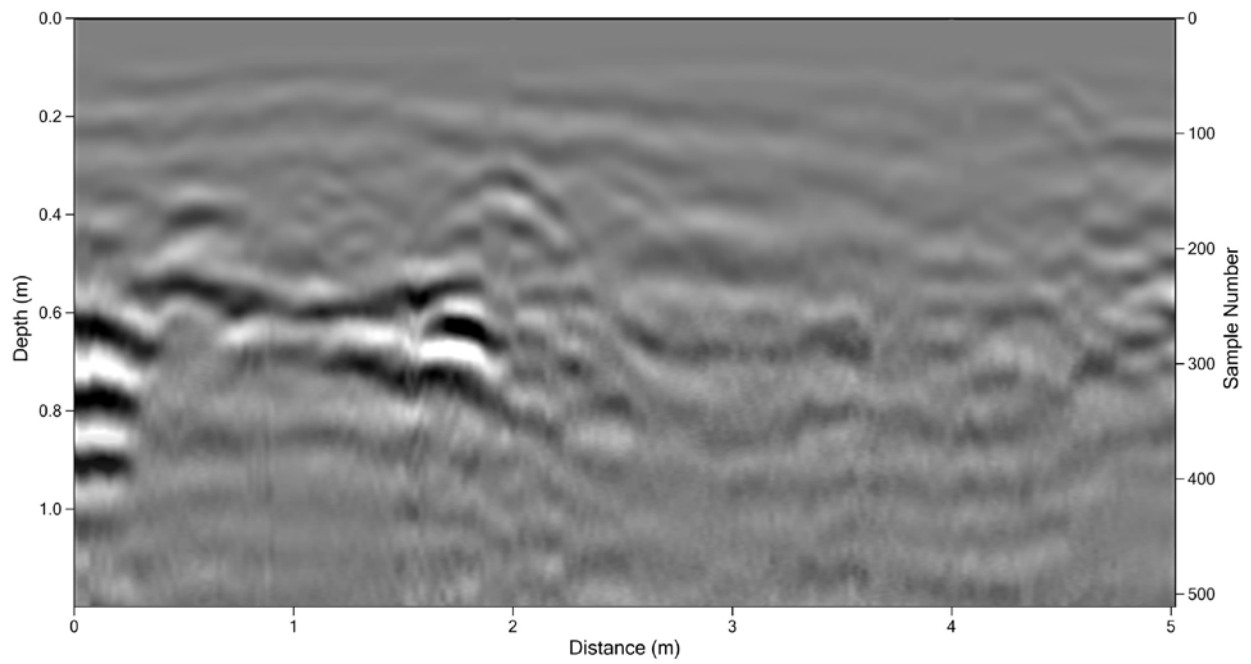
FILE63.DZT



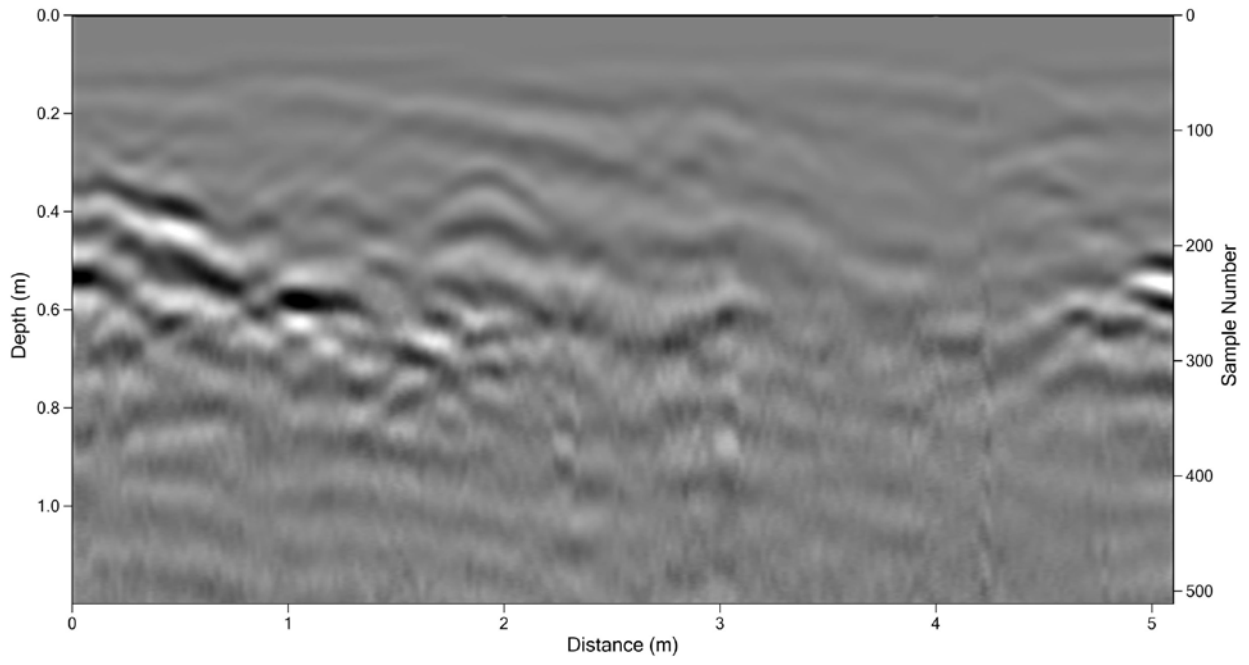
FILE64.DZT



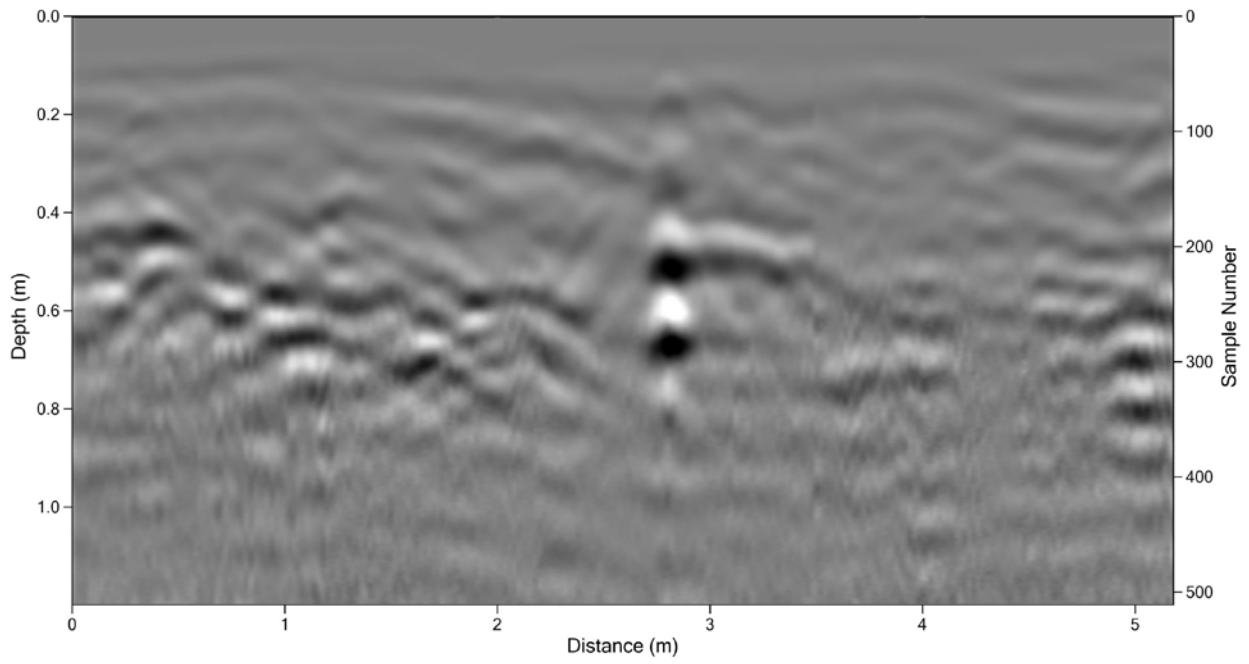
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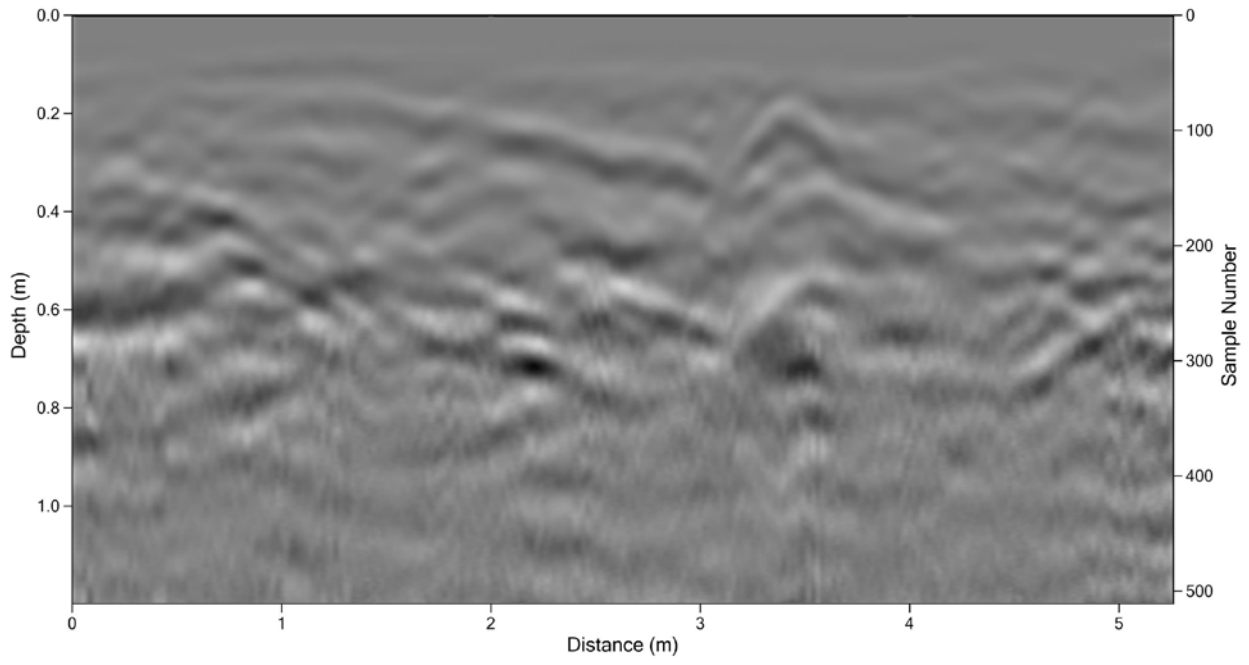
FILE66.DZT



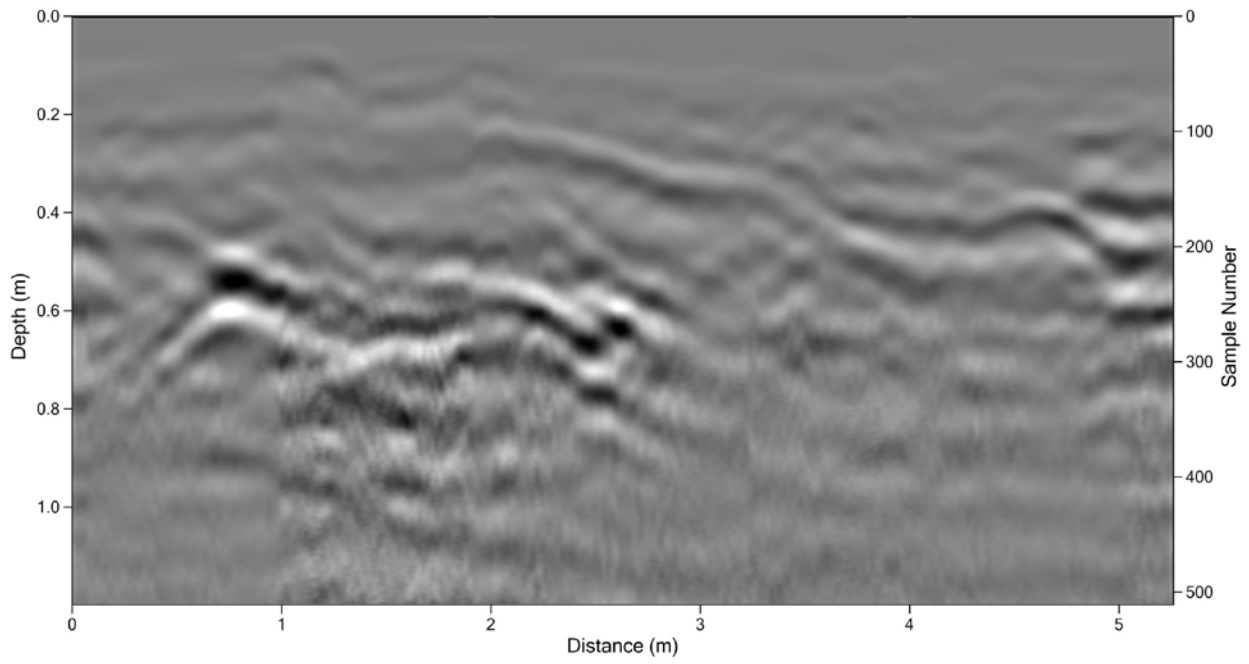
FILE67.DZT



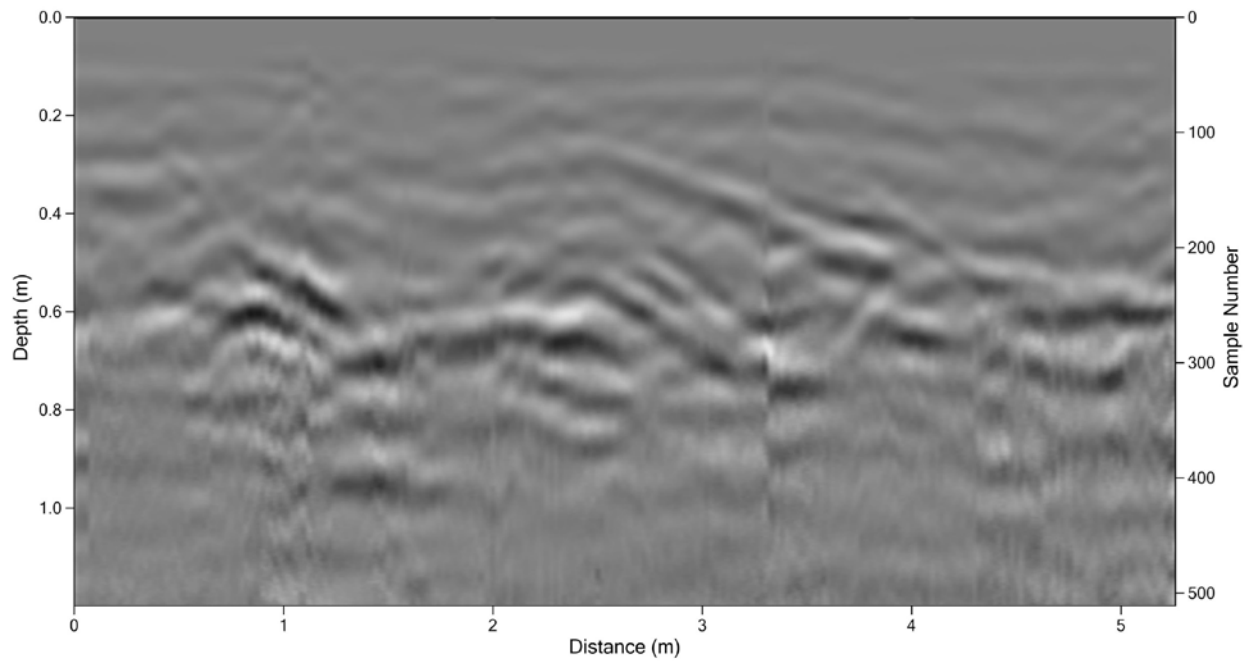
FILE68.DZT



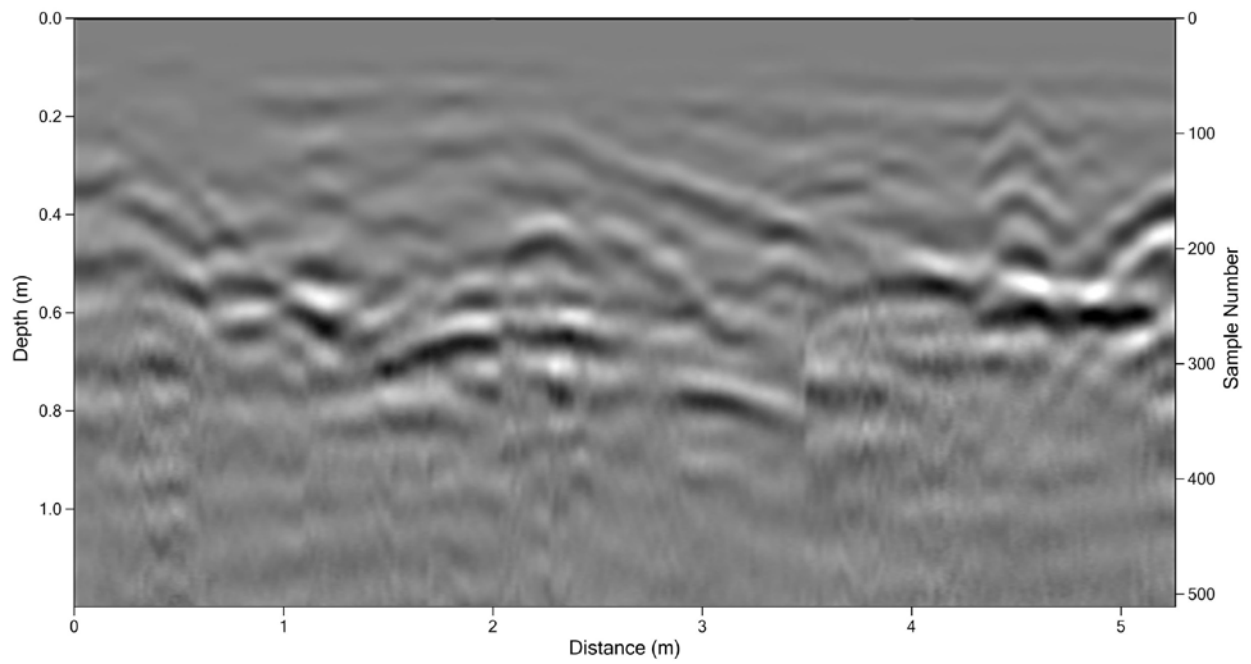
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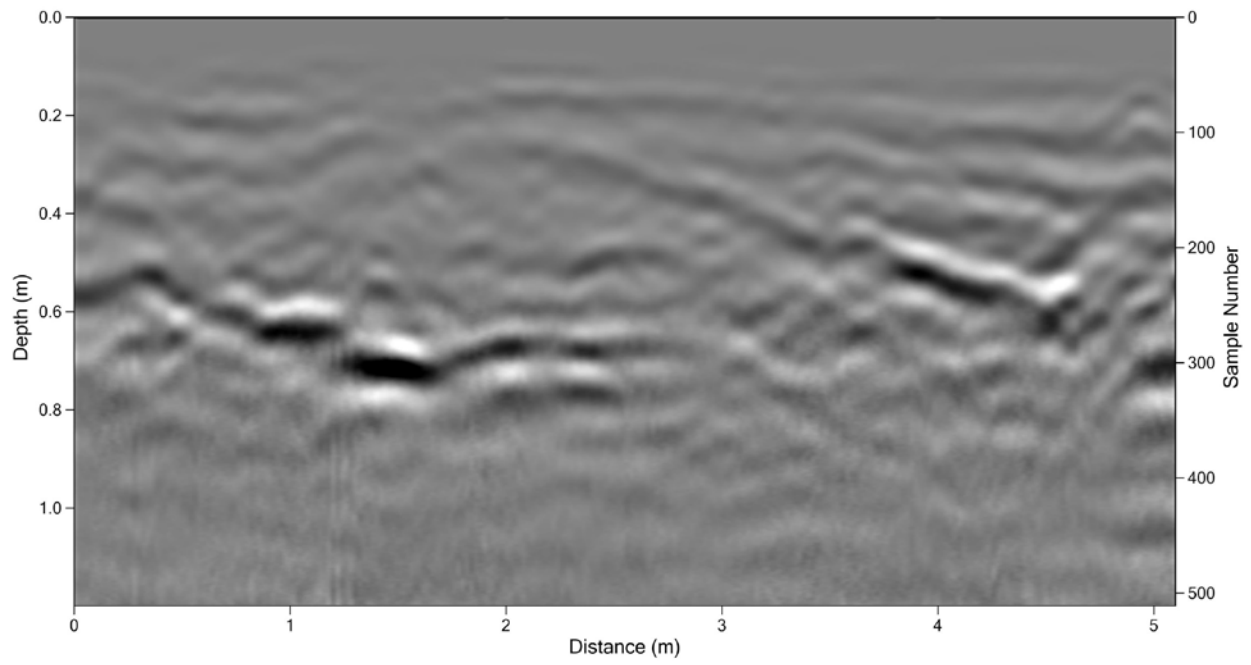
FILE70.DZT



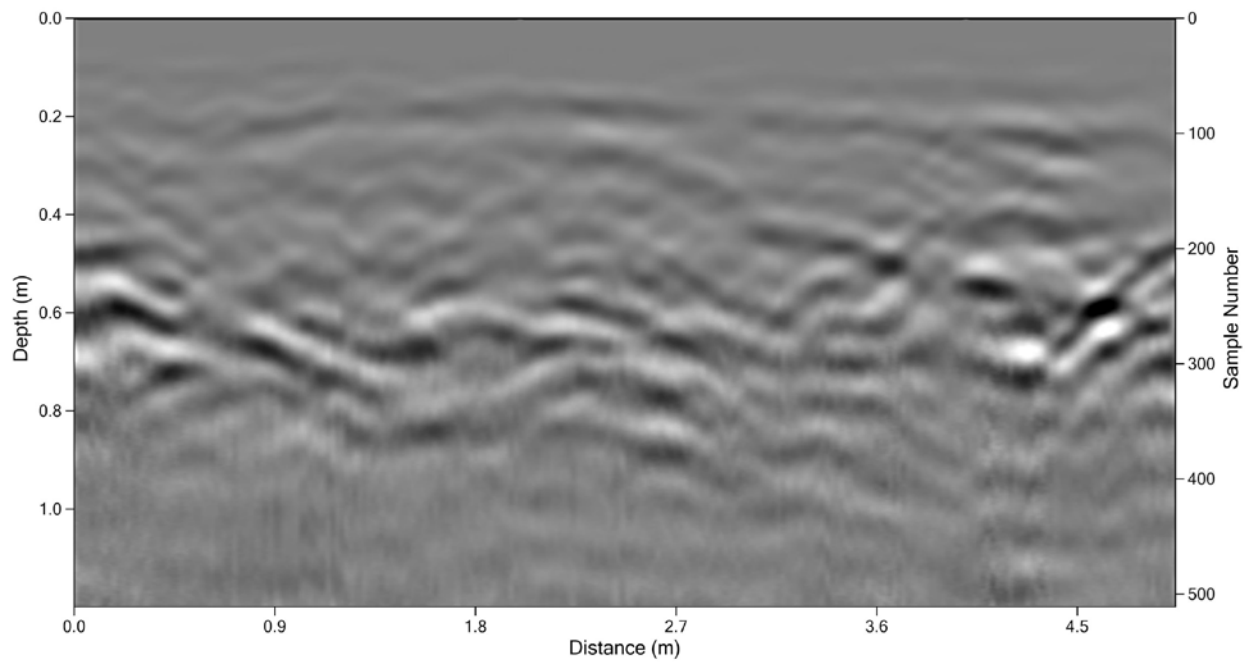
FILE71.DZT



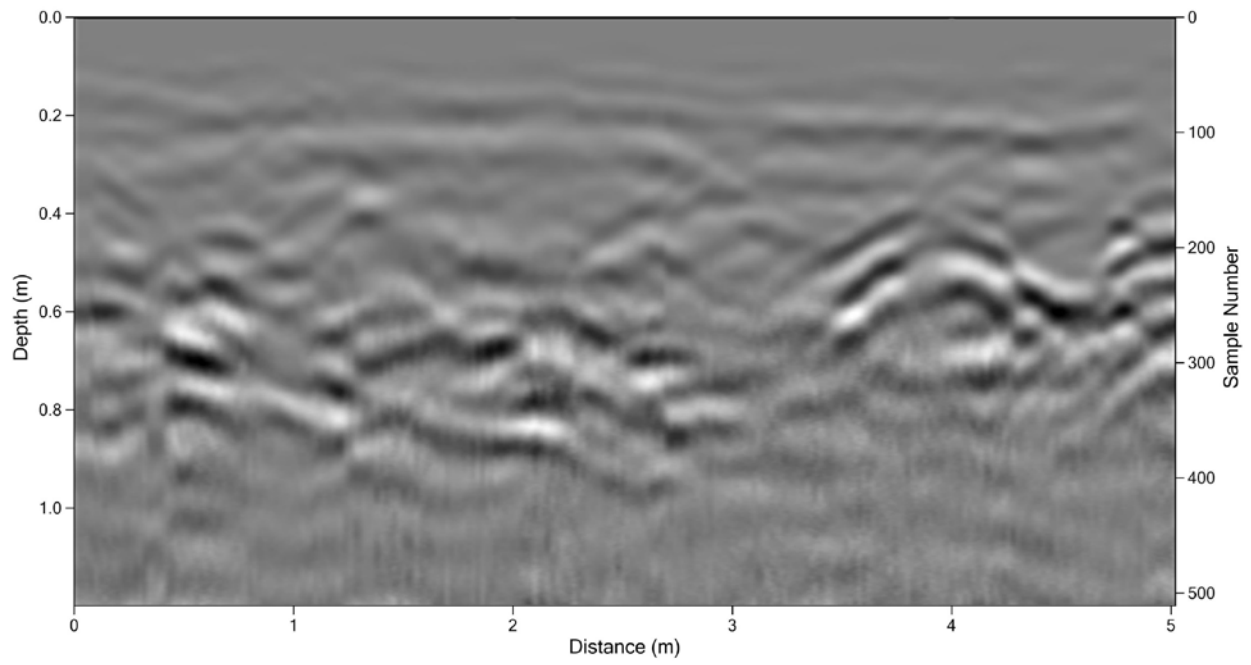
FILE72.DZT



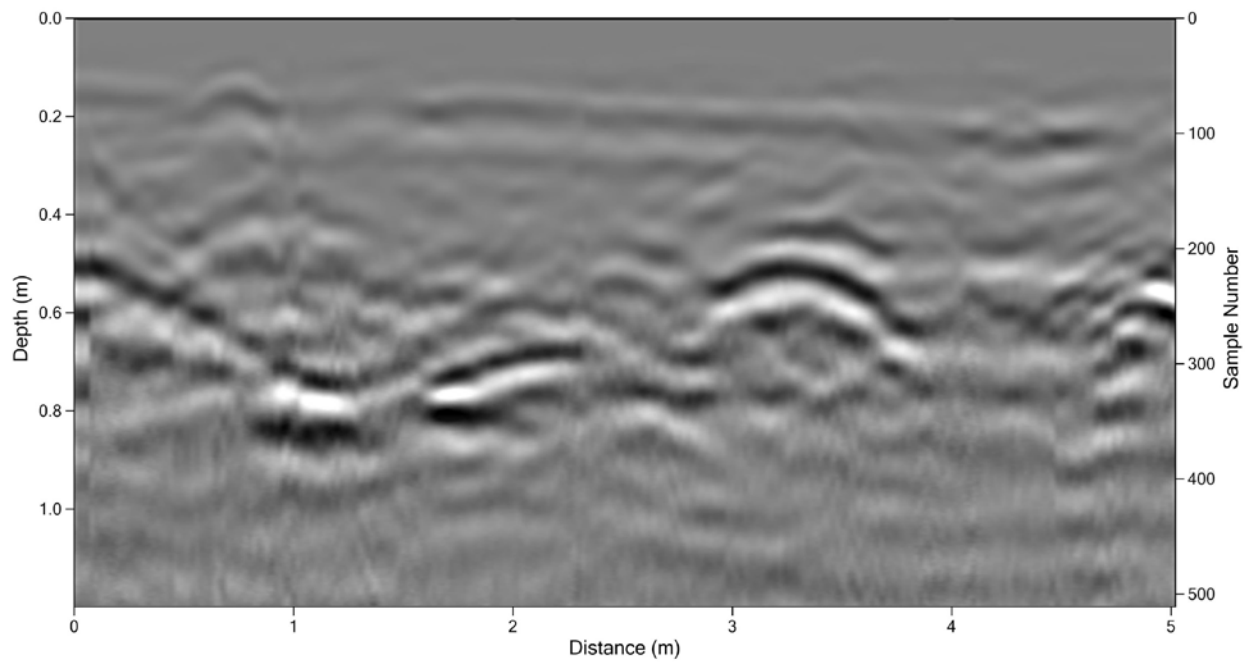
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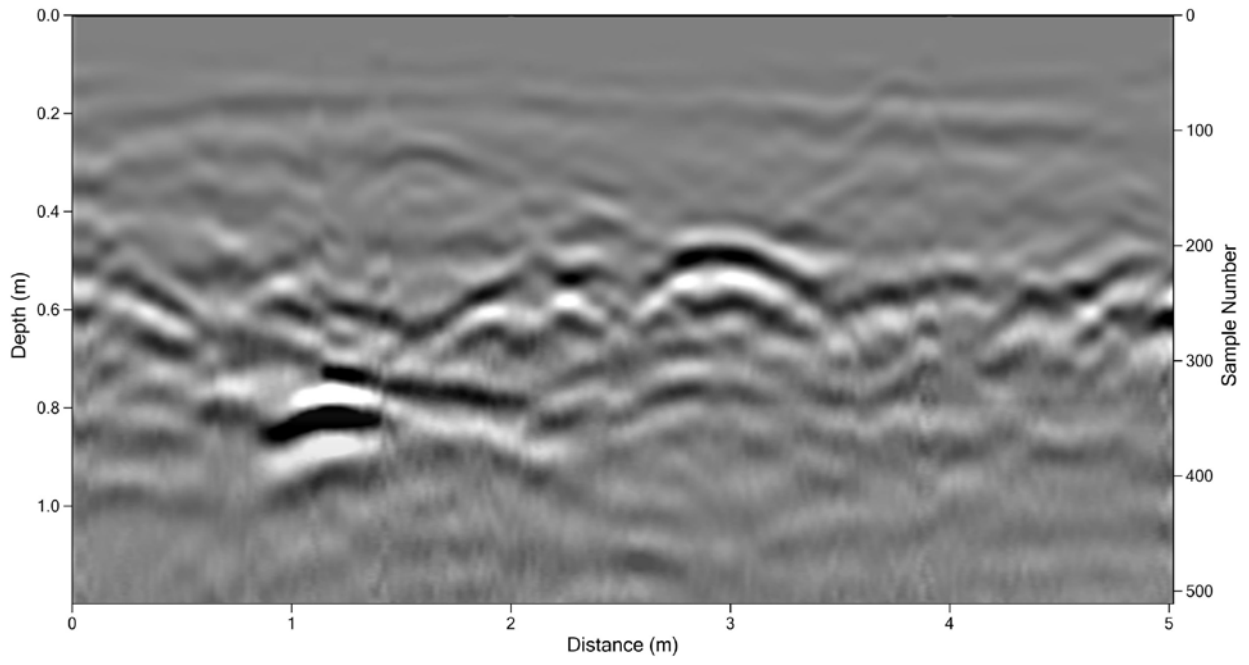
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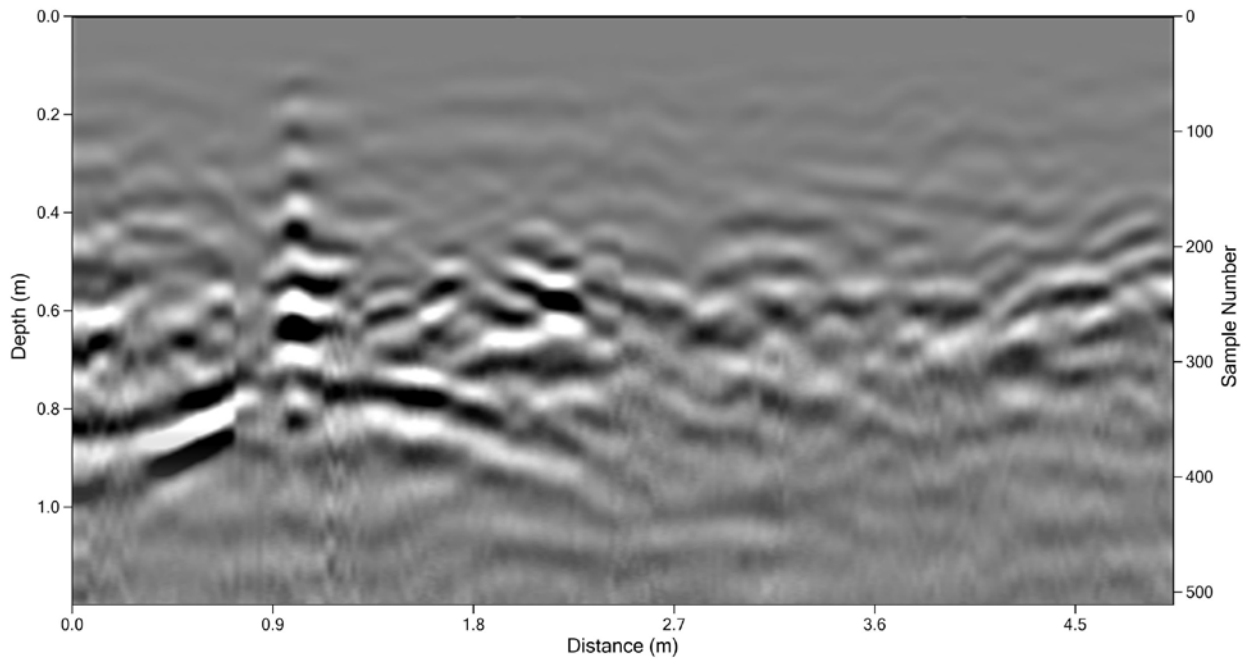
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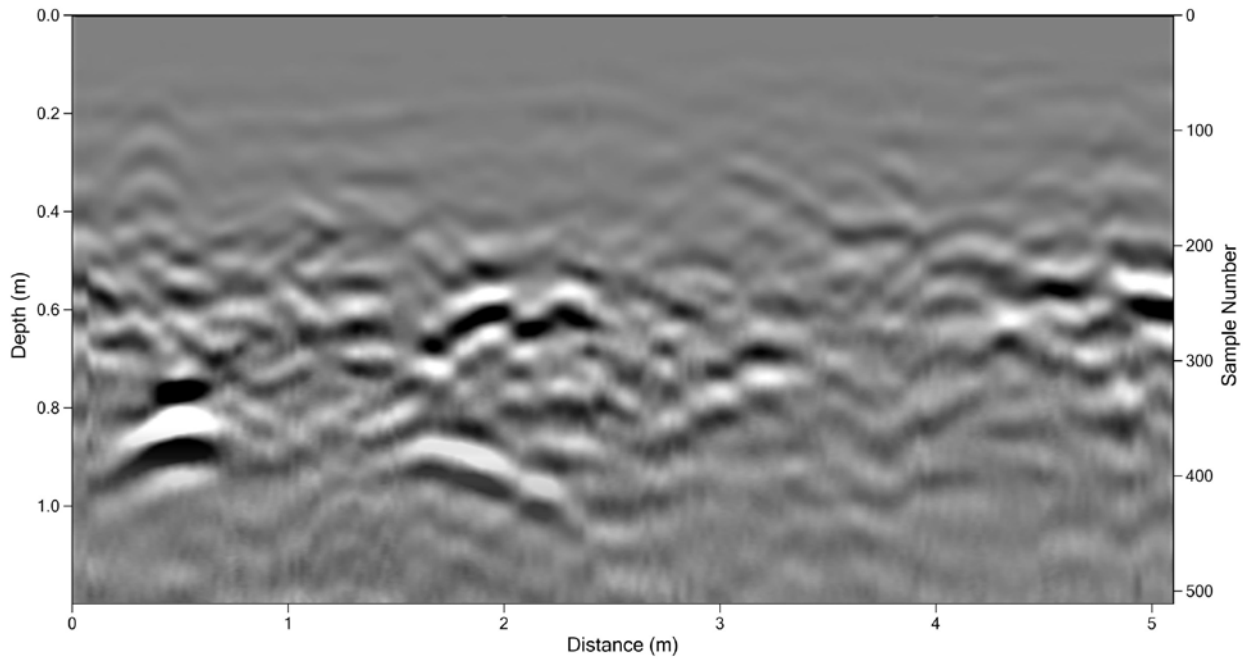
FILE76.DZT



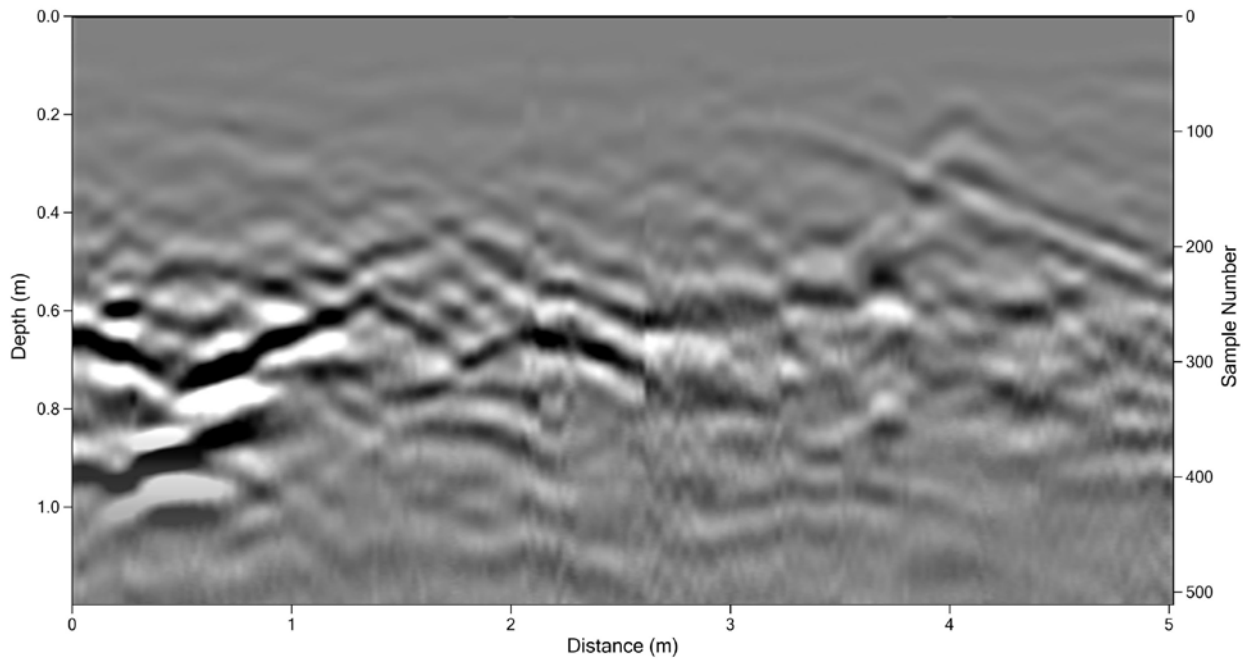
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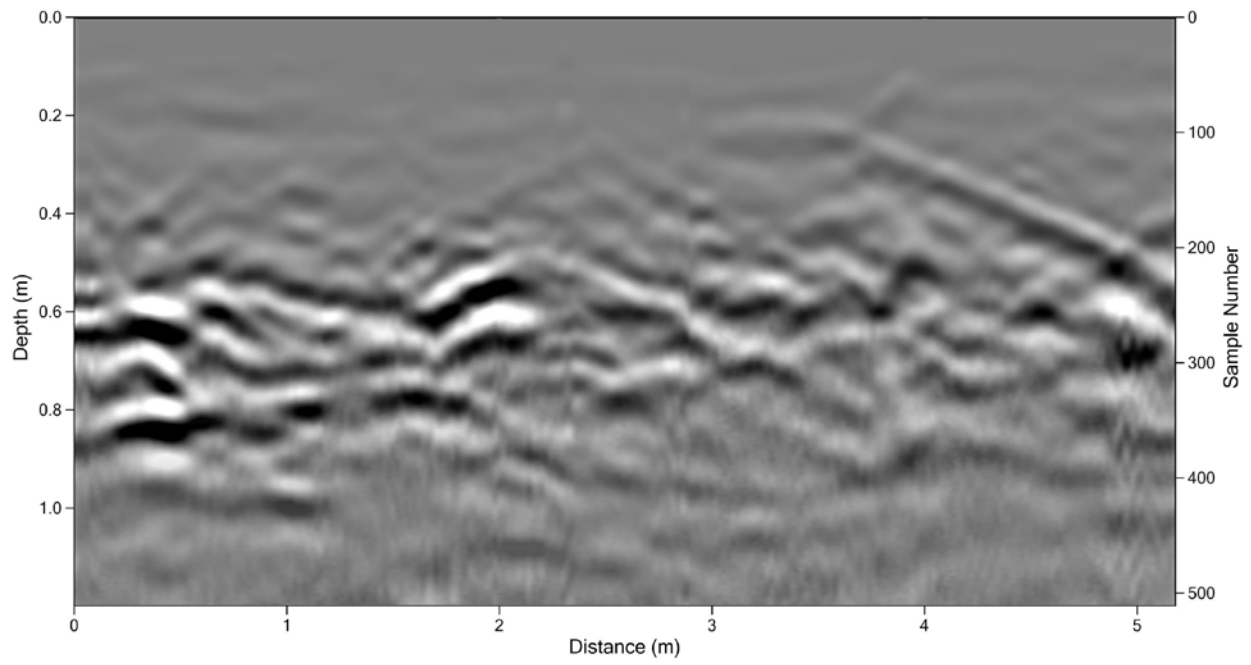
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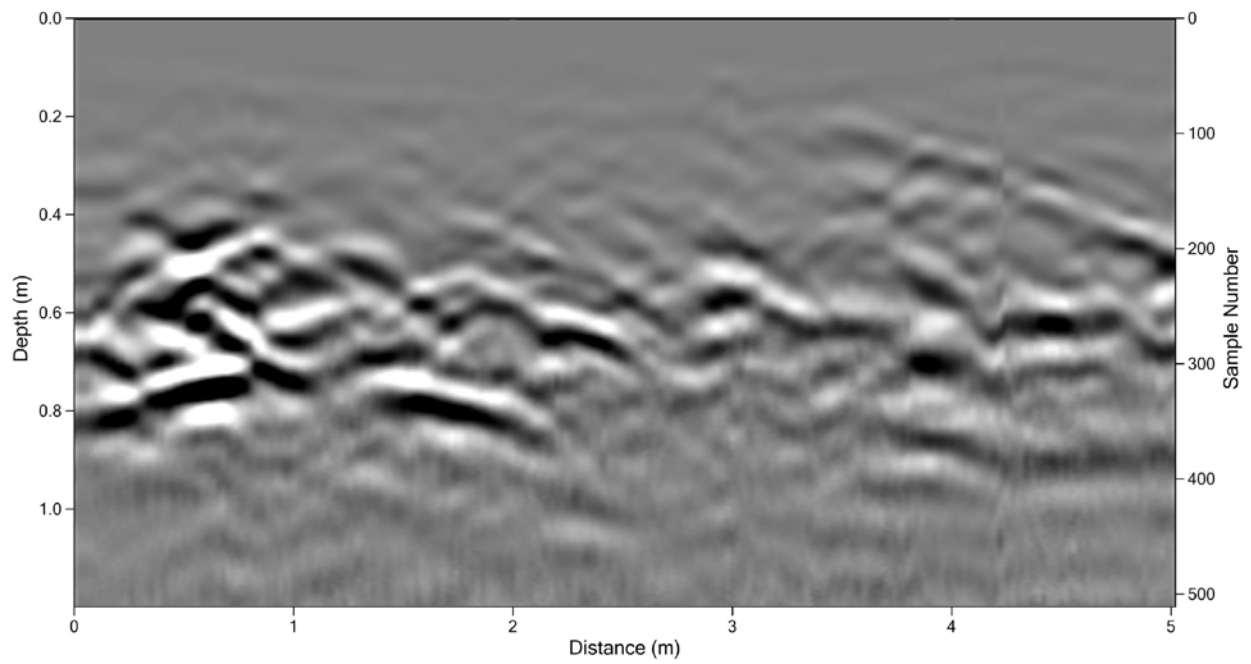
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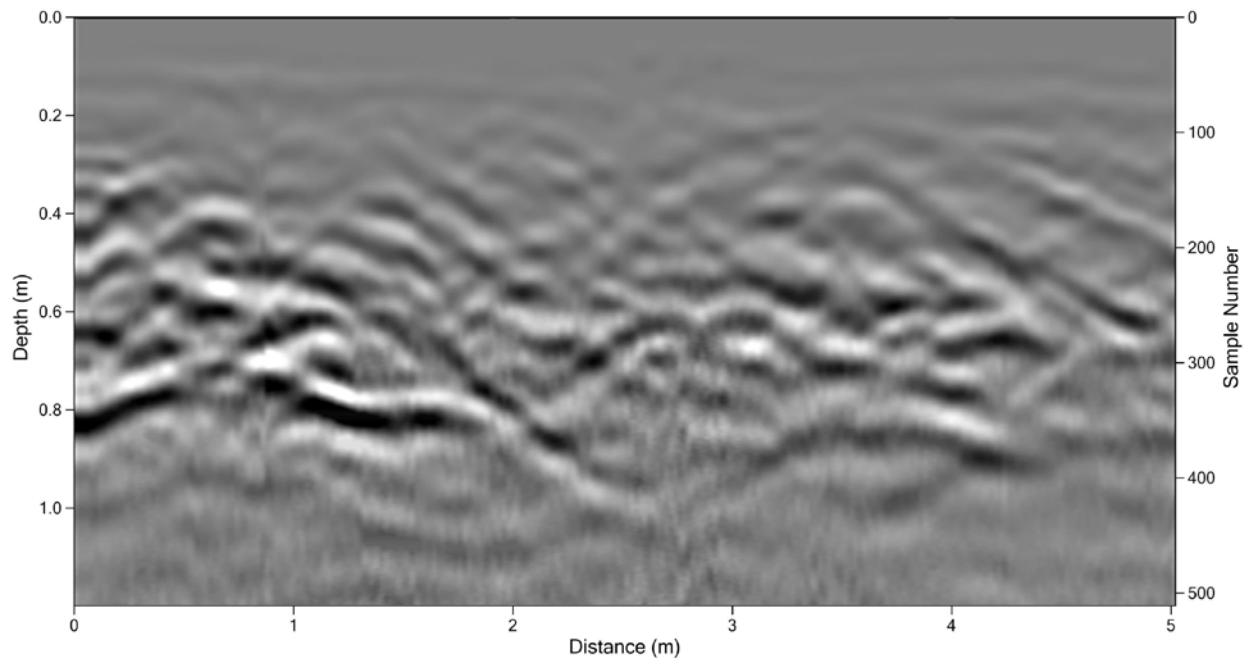
FILE80.DZT



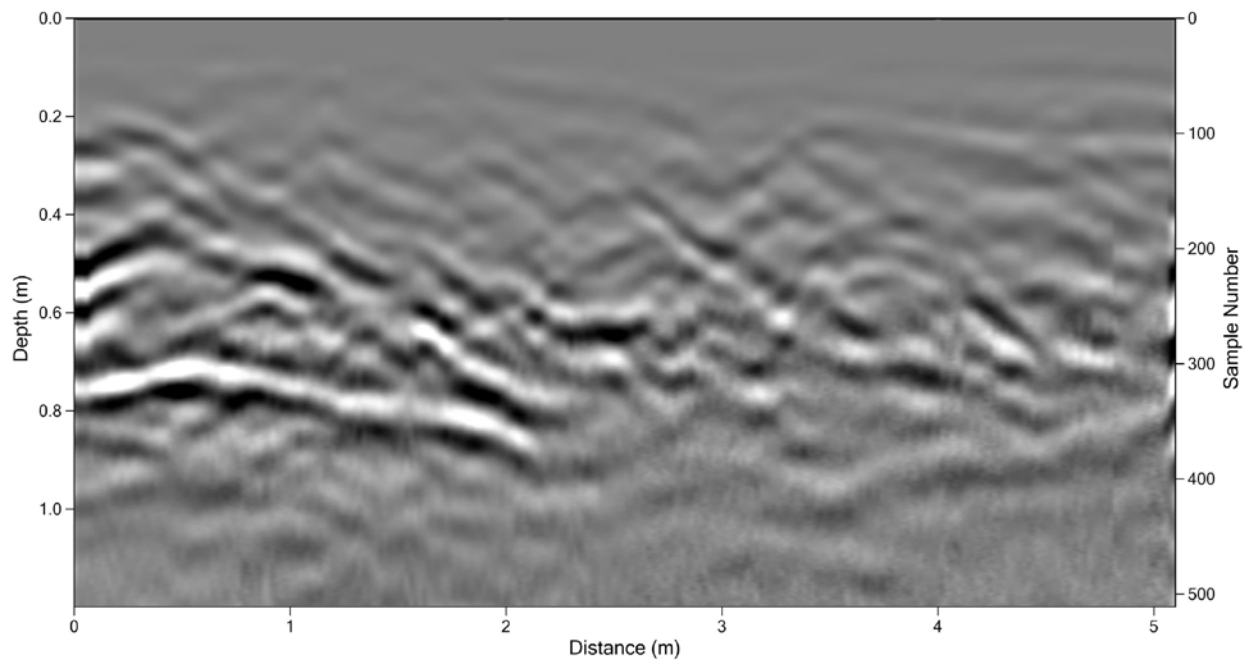
FILE81.DZT



FILE82.DZT

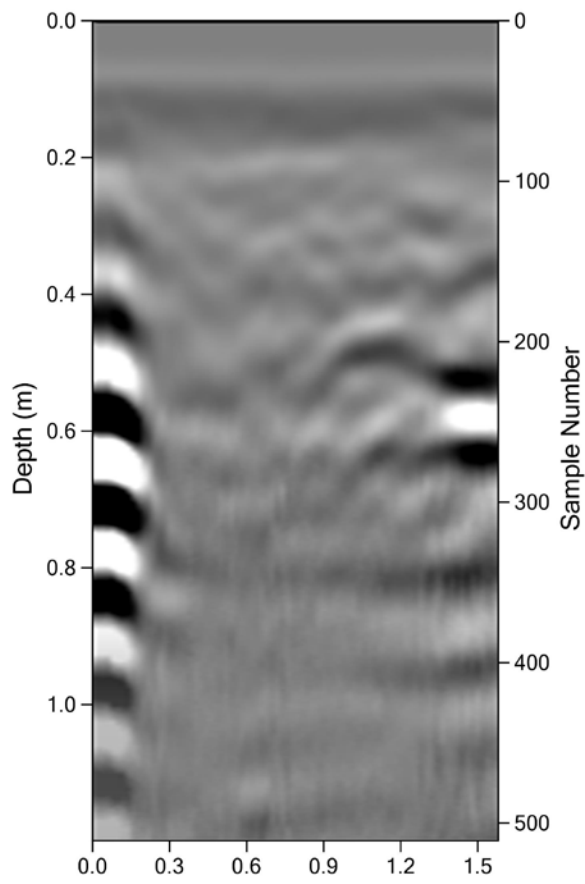


FILE83.DZT

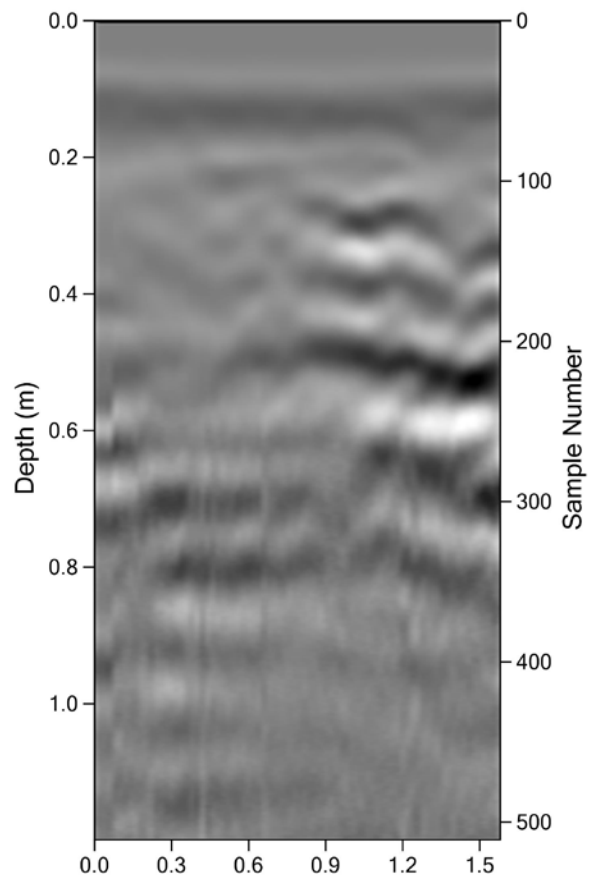


Forth Quadrant

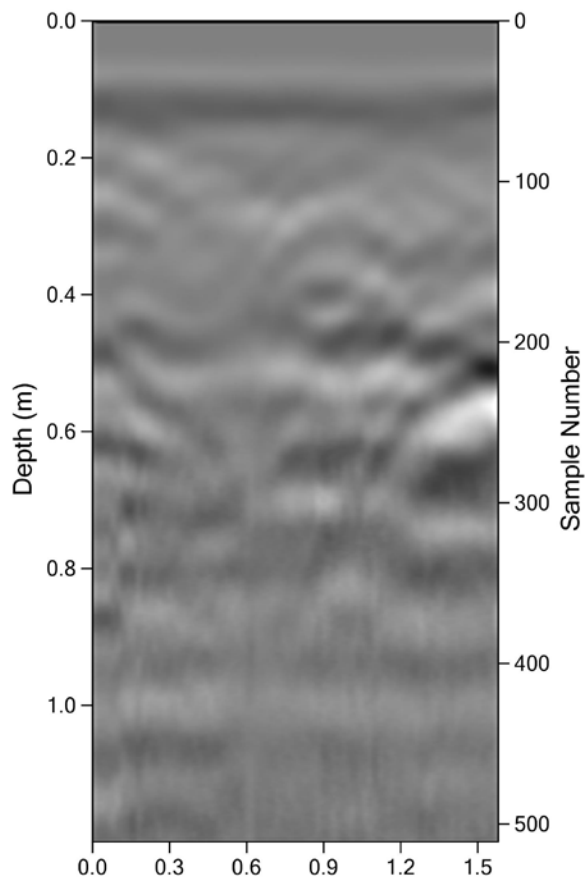
FILE84.DZT



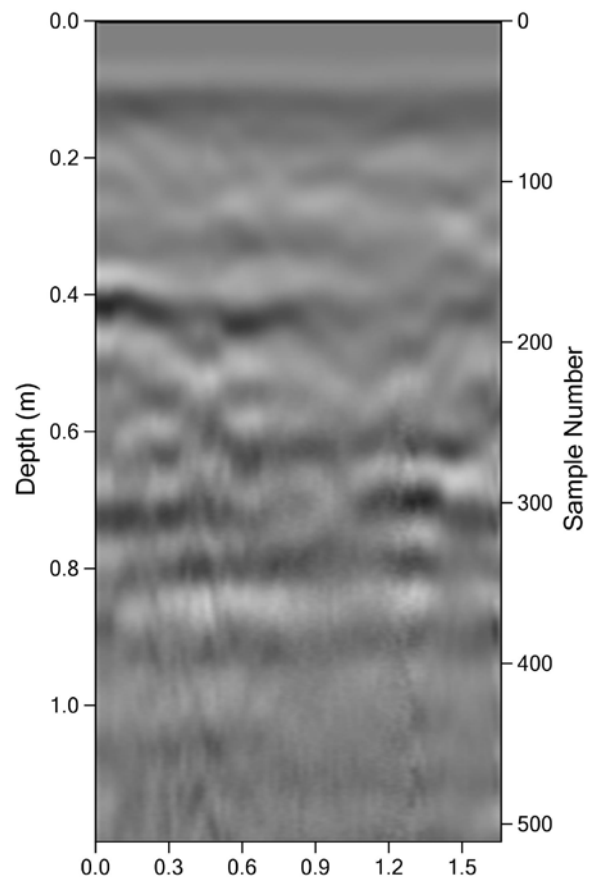
FILE85.DZT

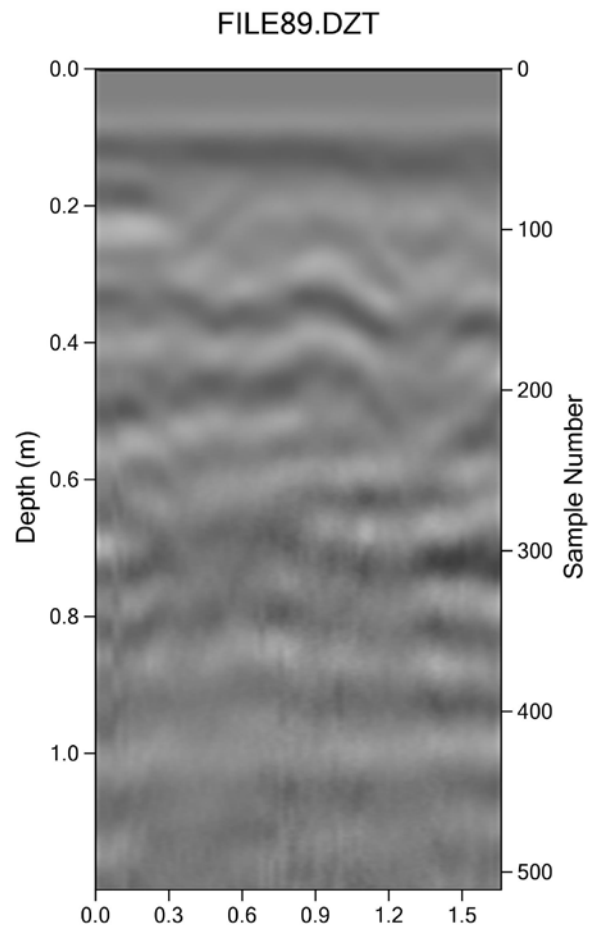
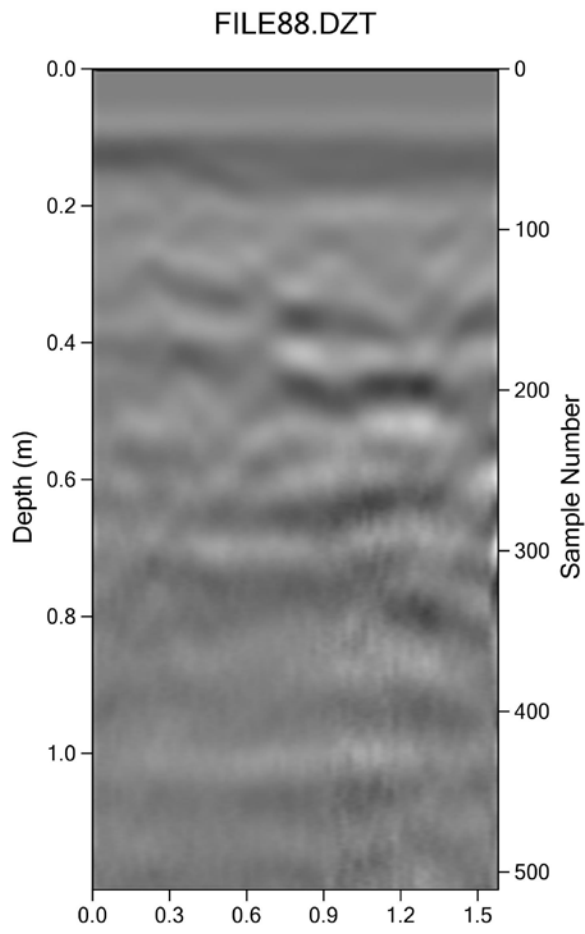


FILE86.DZT

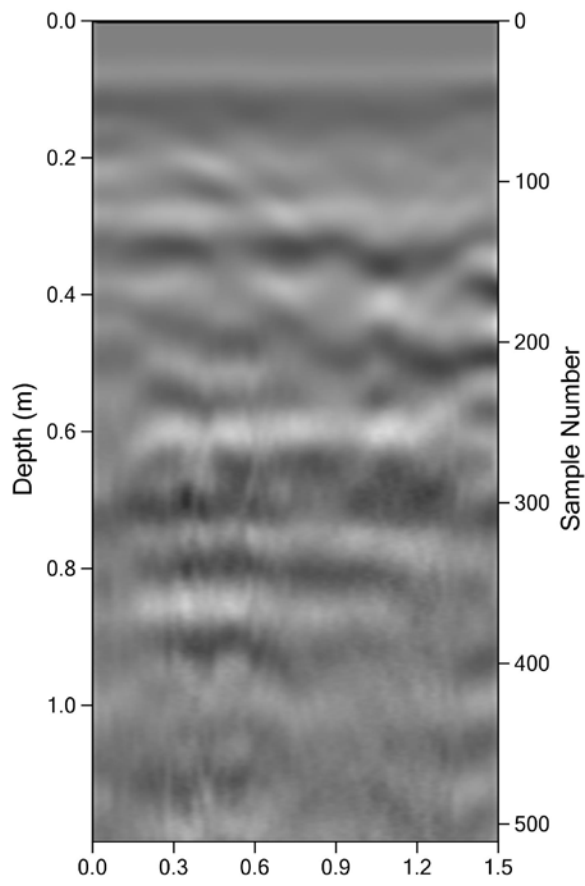


FILE87.DZT

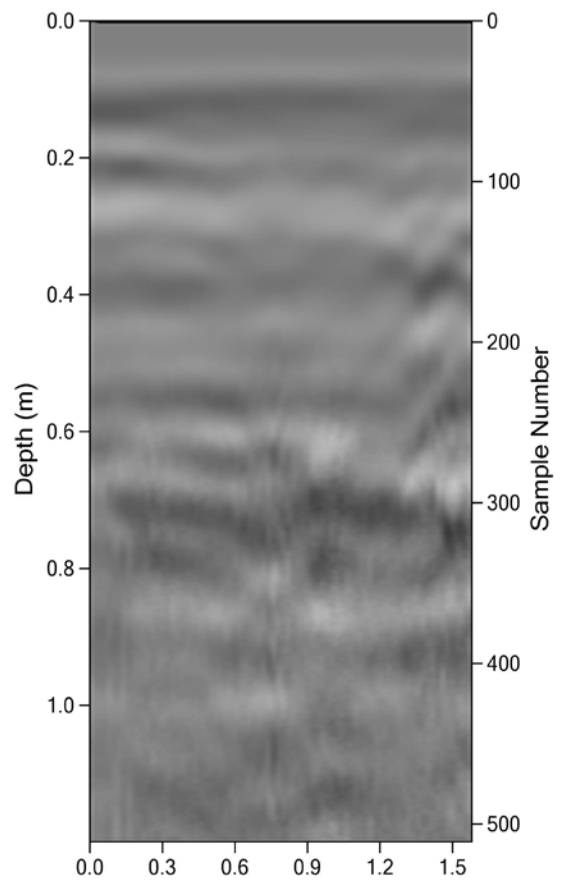




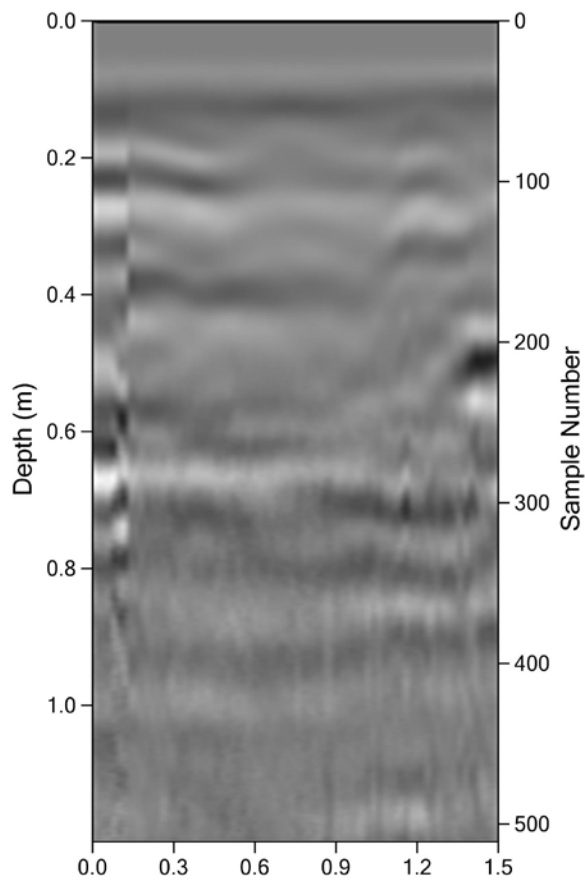
FILE90.DZT



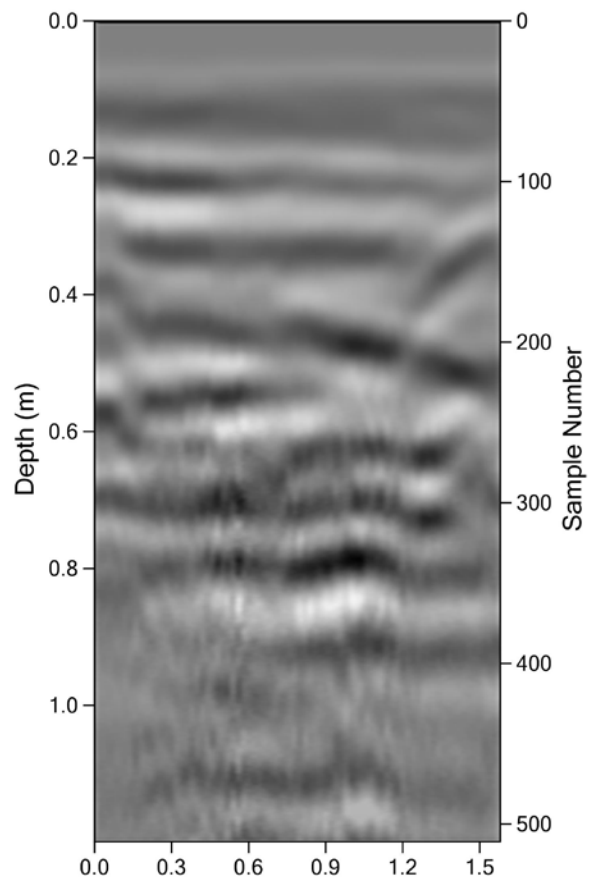
FILE91.DZT



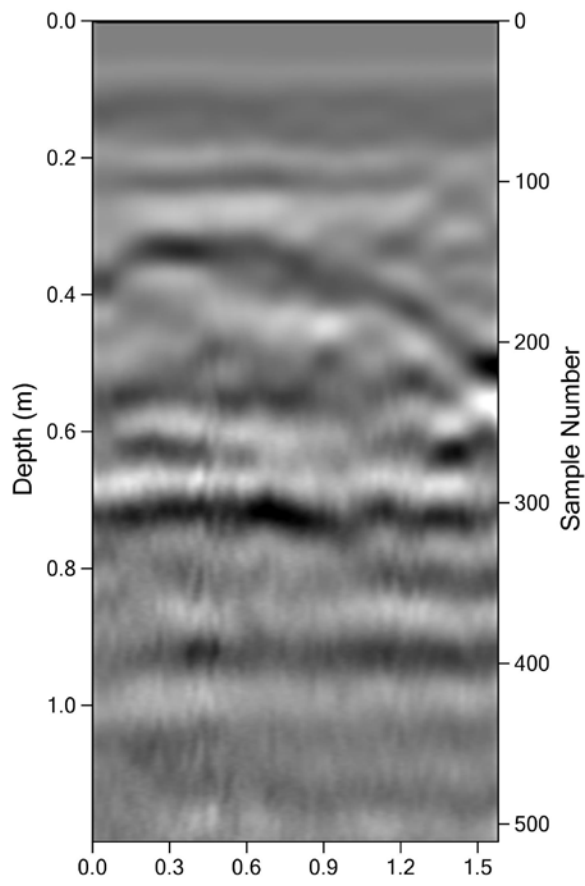
FILE92.DZT



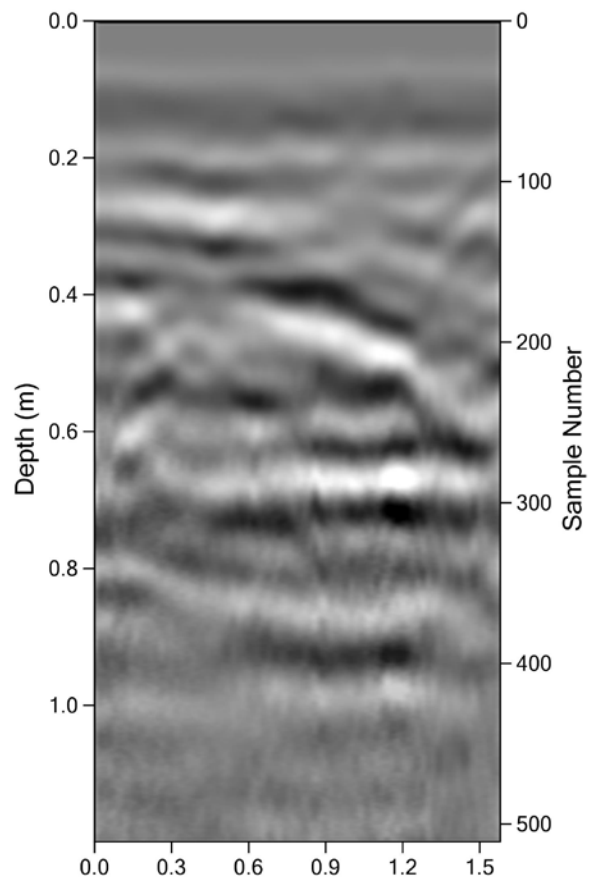
FILE93.DZT



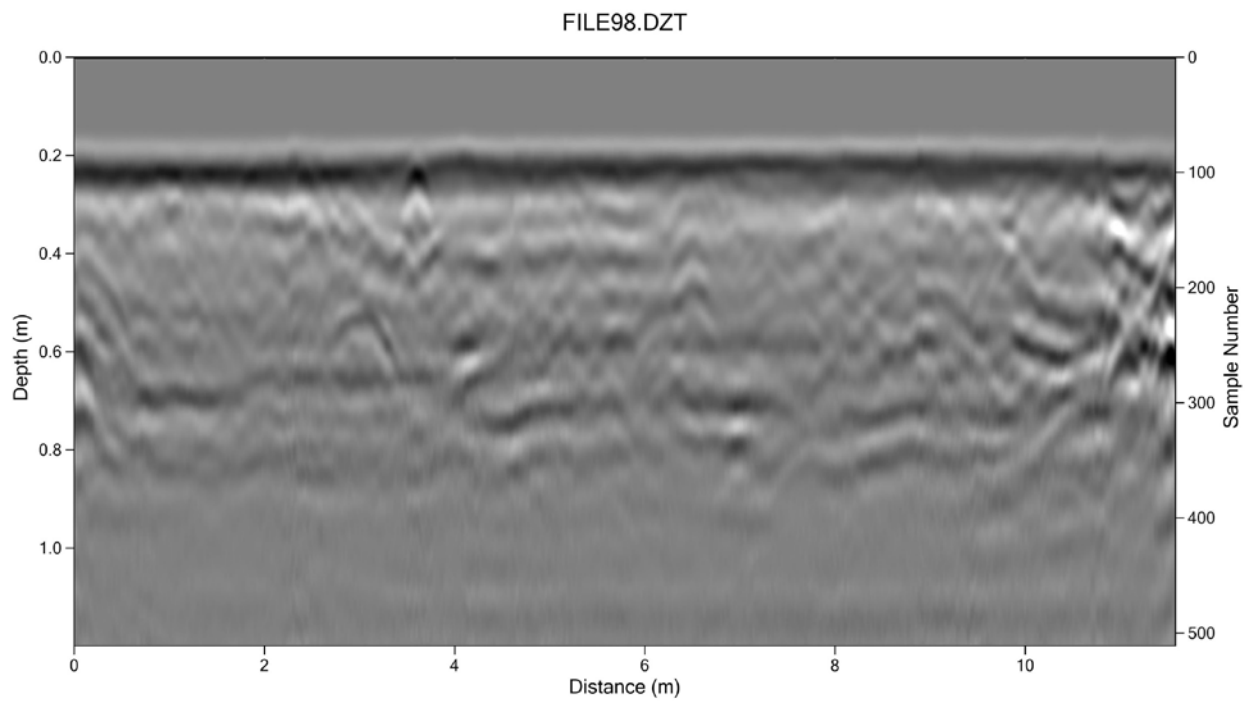
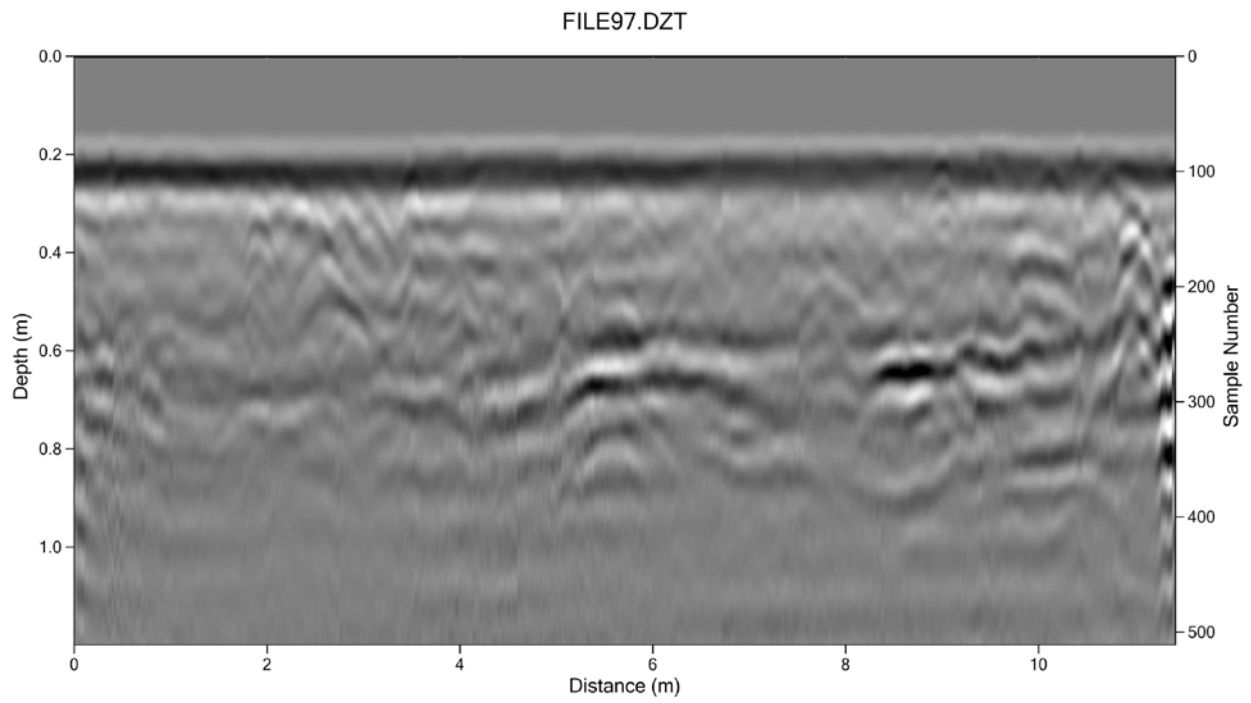
FILE94.DZT



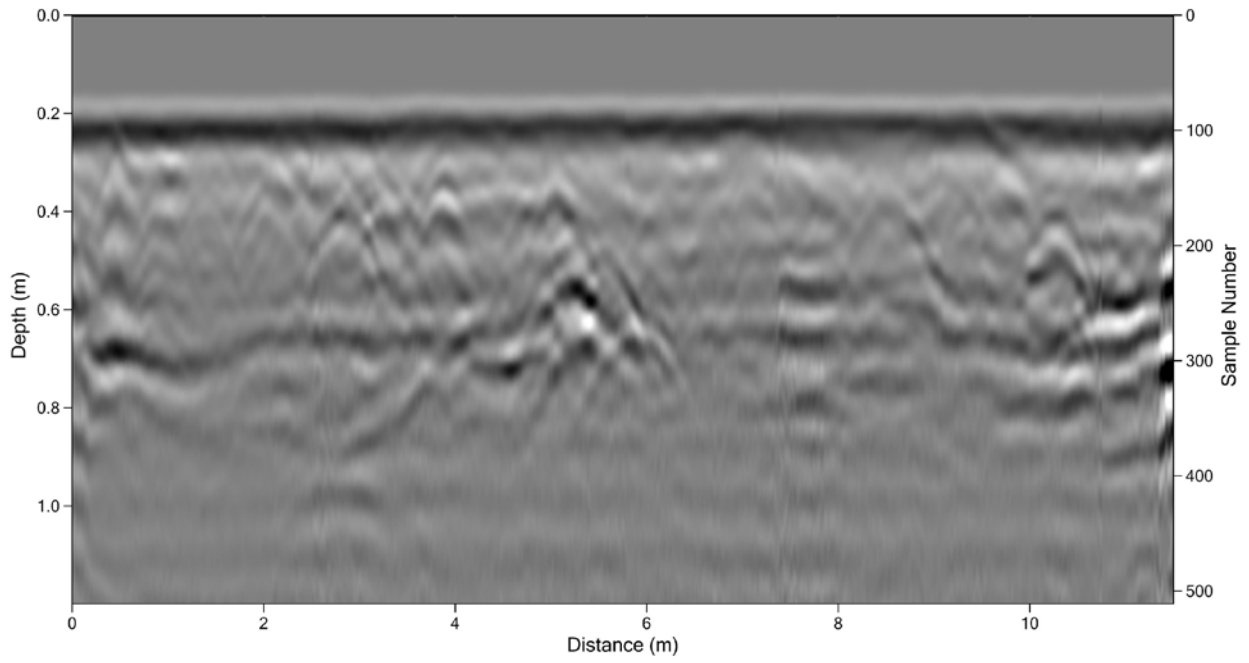
FILE95.DZT



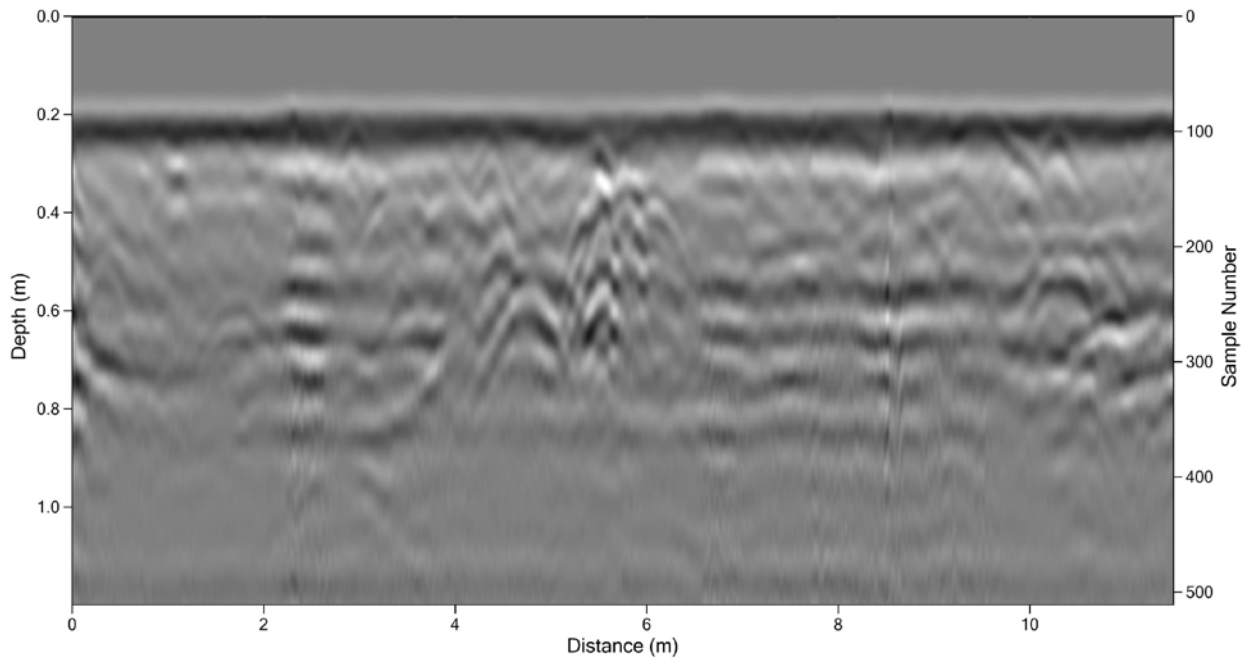
Abiquiú 3



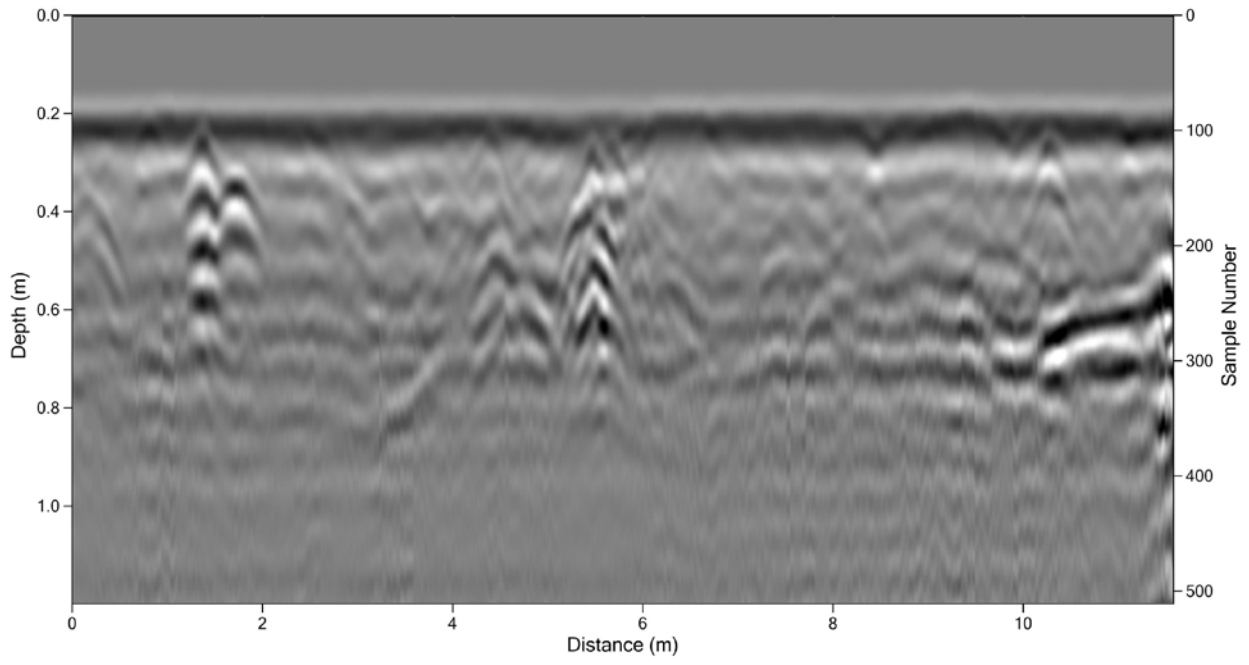
FILE99.DZT



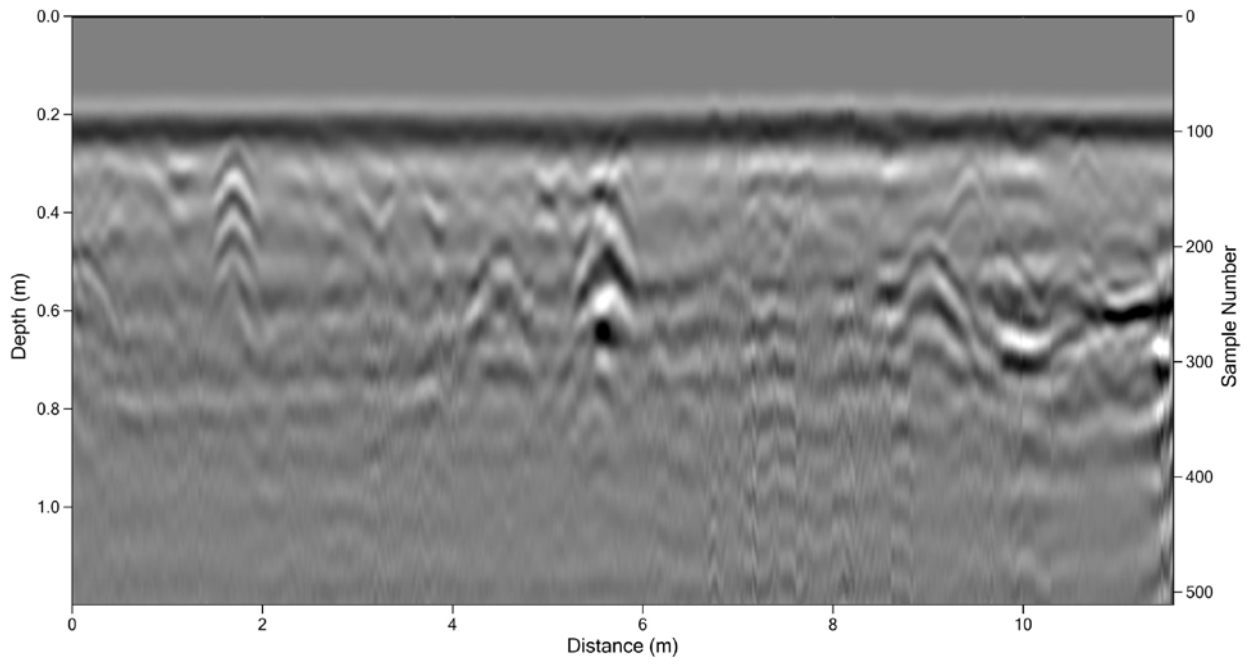
FILE100.DZT



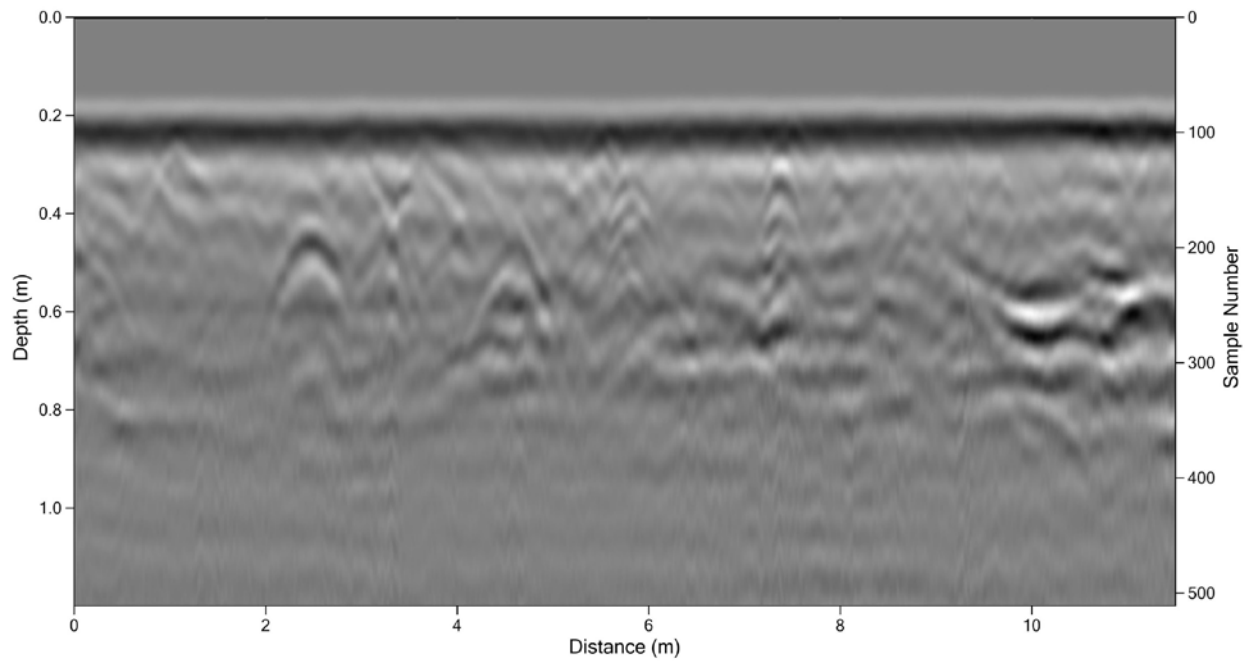
FILE101.DZT



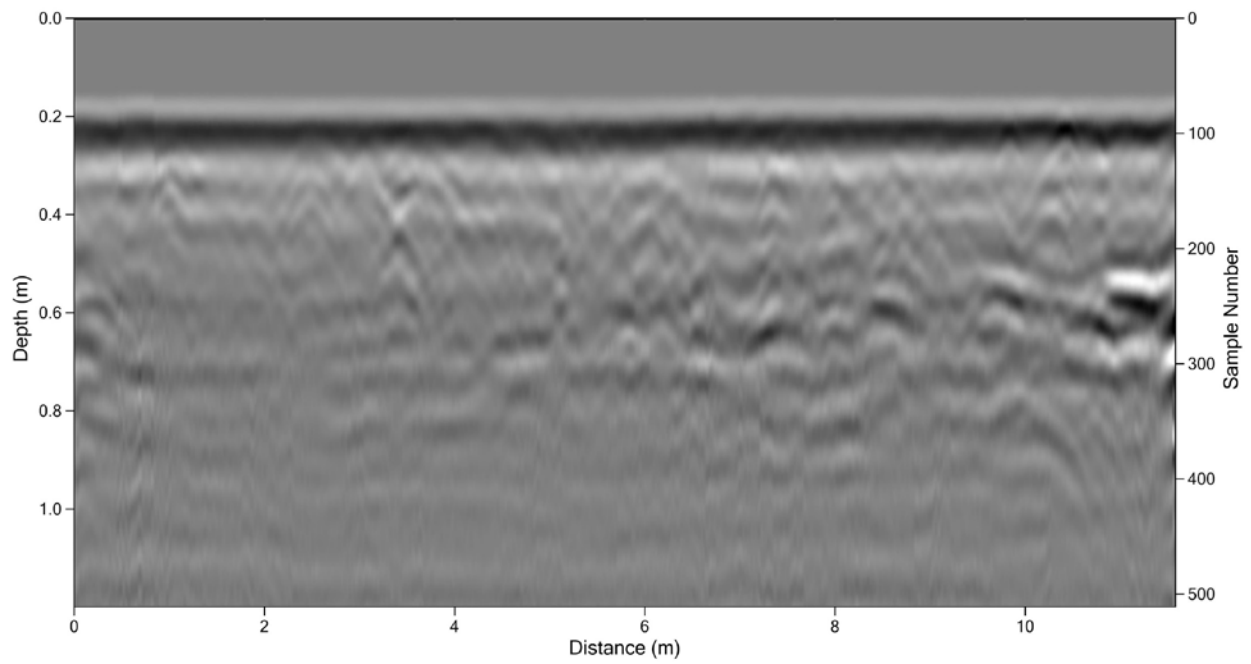
FILE102.DZT



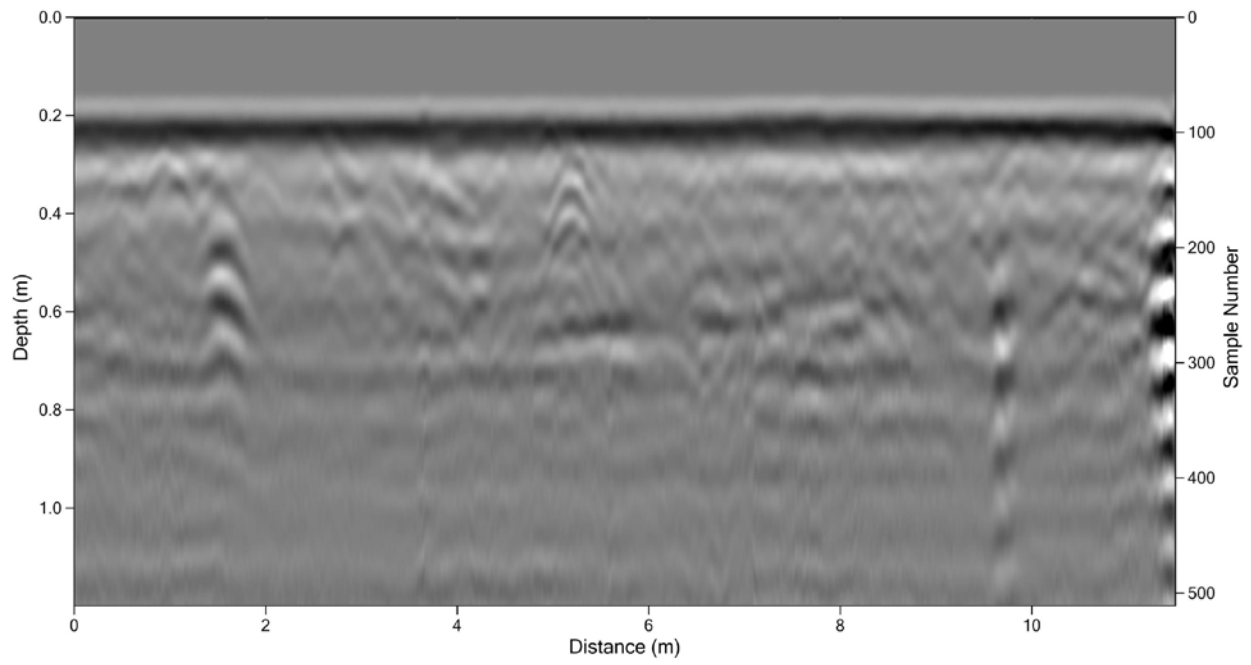
FILE103.DZT



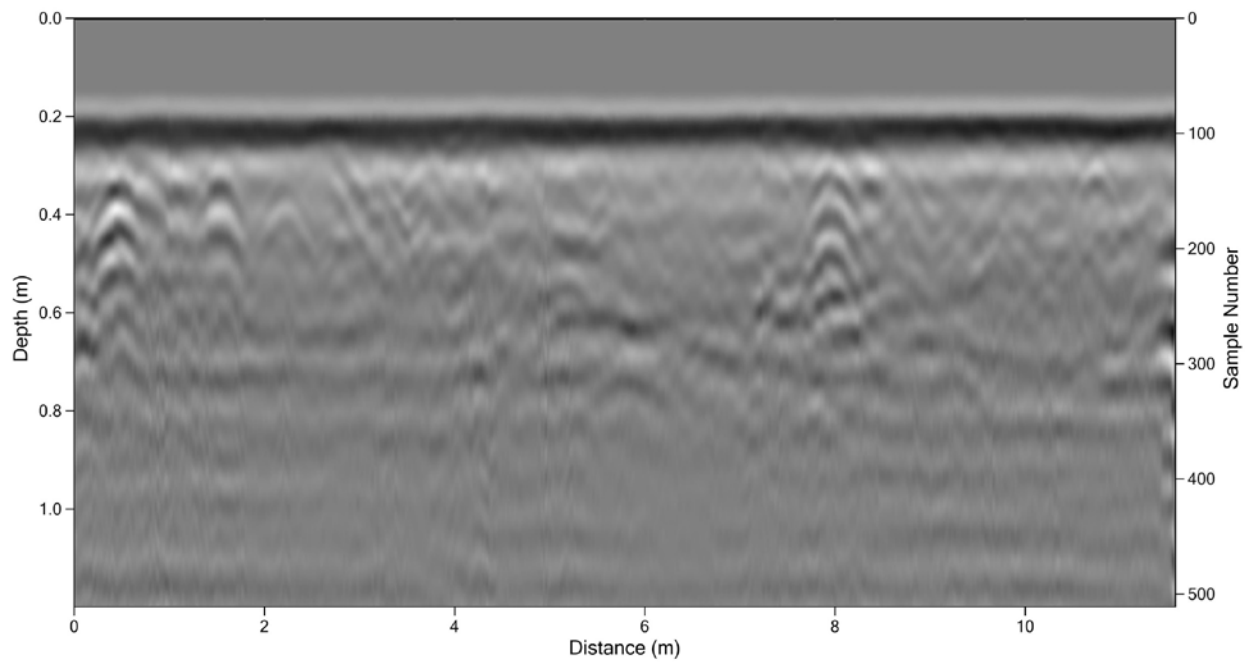
FILE104.DZT



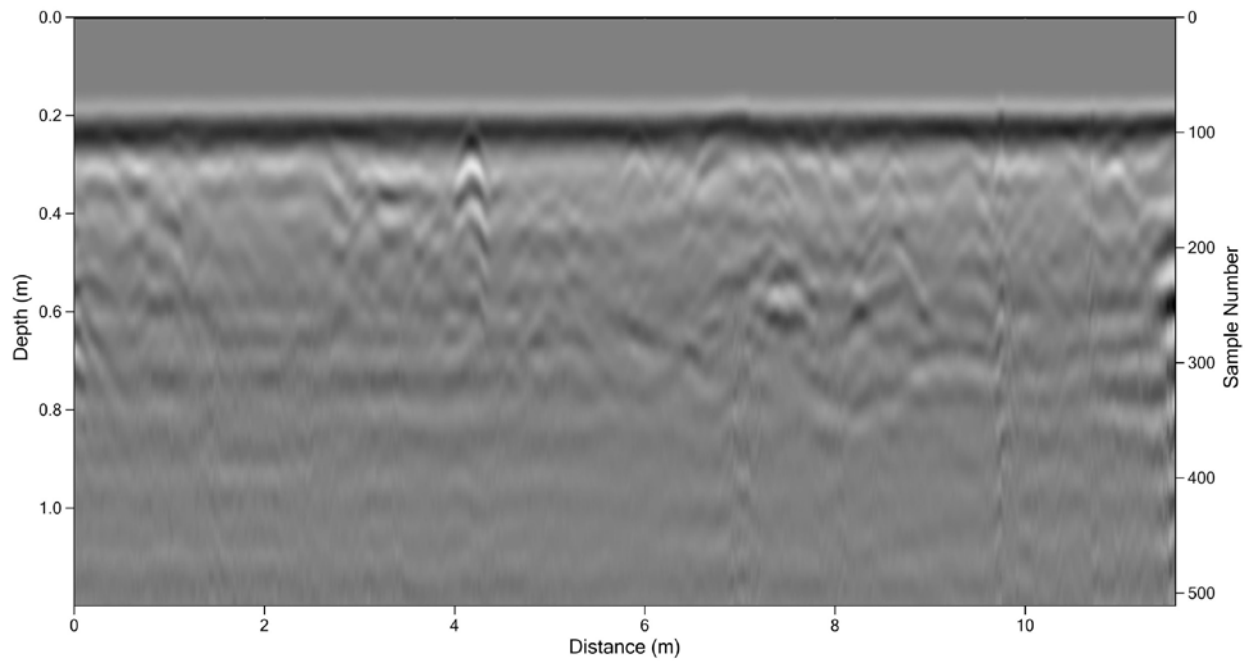
FILE105.DZT



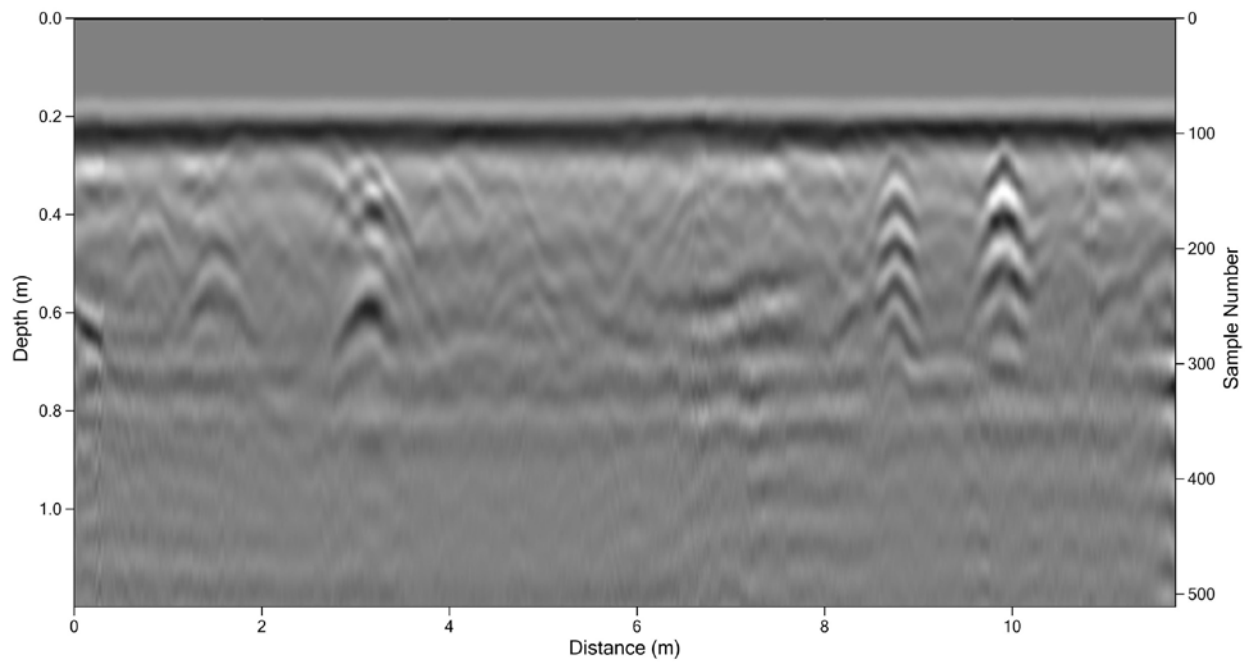
FILE106.DZT



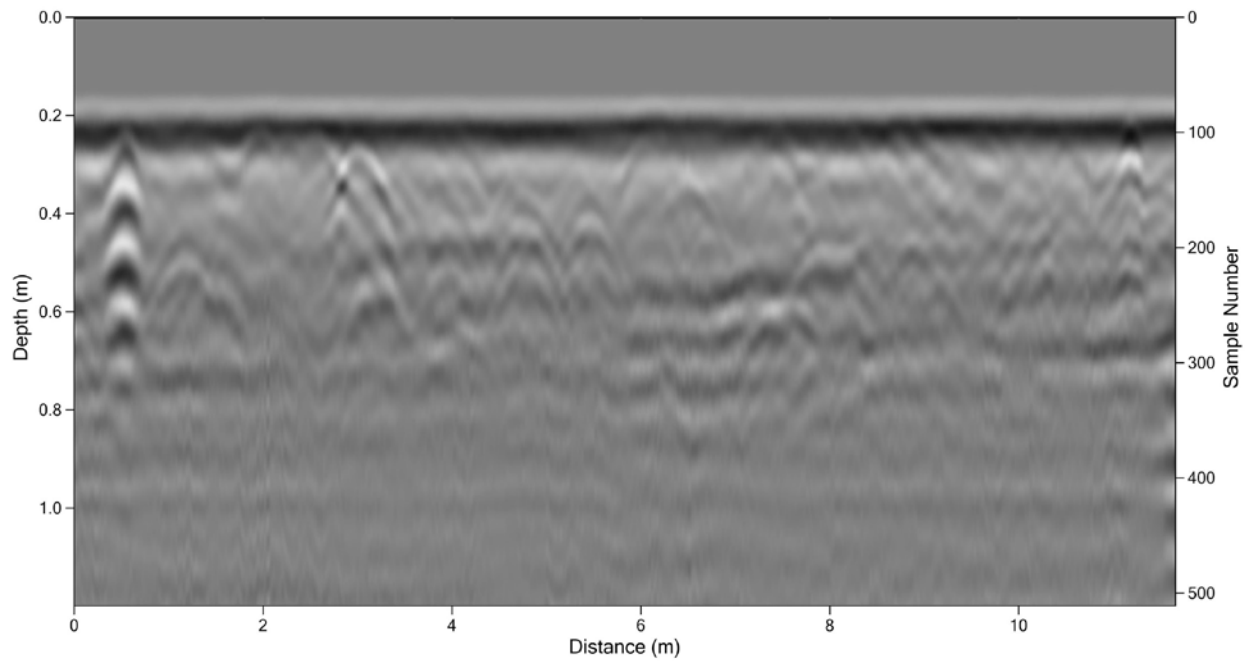
FILE107.DZT



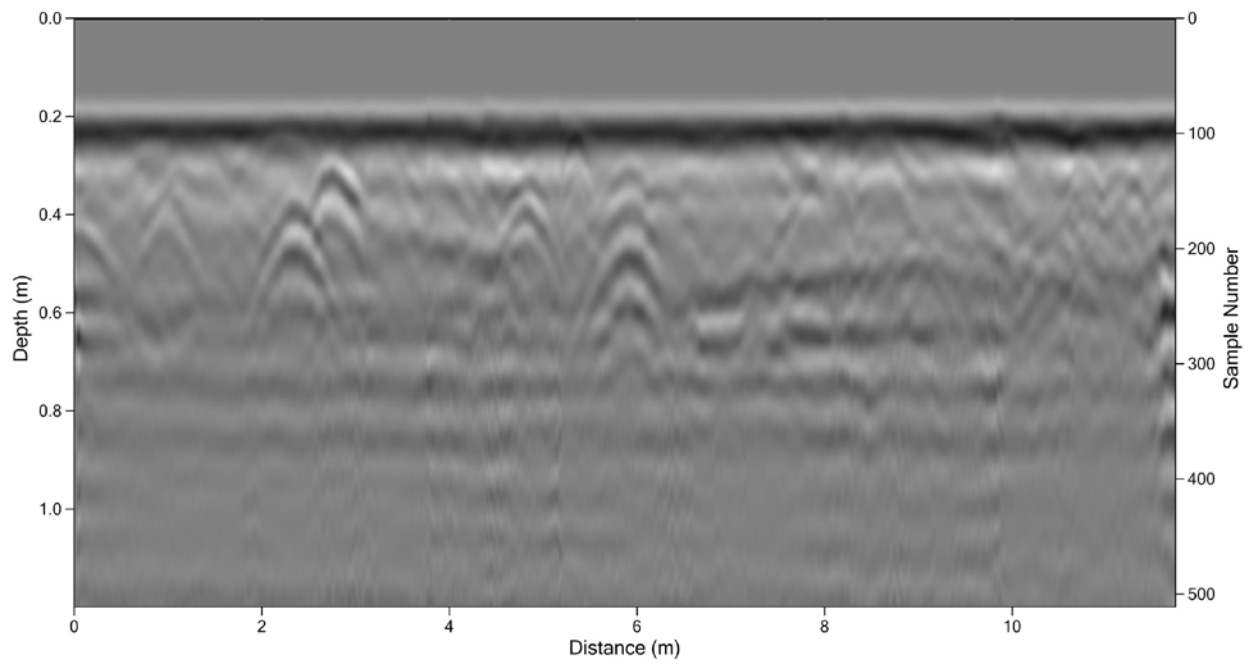
FILE108.DZT



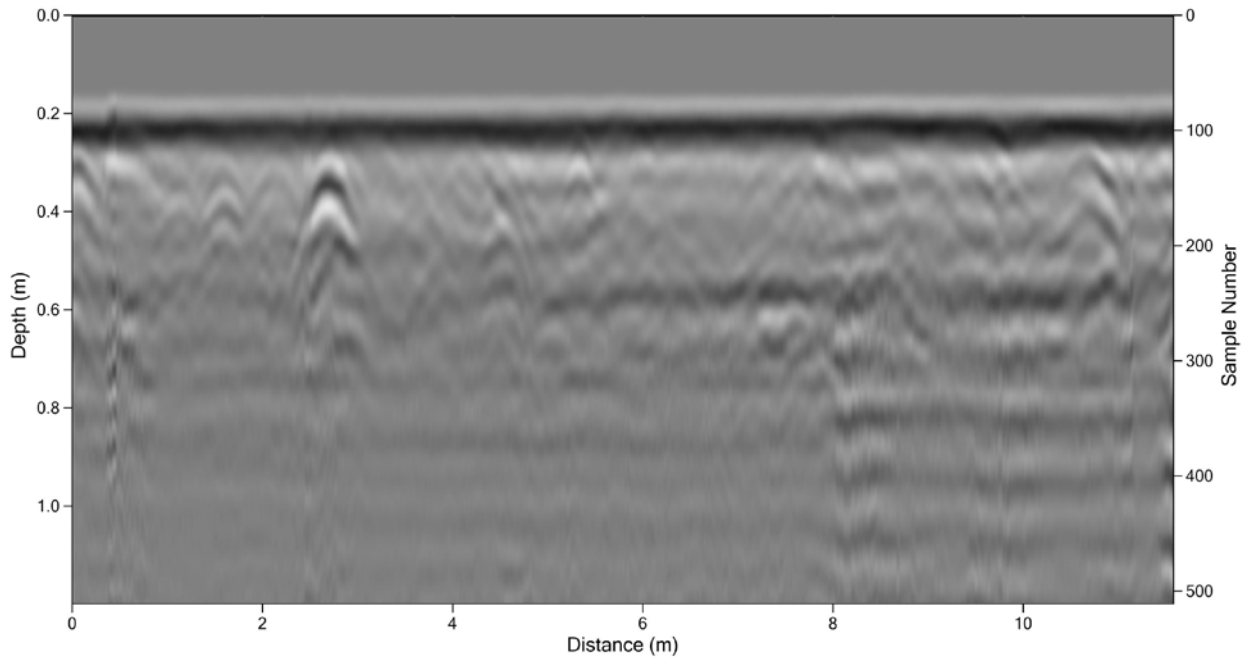
FILE109.DZT



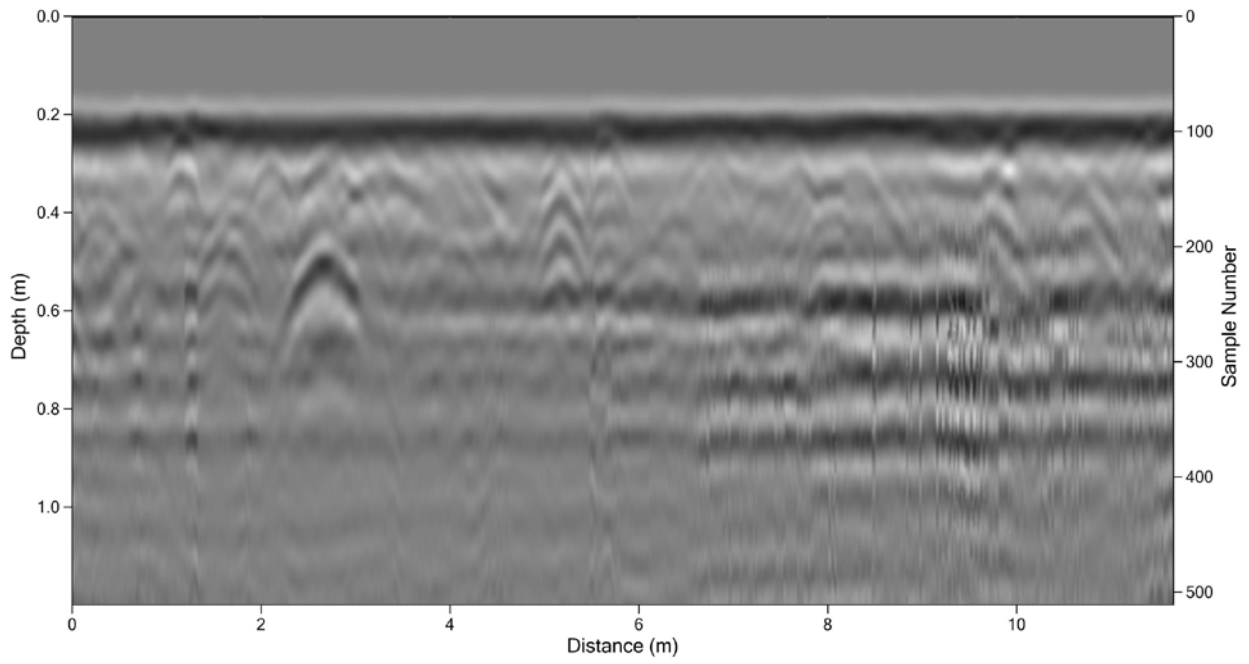
FILE110.DZT



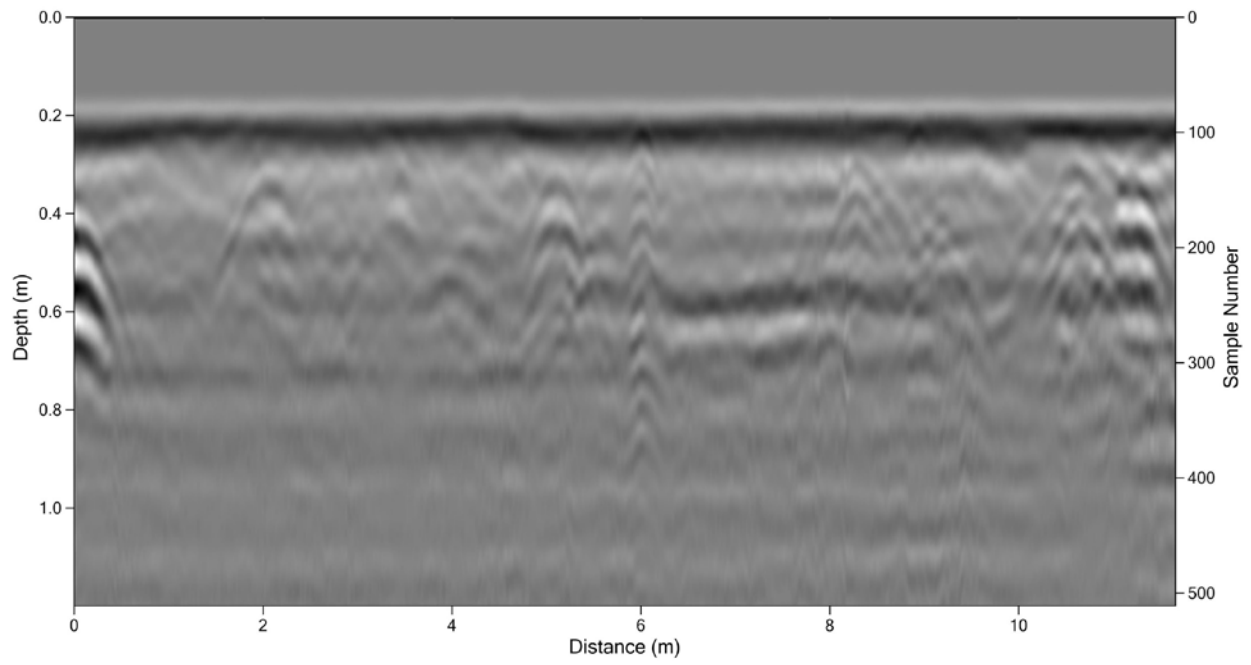
FILE111.DZT



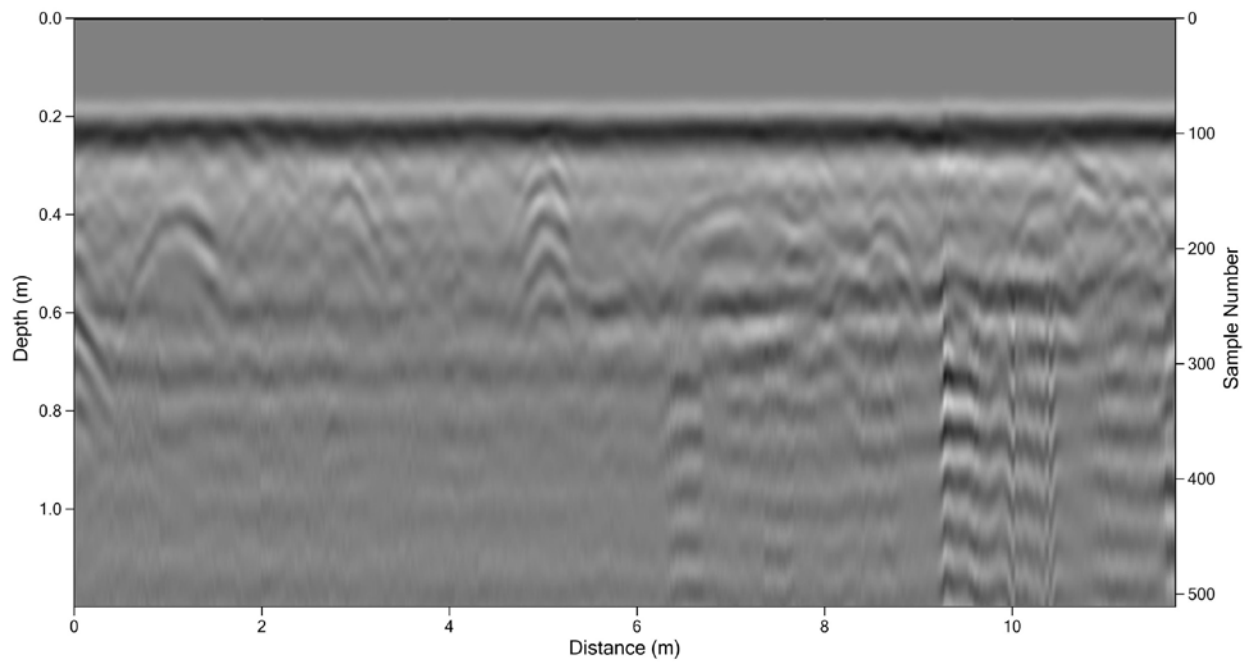
FILE112.DZT



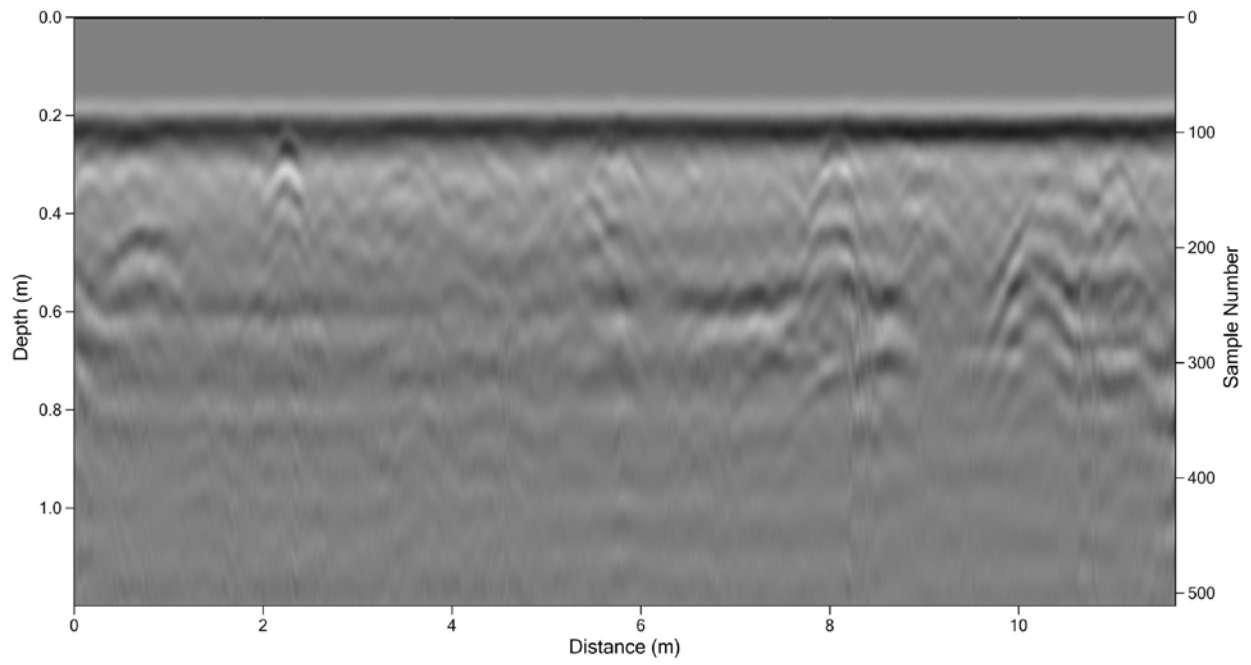
FILE113.DZT



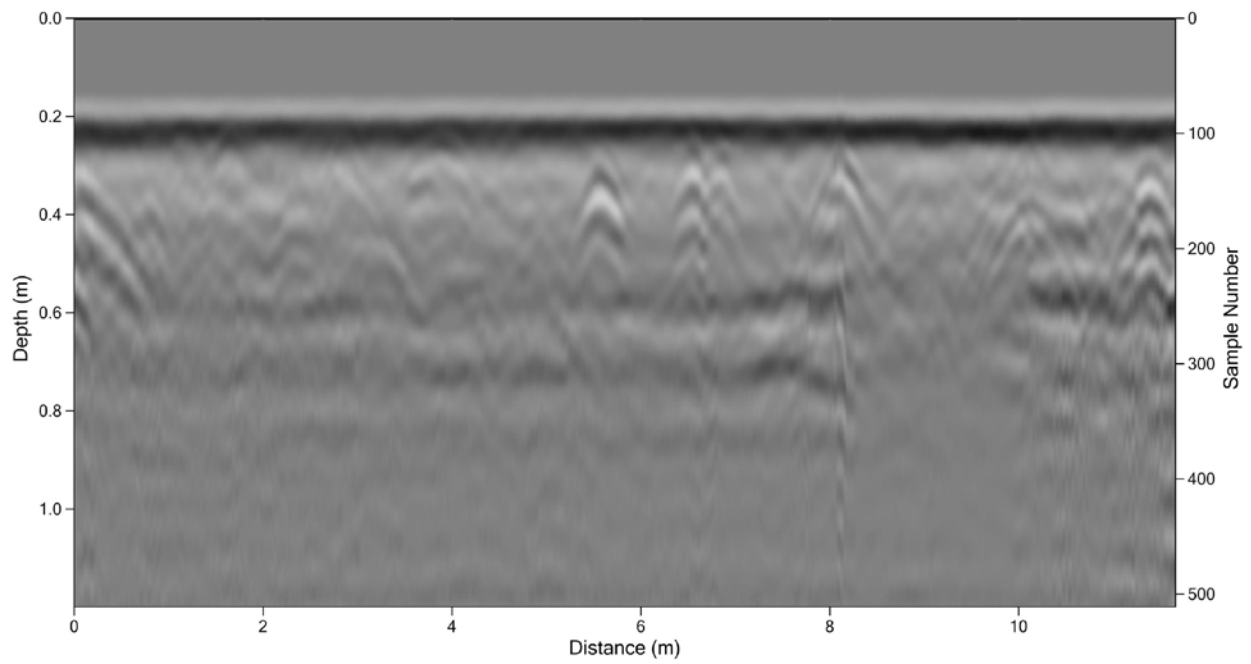
FILE114.DZT



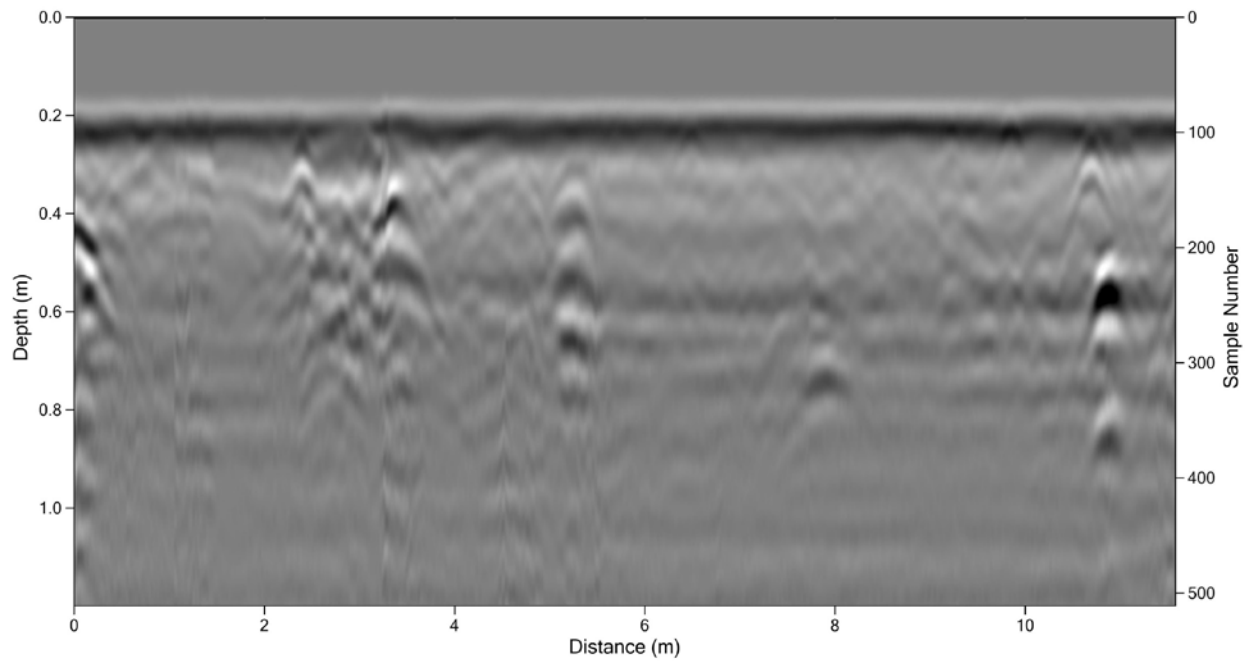
FILE115.DZT



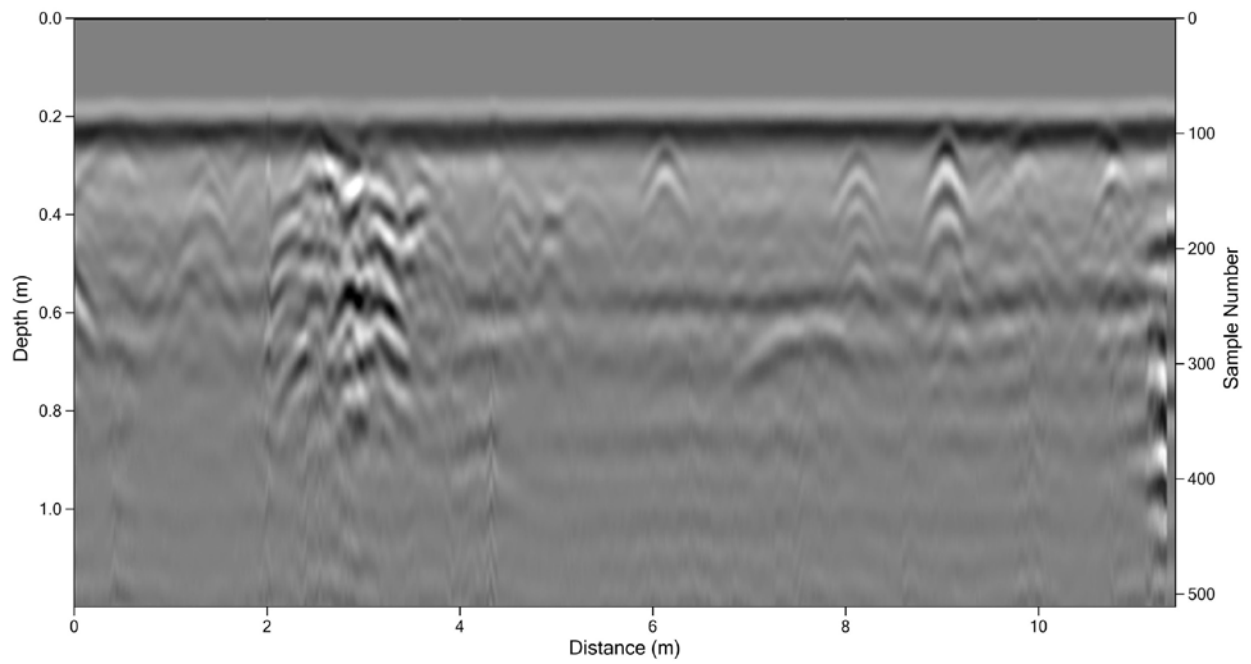
FILE116.DZT



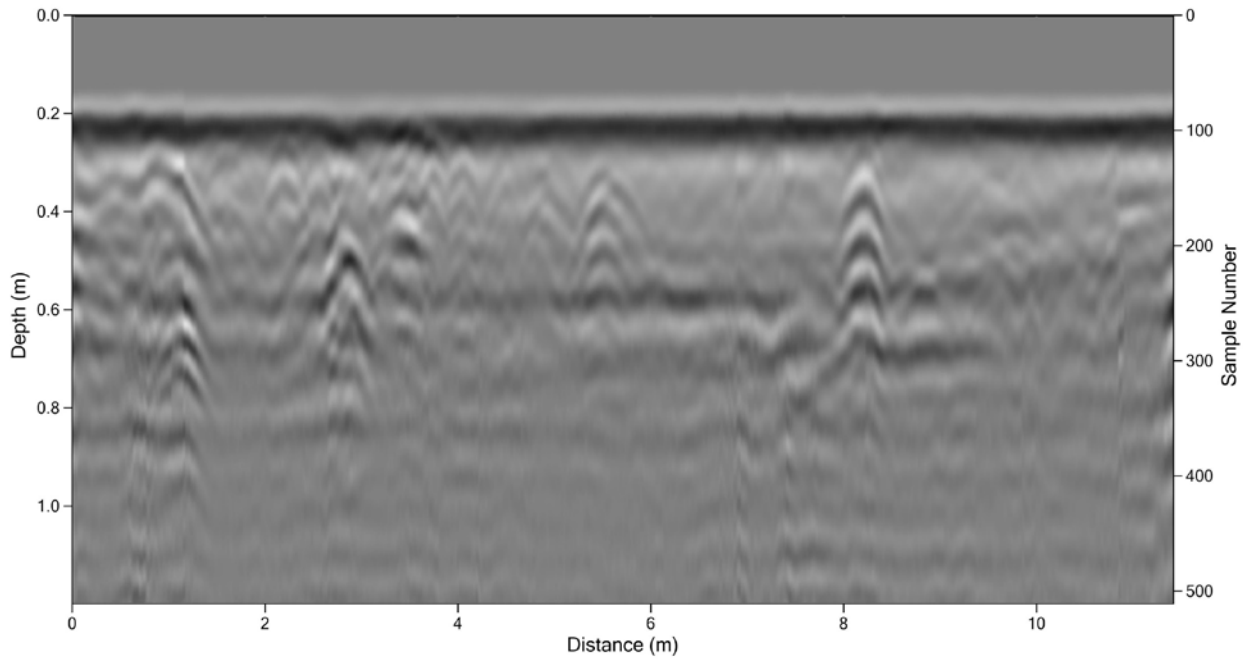
FILE117.DZT



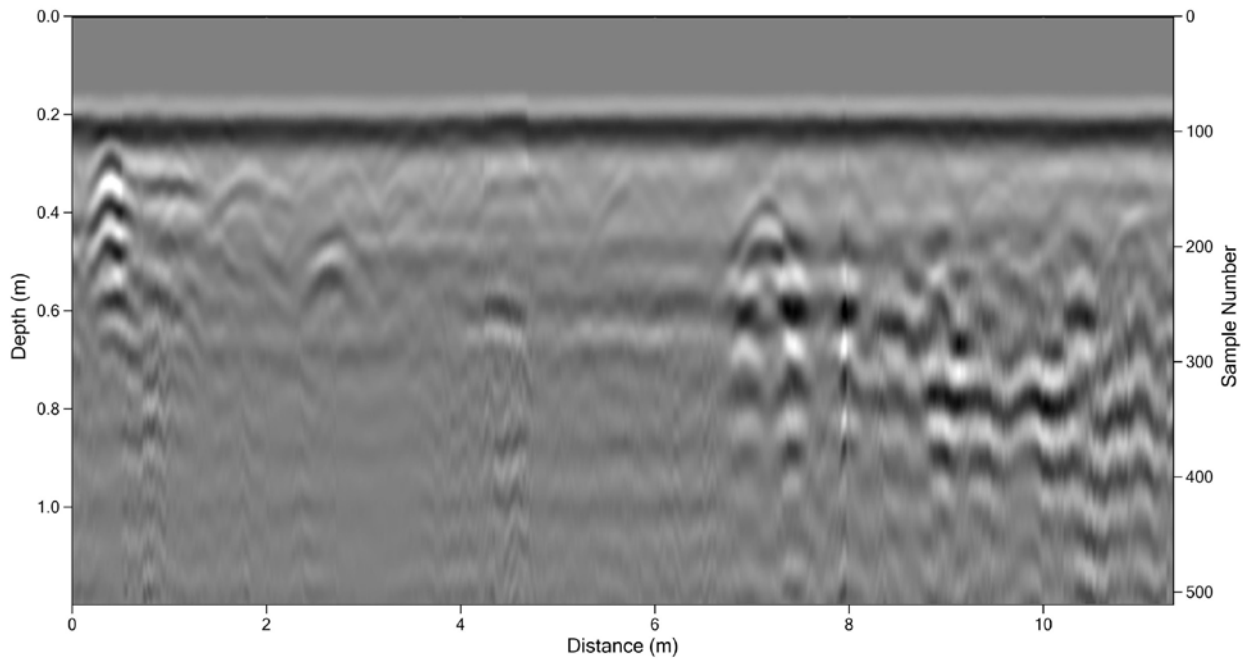
FILE118.DZT



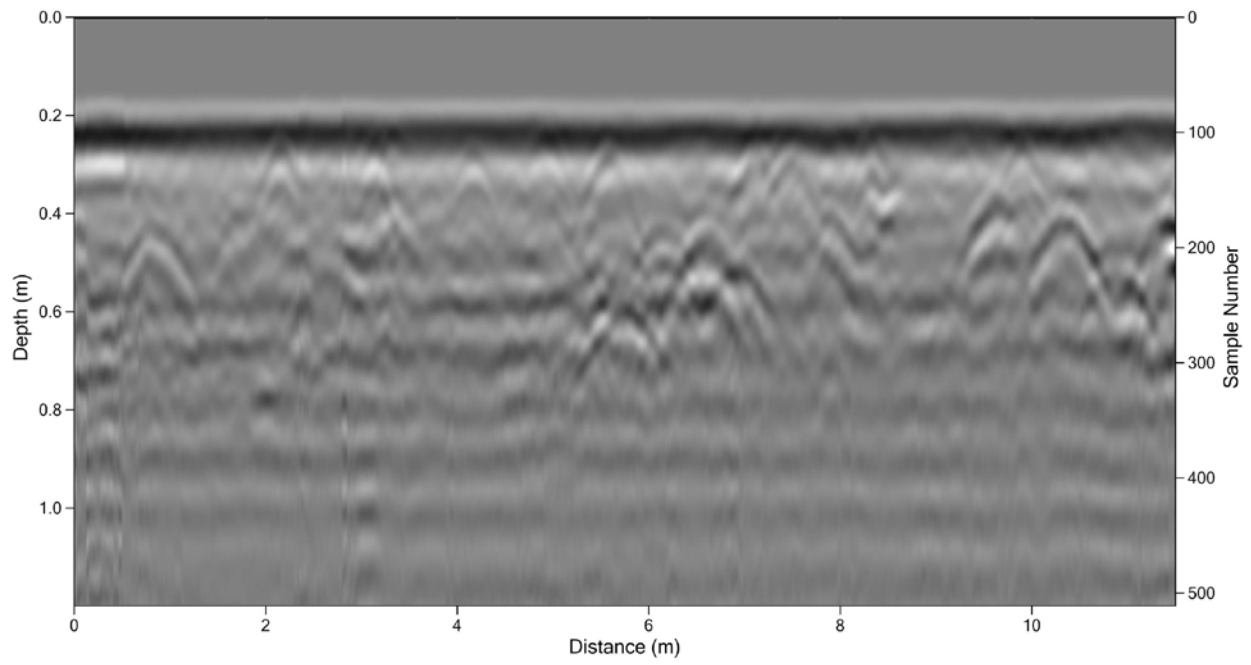
FILE119.DZT



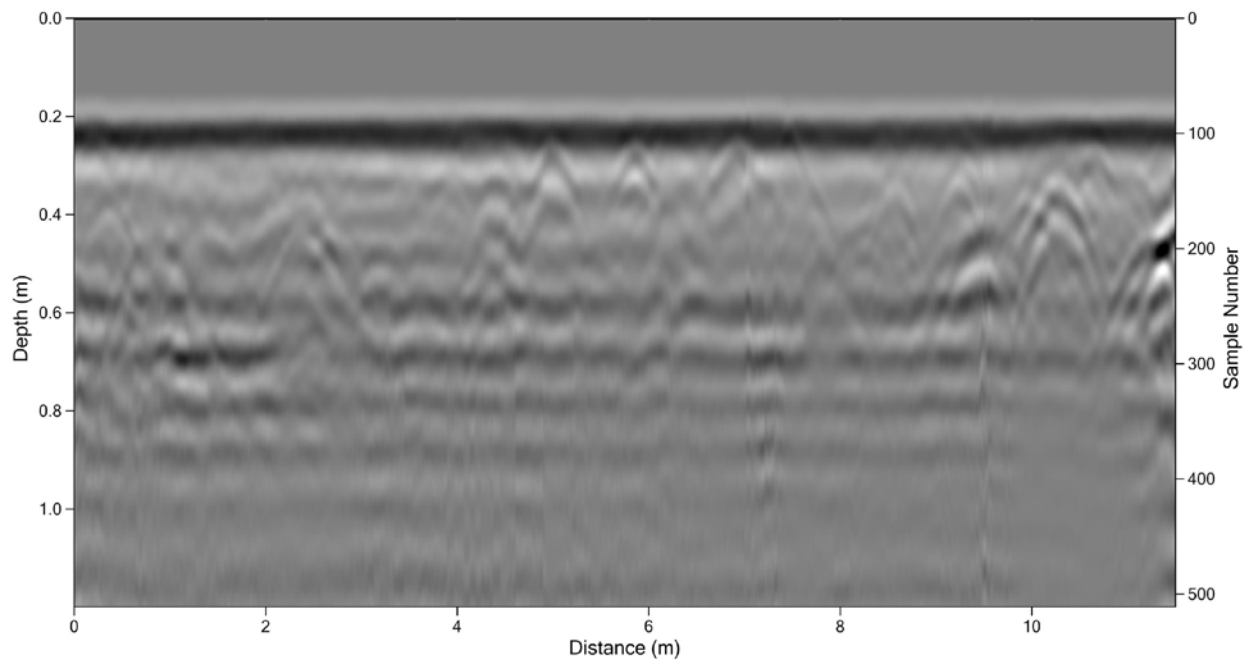
FILE120.DZT



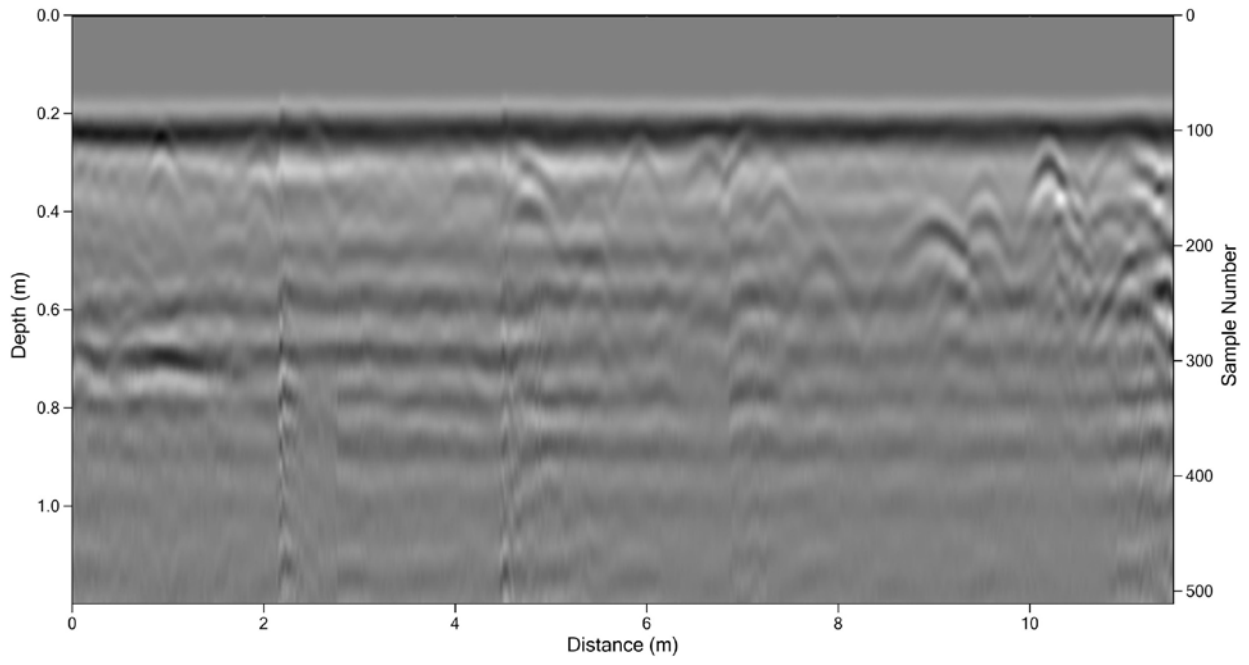
FILE121.DZT



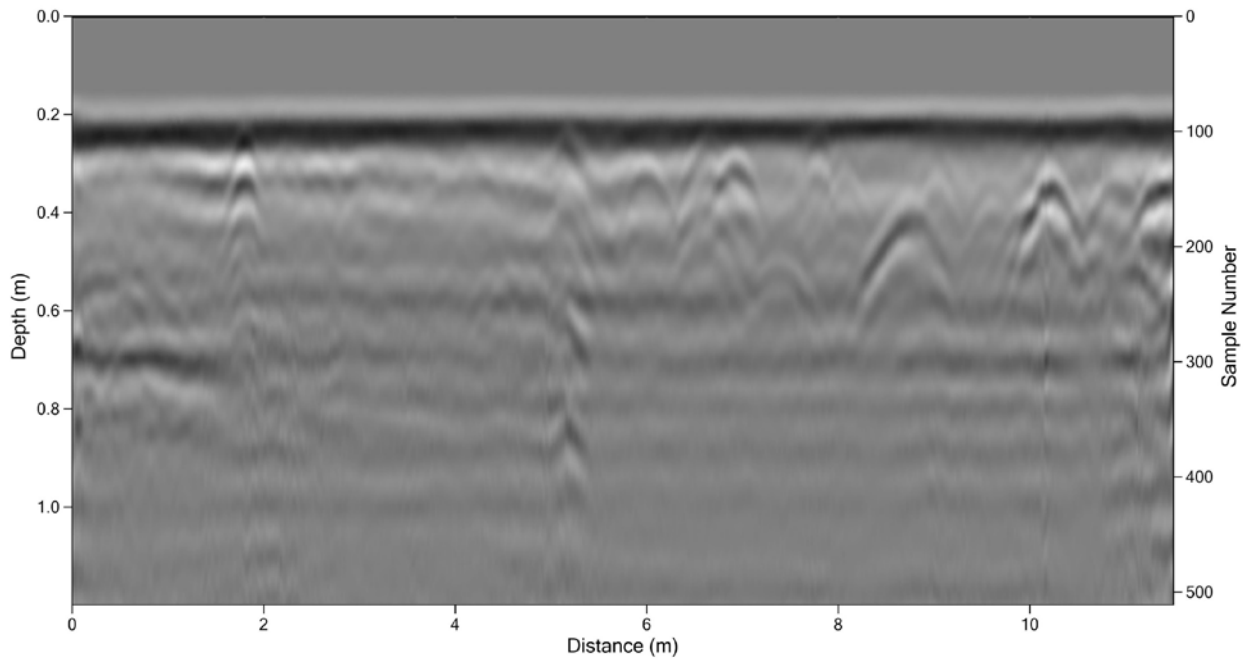
FILE122.DZT



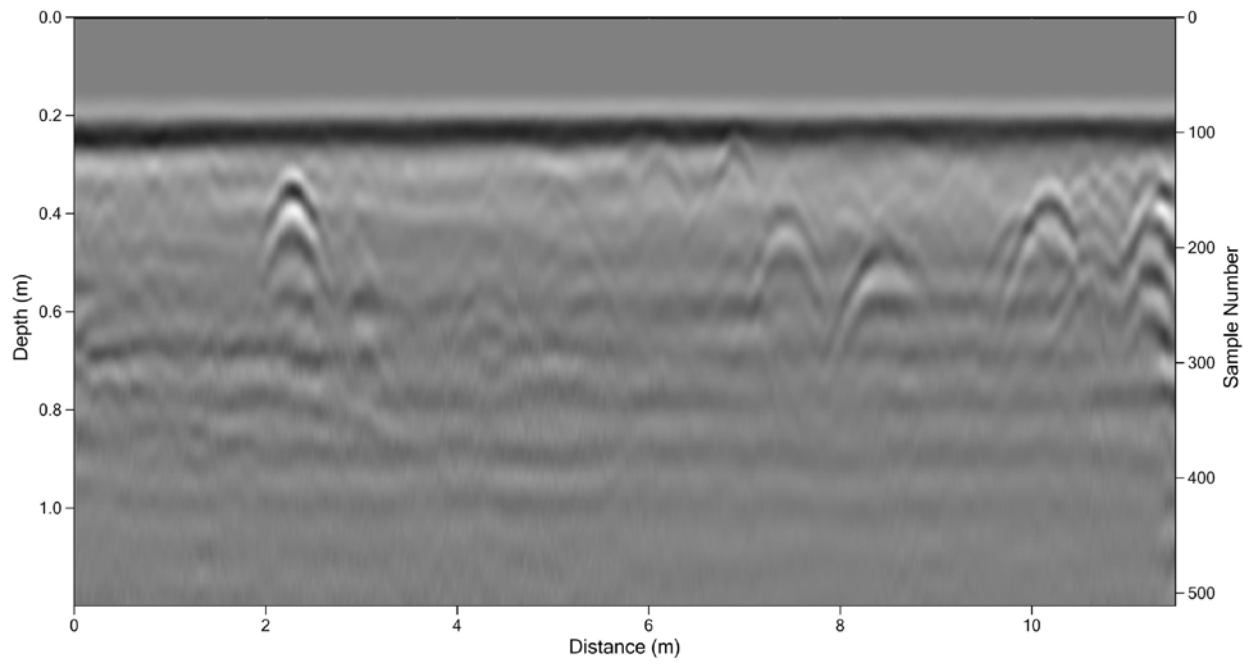
FILE123.DZT



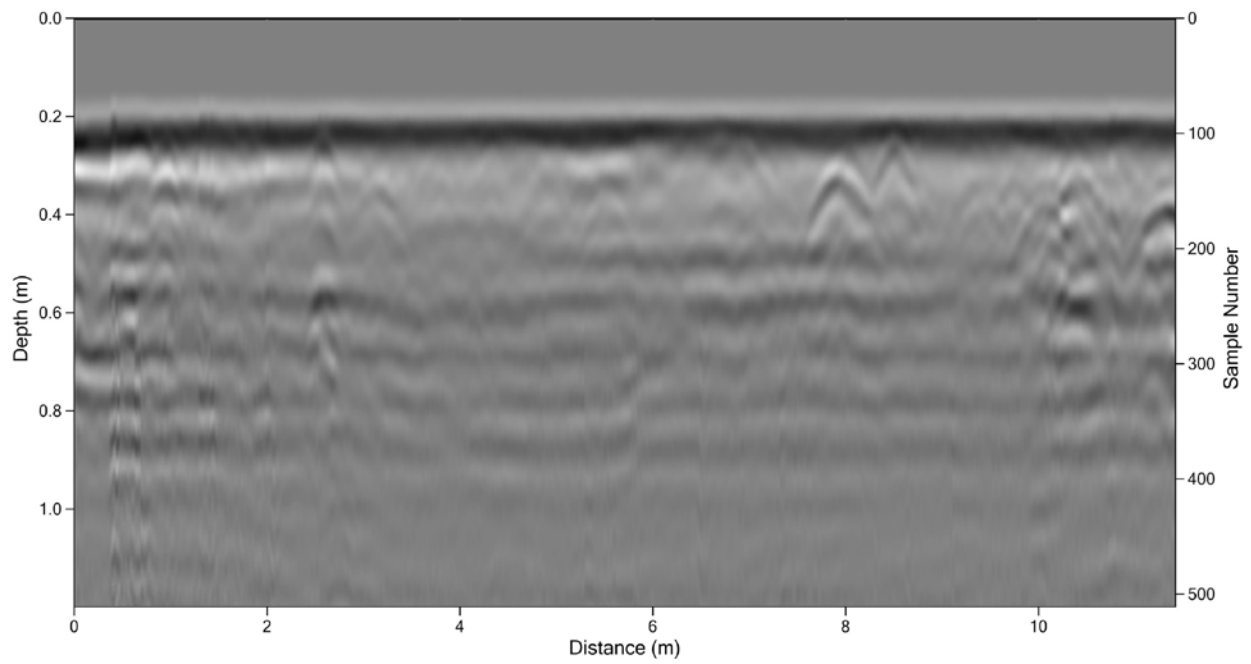
FILE124.DZT



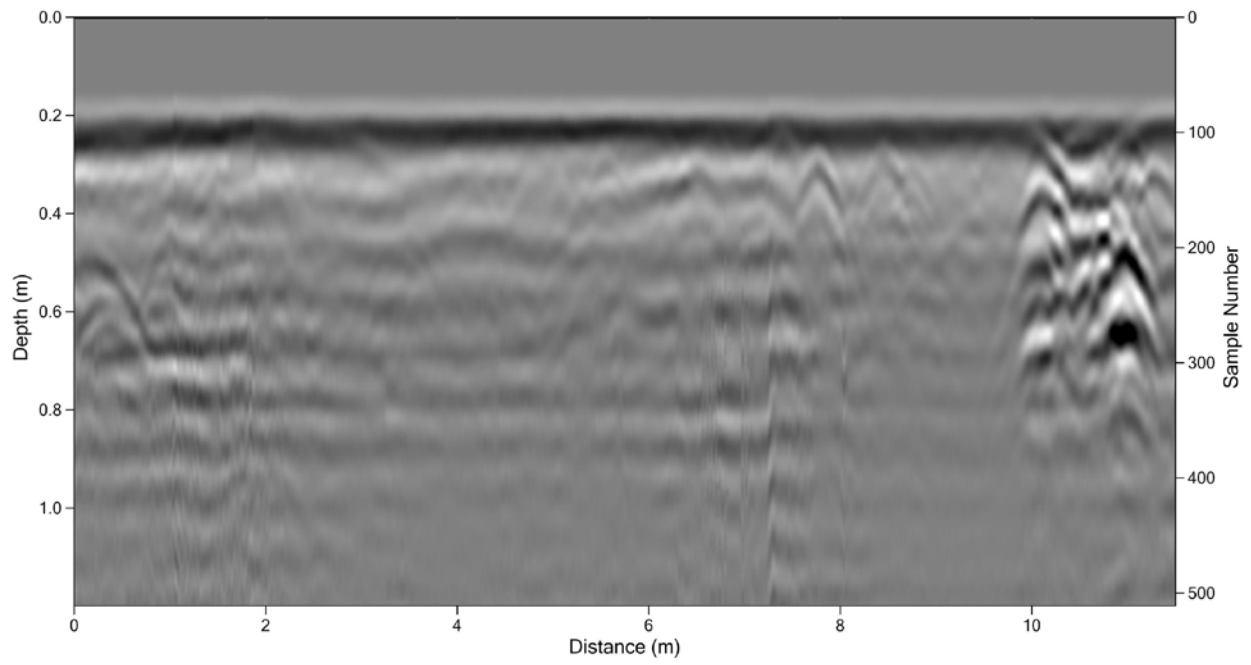
FILE125.DZT



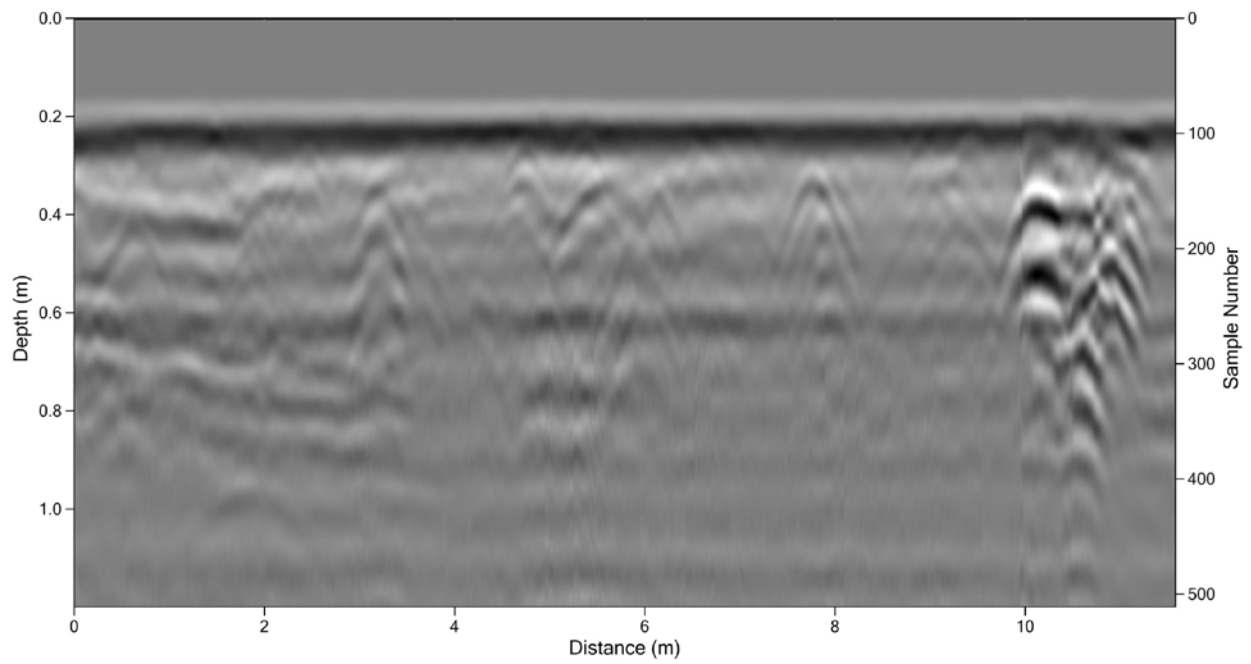
FILE126.DZT



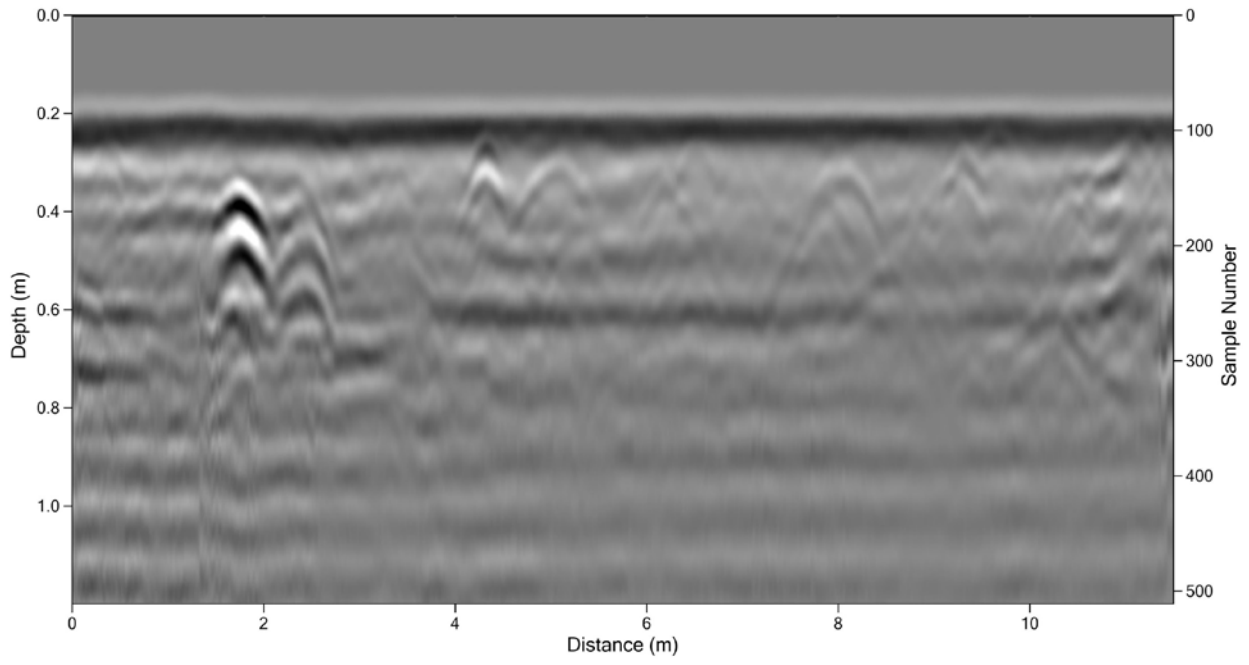
FILE127.DZT



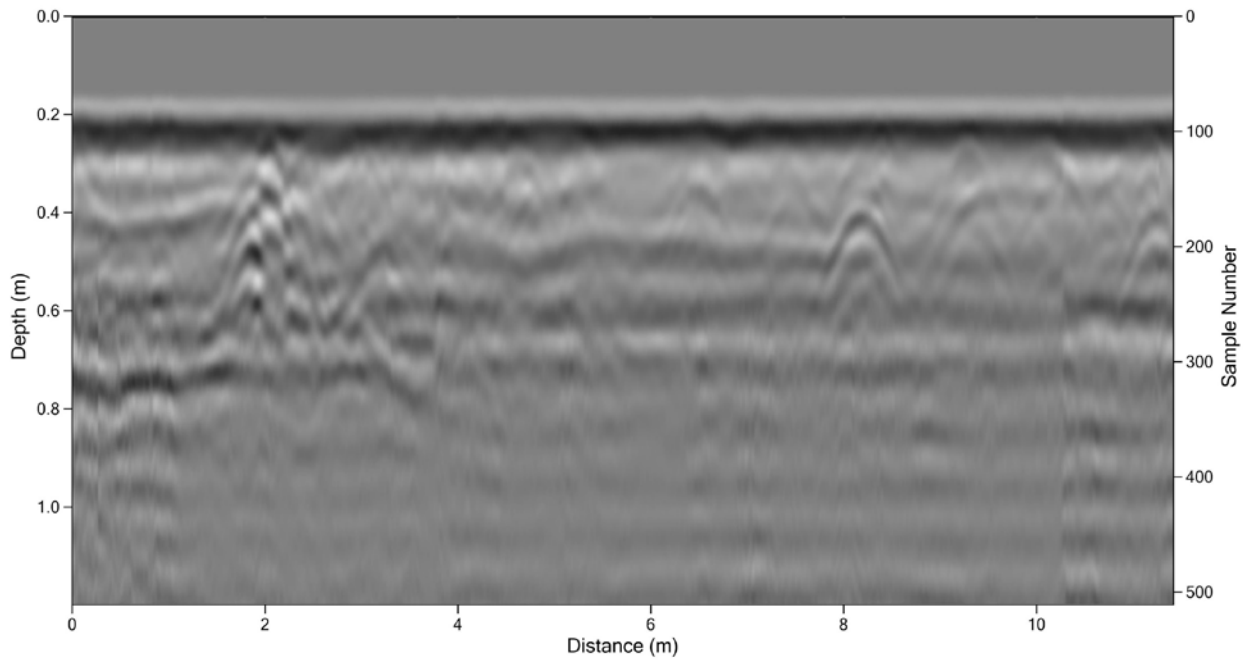
FILE128.DZT



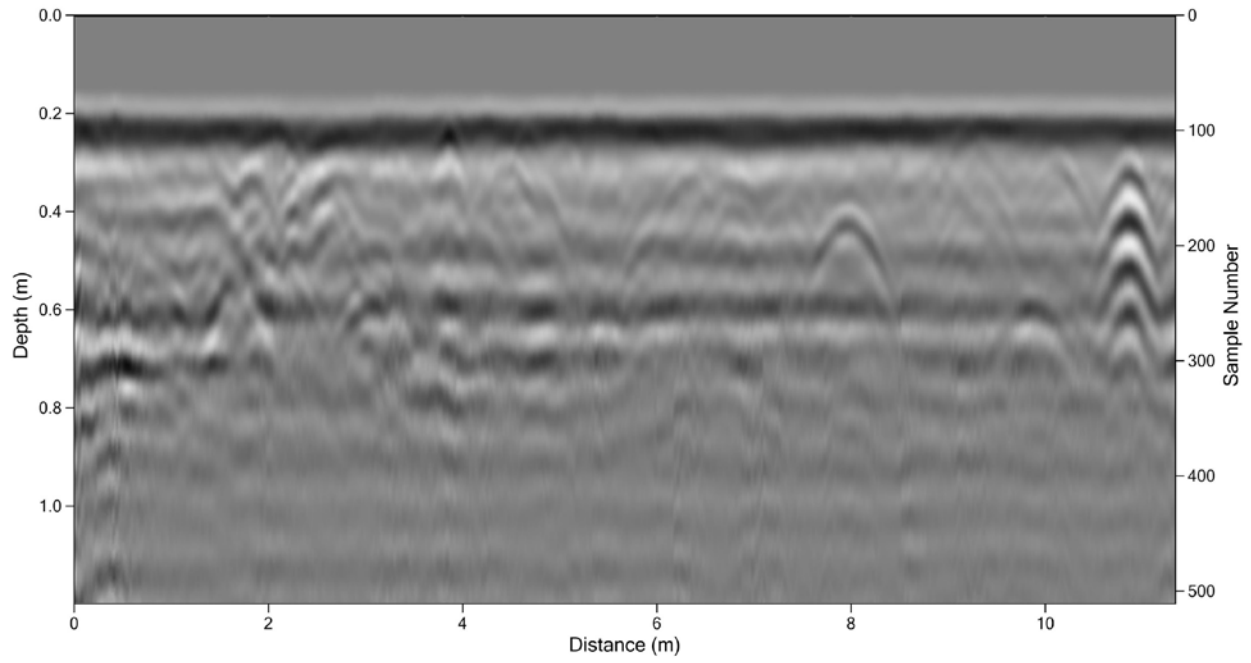
FILE129.DZT



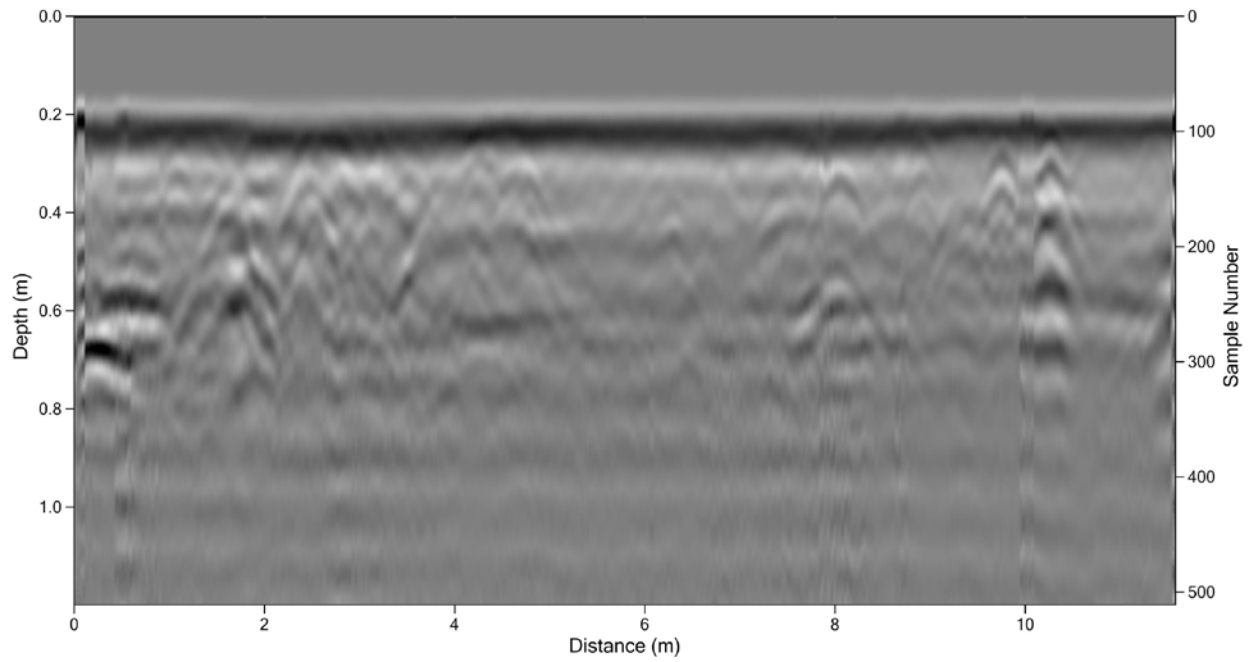
FILE130.DZT



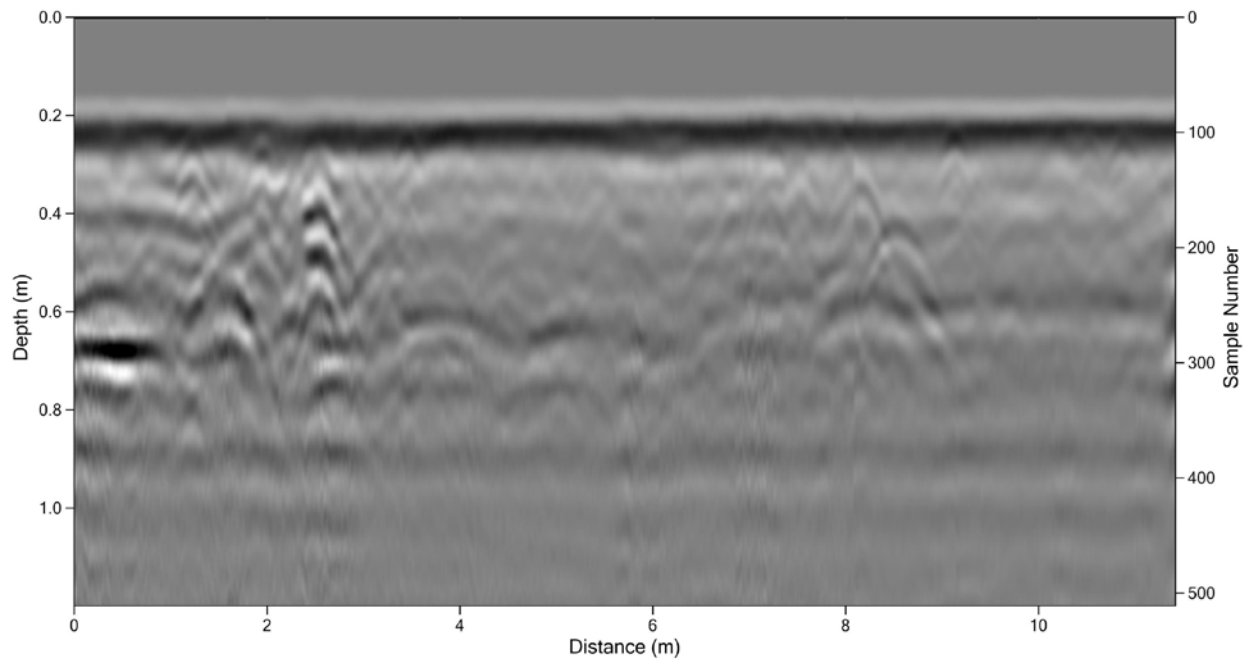
FILE131.DZT



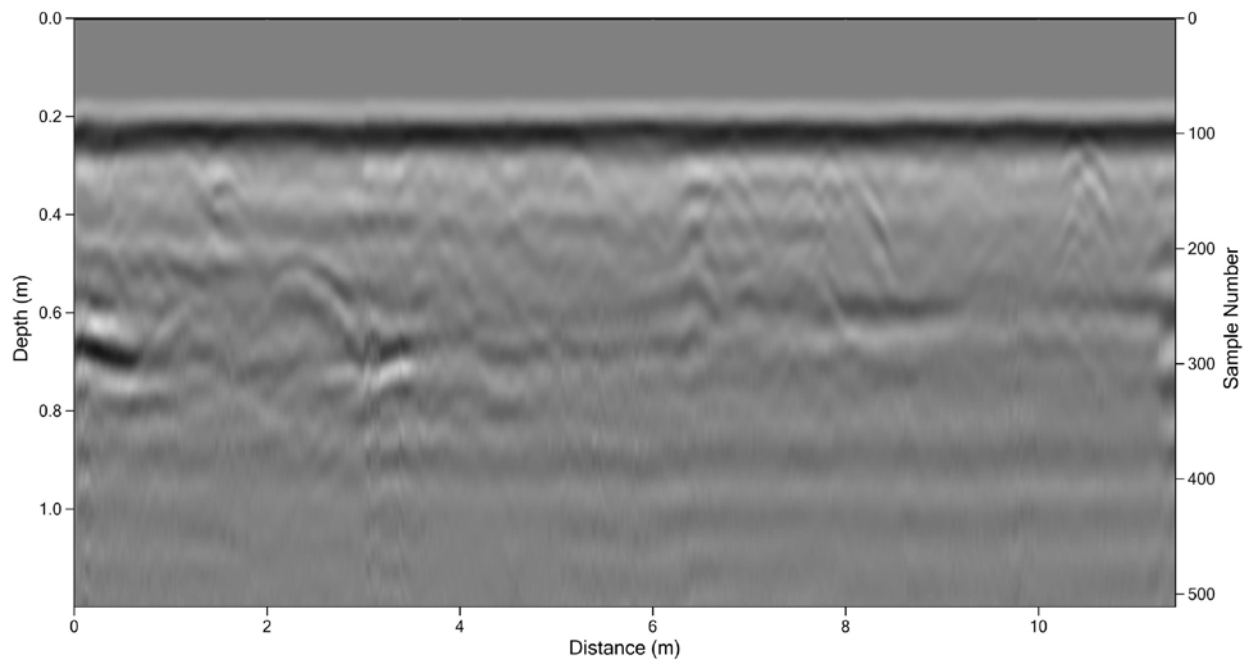
FILE132.DZT



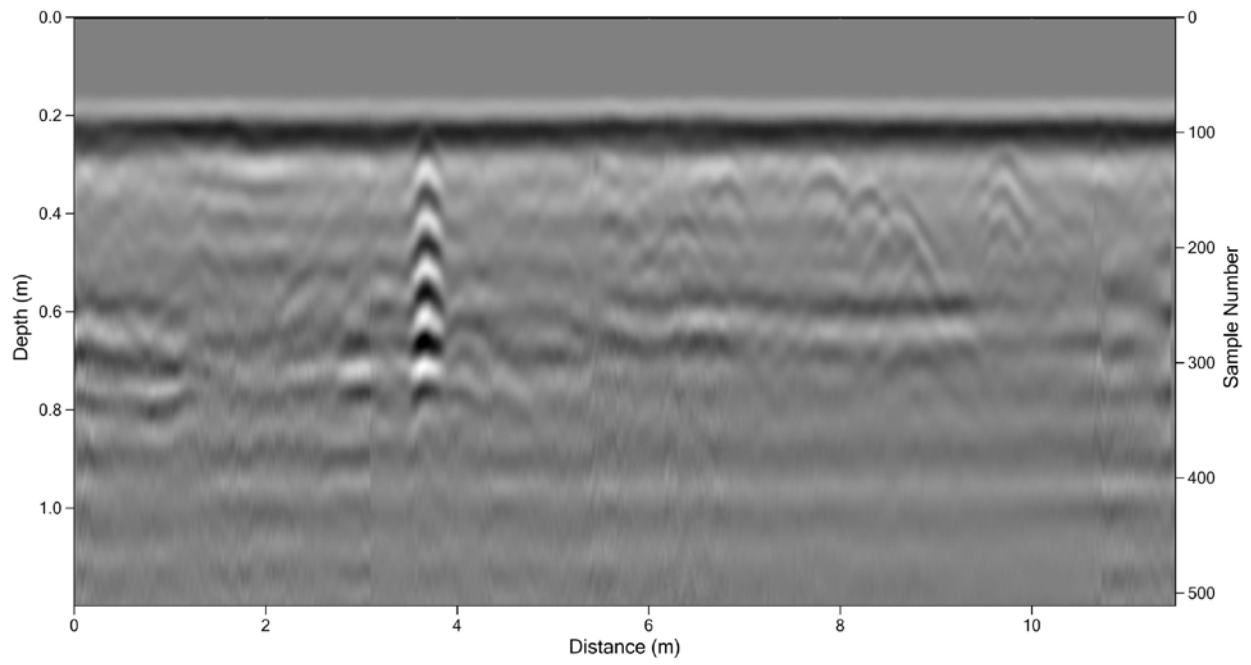
FILE133.DZT



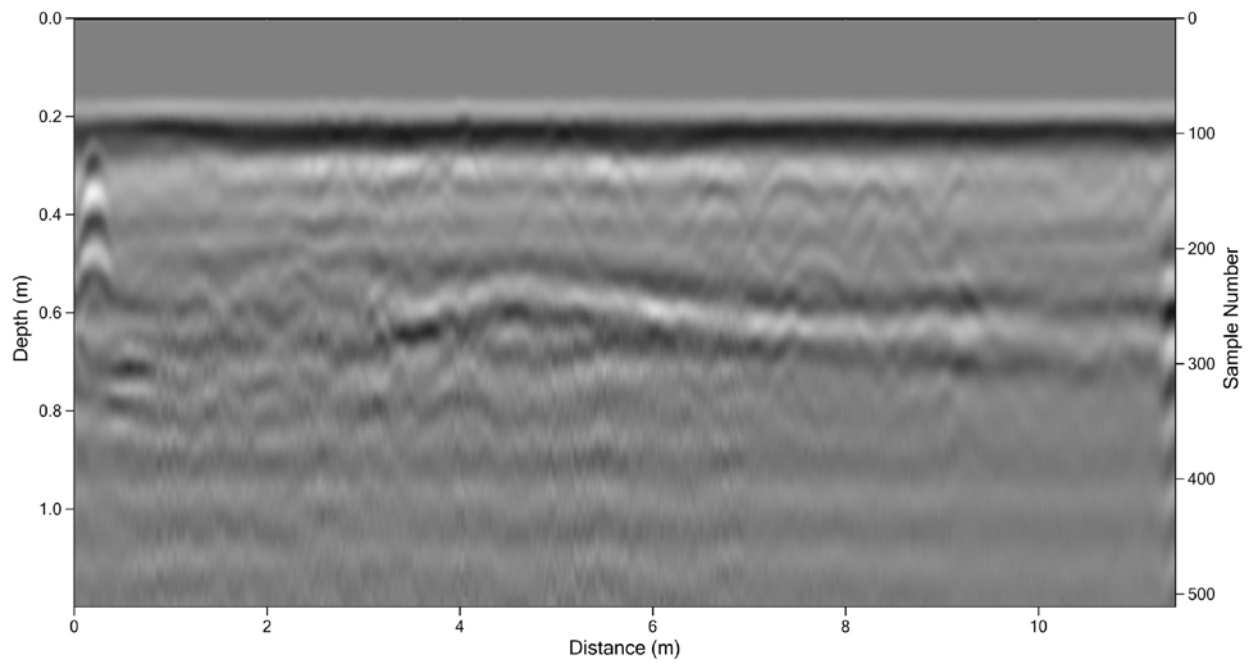
FILE134.DZT



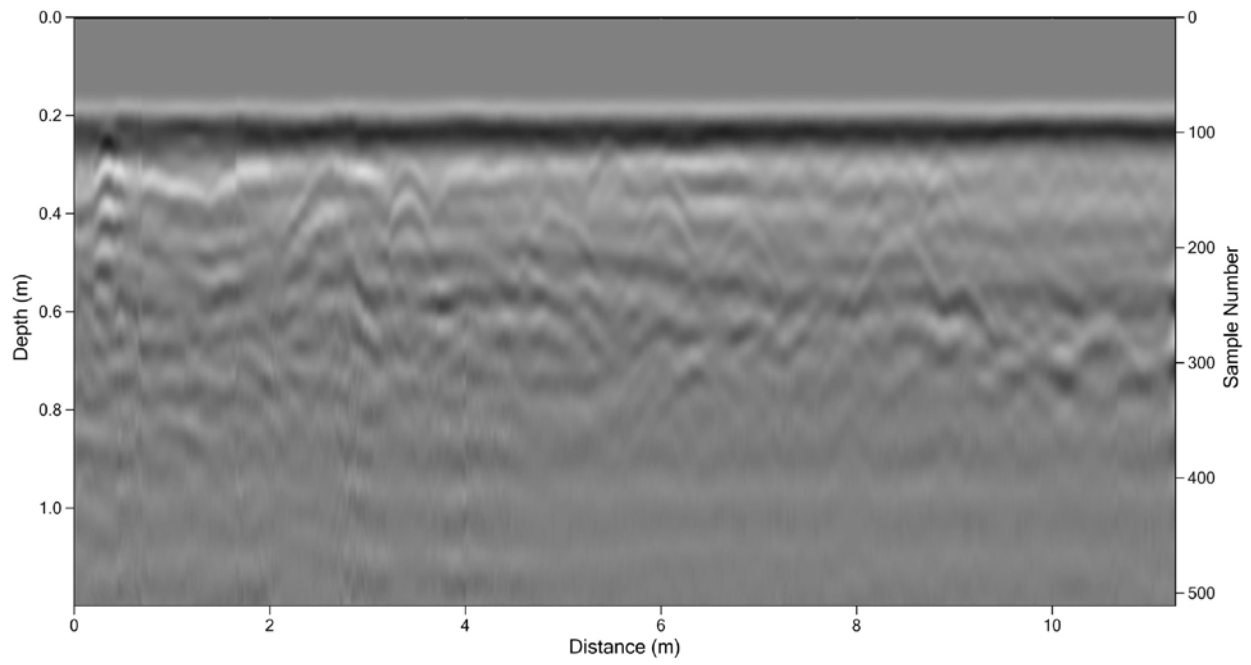
FILE135.DZT



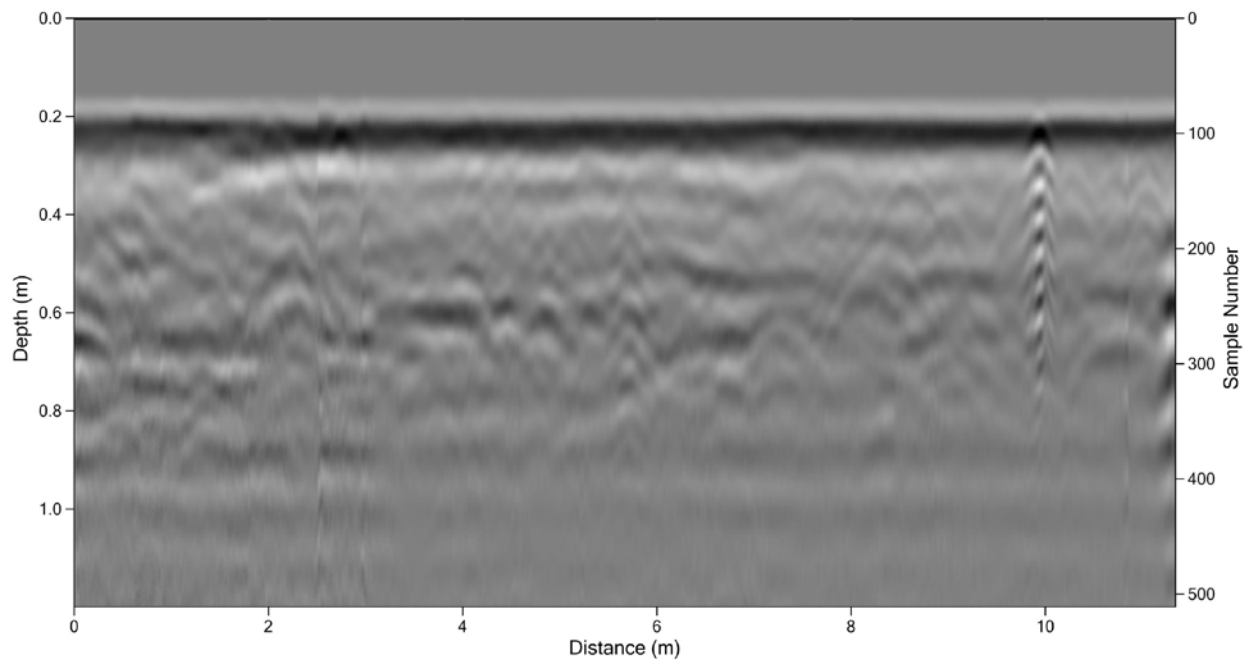
FILE136.DZT



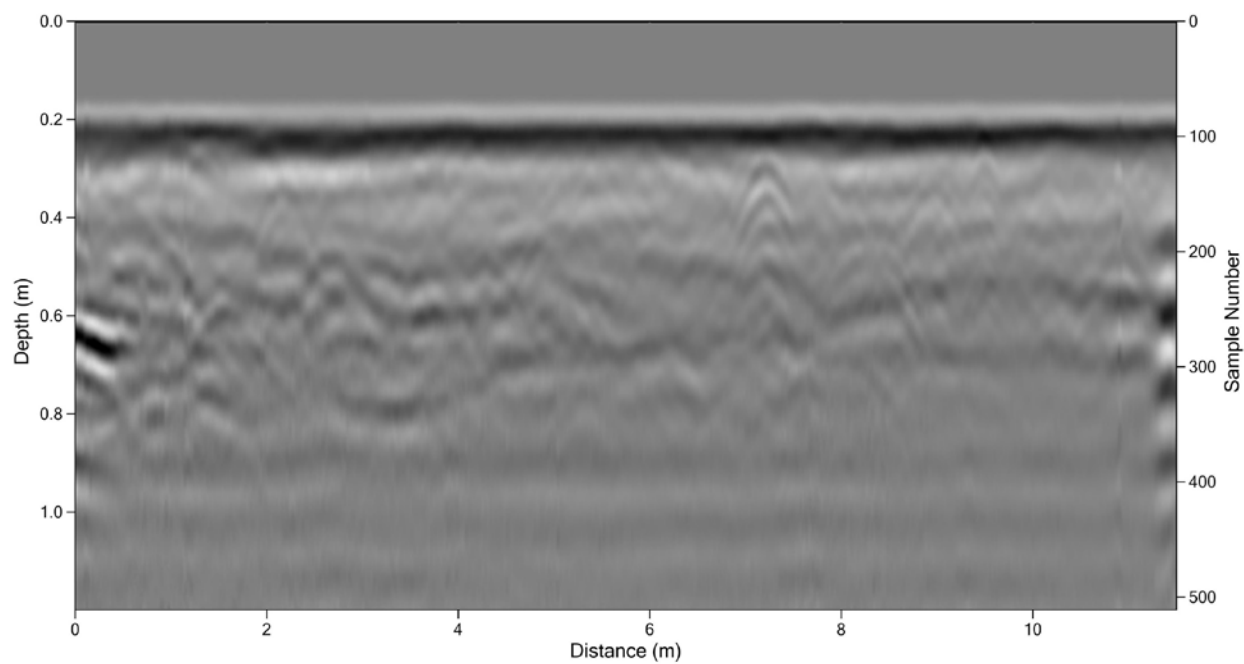
FILE137.DZT



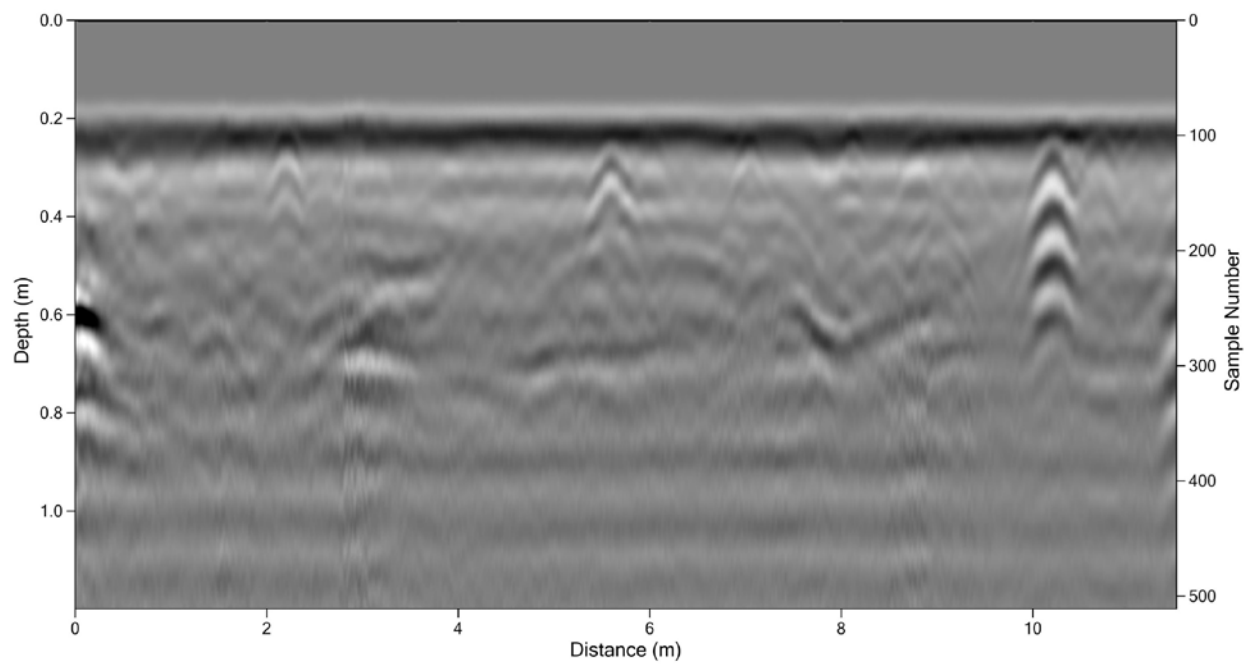
FILE138.DZT



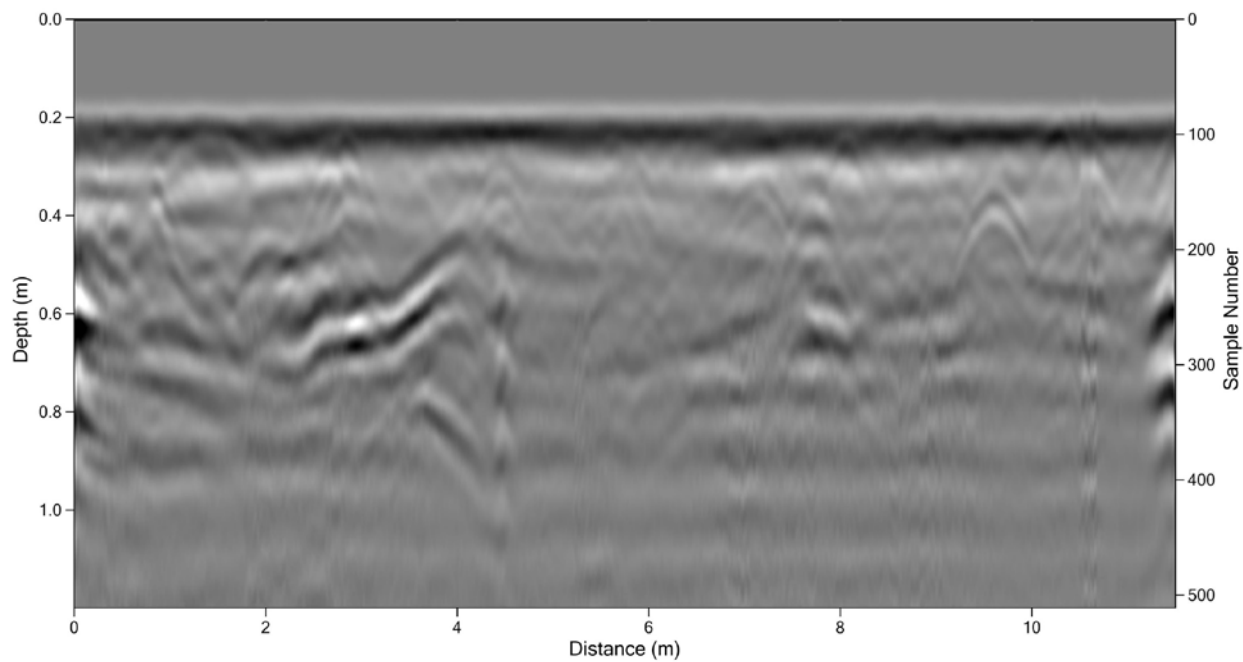
FILE139.DZT



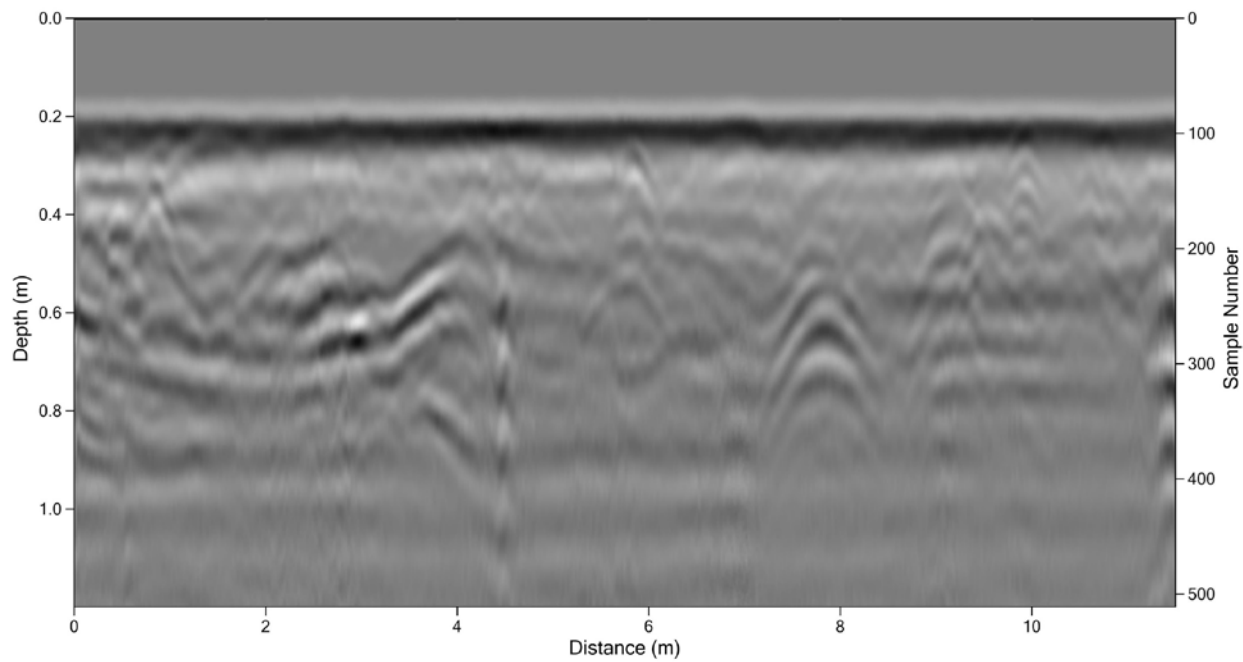
FILE140.DZT



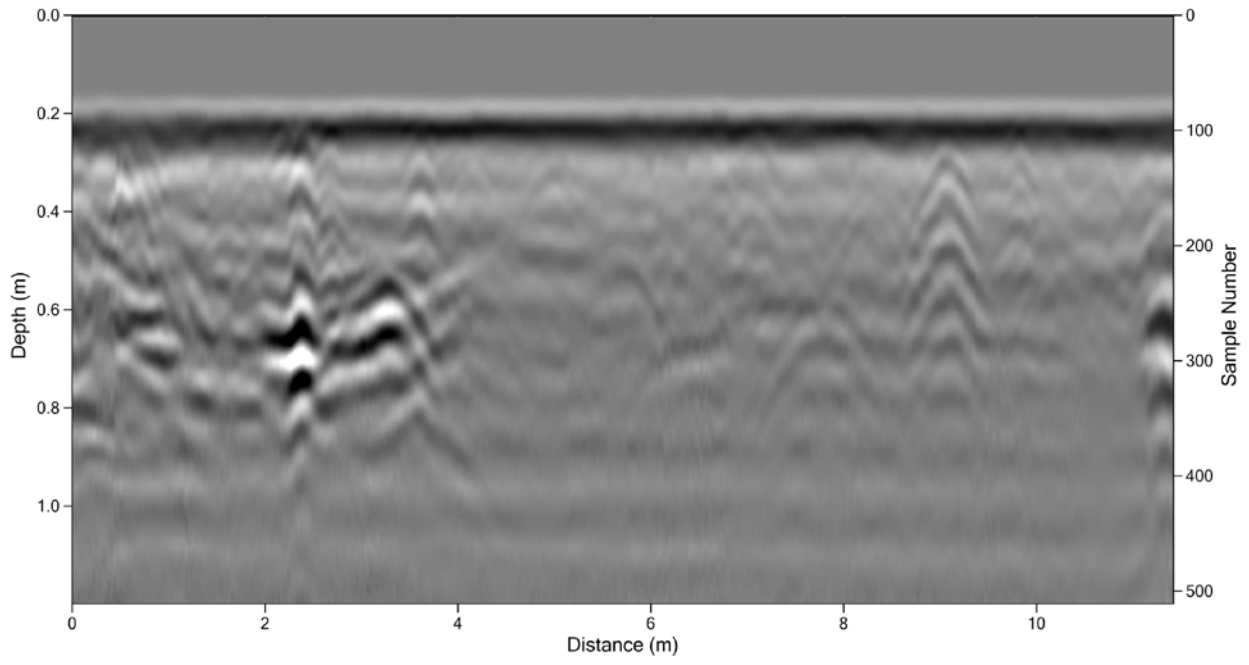
FILE141.DZT



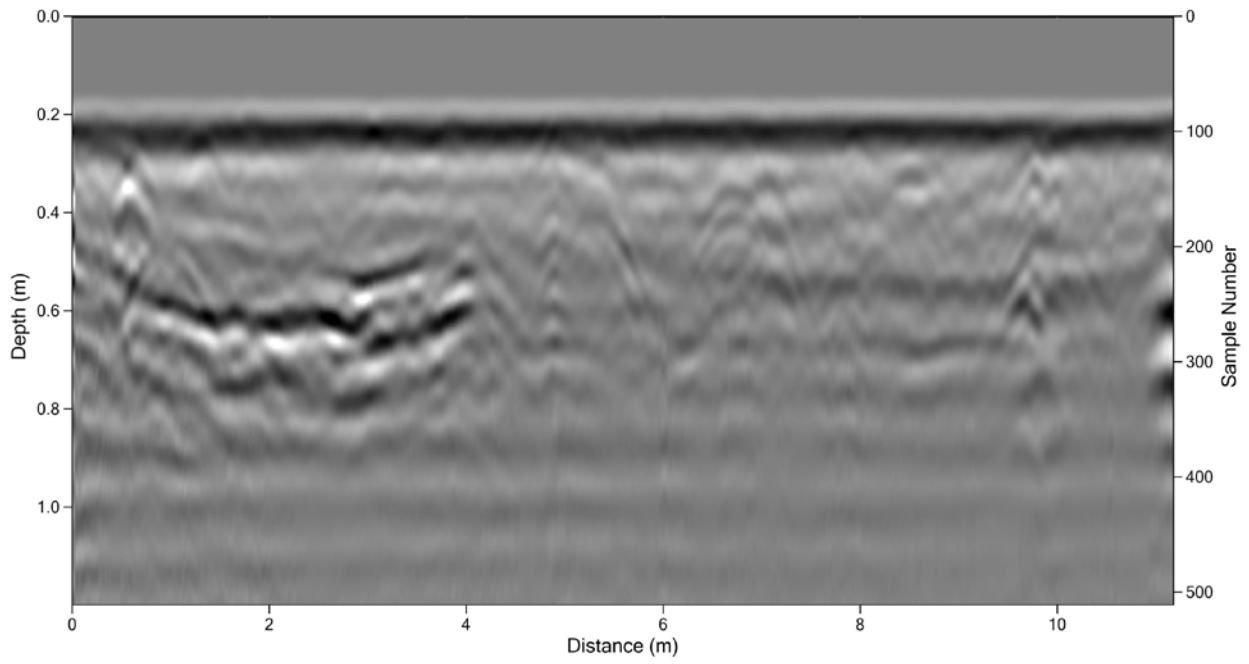
FILE142.DZT



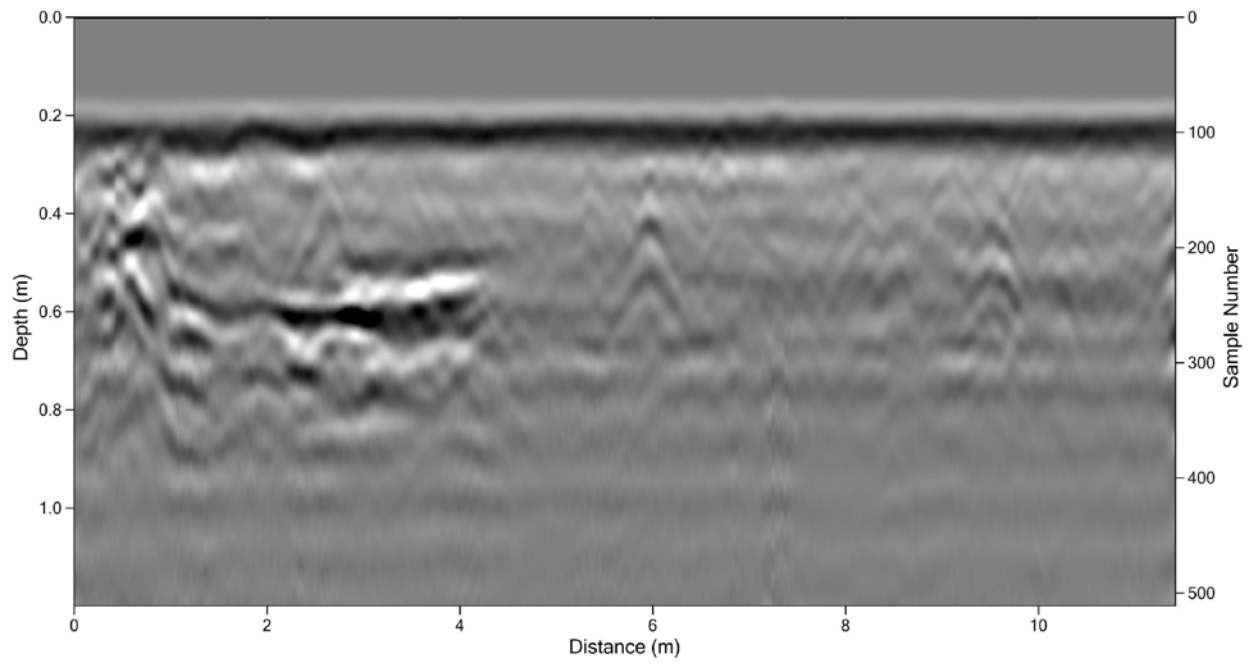
FILE143.DZT



FILE144.DZT



FILE145.DZT



Appendix C: Artifact Counts from BACA 2016 Excavations

Abiquiú 1 Artifact Counts

Unit	Level	Artifact Type	Number	Weight (g)
A2	1	ceramics	20	39.7
A2	1	charcoal	-	1
A2	1	fauna	1	0.7
A2	1	glass	1	0.5
A2	1	lithics	4	184.3
A2	1	metal	2	1.3
A2	2	ceramics	6	8
A2	2	charcoal	-	0.4
A2	2	lithics	1	0.4
A3	1	ceramics	17	47.4
A3	1	charcoal	-	21
A3	1	fauna	2	0.8
A3	1	lithics	4	2.3
A3	1	plastic	1	<0.1
A3	1	botanical	11	2.4
A3	2	ceramics	22	74
A3	2	charcoal	-	0.9
A3	2	lithics	4	2.5
A3	3	ceramics	8	29.5
A3	3	charcoal	-	1.7
A3	3	fauna	1	<0.1
A3	3	lithics	3	19.1

B1	1	ceramics	33	59.1
B1	1	charcoal	-	<0.1
B1	1	fauna	1	<0.1
B1	1	glass	3	1.9
B1	1	lithics	10	5.7
B1	2	ceramics	28	80.9
B1	2	charcoal	-	40.1
B1	2	fauna	1	4.9
B1	2	glass	1	<0.1
B1	2	lithics	6	8.2
B1	3	charcoal	-	5.3
B1	3	lithics	3	1.4
C1	1	ceramics	27	103.7
C1	1	charcoal	-	3.1
C1	1	lithics	7	4.6
C1	1	metal	1	0.6
C1	1	misc.	3	<0.1
C1	2	ceramics	16	54.7
C1	2	charcoal	-	12.6
C1	2	fauna	2	0.5
C1	2	glass	1	<0.1
C1	2	lithics	6	14.5
D1	1	charcoal	-	<0.1
D1	1	metal	1	28.3

Abiquiú 2 Artifact Counts

Unit	Level	Artifact Type	Number	Weight (g)
A1	1	botanical	9	0.7
A1	1	ceramics	26	53.2
A1	1	charcoal	-	5
A1	1	glass	43	80.3
A1	1	lithics	14	13.1
A1	1	metal	141	85
A1	1	misc.	15	17.5
A1	1	plastic	7	<0.1
A1	2	botanical	80	43.3
A1	2	ceramics	5	7.8
A1	2	charcoal	-	1
A1	2	fauna	3	2.7
A1	2	glass	301	249.1
A1	2	lithics	8	6.6
A1	2	metal	35	47.5
A1	2	misc.	86	3.7
A1	2	plastic	12	6.3
A1	3	botanical	250	228.6
A1	3	ceramics	6	23.1
A1	3	charcoal	-	10.2
A1	3	fauna	32	43.4
A1	3	glass	13	5.2
A1	3	lithics	2	1.7
A1	3	metal	6	8
A1	3	misc.	2	102.4
A1	3	plastic	6	1.6
A2	1	botanical	50	43.9
A2	1	ceramics	9	23.3
A2	1	charcoal	-	6.4
A2	1	fauna	3	1.9

A2	1	glass	65	142.4
A2	1	lithics	1	1.2
A2	1	metal	53	30
A2	1	plastic	16	17
A2	2	botanical	100	118.4
A2	2	ceramics	22	66.6
A2	2	charcoal	-	7.3
A2	2	fauna	22	38.7
A2	2	glass	226	545.3
A2	2	lithics	7	37.1
A2	2	plastic	12	5.1
A3	1	botanical	11	5.3
A3	1	ceramics	20	50
A3	1	charcoal	-	6.5
A3	1	fauna	19	17.6
A3	1	glass	210	290.8
A3	1	lithics	9	6.9
A3	1	metal	45	34.7
A3	1	plastic	8	1.1
A3	2	Botanical (jacal fragments)	226	168.6
A3	2	ceramics	9	30.3
A3	2	fauna	8	2.4
A3	2	metal	6	2.1
A3	2	misc.		13.2
A3	2	plastic	8	4.2

A3	2 (inside west wall)	ceramics	15	15.4
A3	2 (inside west wall)	charcoal	-	0.7
A3	2 (inside west wall)	glass	33	63.8
A3	2 (inside west wall)	lithics	2	<0.1
A3	2 (outside west wall)	glass	11	9.5
A3	2 (outside west wall)	charcoal	-	0.8
A3	2 (outside west wall)	lithics	2	3.3
B1	1	charcoal	-	9.7
B1	1	fauna	19	129
B1	1	glass	53	121.7
B1	1	lithics	6	109.8
B1	1	metal	54	27.5
B1	1	plastic	12	1.6
B1	2	botanical	17	6.5
B1	2	ceramics	19	32.5
B1	2	charcoal	-	9.3
B1	2	fauna	15	24.5
B1	2	glass	31	12.7
B1	2	lithics	10	33
B1	2	metal	21	15.5
B1	2	misc.	5	1.5
B1	2	plastic	6	6
B1	3	ceramics	8	11.2

B1	3	fauna	5	2.5
B1	3	glass	4	0.8
B1	3	lithics	3	4.5
B1	3	metal	4	0.8
B1	3	botanical	1	0.1
B2	1	ceramics	19	52.9
B2	1	charcoal	-	3.8
B2	1	fauna	3	0.7
B2	1	glass	102	130.5
B2	1	metal	13	19.1
B2	1	lithics		1.5
B2	1	metal	5	5.7
B2	1	misc.	9	6.3
B2	2	ceramics	11	15.6
B2	2	charcoal	-	4.9
B2	2	fauna	25	26.9
B2	2	glass	24	28
B2	2	lithics	8	15.5
B2	2	metal	6	1.8
B2	2	misc.	4	3.3
B2	3	charcoal	-	0.6
B3	1	botanical	7	3.4
B3	1	ceramics	7	11.5

B3	1	charcoal	-	2
B3	1	fauna	7	2.8
B3	1	glass	53	51.3
B3	1	lithics	5	1.7
B3	1	metal	12	17.8
B3	1	misc.	12	44
B3	1	plastic	6	1.8
B3	2	ceramics	24	27.3
B3	2	charcoal	-	11.8
B3	2	fauna	29	41.2
B3	2	glass	40	21.5
B3	2	lithics	10	11.7
B3	2	metal	6	4
B3	2	misc.	2	5.6
B3	2	botanical	36	3.1
C1	1	botanical	1	<0.1
C1	1	ceramics	3	35.6
C1	1	charcoal	-	5.6
C1	1	fauna	8	10.5
C1	1	glass	132	111
C1	1	lithics	9	9.5
C1	1	metal	57	15
C1	1	misc.	6	9.8
C1	1	plastic	15	3.4
C2	1	ceramics	14	29.2
C2	1	charcoal	-	29.3

C2	1	fauna	39	108.2
C2	1	glass	116	137.9
C2	1	lithics	9	11.6
C2	1	metal	42	41.7
C2	1	plastic	13	2.5
C2	1	misc.	3	65.1
C2	1	metal	1	4.8
C2	2	botanical	4	3.5
C2	2	ceramics	2	3.8
C2	2	charcoal	-	6.4
C2	2	fauna	8	121.5
C2	2	glass	8	9.2
C2	2	lithics	9	7.1
C2	2	metal	90	73.1
C2	2	plastic	1	<0.1
C2	3	ceramics	1	1.8
C2	3	charcoal	-	2.4
C2	3	glass	2	0.9
C2	3	lithics	2	<0.1
C2	3	metal	9	2.3
C2	3	misc.	2	<0.1
D1	1	ceramics	4	15.6
D1	1	charcoal	-	0.7
D1	1	fauna	1	<0.1
D1	1	glass	33	19.7
D1	1	lithics	8	1.8
D1	1	metal	2	0.4
D1	1	misc.	7	4
D1	2	botanical	2	0.5
D1	2	ceramics	53	75.4

D1	2	charcoal	-	5.8
D1	2	fauna	150	174.9
D1	2	glass	43	34.2
D1	2	lithics	40	51.5
D1	2	metal	3	1.8
D1	2	misc.	15	147.7
D1	2	plastic	1	<0.1
D1	3	ceramics	24	43.3
D1	3	charcoal	-	4.3
D1	3	fauna	83	68.4
D1	3	glass	12	10.4
D1	3	lithics	11	30
D1	3	metal	8	8.7
E1	1	ceramics	34	62.3
E1	1	charcoal	-	2.2
E1	1	fauna	26	16.5
E1	1	glass	133	118.8
E1	1	lithics	13	16.7
E1	1	metal	30	37.3
E1	1	misc.	26	14.1
E1	1	plastic	1	<0.1
E1	2	botanical	2	2
E1	2	ceramics	13	17.8
E1	2	charcoal	-	1.1
E1	2	fauna	18	6.5
E1	2	glass	12	52.6
E1	2	lithics	4	4.4
E1	2	metal	6	16.8
E1	2	misc.	3	0.4
E1	2	plastic	1	3.7
G1	1	ceramics	6	6.8

G1	1	charcoal	-	0.8
G1	1	fauna	2	4
G1	1	glass	44	53.2
G1	1	metal	9	3.3
G1	1	misc.	20	5
G1	1	misc.	1	35.8
G1	2	botanical	3	12.9
G1	2	ceramics	8	6.7
G1	2	charcoal	-	<0.1
G1	2	fauna	7	0.8
G1	2	glass	77	49.5
G1	2	metal	12	20.9
G1	2	misc.	1	2.9
G1	2	plastic	13	1.8
Test Trench 1	1	botanical	97	69.2
Test Trench 1	1	ceramics	24	34.5
Test Trench 1	1	fauna	21	16.6
Test Trench 1	1	glass	170	242.3
Test Trench 1	1	lithics	16	44.2
Test Trench 1	1	metal	44	64
Test Trench 1	1	misc.	26	274.9
Test Trench 1	1	plastic	65	8.2
Test Trench 1	2	botanical	2	1.9
Test Trench 1	2	ceramics	27	23.1
Test Trench 1	2	charcoal	-	1.8
Test Trench 1	2	glass	52	59.8
Test Trench 1	2	lithics	14	26.1
Test Trench 1	2	metal	63	54.5

Abiquiú 3 Artifact Counts

Unit	Level	Artifact Type	Number	Weight (g)
A6	1	ceramics	37	69.1
A6	1	charcoal	-	2.6
A6	1	fauna	19	15.7
A6	1	glass	39	65.5
A6	1	lithics	6	11.7
A6	1	metal	23	13.1
A6	1	misc.	4	12.4
A6	2	ceramics	25	40
A6	2	charcoal	-	2.6
A6	2	fauna	56	20.6
A6	2	glass	33	58.2
A6	2	lithics	25	13.2
A6	2	metal	29	52
A6	3	ceramics	44	114.5
A6	3	charcoal	-	<0.1
A6	3	fauna	73	35.9
A6	3	glass	19	39.4
A6	3	lithics	36	72.9
A6	3	metal	37	29.3
A6	3	misc.	1	5.4
A6	4	ceramics	96	297.7
A6	4	charcoal	-	3.6
A6	4	fauna	220	113.3
A6	4	glass	7	3
A6	4	metal	8	5
A6	4	lithics	3	2.3
A6	4	misc.	1	<0.1
A6	4	plastic	1	<0.1
A6	5	ceramics	38	155.3
A6	5	charcoal	-	3.3
A6	5	fauna	61	75.1
A6	5	glass	6	3.5
A6	5	lithics	6	16.2

A6	6	ceramics	15	44
A6	6	charcoal	-	3.9
A6	6	fauna	22	55.5
A6	6	lithics	1	1.4
A6	6	misc.	7	24.1
A7	1	botanical	1	0.6
A7	1	ceramics	47	92.5
A7	1	charcoal	-	10.5
A7	1	fauna	23	7.4
A7	1	glass	43	59.2
A7	1	lithics	14	16.8
A7	1	metal	31	57
A7	1	misc.	5	1.4
A7	1	plastic	42	3.5
A7	2	botanical	14	1.6
A7	2	ceramics	153	233.1
A7	2	charcoal	-	9.5
A7	2	fauna	128	38.5
A7	2	glass	106	115.9
A7	2	lithics	41	46.6
A7	2	metal	128	168
A7	2	plastic	16	2.7
A7	3	botanical	2	0.9
A7	3	ceramics	104	150.7
A7	3	charcoal	-	1.9
A7	3	fauna	104	37.4
A7	3	glass	19	26.4
A7	3	lithics	47	41.3
A7	3	metal	12	18.7
A7	3	misc.	1	<0.1
A7	4	ceramics	155	286.5
A7	4	charcoal	-	1.4
A7	4	fauna	146	50
A7	4	glass	10	9.8
A7	4	lithics	58	41.2
A7	4	metal	3	2.6

A7	5	ceramics	59	78.3
A7	5	charcoal	-	8.3
A7	5	fauna	67	33.9
A7	5	glass	2	<0.1
A7	5	lithics	11	51.1
A7	5	misc.	1	0.5
B5	1	botanical	44	4.8
B5	1	ceramics	164	203.6
B5	1	charcoal	-	11
B5	1	fauna	156	23.8
B5	1	glass	109	71.1
B5	1	lithics	25	17
B5	1	metal	44	42.8
B5	1	misc.	5	3.9
B5	1	plastic	19	2.2
B5	2	botanical	2	1.3
B5	2	ceramics	50	98.2
B5	2	charcoal	-	4
B5	2	fauna	74	29.8
B5	2	glass	46	43.8
B5	2	lithics	12	5
B5	2	metal	20	27.1
B5	2	misc.	8	<0.1
B5	3	botanical	11	4.1
B5	3	ceramics	64	130
B5	3	charcoal	-	10.6
B5	3	fauna	118	52.4
B5	3	glass	47	44.7
B5	3	lithics	13	9.5
B5	3	metal	11	27.5
B5	3	misc.	1	7.5
B5	3	plastic	11	5.2
B5	4	botanical	6	0.7
B5	4	charcoal	-	0.8
B5	4	fauna	102	133.7
B5	4	glass	10	5.3

B5	4	lithics	17	20.2
B5	4	metal	14	20
B5	4	misc.	1	<0.1
C5	1	botanical	12	0.6
C5	1	ceramics	54	114
C5	1	charcoal	-	2
C5	1	fauna	14	7.1
C5	1	glass	70	75.7
C5	1	lithics	6	10
C5	1	metal	34	93.1
C5	1	plastic	10	5.8
C5	2	botanical	3	<0.1
C5	2	ceramics	42	87.8
C5	2	charcoal	-	16.7
C5	2	fauna	24	36.5
C5	2	glass	63	134.3
C5	2	lithics	7	13.5
C5	2	metal	19	20.4
C5	2	misc.	1	12.5
C5	2	plastic	12	9
C5	3	botanical	10	0.8
C5	3	ceramics	74	140.6
C5	3	charcoal	-	14
C5	3	fauna	40	44.2
C5	3	glass	61	65.2
C5	3	lithics	10	4
C5	3	metal	24	29.1
C5	3	plastic	12	4.1
C5	4	ceramics	68	117.3
C5	4	charcoal	-	10.5
C5	4	fauna	85	71.3
C5	4	glass	53	56.9
C5	4	lithics	5	1.9
C5	4	metal	37	27.1
C5	4	glass	1	192
C5	4	misc.	1	1.5

C5	4	plastic	11	4.3
C5	4	botanical	3	0.5
C5	5	botanical	40	4.6
C5	5	ceramics	96	211.1
C5	5	charcoal	-	8.4
C5	5	fauna	96	54.1
C5	5	glass	29	21.2
C5	5	lithics	8	7.7
C5	5	metal	26	29.2
C5	5	misc.	7	5.1
C5	6	botanical	30	31.2
C5	6	ceramics	59	195.4
C5	6	charcoal	-	35.6
C5	6	fauna	82	91.8
C5	6	glass	13	9
C5	6	lithics	12	34.6
C5	6	metal	13	18.9
Test Trench 1	1	botanical	60	520
Test Trench 1	1	ceramic	211	308
Test Trench 1	1	fauna	544	147.1
Test Trench 1	1	lithics	50	42.3
Test Trench 1	1	metal	103	182.8
Test Trench 1	1	misc.	7	18
Test Trench 1	1	plastic	29	4.1
Test Trench 1	2	botanical	10	4.8
Test Trench 1	2	ceramics	7	17.5
Test Trench 1	2	charcoal	-	11.3
Test Trench 1	2	fauna	6	0.9
Test Trench 1	2	glass	10	22.5
Test Trench 1	2	lithics	37	110.3
Test Trench 1	2	metal	55	94.8
Test Trench 1	2	plastic	5	4.3
Test Trench 2	1	botanical	18	1.5
Test Trench 2	1	ceramics	342	641.8
Test Trench 2	1	charcoal	-	33.2
Test Trench 2	1	fauna	256	147.7

Test Trench 2	1	glass	140	215.2
Test Trench 2	1	lithics	64	75.8
Test Trench 2	1	metal	112	128.3
Test Trench 2	1	misc.	4	7.4
Test Trench 2	1	plastic	59	7.3
Test Trench 2	2	ceramics	132	408.8
Test Trench 2	2	charcoal	-	117.9
Test Trench 2	2	fauna	975	1004.1
Test Trench 2	2	glass	32	32.1
Test Trench 2	2	lithics	34	300
Test Trench 2	2	metal	56	99
Test Trench 2	2	misc.	4	3.8
Test Trench 2	3	botanical	5	<0.1
Test Trench 2	3	ceramics	522	952.1
Test Trench 2	3	charcoal	-	74.7
Test Trench 2	3	charcoal	-	
Test Trench 2	3	fauna	635	731.4
Test Trench 2	3	glass	5	3.4
Test Trench 2	3	lithics	31	29.1
Test Trench 2	3	metal	22	17.5

Appendix D: Dendrochronology Reports
Tree-Ring Dates from Charles Carrillo Historic Jacal House/Structure, Abiquiú, New Mexico

**Jemez Mountains Tree-Ring
Lab Jemez Springs, New
Mexico
&
Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research, University of
Arizona Thomas W. Swetnam
September 14, 2016**

In July 2016 fifteen tree-ring samples were delivered to Tom Swetnam in Jemez Springs. The samples were obtained from Tom Windes (via Leigh Cominiello). Thirteen of these samples were cores collected from roof beams and wall posts by Windes. Two partial posts (wrapped in plastic, samples 100 and 101) were also included that Windes indicated were obtained during excavations by a University of California archaeologist.

All core samples were mounted on wooden core mounts with glue to stabilize them. Flat surfaces were sanded by hand on all cores, using sandpaper grits of 150, 220, 320, 15 and 30 microns, until all annual rings and cell walls were clearly visible. A binocular microscope using 10 to 45X magnification was used to observe and crossdate all samples. Skeleton plots were made of most samples, and crossdating of individual samples was accomplished using a composite master skeleton plot derived from (1) a composite of ring-width chronology from northern New Mexico, and (2) the Echo Amphitheater ring width chronology downloaded from the International Tree-Ring Data Bank (NM583).

The core samples were from a combination of *Pinus edulis*, *Pinus ponderosa* and *Juniperus* species. The partial post samples were heavily decayed and species identification is not positive, but they appear to be *Pinus edulis*. None of the juniper samples were successfully crossdated. Although several of these have more than 100 rings (and sample 67 has more than 300 rings), confident crossdating was not achieved. It appears that these samples have too many missing and/or false rings. In general, only *Juniperus scopulorum* or *J. osteosperma* are tree-ring datable in the Southwest. It is not clear if the sampled timbers are either of these species, and they could be from *J. monosperma*, which is not generally datable.

Cross section samples from the two partial posts were not crossdated. These samples were partially decayed (brown rot) and the annual rings were difficult to discern. It was possible, more-or-less, to see rings after fine sanding and wetting of the wood, but the rings were observed to be very narrow (suppressed growth), and crossdating was not attempted because success appears highly unlikely.

Four of the six remaining *Pinus* core samples were successfully crossdated. The dating is fair to good on these four samples, although missing rings in the 1900 to 1913 period makes the outermost dates of two of these specimens somewhat uncertain (hence, plus symbols associated with those outermost dates). See the table below. The outermost dates are all 1915. The 1915 ring was complete with latewood apparently completely formed that year. Bark was not observed on any of these specimens, but outermost rings subjectively appeared to be near the cutting date (i.e., code v).

Sample ID	Inner Date	Inner Code	Outer Date	Outer Code	Species	Comment
4	1868	near p	1915	v	Pinus ponderosa	good crossdating, but many false rings
6	1838	p	1915	v+	Pinus ponderosa	1902, 1904, 1910? Absent
8					Pinus ponderosa	not dated, too few rings (40), and missing rings
26					Juniperus sp.	not dated; too many missing & false rings
51	1818	p	1915	v	Pinus edulis	1904 absent; best crossdating
52					Pinus edulis	not dated, too few rings (50), and missing rings
53					Juniperus sp.	not dated; too many missing & false rings
54					Juniperus sp.	not dated; too many missing & false rings
64					Juniperus sp.	not dated; too many missing & false rings
66	1782	p+/-	1915	v+	Pinus edulis	1880,1902,1904,1913 absent
100					??	too decayed to see rings
101					??	too decayed to see rings
67a					Juniperus sp.	not dated; too many missing & false rings
67b1					Juniperus sp.	not dated; too many missing & false rings
67b2					Juniperus sp.	not dated; too many missing & false rings

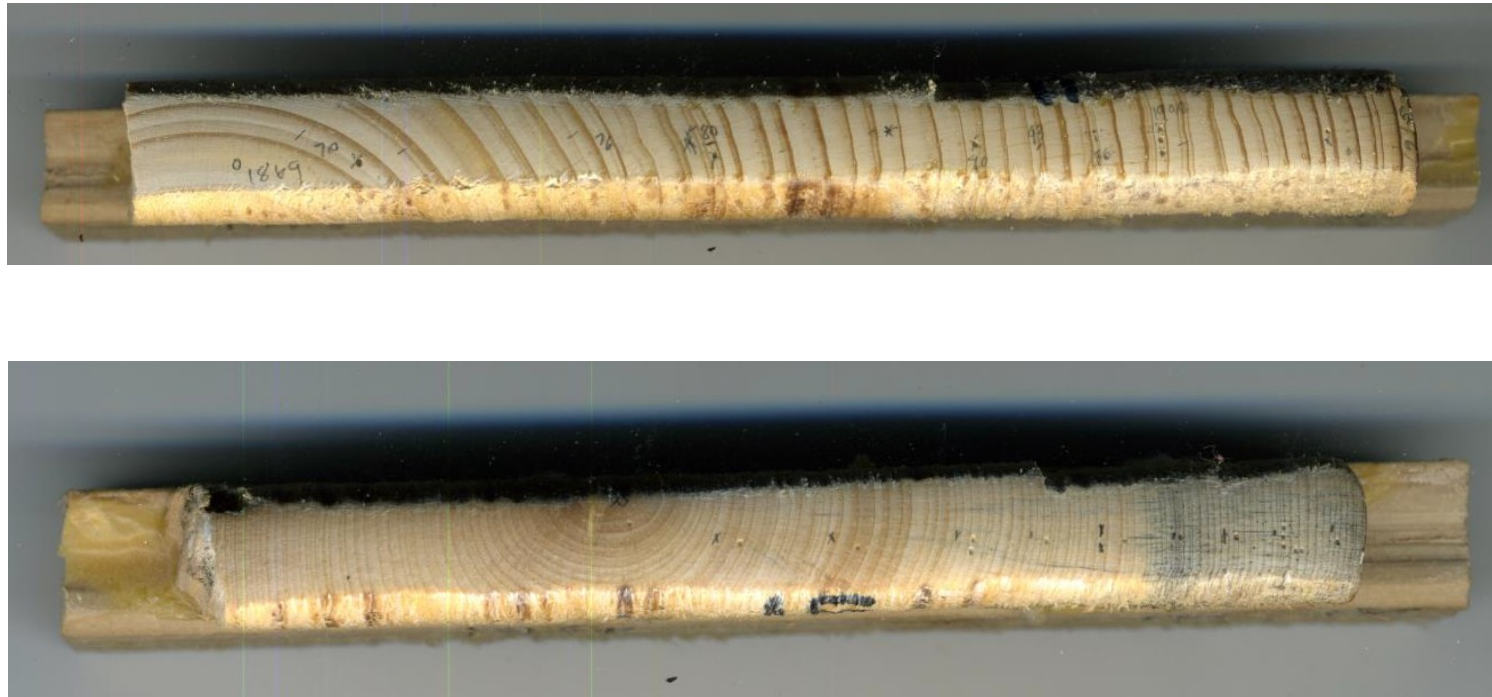


Figure 1. Examples of dated core samples from Carrillo historic house. At top is specimen number 4. This was from a ponderosa pine, and cross dating was good but many false rings were present. At bottom is specimen 51, which was from a pinyon pine

Tree-Ring Samples from Abiquiu, northern New Mexico
 Tom Windes
 To Tom Swetnam July 2016

Sapwood Dates Please

Acc.: A-

ROOM	Story	WALL	FEATURE	'FS	inside-outside RING	SAMPLE TYPE	DATE SAMPLED	COMMENTS
Charles Carrillo House off Rio Arriba County Road 1621 in Abiquiu, NM n=17 (13 sent) (Zone 13 NAD83: E381375m, N4007645m, elevation 1862m)								
Room 1	1	W	Bond beam	1	np-v	3/4" c	6-26-2016	Not sent
"	1	N-S	Roof primary ^{west}	2	np-r	1/2" c	"	Not sent
"	1	"	Roof primary	4	np-r	3/4" c	"	
"	1	"	Roof primary ^{east}	6	p-r	3/4" c	"	
"	1	E	Bond beam	7	np-r	3/4" c	"	Not sent
"	1	N	"	8	fp-r	1/2" c	"	
"	1	S	"	9	np-r	1/2" c	"	Not sent
Room 1	1	S	Jacal wall post	26	-rB	3/4" c	6-26-2016	
"	1	W	"	51	p-rB	1/2" c	"	
"	1	W	"	52	p-r	3/4" c	"	Core=2 pieces
"	1	W	"	53	-rB	3/4" c	"	Core=2 pieces
"	1	W	"	54	np-rB	3/4" c	"	
"	1	W	"	64	np-rB	3/4" c	"	
"	1	W	"	66	-rB	1/2" c	"	
"	1	W	NW corner post	67	np-r	3/4" c	"	2 cores (a,b) 2 pieces
Structure wall posts from excavation (structure is long gone). Former structure is just east of Room 2 a few meters								
New str.	1	?	Jacal wall post	100		section	6-2016	
"	1	?	"	101	p-rB	section	6-2016	

Total samples sent for processing: 13 (\$30 x 13 = \$390.00 + \$25 curation):

3/4" cores = 6 (+ duplicates); 1/2" cores = 5; cross sections = 2.

Appendix E: Transcription and Translation of the Morada de Moqui Deed

Note: The following text was taken from a copy of the original Morada de Moqui Deed.

Transcription of the Original Spanish

Sepan todos por estas presentes como nosotros Manuel Garcia y Gregoria Velarde mi Esposa Residentes en el condado del Rio Arriba y Territorio del Nuevo Mejico hemos donado y consedido un solar de casa ubicada en el misma lugar de dicha casa dicha donacion la hemos hecho en favor de la hermandad o confraternidad de nuestro padre Jesus bajo las condisiones siguientes. Primero: que si en algun tiempo dicha sociedad se acabare y no reistiere ningun miembro en dicha casa entonces dicha fabrioco que dara en favor de los donadores o sus herederos pero permanesiendo un solo miembro que asista dicha casa quedara en favor de dicha sociedad la cual al tiempo de la ejecucion de esta donacion esta livre de toda clase de enpedimentos hechos o sufridos por nosotros y de la que estamos poseidos y tenemos una posesion inrevocable para poder disponer del la habiendo los primeros comprado a Anastasio Sandoval y a Guadalupe Rival su esposa a Francisco Lopes y su esposa segun lo acredita el documento de traspaso fechado el dia veinte y cinco de Mayo, A. D de 1875 y los bendedores a Manuel Garcia lo hubieron por compra a Manuel Sa[...] y esposa dicho solar esta situado en Abiquiú condado del Rio Arriba en las tierras comunmente llaman la huertas de Moque siendo sus linderos por el norte conlinda con tierras de los donadores por el sur con los mismos donadores por oriente con tierras de los mismos y anas heseden los donadores cuatro varas de chorreras para cada rumbo y entradas y salidas libres para que la dicha hermandad de nuestro Padre Jesus posellen la descrita propiedad.

Raiz segun el traspaso a ellos hechos segun mencionado arriba en testimonio de lo cua ponemos nuestros nombres y firmas en Abiquiú Nuevo Mexico este dia 7 de Septiembre A.D. de 1880.

Manuel Garcia
Gregorio Velarde, Otorgantes.
Firmado Sellado
Y esecutado en presensia de:
Guadalupe Gacia
Guadalupe Gallegas
Territorio de Nuevo Mexico
Condado del Rio Arriba

Y ante mi el abajo susucrito uno de los Jueses de Pas del condado del Rio Arriba personalmente se presentaron Manuel Garcia y Gregoria Velarde Viera conosidos por mi de ser las mismas personas cullos nombres aparesan suscritos en el antesedente documento de donacion y siendo bien informados por mi de la naturalesa de mismo dijeron que ellos lo habian ejeutados firmado y sellado y en una esaminacion que hise aparte de su marido a Gregoria Velarde siendo bien informada. Por mi del contemido del antesedente documento de donasion ella dijo que con su hecho voluntario lo habia firmado y ejecutado sin mediar ningun influjo por parade su marido ni erra compulsada de haserlo en testimonio de lo cual pongo mi nombre oficial en Abiquiú, Nuevo Mexico este dia.

Jues de Pas.

[in the margins:] documento en favor de la hermandad AD 1880.

Translation in English

Let it be known by all those present that we, Manuel Garcia and Gregoria Velarde, my wife, residents in the county of Rio Arriba and Territory of New Mexico, have donated and ceded a house plot, and the house located in the same place, and the donation of this house we have done in favor of the brotherhood or confraternity of *Nuestro Padre Jesus* under the following conditions: First: that if at some time said society has ended and there is no member in said house then said building will be given in favor of the donors or their heirs, but permitting a single member that assists this house, it will remain in favor of that society, which at which time of the execution of this donation is free of all kinds of obligations made or suffered by us and of which we possess and have an irrevocable ownership to be able to dispose of it, having first purchased it from Anastasio Sandoval and Guadalupe Rival, his wife, who purchased it from Francisco Lopes and his wife, as evidenced by the transfer document dated the twentieth and twenty-fifth of May, A. D of 1875 who bought it to Manuel Garcia, who purchased it from Manuel[...] and his wife. The plot is located in Abiquiú, Rio Arriba County, in the area commonly known as the Huertas de Moqui.

The transfer to them made as mentioned above in testimony of what we put our names and signatures in Abiquiú New Mexico this September 7 A.D. of 1880.

Manuel Garcia
Gregoria Velarde, grantors.
And executed in the presence of:
Guadalupe Gacia
Guadalupe Gallegas
The Territory of New Mexico
Rio Arriba County

Before me, below named Justices of the Peace from the Rio Arriba County were personally present: Manuel Garcia and Gregoria Velarde Viera, who are known to me to be the same persons whose names are subscribed in the previous document of donation, and being well informed by me of the nature of the document, they said that they had signed and executed it and in an examination that I made apart from her husband, Gregoria Velarde is also well informed. It has been established to my satisfaction that with her voluntary act she had signed it and executed it without any influence for her husband nor was compelled to do so, in the testimony of which I put my official name in Abiquiú, New Mexico.

Justice of the Peace.

[in the margins:] document in favor of the Brotherhood AD 1880.

Appendix F: Faunal Records for Abiquiú and San Jose de las Huertas

Modified Gifford-Gifford-Crader Code Abbreviations Used:

Abbreviation	Meaning
Cat #	Catalog number
Portion	Anatomical Portion of the Element (see the following table)
Side	Symmetry: L=left R=right t X=axial 0=indeterminate
Taxon	Linnaean classification
Size	1= Very Small, 2= Small, 3=medium, 4=large, 5=very large 0=indeterminate
Age	1=fetal/neonate 2=juvenile 3=subadult 4=adult 5=mature
WS	Behrensmeyer Weathering Stage 0-5 (Behrensmeyer 1978)
Burn	1=partial brown/smoked 2=total brown/smoked, 3=blackened, 4=vitrified 0=none
Cut Type	0 = none, 1 = stone tool, 2 = metal tool
Cut Intens	Cut intensity, 0 = none, 1 = one cut mark, 2 = 2 cut marks, etc.
Saw	Saw marks, 1 = present, 0 = absent
HST	Hammerstone/percussive marks, 1 = present, 0 = absent
CARN	Carnivore damage (crenelation, scooping, etc.)
RDNT	Rodent damage (ie. gnawing), 1 = present, 0 = absent
Root	Root Etching, 1 = present, 0 = absent
Fr/Fresh	Fresh bone fracture, 1 = present, 0 = absent
Fr/Wth	Weathered bone fracture, 1 = present, 0 = absent
Path.	Pathology, 1 = present, 0 = absent (notes will show more detail).

Potion/Segment Code	Long Label
CO	Complete bone
FR	Fragment not otherwise specified
PX	Proximal articulation or end
PSH	Proximal articulation plus shaft
SH	Shaft
DS	Distal articulation or end
DSH	Distal articulation plus shaft
ANT	Anterior
POS	Posterior
HFL	Entire bone split longitudinally in half
MID	Middle or central portion
AMI / PMI	Anterior / Posterior plus middle portion
INF	Inferior portion
END	Fused epiphysis
SUP	Superior portion
LAT	Lateral portion
MED	Medial portion
SCL	Shaft cylinder
LT	Lateral segment of the portion
HF	Half: lateral, medial, anterior, or posterior
FR	Unspecific fragment of the portion
SH	Shaft
DS	Distal segment of the portion
LB	Long bone

List of Linnaean Names Used and their Common Names

Accipitriformes	Diurnal birds of prey, including, among others, eagles, hawks, and turkey vultures.
Antilocapra americana	Pronghorn
Artiodactyla	Even-toed ungulates, including among others, sheep, goats, pronghorn, pigs, cows, deer, elk, and deer
Aves	Birds
Bos taurus	Cattle
Bison bison	Bison
Bovinae	Includes cattle and bison
Canidae	Includes domesticated dogs, coyotes, foxes, and wolves.
Canis latrans	Coyote
Canis familiaris	Domesticated dog
Capra hircus	Goat
Caprinae	Includes sheep and goats
Carnivora	Includes all carnivores, such as dogs, cats, and mustelids
Castor canadensis	Beaver
Cervidae	Hoofed ruminant mammals, including deer and elk
Cervus canadensis	Elk
Corvidae	Perching birds including, among others, crows, ravens, and jays
Equus caballus	Horse
Felis catus	Cat
Gallus gallus	Chicken
Mammalia	Mammal
Meleagris gallopavo	Turkey
Leporidae	Includes hares and jackrabbits
Lepus californicus	Black-tailed jackrabbit
Odocoileus hemionus	Mule deer

Odocoileus sp.	Includes mule deer and white-tailed deer
Otospermophilus beecheyi	Ground squirrel
Oves aries	Sheep
Peromyscus sp.	Deermice
Phasianidae	Includes, among others, chickens, and turkeys, and pheasants.
Pyrgulopsis sp.	Freshwater snails
Rattus rattus	Black rat
Rodentia	Rodents
Sciuridae	Squirrels
Sylvilagus nuttallii	Mountain cottontail
Sylvilagus sp.	Cottontail rabbits
Sus scrofa	Pig
Vulpes sp.	Includes various species of foxes

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Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu 2	1028	A1	3	Scapula	INF	R	Oves aries	3	4+	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1036	D1	3	Scapula	MID-FR	R	Oves aries	3	0	2	0	2	2
Abiquiu 2	1034	B3	2	Scapula	MID-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1027	E1	1+2	Scapula	INF	0	Mammalia	3	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1073	D1	2	Cervical vertebra	LAT-FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1020	B1	1	Humerus	PX-FR	R	Equus caballus	5	4	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1038	A1	3	Scapula	LAT-FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1030	A2	2	Cervical vertebra	POS-FR	X	Mammalia	2-3	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1021	C2	1	Femur	SH-FR	L	Bos taurus	5	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1124	D1	2	Vertebra	FR	X	Sus scrofa	4	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1105	A3	2	Thoracic vertebra	MID	X	Canis familiaris	2	4+	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1117	D1	2	Vertebra	POS-FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	4+	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1120	Test T	1	Egg shells	FR	0	Aves	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1114	D1	3	Thoracic vertebra	POS-FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1104	D1	3	Innominate	LAT-FR	0	Cervidae	4	4+	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1107	D1	3	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1143	A3	1	Cervical vertebra	ANT-FR	X	Artiodactyla	3	0	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1033	A2	2	Scapula	MID-FR	R	Capra hircus	3	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	937	D1	2	Innominate	ANT-LT	L	Bos taurus	5	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1007	B1	1	Ulnar carpal	CO	L	Caprinae	3	0	3	0	2	1
Abiquiu 2	992	D1	3	Scapula	INF	R	Mammalia	5	4+	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1025	D1	3	Scapula	INF	L	Capra hircus	3	4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1096	E1	2	Metacarpal	DS	0	Oves aries	3	4+	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1026	TT	1	Scapula	INF	0	Mammalia	2-3	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	993	D1	2	Astragalus	ANT-FR	R	Caprinae	3	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1131	D1	2	Vertebra	INF-FR	X	Mammalia	3-4	0	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1091	D1	2	Shaft	SH-FR	0	Mammalia	5	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1103	G1	1	Metapodial	DS-FR	0	Bos taurus	5	0	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1094	C2	2	Metapodial	PSH	L	Bos taurus	5	0	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1035	D1	2	Scapula	MID-FR	L	Artiodactyla	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1081	D1	3	Metatarsal	PSH-PO	L	Caprinae	3	4+	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1282	B1	1	Rib	PX-FR	R	Sus scrofa	4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1283	A2	2	Rib	MID-FR	0	Mammalia	2-3	0	2	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fres h	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
2	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	Glenoid fossa and neck, two parallel cut marks on lateral side of the neck.
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Fragment of spine and infraspinous fossa. Some mold within root etchings. Irregularly shaped cut mark on medial side of scapular, towards the neck. Species ID via notch on caudal border.
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Fragment of spine
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	Fragment of glenoid fossa
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	Not precise match with the Arabian comparative here in the lab. Industrial saw used just below the proximal articulation. Articular surface is very porous, possibly stewed. Possible cut mark on medial portion of the head of the humerus.
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Sun bleached. Fragment of caudal bone
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	Smaller than comparative specimen.
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	very small specimen (chihuahua sized)
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Fragment of centrum
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	fragment of acetabulum
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	very advanced stage of decay
1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	fragment of neck and spine
1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	part of acetabulum looks like the bone was hacked to disarticulate the former from the acetabulum
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	one cut mark on the anterior side of the bone
0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	possible saw mark on edge of glenoid fossa (lateral)
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	most of glenoid fossa, fractured right at the base of the neck.
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	Fragment of glenoid fossa. looks like bone flake.
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	ZooMS candidate
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	fragment of a trochlear condyle
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	fragment of spine and cranial border. some mold present within root etching. pit mark found in spine.
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Lots of root etching.
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu 2	1276	A3	1	LBS	FR	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1275	B2	2	Tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1265	D1	2	Rib	MID-FR	L	Bos taurus	5	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1268	B1	2	LBS	MID-FR	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	3	0	1	1
Abiquiu 2	1257	A1	3	Ulna	PX-FR	R	Sus scrofa	3-4	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1327	C2	1	Humerus	SH	0	Artiodactyla	4-5	0	5	2	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1306	E1	1+2	Proximal phalanx	PX-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1284	D1	2	Lumbar vertebra	INF	X	Caprinae	3	<4	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1326	B3	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1287	B3	2	Lumbar vertebra	INF		Caprinae	3	4+	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1286	A2	2	Lumbar vertebra	LAT-FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1229	A1	2	Intermediate phalanx	CO	R	Odocoileus hemionus	4	4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1293	C2	2	Lumbar vertebra	POS-FR	X	Mammalia	5	<4	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1285	A2	1	Lumbar vertebra	LAT-FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1334	C2	1	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	0	3	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1333	C2	1	Rib	MID	0	Mammalia	4-5	0	0	3	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1331	G1	2	NID	FR	0	NID	0	0	0	4	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1220	C2	2	Intermediate phalanx	CO	R	Oves aries	3	4	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1234	D1	2	Tibia	DS	L	Caprinae	3	<4	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1231	A3		Ulna	PX-LAT	R	Sus scrofa	4	4	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1246	D1	2	Proximal phalanx	DSH	L	Capra hircus	3	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1304	D1	3	Metatarsal	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1166	B3	1	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1160	E1	1+2	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1163	E1	1+2	Tooth	FR	X	Sus scrofa	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1162	A1	3	Mandible	MID	X	Antilocapra americana	3	0	4	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	upper cheek tooth
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	bone flake
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	possible bone flake scar on the element
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Possibly Equus but most likely Bos. Exfoliation around the articular surface-- stewing?
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Cranial articular process.
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	No refits. Bagged with a charred branch stick (now discarded)
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Right side of mandible

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu 2	1110	A1	3	Thoracic vertebra	SUP-FR		Oves aries	3	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1167		2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1165	B2	2	Tooth	FR	X	Antilocapra americana	4	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1360	A3	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1426	A2	2	Distal phalanx	CO	0	Felis catus	2	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1427	A2	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1428	B1	3	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	900	TT2	2	Cranium	FR	0	Bovinae	5	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	934	TT2	5	Scapula	MID-FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1037	TT2	3	Scapula	MID-FR	0	Oves aries	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1002	TT2	1	Intermediate carpal	CO	L	Caprinae	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1010	TT2	3	2nd tarsal	CO	L	Artiodactyla	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1014	TT2	1	1st tarsal	FR	R	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1013	TT2	1	1st tarsal	CO	L	Artiodactyla	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1009	TT2	3	Distal sesamoid	CO	0	Sus scrofa	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	912	TT2	2	Distal sesamoid	CO	0	Sus scrofa	3-4	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1002	TT2	1	Intermediate carpal	CO	L	Caprinae	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1057	TT2	3	Lumbar vertebra	ANT-FR	X	Oves aries	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	950	TT2	2	Lumbar vertebra	FR	X	Capra hircus	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1003	TT2	3	Radial carpal	CO	L	Bos taurus	5	0	2	0	2	3
Abiquiu 3	943	TT2	2	Scapula	SUP-FR	R	Caprinae	3	<4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1052	TT2	2	Axis	POS-FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1041	TT2	3	Humerus	DS-SH	R	Oves aries	3	4+	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1070	TT2	2	Lumbar vertebra	FR	X	Artiodactyla	4	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	910	TT2	2	Cervical vertebra	FR	X	Mammalia	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1064	TT2	2	Cervical vertebra	POS-FR	X	Canis familiaris	2	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1063	TT2	3	Lumbar vertebra	POS-FR	X	Caprinae	3	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1065	TT2	3	Lumbar vertebra	ANT-FR	X	Caprinae	3	<4	1	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	Bone flake
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	likely from same individual as 0001161
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	includes claw
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	lacrimal+zigomatic+maxilla
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	fragment of caudal border
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	fragment of caudal border, which is robust in nature. Trowel marks on the infraspinous fossa
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	not deer, v. big for caprinae
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	possible cut marks on medial side of bone (possibly trowel marks), possibly juvenile due to small size.
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	Caudal articular process. Really large specimen
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Caudal articular process.
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	Parallel cut marks present on lateral-anterior portion of the element.
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Fragment of spine, caudal border and dorsal border. Bone mesh present at dorsal border.
0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	Transverse saw cut beginning towards middle of the vertebra
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Caudal articular process
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Centrum
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu 3	1024	TT2	2	Scapula	INF	R	Sus scrofa	3	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	979	TT2	3	Lumbar vertebra	ANT-FR	X	Canis familiaris	2	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	927	TT2	2	Thoracic vertebra	FR	X	Caprinae	3	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1011	TT2	1	2nd tarsal	FR	0	Artiodactyla	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	977	TT2	3	4th carpal	CO	L	Caprinae	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	919	TT2	2	4th carpal	CO	R	Caprinae	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	924	TT2	2	Lumbar vertebra	POS-FR	X	Caprinae	3	<4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	920	TT2	2	Thoracic vertebra	POS-FR	X	Oves aries	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1061	TT2	3	Lumbar vertebra	POS-FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	955	TT2	2	Lumbar vertebra	POS-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	4+	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1058	TT2	2	Lumbar vertebra	ANT-FR	X	Capra hircus	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1048	TT2	2	Femur	PX-FR	R	Artiodactyla	3-4	<4	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1018	TT2	3	Tibia	SH-FR	R	Capra hircus	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	939	TT2	2	Lumbar vertebra	LAT-FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	978	TT2	3	Lumbar vertebra	LAT-FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1056	TT2	2	Lumbar vertebra	LAT-FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1054	TT2	2	Lumbar vertebra	LAT-FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1051	TT2	3	Lumbar vertebra	CO	X	Capra hircus	3	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1046	TT2	2	Femur	PX-FR	R	Capra hircus	3	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	982	TT2	3	Innominate	FR	X	Mammalia	3	0	1	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fres h	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Part of the glenoid fossa and neck. The supraglenoid tubercle is possibly chopped off.
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Centrum
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	fragment centrum
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	centrum fragment
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	centrum fragment
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	fragment of vertebra
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	Decalcified around epiphyses
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Caucal articular process.
0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	Bone mesh present, epiphyses missing. Shaft has been fractured, open right below the proximal articulation.
0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	Proximal portion of the shaft.
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	Decalcified cranial articular process
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Cranial articular process
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Decalcified cranial articular process
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	Cranial articular process
0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	Unfused epiphyses at both ends. Potential saw mark cutting diagonally across the edge of the left portion of the body, articular process and transverse process.
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	Partially decalcified femoral head, bone mesh present.
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Fragment of acetabulum

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu 3	1071	TT2	3	Lumbar vertebra	MID-FR	X	Caprinae	3	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1050	TT2	3	Lumbar vertebra	MID	X	Bos taurus	5	<4	3	0	2	3
Abiquiu 3	1053	TT2	2	Thoracic vertebra	POS-FR	X	Bos taurus	5	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	888	TT2	2	Tibia	SH-FR	R	Caprinae	4	3-4	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1121	TT2	2	Humerus	SH-FR	R	Acciptriformes	2	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	922	TT2	2	Astragalus	CO	L	Silvilagus sp.	R3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1123	TT2	2	Tibiotarsus	SH-FR	L	Phasianidae	2	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1119	TT2	3	Thoracic vertebra	INF	X	Oves aries	3	<4	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	930	TT2	2	Cervical vertebra	POS-FR	X	Mammalia	5	4+	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1116	TT2	3	Thoracic vertebra	POS-FR	X	Caprinae	3	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1115	TT2	3	Thoracic vertebra	ANT-FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	923	TT2	2	Thoracic vertebra	POS-FR	X	Odocoileus sp.	4	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	960	TT2	2	Thoracic vertebra	SUP-FR	X	Capra hircus	3	0	3	0	2	5
Abiquiu 3	1113	TT2	2	Thoracic vertebra	SUP-FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1133	TT2	1	Cranium	SUP-FR	X	Oves aries	3	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1151	TT2	5	Mandible	POS-FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	937	TT2	2	Thoracic vertebra	SUP-FR	X	Mammalia	3-4	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1135	TT2	2	Cranium	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1106	TT2	3	Thoracic vertebra	SUP-FR	X	Oves aries	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1108	TT2	2	Thoracic vertebra	SUP-FR	X	Mammalia	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	942	TT2	2	Long bone	SH-FR	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1077	TT2	3	Lumbar vertebra	LAT-FR	X	Bovinae	5	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1074	TT2	2	Innominate	MID-FR	X	Odocoileus sp.	4	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1152	TT2	2	Cranium	FR	X	Bos taurus	5	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1144	TT2	2	Cranium	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1112	TT2	3	Thoracic vertebra	SUP-FR	X	Odocoileus sp.	4	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1102	TT2	3	Metapodial	DS-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3	3	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1101	TT2	2	Metapodial	DS-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1100	TT2	2	Metapodial	SH-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	<4	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1099	TT2	3	Metapodial	DS-FR	0	Caprinae	3	<4	2	0	2	4
Abiquiu 3	984	TT2	3	Metapodial	DS-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	908	TT2	2	Ulnar carpal	CO	R	Caprinae	3	0	2	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Appears decalcified around unfused articular surfaces.
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	The bone is well weathered, but cut marks visible below the right articular process, unfused epiphyses on both sides of the
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	Fragment of vertebral body.
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	size of either a golden eagle or king vulture, based on the comparatives at hand.
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Possibly grouse
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	T7
0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Sawn through the y axis of the middle of the centrum. Fragment of centrum and left transverse process.
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Fragment of centrum
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Fragment of centrum
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Cut marks at the base of the posterior side of the spinous process.
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	frontal, parietal and zygomatic. Bony pedestral present, indicating male specimen.
0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	Left side mandibular condyle
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	fragment of spinous process
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	frontal (orbital)
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	posterior fragment of base of spinous process
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	fragment of spinous process.
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	transverse process
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	Right acetabulum
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Right side
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	parietal
0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	7th vert.
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	top part of trochlear condyle is shorn off, parallel cut marks along trochlear condyle, not sure if cut marks are rodent marks
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu 3	948	TT2	2	Second and Third Carpal	CO	0	Caprinae	0	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	911	TT2	2	Second Tarsal	CO	0	Artiodactyla	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	947	TT2	2	Femur	DS-PO	L	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1098	TT2	2	Tibia	SH-FR	L	Oves aries	3	0	1	0	2	6
Abiquiu 3	961	TT2	2	Scapula	MID-FR	R	Caprinae	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	996	TT2	3	Astragalus	CO	R	Capra hircus	3	0	1	0	1	1
Abiquiu 3	1023	TT2	3	Scapula	INF	L	Oves aries	3	4	2	0	2	6
Abiquiu 3	997	TT2	1	Second and Third Carpal	CO	L	Caprinae	3	0	1	0	2	2
Abiquiu 3	1168	TT2	3	Maxilla	FR	X	Caprinae	3	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	928	TT2	2	Tooth	CO	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1146	TT2	2	Cranium	FR	X	Oves aries	3	<4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1141	TT2	3	Cranium	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	963	TT2	2	Cranium	FR	X	Oves aries	3	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1150	TT2	2	Mandible	POS-FR	X	Oves aries	3	4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1149	TT2	2	Mandible	FR	X	Capra hircus	3	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1148	TT2	2	Mandible	MID	X	Capra hircus	3	4	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1130	TT2	2	Caudal vertebra	CO	X	Carnivora	2	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	936	TT2	2	Cranium	FR	X	Mammalia	2-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	915	TT2	2	Epihyoid	CO	X	Artiodactyla	4-5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1128	TT2	3	Stylohyoid	POS-FR	X	Artiodactyla	5	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	944	TT2	2	Cranium	FR	X	Mammalia	1-2	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	986	TT2	2	Horn	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3	4	5	0	2	1
Abiquiu 3	906	TT2	2	Stylohyoid	POS-FR	X	Capra hircus	3	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1087	TT2	3	Metatarsal	PX-FR	R	Capra hircus	3	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1082	TT2	1	Metacarpal	PSH	L	Odocoileus sp.	4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	965	TT2	3	Mandible	POS-FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1156	TT2	3	Cranium	FR	X	Capra hircus	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1078	TT2	3	Metatarsal	MID-FR	0	Odocoileus sp.	4	0	2	0	1	3
Abiquiu 3	1157	TT2	3	Mandible	POS-FR	X	Sus scrofa	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	935	TT2	2	Femur	MID-FR	L	Caprinae	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1137	TT2	2	Cranium	FR	X	Caprinae	3	4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	949	TT2	2	NID	Mammalia	0	Mammalia	3	0	3	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	
1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	parallel cuts found on posterior side along both condyle ridges (3 on each). crest of tibia possibly chopped off \. This shaft fragment is from the anterior portion of the shaft, just beneath the articular surface.
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	fragment of spine and caudal border. pit mark found on spine
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	glenoid fossa and neck and acromium. Two blunt chop marks on the lateral side of the neck surrounded by 4 thin cuts on each side. Two other parallel cuts on lateral side of the neck.
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2 parallel cuts traverse antero-lateral portion of the one (defleshing)
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Left side
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Right side
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	parietal
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	parietal
0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	Right jugal
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	very wide mandibular condyle, left side
0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	flake scar present on exterior (medial) portion of the right mandible. found close to 001148, possibly the same mandible. LM3 still attached.
5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Left side, chop marks on medial side
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Left side. trowel mark on bone
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Righth side. not horse
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	post parietal
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	deep cut mark, unlikely a trowel mark as it's very sharp and no discoloration present.
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Right side. This element has what appears to be a large foramen where the other comparatives do not. It is rather delicate for its size.
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	Lots of root etching. Excavation damage
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	Right maxilla
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	very faint cut marks along the length of the element
2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	Left side
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Frontal bone
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu 3	946	TT2	2	Radius	SH-FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	925	TT2	2	Mandible	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	933	TT2	2	Metapodial	SH-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	<4	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	945	TT2	2	Radius	DS-MD	R	Oves aries	3	4+	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	385	TT2	2	Tibia	DSH-LT	L	Oves aries	3	4+	2	1	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1095	TT2	2	Metatarsal	PX-FR	L	Capra hircus	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1088	TT2	1	Metatarsal	CO	R	Oves aries	3	<4	2	0	2	6
Abiquiu 3	1090	TT2	3	Metatarsal	PX-FR	L	Caprinae	3	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1076	TT2	2	Ischium	FR	X	Oves aries	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1154	TT2	2	Mandible	MID	X	Oves aries	3	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1042	TT2	3	Femur	LAT-DS	R	Odocoileus hemionus	4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1069	TT2	3	Cervical vertebra	SUP-FR	X	Odocoileus hemionus	4	<4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	983	TT2	3	Metapodial	SH-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	970	TT2	1	Metatarsal	PX-FR	L	Caprinae	3	<4	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1134	TT2	1	Cranium	FR	X	Sus scrofa	3	<4	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1138	TT2	2	Mandible	LAT-FR	X	Oves aries	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1147	TT2	2	Cranium	FR	X	Oves aries	3	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1089	TT2	2	Metatarsal	PSH	R	Oves aries	3	<4	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1080	TT2	3	Tibia	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1281	TT2	3	Rib	MID-FR	0	Mammalia	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1277	TT2	3	Rib	MID-FR	0	Bos taurus	5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1272	TT2	3	Rib	MID-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1278	TT2	1	Rib	MID-FR	0	Mammalia	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	957	TT2	2	Rib	MID-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1271	TT2	3	Rib	MID-FR	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1274	TT2	3	Rib	MID-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1273	TT2	3	Rib	MID-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	904	TT2	2	Rib	MID-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	902	TT2	2	Rib	MID-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1279	TT2	3	Rib	MID-FR	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1280	TT2	1	Rib	PX-FR	R	Odocoileus hemionus	4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	941	TT2	2	Rib	MID-FR	0	Mammalia	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	918	TT2	2	Rib	MID-FR	0	Mammalia	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	952	TT2	2	Rib	DS	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1266	TT2	3	Rib	MID-FR	R	Bos taurus	5	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1267	TT2	3	Rib	MID-FR	0	Bos taurus	5	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	981	TT2	3	Rib	DS	0	Mammalia	5	0	1	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Two burned area, one at the distal articulation, the other on the shaft, suggesting trash burning, not roasting.
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	belongs to a small individual. 4 short, some parallel cuts around and under the proximal articulation. 2 longer ones running down the center of the anterior side of the shaft
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Right side
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	Left side, contains a premolar
0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	7th cervical
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Shovel dent
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	Small individual
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	Right paroccipital process
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Right coronoid process
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	parietal
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	Small individual
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	small specimen
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu 3	917	TT2	2	Rib	MID-FR	0	Canidae	2	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	980	TT2	3	Rib	MID-FR	0	Mammalia	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	975	TT2	3	Rib	MID-FR	0	Mammalia	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1255	TT2	3	Rib	PSH	L	Bos taurus	5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	958	TT2	2	Rib	MID-FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	956	TT2	2	Rib	MID-FR	R	Odocoileus hemionus	4	0	0	0	2	1
Abiquiu 3	909	TT2	2	Rib	PX-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	4+	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1259	TT2	1	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1258	TT2	1	Rib	PX-FR	R	Bos taurus	5	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1182	TT2	2	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	5	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1185	TT2	2	Tooth	CO	X	Caprinae	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1178	TT2	2	Tooth	FR	X	Caprinae	3-4	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1181	TT2	2	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1172	TT2	2	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1179	TT2	2	Tooth	CO	X	Caprinae	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1189	TT2	3	Tooth	CO	X	Caprinae	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1188	TT2	3	Tooth	CO	X	Caprinae	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1253	TT2	2	Proximal phalanx	PX	0	Bos taurus	5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1183	TT2	2	Tooth	CO	X	Artiodactyla	4	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1184	TT2	2	Tooth	CO	X	Artiodactyla	5	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	907	TT2	2	Intermediate phalanx	CO	R	Odocoileus hemionus	4	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1171	TT2	2	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1250	TT2	1	Proximal phalanx	DSH	L	Capra hircus	3	4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1247	TT2	1	Proximal phalanx	DSH	L	Capra hircus	3	4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1322	TT2	2	NID	SH	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	0	3	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1319	TT2	3	Mandible	FR	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	0	3	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1318	TT2	3	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	2-5	0	0	4	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1317	TT2	1	Mandible	FR	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	0	3	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1316	TT2	2	Metapodial	END	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	<4	0	3	0	0
Abiquiu 3	905	TT2	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	2-5	0	0	3	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1315	TT2	1	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	2-5	0	0	4	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1308	TT2	3	Ulna	DS-FR	L	Artiodactyla	3-4	<4	2	0	2	4
Abiquiu 3	1010	TT2	3	Second Tarsal	CO	L	Artiodactyla	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1013	TT2	1	First Tarsal	CO	L	Artiodactyla	3	0	1	0	2	2
Abiquiu 3	919	TT2	2	Fourth carpal	CO	R	Caprinae	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1014	TT2	1	First tarsal	LAT	R	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	938	TT2	2	Ulnar carpal	FR	R	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	951	TT2	2	Patella	CO	R	Mammalia	1-2	1	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	913	TT2	2	Proximal sesamoid	CO	0	Sus scrofa	4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1310	TT2	2	Lateral malleolus	CO	R	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	916	TT2	2	Proximal sesamoid	CO	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	991	TT2	2	Radius	DS-FR	L	Oves aries	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	994	TT2	3	Radius	DS	L	Oves aries	3	<4	1	0	2	5

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	most of rib head fractured off (FR/weathered)
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	probably Capra
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Left side, UI1
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	UM
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	UM
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Cheek
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Cheek
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	LM
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Right UPM2
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Right UPM1
0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	Flake scars. Smaller than 001251, so not same individual
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	UPM3
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Right Incisor
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	UM
0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3 refitting pieces
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4 refitting pieces. distal end with unfused epiphysis missing
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	Cuts from the lateral side of the individual
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Possible cut marks on medial side of bone (possibly trowel marks?), possibly juvenile given small size.
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	Not deer, v. big for caprine
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	All exposed cancellous bone
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	Signs of arthritis
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	All cutmarks are placed in the same location on the articulation with the radial carpal (lateral). Also deeply grooved notch under this articular surface.

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu 3	1301	TT2	2	Radius	PX	L	Capra hircus	3	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	903	TT2	2	Distal phalanx	FR	L	Caprinae	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	962	TT2	2	Distal phalanx	PX-SH	R	Odocoileus hemionus	4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1238	TT2	3	Distal phalanx	CO	R	Bos taurus	5	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	921	TT2	2	Axis	INF-FR	X	Canidae	2	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1294	TT2	2	Caudal vertebra	MID	0	Vulpes sp.	2	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	926	TT2	2	Caudal vertebra	DS	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1302	TT2	2	Radius	PSH	L	Oves aries	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1292	TT2	1	Lumbar vertebra	POS-FR	X	Caprinae	3	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1291	TT2	2	Cervical vertebra	LAT-FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1127	TT2	1	Lumbar vertebra	ANT-FR	X	Bos taurus	5	4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1175	TT2	2	Tooth	CO	X	Caprinae	3	4	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1221	TT2	2	Intermediate phalanx	CO	R	Oves aries	3	4	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1219	TT2	2	Intermediate phalanx	CO	R	Oves aries	3	4	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	976	TT2	3	Intermediate phalanx	PX-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1325	TT2	3	Tibia	SH	0	Mammalia	2-3	0	0	4	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1242	TT2	3	Proximal phalanx	CO	L	Canis familiaris	2	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	953	TT2	2	Distal phalanx	PX-FR	0	Odocoileus hemionus	4	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1236	TT2	4	Proximal phalanx	CO	R	Bos taurus	5	4+	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1323	TT2	3	Scapula	MID	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	0	3	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1225	TT2	3	Metatarsal	DS-FR	0	Caprinae	3	<4	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1305	TT2	2	Ulna	PX-SH	L	Odocoileus hemionus	4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1299	TT2	1	Caudal vertebra	INF-FR	X	Caprinae	3	<4	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1239	TT2	1	Distal phalanx	CO	R	Odocoileus hemionus	4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1153	TT2	2	Ulna	PX-FR	L	Bos taurus	5	4+	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1190	TT2	3	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	964	TT2	2	Radius	PX-FR	L	Capra hircus	3	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1300	TT2	2	Caudal vertebra	INF-FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	931	TT2	2	Metatarsal	PX-FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	940	TT2	2	NID	LBS	R	Aves	2	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	954	TT2	2	Caudal vertebra	MID-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	971	TT2	1	Intermediate phalanx	DS-FR	0	Odocoileus hemionus	4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1252	TT2	2	Metatarsal	PX-FR	L	Bos taurus	5	<4	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1177	TT2	2	Tooth	CO	X	Caprinae	3	4	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1186	TT2	2	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	5	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1227	TT2	3	Intermediate phalanx	PX-FR	L	Caprinae	3	4	1	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	Doesn't quite articulate with 001237 (+001236). Inside edge is similarly "shaved" off at the edge.
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	Chop marks located just underneath the medial margin and are angled downwards.
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	One of the latter cervicals
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	Small but fully grown specimen
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Right UPM3
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Refit of 8 pieces
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	
1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	Flake scar. Articulates with 001237, doesn't refit with 001251
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Burned bone
0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	Bone flake
2	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	Two chop marks angled downwards close to the point of fusion between ulna and radius on the medial side of the shaft. Disarticulation ?
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	Most likely from large sheep
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	troclear notch, unidentified striations close to fracture area
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	cheek tooth, refit of 9 fragments
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Element unlabeled on bag!
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	Signs of osteoporosis throughout, especially at articular surfaces
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	Same element, but doesn't refit with 001235. some flake scarring
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	UPM 3
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	LPM 2
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu 3	1222	TT2	2	Intermediate phalanx	CO	L	Odocoileus hemionus	3-4	4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1224	TT2	2	intermediate phalanx	CO	L	Capra hircus	3	4	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	932	TT2	2	Metatarsal	SH-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1228	TT2	3	intermediate phalanx	PX	L	Caprinae	3	4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1085	TT2	2	Metacarpal	PX-FR	L	Oves aries	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1232	TT2	1	Proximal phalanx	DS-FR	R	Bos taurus	5	4+	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1245	TT2	2	Proximal phalanx	PX	L	Capra hircus	3	4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1145	TT2	3	Cranium	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1139	TT2	3	Cranial	FR	X	Capra hircus	3	5	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	914	TT2	2	Cranial	FR		Artiodactyla	0	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	985	TT2	4	Scapula	MID-FR	L	Bos taurus	5	<4	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1169	TT2	2	Maxilla	FR	X	Caprinae	3	4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1174	TT2	2	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1176	TT2	2	Tooth	CO	X	Caprinae	3	4	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1173	TT2	2	Tooth	CO	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1170	TT2	1	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1075	TT2	3	Innominate	FR	0	Capra hircus	3	4+	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	989	TT2		NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	877	G5	4	Mandible	FR	0	Antilocapra americana	5	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	296	F3	1	Thoracic vertebra	SUP-FR	X	Antilocapra americana	4	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	343	G5	3	1st phalanx	ANT	0	Artiodactyla	4-5	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	851	G6	1	Carpal	CO	0	Artiodactyla	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	850	G6	5	Caudal vertebra	MID-FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	447	G6	5	Cervical vertebra	FR-AN	X	Artiodactyla	3	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	540	G6	3	Cranial	FR-ANT	X	Artiodactyla	5	3	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	314	G5	4	Cranial	FR	X	Artiodactyla	0	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	880	G3	2	Cranium	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	353	G5	4	Distal sesamoid	CO	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	6	F6	3	Femur	DS-FR		Artiodactyla	3	0	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	543	G5	4	Humerus	FR-DS	0	Artiodactyla	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	495	G6	1	II phalanx	CO	0	Artiodactyla	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	329	G5	4	Innominate-illum	MID-FR	0	Artiodactyla	5	0	1	0	2	3
Abiquiu Library	346	G5	4	Innominate-pubis	FR	R	Artiodactyla	4	2	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	401	G5	2	Innominate-pubis	FR	R	Artiodactyla	4	2	2	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	much smaller than our comparative --female?
0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	very sharp posterior ridges
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	auditory bulla
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	left jugal and auditory bulla, possible cut mark around the orbital
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	auditory bulla
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Fragment of cranial border and spine. fresh fracture beginning at neck and proceeds diagonally towards the caudal border.
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	Age base on size of scapula
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Right UM2+3
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Incisor
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	heavily worn M1 tooth
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Incisor
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	M1, Refit of 16 pieces
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	pubis, acetabulum
0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	Bone flake
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	Marrow extraction
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	Spinous process
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	maxilla with a facial tuber / tuberosity
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	parietal
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Lateral epicondyle
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	possible refit with 000111 (or 000330, I think I switched the number)
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu Library	26	F6	2	Intermediate phalanx	PX	R	Artiodactyla	5	3	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	890	F4	1	Intermediate phalanx	LAT-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3	0	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	203	N1	1	Lumbar vertebra	ANT-FR	X	Artiodactyla	5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	310	G5	4	Lumbar vertebra	POS-FR	X	Artiodactyla	4	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	347	G5	3	Lumbar vertebra	POS-FR	X	Artiodactyla	4	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	477	G6	3	Mandible	MID	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	210	AA9	5	Mandible	MID	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	316	G5	4	Metapodial	FR-DS	0	Artiodactyla	3	2	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	320	G5	1	Metapodial	FR	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	489	G5	4	Metapodial	FR-DS	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	4	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	494	G5	4	Metapodial	FR-DS	0	Artiodactyla	3	2	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	504	G5	4	Metapodial	FR-DS	0	Artiodactyla	4	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	860	F4	3	Metapodial	FR	0	Artiodactyla	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	852	G6	3	Proximal phalanx	DS-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	413	G6	1	Proximal sesamoid	CO	0	Artiodactyla	3	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	199	G3	2	Rib	MID-FR	0	Artiodactyla	5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	402	G5	2	Rib	PX	L	Artiodactyla	4	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	403	G5	2	Rib	PX-FR	R	Artiodactyla	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	869	G6	2	Rib	PX	0	Artiodactyla	3	3	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	873	G5	3	Rib	MID-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	31	F6	1	Second and Third tarsal	CO	R	Artiodactyla	4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	412	G5	4	Stenebra	MID	X	Artiodactyla	5	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	31	F6	1	Tarsal	CO	0	Artiodactyla	4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	2	F6	3	Tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	15	F5	3	Tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	155	A5	3	Tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	387	AA9	4	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	469	G5	4	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	857	F4	1	Tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	466	G5	4	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	0	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	stewed?
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	could be from same element
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	PM2

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu Library	476	G5	4	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	277/00	G3	1	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	4-5	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	398	G5	2	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	348/00	G5	3	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	349	G5	3	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	5	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	335	G6	4	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	4-5	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	295	K5	1	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	217	M5	2	Tooth	CO	X	Artiodactyla	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	321	G5	4	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	4-5	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	392	G5	4	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	4-5	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	289	A4	1	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	5	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	214	G3	1	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	460	G5	4	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	4-5	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	287	AA9	5	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	211	A5	?	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	453	G5	4	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	259	AA9	5	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	185	AA9	5	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	465	G6	1	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	221	F3	1	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	250	A5	2	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	4-5	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	284	F4	1	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	458	G5	4	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	468	G5	4	Tooth	FR	X	Artiodactyla	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	37	F5	1	Tooth- incisor	FR	L	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	864	G6	4	Ulna	DS-FR	0	Artiodactyla	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	49	F6	3	Vertebra	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	191	J6	2	Vertebra	POS- FR	X	Artiodactyla	5	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	451	G5	4	Cervical vertebra	POS- FR	X	Artiodactyla	5	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	893	F6	2	Distal phalanx	CO	0	Artiodactyla	5	0	1	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/With	Path.	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	cheek
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	cheek tooth, refit from 2 fragments originally assigned separate catalogue numbers
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Cheek tooth, refit from two pieces originally assigned separate catalogue numbers
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Incisor
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Cheek
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Refit of one molar from 7 pieces
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Incisor
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Cheek
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Cheek; same individual as 452/472 and 453
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Cheek; Same individual as 000452/000472 and 000460
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	I4
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	PM1
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Cheek
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Cheek
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Cheek
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	incisor
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	Probably Bos taurus, but no comparative to confirm

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu Library	111	AA9	1	NID	FR	0	Aves	2	<4	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	118	A5	3	NID	MID-FR	0	Aves	2	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	190	AA9	4	NID	CO	0	Aves	2	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	297	AA10	2	NID	FR	0	Aves	2	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	92	F5	3	Rib	FR	0	Aves	2	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	892	G6	1	Radius	DS-FR	0	Bos taurus	5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	232	AA9	5	Ulnar carpal	CO	0	Bos taurus	5	0	1	0	2	1
Abiquiu Library	388/00	G5/G6	3-4	Tooth	CO	X	Bos taurus	5	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	232	AA9	5	Ulnar carpal	CO	L	Bos taurus	5	0	1	0	2	8
Abiquiu Library	430	G6	3	Caudal vertebra	HFL	X	Bos taurus	5	4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	424	G6	3	Innominate	MID	X	Bos taurus	5	4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	422	G6	3	Innominate-right acetabulum	MID	X	Bos taurus	5	4	2	0	2	4
Abiquiu Library	481	G6	3	Mandible	MID	X	Bos taurus	5	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	334	G6	4	Metacarpal	FR-DS	0	Bos taurus	5	3	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	339	G6	4	Metacarpal	FR-DS	0	Bos taurus	5	3	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	27	G6	4	Navicular cuboid	FR	R	Bos Taurus	5	0	0	0	2	5
Abiquiu Library	338	G6	4	Patella	CO	L	Bos taurus	5	0	1	0	2	3
Abiquiu Library	408	G5	2	Proximal phalanx	DS-FR	0	Bos taurus	5	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	382	G5	4	Proximal sesamoid	CO	0	Bos taurus	5	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	315	G5	4	Rib	PX	L	Bos taurus	5	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	337	G6	4	Sacrum	PX-FR	0	Bos taurus	5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	507	G5	4	thoracic vertebra	Fr-An	X	Bos taurus	5	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	482	G6	3	Tooth	CO	0	Bos taurus	5	4+	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	423	G6	3	Ulna	PX	R	Bos taurus	5	4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	449	G6	5	Cervical vertebrae	ANT-FR	X	Bos taurus	5	4	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	322	G5	4	Lumbar vertebra	LAT	X	Bovinae	5	0	2	0	2	6
Abiquiu Library	492	G5	4	Lateral sesamoid	CO	0	Canis familiaris	2	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	270	A3	1	Scapula	SUP-FR	L	Canis familiaris	2	0	3	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	left tooth, two fragments, one from G6 level 3, another from G5 level 4
0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	One cut mark present on the posterior distal articular surface. 7 parallel cut marks along the anterior-proximal part of the elemen
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	left side of innominate, possibly frm same element as 000422
0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	possible osteoporosis, 3 long thin parallel cuts right at the edge of the acetabulum. possibly same element as 00424. Found near South side wall. 4 piece re-fit
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Left side of mandible, includes PM3+M1
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	cut/defleshing marks with metal. 2 sets of parallel cuts, both on the medial side of the bone, one set on the superior, one on the anterior side
0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	fragment of cranial articular process
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	UPM2
0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	much smaller and leaner skeletal structure than our Bos comparatives
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
2	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	transverse process of vertebra
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu Library	247	F4	2	Intermediate phalanx	CO	0	Canidae	2	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	170	AA9	4	1st Rib	DS-SH	R	Capra hircus	4	3	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	496	G5	4	Distal sesamoid	CO	0	Capra hircus	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	1	F6	3	Femur	DS-FR	0	Capra hircus	3	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	500	G6	4	First phalanx	PX	0	Capra hircus	3	2	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	501	G6	5	First phalanx	PX	0	Capra hircus	3	2	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	508	G5	4	Innominate	FR	X	Capra hircus	3	3	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	499	G5	4	Intermediate carpal	CO	0	Capra hircus	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	491	G6	4	Intermediate phalanx	CO	0	Capra hircus	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	493	G5	4	Lateral malleolus	CO	0	Capra hircus	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	448	G6		Lumbar vertebra	CO	X	Capra hircus	3	4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	484	G6	5	Maxilla tooth frag	MD	L	Capra hircus	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	24	F6	2	Phalanx	PX	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	344	G5	2	Proximal sesamoid	CO	0	Capra hircus	3	0	1	0	2	1
Abiquiu Library	490	G5	4	Proximal sesamoid	CO	0	Capra hircus	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	506	G6	3	Radio-ulna	PX	L	Capra hircus	3	4+	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	560	G6	3	radio-ulna	PX	L	Capra hircus	3	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	505	G4	4	Radius	SH-DS	L	Capra hircus	3	4-5	1	0	2	6
Abiquiu Library	486	G6	6	Rib	PX-FR	R	Capra hircus	3	2	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	882	G3	2	Thoracic vertebra	SUP-FR		Capra hircus	3	4	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	386	G5	4	Tibia	FR-DS	L	Capra hircus	3	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	178	F4	2	Cervical vertebra	FR	X	Caprinae	3	4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	7	F6	3	Lateral malleolus	CO	L	Caprinae	3	0	0	0	0	1
Abiquiu Library	13	F5	3	Rib	PX	L	Caprinae	3	2	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	348	G5	3	Tooth	FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	349	G5	3	Tooth	FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	350	G5	3	Tooth	FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	159	F6	2	Distal phalanx	PX	0	Caprinae	3	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	308	G5	4	Distal phalanx	PX	0	Caprinae	3	<4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	158	F6	2	Distal sesamoid	HFL	0	Caprinae	3	0	2	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	stewed? all cancellous
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	articular surface of the illiac portion of the acetabulum. Some bone mesh present.
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Premolars and molar
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Smaller than a CA goat that we have for comparative
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	very deep indendation in the trochlear notch, possibly a lesion
0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	osteoarthritis
0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	pieces refit. Cut marks on superior distal portion of the shaft
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	7th cervical,possibly stewed and chopped
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu Library	336	G6	4	Femur	PX	R	Caprinae	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	189	M5	1	Fourth Carpal	CO	R	Caprinae	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	305	G5	4	Innominate-acetabulum	FR	L	Caprinae	3	4+	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	455	G5	4	Innominate-Ischium	FR	R	Caprinae	3	2	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	260	F4	1	Intermediate carpal	CO	L	Caprinae	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	223	A4	1	Intermediate phalanx	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	326	G5	3	Metacarpal	POS-FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	354	G5	4	Metapodial	FR-DS	0	Caprinae	3	3	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	85	G5	4	Proximal sesamoid	0	0	Caprinae	3-4	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	299	AA10	2	Radius	MID-FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0	0	1	2
Abiquiu Library	845	F5	2	Radius	DS-FR	L	Caprinae	4	3	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	234	A3	2	Rib	MID-FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	265	AA9	1	Rib	DS	0	Caprinae	3	4	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	309	G5	4	Scaploid	CO	L	Caprinae	4	2	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	409	G5	2	Scapula	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	443	G5	4	Scapula	FR	0	Caprinae	3	4	1	0	2	5
Abiquiu Library	487	G6	6	Second and Third carpal	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	436	G6	3	Thoracic vertebra	FR-AM	X	Caprinae	3	4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	440	G6	5	Thoracic vertebra	FR-AN	X	Caprinae	3	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	444	G5	4	Thoracic vertebra	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	895	F5	2	Thoracic vertebra	CO	X	Caprinae	3	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	331	G5	4	Tibia	MID-FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	189	M5	1	Fourth carpal	CO	R	Caprinae	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	855	AA9	5	Laternal malleolus	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	891	G5	4	Mandible	FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	464	G5	4	Maxilla	FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	478	G5	4	Maxilla	MID	X	Caprinae	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	256	AA9	4	Proximal phalanx	PX-FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	333	G6	4	Metatarsal	MID-FR	0	Caprinae	3	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	503	G6	5	Intermediate phalanx	CO	0	Castor canadensis	0	0	0	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	Left acetabulum
0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	spine
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Centrum, trowel marks look like cut marks
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	anterior centrum of 1st thoracic vertebra
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Superior articular facet
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	Fused epiphysis
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Right side, includes UPM1
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	bone flake
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu Library	392	G5	4	Tooth	FR	X	Cervidae	5	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	388	G5	4	Tooth	CO	X	Cervidae	5	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	345	G5	4	Cranium	FR	X	Cervidae	4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	896	G6	4	Axis vertebra	ANT-FR	X	Cervus canadensis	5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	541	G6	3	Femur	DS	R	Corvidae	1	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	244	AA9	2	Tibiotarsus	DS-SH	0	Corvidae	1	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	362	G5	4	Mandible	POS-FR	X	Felis catus	2	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	87	F6	2	Femur	DS-FR	0	Gallus gallus	2	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	266	AA10	2	Humerus	CO	L	Gallus gallus	2	3	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	63	G6	3	Innominate	FR	X	Gallus gallus	2	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	184	AA9	2	Radius	MID-FR	L	Gallus gallus	2	3	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	216	AA10	2	Rib	PX-SH	L	Gallus gallus	2	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	889	F4	3	Rib	PX-FR	0	Gallus gallus	2	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	193	F3	2	Ulna	SH-FR	R	Gallus gallus	2	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	14	F5	3	Cranium	FR	X	Leporidae	1	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	895	F6	3	Humerus	DS	R	Leporidae	1	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	19	F6	3	Rib	PX-FR	L	Leporidae	1	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	846	F5	2	Scapula	MID-FR	R	Lepus sp.	2	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	30	F6	2	Femur	PX-FR	R	Lepus sp.	1	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	16	F6	2	First metacarpal	PX	0	Lepus sp.	R3	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	498	G6	5	Humerus	DSH	R	Lepus sp.	R2	2	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	225	A2	1	Tibia	PX-FR	0	Lepus sp.	1	2	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	294	AA9	5	Cervical vertebra	MID-FR	X	Mammalia	3-4	4	1	0	2	2
Abiquiu Library	181	AA9	5	Caudal vertebra	CO	0	Mammalia	3-4	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	205	AA10	3	Caudal vertebra	MID-FR	X	Mammalia	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	237	F6	3	Caudal vertebra	MID-FR	X	Mammalia	4-5	<4	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	269	AA9	5	Caudal vertebra	CO	0	Mammalia	2	3	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	290	AA9	5	Caudal vertebra	ANT-FR	X	Mammalia	3-4	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	359	G5	4	Caudal vertebra	PX-FR	X	Mammalia	3	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	871	G5	3	Caudal vertebra	INF	X	Mammalia	3	<4	1	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	Attached to part of the mandible
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	coronal and metopic sutures present. Lack of bony pedestal suggests female specimen
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Unfused epiphyses
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	occipital condyle
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	femoral head
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	could be sided if we had better comparatives (ie, articulated specimen)
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	stewed?
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	3rd Cervical vertebra, two small parallel lines at the edge of the superior aspect of the transverse process.
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu Library	8	F6	3	Cervical vertebra	ANT	X	Mammalia	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	162	AA9	5	Cervical vertebra	POS-FR	0	Mammalia	4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	258	F4	1	Cervical vertebra	CO	X	Mammalia	2-3	<4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	306	G5	4	Cervical vertebra	ANT-FR	X	Mammalia	3	<4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	377	G5	4	Cervical vertebra	MID-FR	0	Mammalia	5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	323	G5	4	Cranium	FR	X	Mammalia	3-5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	399	G5	2	Cranium	FR	X	Mammalia	3-4	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	438	G5	4	Cranium	POS-FR	X	Mammalia	0	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	861	G6	4	Cranium	FR	X	Mammalia	0	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	884	G5	1	Cranium	FR	X	Mammalia	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	271	AA9	4	Cranium	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	196	J6	2	Femur	PX	0	Mammalia	5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	47	F6	3	Humerus	PX-FR	L	Mammalia	2	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	441	G6	5	Innominate- ishium	FR	0	Mammalia	3	0	1	1	0	0
Abiquiu Library	28	F6	3	Long Bone	DS-FR	0	Mammalia	3	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	341	G5	3	Long Bone	SH-FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	1	0	2	2
Abiquiu Library	5	F6	3	Lumbar vertebra	FR	X	Mammalia	3	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	304	G5	4	Lumbar vertebra	FR	X	Mammalia	5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	393	G5	4	Lumbar vertebra	FR	X	Mammalia	3-4	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	429	G6	4	Lumbar vertebra	FR	X	Mammalia	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	252	AA9	5	Mandible	FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	461	G5	4	Mandible	FR	0	Mammalia	3	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	856	AA9	5	Mandible	FR	0	Mammalia	3	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	872	G5	3	Mandible	MID-FR	0	Mammalia	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	22	F6	2	Mandibular fossa	FR	X	Mammalia	5	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	17	F6	1	NID	FR	X	Mammalia	3-5	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	20	F6	1	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	34	F6	3	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	36	F6	3	NID	FR	X	Mammalia	0	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	38	F6	3	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	2	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	infraorbital foramen, spiral pattern found in fossa from pieces of thread that was stuck in there (included in bag)
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Parallel cut marks
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Some large mammal
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Scapula?
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu Library	39	F6	3	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	41	F6	3	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	42	F6	3	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	43	F6	3	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	44	F6	3	NID	LAT	0	Mammalia	3	0	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	46	F6	3	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	48	F6	3	NID	DFR	0	Mammalia	0	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	58	G5	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	62	G5	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	67	AA9	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	2	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	9	F4	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	91	F6	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	4-5	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	98	G5	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	4-5	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	104	F4	1	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	113	G5	1	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	150	G5	3	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	160	F7	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	161	F6	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	163	F3	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	4	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	165	F3	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	166	F3	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	168	A3	1	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	2-3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	171	AA10	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	173	A3	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	177	AA9	5	NID	SH-FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	183	F3	1	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	3	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	195	AA9	5	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	3	0	0	2
Abiquiu Library	197	AA10	3	NID	FR-SH	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	1	0	1	1
Abiquiu Library	858	F4	1	NID	FR	0	NID	0	0	0	4	0	0
Abiquiu Library	200	AA10	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	0	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0		0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	irregular helical fracture interrupted by later dry fracture
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	bone flake
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	should be placed back with other less IDs
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	bone flake
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	all cancellous (acid?)
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	bone flake
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
4	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	white burn color
0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	Bone flake

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu Library	202	AA9	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	4-5	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	204	N1	1	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	208	AA9	4	NID	SH-FR	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	218	M5	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	4-5	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	1440	G5	4	NID	FR	0	NID	0	0	0	3	0	0
Abiquiu Library	1443	F6	3	NID	FR	0	NID	0	0	0	4	0	0
Abiquiu Library	219	N5	1	NID	SH-FR	0	Mammalia	5	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	220	AA10	4	NID	PR-FR	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	228	AA9	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	230	AA9	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	233	F4	2	NID	FR-SH	0	Mammalia	5	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	239	F3	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	242	A3	1	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	243	AA10	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	2	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	246	F3	2	NID	MID-FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	251	N1	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	255	AA10	3	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	1	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	261	AA9	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	263	J6	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	2-5	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	264	AA9	2	NID	DS-FR	0	Mammalia	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	268	AA9	1	NID	SH-FR	0	Mammalia	2	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	278	F3	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	280	F3	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	282	AA9	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	286	AA9	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	288	A3	1	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	300	G5	4	NID	DS-FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	301	G5	4	NID	SH-FR	0	Mammalia	5	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	302	G5	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	5	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	303	G5	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	1	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	bone flake
0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	Bone flake
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	Bone flake
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu Library	307	G5	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	4-5	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	312	G5	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	313	G5	4	NID	SH-FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	2	0	2	1
Abiquiu Library	317	G5	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	324	G5	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	4-5	0	1	0	2	2
Abiquiu Library	340	G5	4	NID		0	Mammalia	3-5	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	358	G5	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	361	G5	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	363	G5	4	NID	SH-FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	364	G5	4	NID	SH-FR	0	Mammalia	4-5	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	365	G5	4	NID	SH-FR	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	2	0	1	1
Abiquiu Library	368	G5	4	NID	SH-FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	369	G5	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	375	G5	4	NID	SH-FR	0	Mammalia	5	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	376	G5	4	NID	SH-FR	0	Mammalia	5	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	378	G5	4	NID	SH-FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	395	G5	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	4-5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	397	G5	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	4	0	0
Abiquiu Library	406	G5	2	NID	Sh-FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	407	G5	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	410	G5	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	414	G5	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	415	G6	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	427	G6	3	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	442	G6	3	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	5	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	445	G6	5	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	456	G5	4	NID	SH-FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	459	G5	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	462	G5	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	471	G5	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	3	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Long bone shaft frag
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	Bone flake
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	bone flake, charcoal stains on bone
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	Bone flake
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Burn color=black
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	34 fragments from one element that was destroyed during excavation
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu Library	480	G5	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	483	G5	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	5	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	78	F6	1	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	81	G5	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	848	G6	1	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	854	A3	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	5	0	0
Abiquiu Library	865	G5	3	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	874	G5	3	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	3-5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	879	A2	2	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	0	4	0	0
Abiquiu Library	883	AA9	4	NID	FR	0	Mammalia	0	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	281	N1	1	NID	FR	X	Mammalia	3-5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	862	G6	4	Proximal phalanx	DS	0	Mammalia	4	3	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	867	G5	4	Proximal sesamoid	CO	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	370	G5	4	Radius	FR	0	Mammalia	5	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	12	F5	3	Rib	MID	R	Mammalia	0	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	21	F6	2	Rib	SH	X	Mammalia	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	23	F6	2	Rib	DSH	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	60	G5	4	Rib	MID	L	Mammalia	5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	164	AA9	2	Rib	SH	0	Mammalia	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	176	AA9	5	Rib	FR	0	Mammalia	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	187	A2	2	Rib	DSH	L	Mammalia	2-3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	212	M5	2	Rib	DS	0	Mammalia	3	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	240	N5	1	Rib	FR	0	Mammalia	3	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	253	AA9	4	Rib	MID	0	Mammalia	2-3	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	272	AA9	4	Rib	MID	0	Mammalia	4-5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	291	AA9	1	Rib	DSH	L	Mammalia	2	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	311	G5	4	Rib	SUP-FR	R	Mammalia	3	0	1	0	2	4
Abiquiu Library	328	G5	3	Rib	MID	0	Mammalia	4-5	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	332	G6	4	Rib	MID	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	342	G5	2	Rib	SH	X	Mammalia	3	0	0	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Many of these are associated with pig and cow teeth and mandible fragments found in this feature
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	brown to white burn
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	cortical bone flakes
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	carnivore clawmark
0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	bone flake
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu Library	366	G5	4	Rib	SH	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	371	G5	1	Rib	DS	0	Mammalia	2-3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	372	G5	4	Rib	MID	0	Mammalia	4-5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	373	G5	4	Rib	MID	0	Mammalia	5	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	379	G5	4	Rib	MID	X	Mammalia	4-5	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	390	G5	4	Rib	MID	0	Mammalia	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	396	G5	2	Rib	PX	0	Mammalia	3	0	0	3	1	0
Abiquiu Library	411	G5	2	Rib	MID	0	Mammalia	4-5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	416	G5	4	Rib	MID	0	Mammalia	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	419	G5	4	Rib	FR	X	Mammalia	5	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	420	G5	4	Rib	MID	R	Mammalia	5	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	437	G6	1	Rib	PX	0	Mammalia	2	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	446	G6	1	Rib	PX	0	Mammalia	5	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	463	G6	3	Rib	MID	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	485	G6	3	Rib	SH	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	844	F5	2	Rib	FR	R	Mammalia	4	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	847	F6	1	Rib	PX	L	Mammalia	4	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	868	G6	3	Rib	FR	0	Mammalia	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	1449	G5	3	Rib	SH	X	Mammalia	3	0	1	0	2	2
Abiquiu Library	1450	G6	3	Rib	MID	X	Mammalia	5	0	0	0	2	5
Abiquiu Library	25	F6	2	Scapula	FR	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	32	F6	3	Scapula	ANT-FR	0	Mammalia	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	101	G6	3	Scapula	MID	0	Mammalia	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	898	F6	1	Scapula	LAT	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	167	AA9	4	Thoracic vertebra	POS-FR	X	Mammalia	3	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	3	F6	3	Thoracic vertebra	ANT-FR	X	Mammalia	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	53	F6	2	Thoracic vertebra	INF-FR	X	Mammalia	3	3	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	357	G5	4	Thoracic vertebra	ANT-FR	X	Mammalia	3	<4	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	400	G5	2	Thoracic vertebra	SUP-FR	X	Mammalia	3-4	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	33	F6	3	Tibia	PX	0	Mammalia	1	0	0	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu Library	77	F5	1	Tibia	PX	0	Mammalia	3-4	4	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	40	F5	1	Tooth	FR	0	Mammalia	3-4	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	470	G5	4	Tooth	FR	X	Mammalia	3-5	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	452	G5	4	Tooth	FR	X	Mammalia	3-5	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	11	F6	3	Vertebra	FR	X	Mammalia	1	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	213	A2	1	Vertebra	FR	X	Mammalia	3-4	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	325	G5	3	Vertebra	FR	X	Mammalia	5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	383	G6	4	Vertebra	FR	X	Mammalia	3	<4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	404	G5	2	Vertebra	FR	X	Mammalia	3-5	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	425	G6	5	Vertebra	FR	X	Mammalia	3	4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	426	G6	3	Vertebra	FR	0	Mammalia	3	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	428	G5	4	Vertebra	ANT-FR	X	Mammalia	2-3	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	433	G6	3	Vertebra	FR	X	Mammalia	2-3	2	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	434	G5	4	Vertebra	FR	X	Mammalia	2-3	4	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	439	G6	5	Vertebra	FR	X	Mammalia	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	849	G6	5	Vertebra	FR	0	Mammalia	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	853	A3	2	Vertebra	FR	X	Mammalia	3	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	859	F4	1	Vertebra	DS-FR	X	Mammalia	3	3	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	18	F6	3	Vertebra	ANT	X	Mammalia	3	3	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	360	G5	4	vertebra	FR	X	Mammalia	0	<4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	431	G5	4	Vertebra	FR	X	Mammalia	2	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	367	G5	4	Vertebrae	PX	X	Mammalia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	866	G5	4	Tibiotarsus	DS-FR	L	Meleagris gallopavo	2	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	318	G5	1	First phalanx	DS	0	Odocoileus hemionus	4	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	1159	G6	5	Maxilla	MID-FR	X	Odocoileus hemionus	4	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	389	G5	4	Distal phalanx	CO	0	Odocoileus hemionus	4	3	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	351	G5	2	Intermediate phalanx	DS	0	Odocoileus hemionus	4	2	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	352	G5	2	Intermediate phalanx	DS	0	Odocoileus hemionus	4	<4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	384	G5	4	Proximal phalanx	CO	0	Odocoileus hemionus	4	4	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	391	G5	4	Proximal phalanx	CO	0	Odocoileus hemionus	4	4	2	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	40 piece re-fit
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	
0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	centrum
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	centrum frag
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	centrum frag
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	bone mesh on both elements
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	evidence of roasting
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Left portion of maxilla, including fragment of a PM.
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu Library	450	G6	5	Cervical vertebra	FR	X	Odocoileus sp.	4	3	3	0	1	1
Abiquiu Library	71	G6	3	Humerus	MID	R	Odocoileus sp.	4	4	1	0	1	2
Abiquiu Library	355	G5	4	Metatarsal	ANT-FR	L	Odocoileus sp.	4	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	432	G6	4	Thoracic vertebra	FR	X	Odocoileus sp.	3	0	2	0	2	2
Abiquiu Library	186	K5	1	Astragalus	CO	R	Oves aries	3	4	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	279	F4	1	Astragalus	CO	R	Oves aries	3	4	1	0	2	2
Abiquiu Library	192	AA9	2	Cranium	FR	X	Oves aries	3	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	542	G6	3	Femur	PX	R	Oves aries	3	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	374	G5	4	Proximal phalanx	CO	0	Oves aries	3	3	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	488	G6	2	Proximal phalanx	PX-FR	0	Oves aries	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	4	F6	3	Proximal sesmoid	CO	0	Oves aries	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	417	G6	3	Radius	PX	R	Oves aries	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	502	G6	5	Rib	PX	0	Oves aries	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	421	G6	3	Sternebra	ANT-FR	X	Oves aries	3	3	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	327	G5	3	Thoracic vertebra	ANT-FR	X	Oves aries	3	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	201	A3	2	Humerus	CO	0	Peromyscus sp.	1	3	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	881	K5	2	N/A	CO	0	Pyrgulopsis sp.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	887	AA9	2	N/A	CO	0	Pyrgulopsis sp.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	245	A2	2	Femur	CO	L	Rattus rattus	1	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	209	A3	2	Mandible	CO	X	Rattus rattus	1	2	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	298	N5	2	Rib	PSH	L	Artiodactyla	3	4	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	198	F3	2	Mandible	ANT-FR	X	Rodentia	1	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	222	F4	1	Maxilla	ANT-FR	X	Rodentia	1	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	35	F6	3	Scapula	ANT	L	Rodentia	1	0	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	45	F6	3	Tibia	PX	R	Rodentia	2	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	418	F6	3	Tibia	PX-FR	L	Rodentia	1	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	262	F4	1	Tooth	FR	X	Rodentia	1	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	29	F5	1	Tooth-Incisor	FR	0	Rodentia	1	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	405	G5	2	Distal phalanx	CO	0	Sus scrofa	3	1	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	479	G6	3	Mandible	FR	X	Sus scrofa	3	0	2	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	One side of the element was exposed to much more weathering
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Zygomatic arch
0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3rd molar missing. Right side of mandible
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Short rib
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	left side of maxilla including upper incisor
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Tibial crest
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Incisor
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	R2-R3
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	

Site	Cat.	Unit	Level	Element	Portion	Side	Taxon	Size	Age	WS	Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens
Abiquiu Library	875	G5	4	Mandible	FR	0	Sus scrofa	3	0	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	381	G5	2	Maxilla	FR	L	Sus scrofa	3	2	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	172	J6	2	Patella	CO	L	Sus scrofa	3	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	231	AA9	4	Rib	PX-FR	L	Sus scrofa	4	0	4	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	876	G5	4	Tooth	CO	0	Sus scrofa	3	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	897	AA9	2	Atlas vertebra	CO	X	Sus scrofa	0	0	1	0	2	7
Abiquiu Library	198	F3	2	Claw	CO	0	NID	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	330	G5	4	Innominate-illium	FR	0	Mammalia	5	0	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 2	1161	B2	2	Tooth	CO	X	Artiodactyla	4	0	0	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1226	TT2	3	Intermediate phalanx	PX	R	Caprinae	3	4	2	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	901	TT2	1	Calcaneus	SUP-FR	L	Bos taurus	5	4	1	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1075	Test T	3	Innominate	FR	0	Capra hircus	3	4+	3	0	0	0
Abiquiu 3	1288	C5	6	Sternum	INF	X	Caprinae	3	4	5	0	0	0
Abiquiu Library	1448	G5	4	maxilla	mid	X	Capra hircus	3	4	1	0	0	0

Chop	Saw	HST	CARN	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Path.	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	PM2 and 3 imbedded in mandible
0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	Unerrupted PM1 and 2
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	Short rib
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	PM 1
2	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	possible infection, 22 piece refit, illiac crest
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Left
0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	
1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	pubis, acetabulum
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	right side of mandible with UP4, UM1, UM2

Site	Cat #	Area	Unit N	Unit E	Level	Fea	P.A. #	Skeletal Element	Portion	Side	Taxonomic ID	Size	Age	WS
San Jose	4	1	883	2896	1			ishium	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	7	1	883	2896	1			radial carpal scaphoid	CO	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	12	1	884	2896	3			thorasic vertebra	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	18	1	884	2898	4	3		tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	29	1	885	2898	2	3		tibia	SH	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	32	1	885	2898	2	3		calcanium	CO	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	49	3	874	2930	4			mandible	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	85	7	972.5	2968		10		cervical vertebra	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	93	7	972.5	2968		9	2	tibia	SH	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	127	8	852	2950	3		9	tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	130	8	852	2951	1			tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	132	8	852	2951	2		7	carpal	CO	0	Artiodactyla	4	0	0
San Jose	135	8	852	2951	2		5	phalanx	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	136	8	852	2952	2		6	3rd phalanx	PX	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	153	8	852	8951	2			tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	157	5	921	2967	3		2	mandible	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	179	8	852	2950	2			radius	SH	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	197	8	852	2950	2			tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	200	8	852	2950	2			tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	202	8	852	2950	2			tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	205	8	852	2949	3			tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	220	8	852	2949	1			NID	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	241	1	886	2895	2			rib	SH	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	243	1	882	2894	3			cranium	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	260	8	853	2949	3		3	tibia	SH	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	274	8	854	2951	2			tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	287	8	852	2949	3			1st phalanx	DS	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	291	8	854	2951	3			scapula	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	299	8	854	2951	3			tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	305	8	854	2950	4			tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	352	8	854	2951	1			tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	359	8	853	2951	3			LB	SH	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	367	8	854	2950	3			tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	369	8	854	2950	3			femur	DS	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	371	8	854	2950	2			LB	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	383	8	854	2949	2			tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	386	8	853	2953	3			tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	387	8	853	2953	3			humerus	SH	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	398	8	853	2953	2			radial carpal scaphoid	CO	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0

Site	Cat #	Area	Unit N	Unit E	Level	Fea	P.A. #	Skeletal Element	Portion	Side	Taxonomic ID	Size	Age	WS
San Jose	438	4	938.5	2968	6			tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	439	4	938	2968	3			tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	458	7	971.5	2968	3			tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	460							tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	461	8	854	2951	2			vertebra	MID	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	473	8	853	2949	3	3		right humerus epiphyses	PX	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	474	9	934	3048	2			tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	477	8	854	2950	3			tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	479							vertebra	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	129	8	852	2951	1			tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla/ not cervid	0	0	0
San Jose	124	8	852	2950	3	7		tooth	FR	0	Artiodactyla	0	0	0
San Jose	110	8	852	2950	3			scapula	PX	0	Aves	0	0	0
San Jose	363	8	853	2951	3			zygomatic	FR	0	Bos taurus	5	0	0
San Jose	38	2	916	2917.5	4			illium	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	39	2	917	2910.5	4			cranium	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	40	2	917	2913.5	2			3rd phalanx	CO	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	66	3	875	2928	4			tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	68	7	971.5	2967		10		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	71	7	971.5	2968		10		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	73	7	971.5	2968		10		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	91	7	972.5	2968		9	3	rib	SH	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	92	7	972.5	2968		9	1	rib	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	94	8	852	2951	2	8		rib	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	95	8	852	2951	2	5		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	96	8	852	2953	2	2		rib	SH	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	98	8	852	2949	2			femur	SH	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	100	8	852	2949	1			tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	107	8	852	2950	1			humerus	SH	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	115	8	852	2950	3			tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	122	8	852	2950	2			tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	137	8	852	2952	2			femur	PX	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	155	8	852	8951	2			right rib	SH	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	158	5	922	2967	2			illium	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	168	7	971.5	2968	3			sacrum	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	172	7	971.5	2968	2			illium	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	182	8	852	2950	2			ulna	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	223	8	852	2950	3	10		2nd phalanx	HFL	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	231	1	882	2895	3			axis	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	258	8	853	2949	3	3		cranium	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0

Site	Cat #	Area	Unit N	Unit E	Level	Fea P.A. #	Skeletal Element	Portion	Side	Taxonomic ID	Size	Age	WS
San Jose	319	8	852	2951	3		navicular cuboid	CO	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	336	9	935	3049.5	3	2	rib	SH	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	337	9	935	3049.5	3	1	rib	SH	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	349	8	853	2949	2	1	rib	SH	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	377	8	853	2952	2		rib	SH	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	408	9	934	3047	3		right rib	SH	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	410	9	935	3048.5	4		rib	SH	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	422	9	935	3047.5	3		rib	SH	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	440	10	888	3001	2		1st phalanx	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	487	8	853	2950	2	5	humerus	SH	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	104	8	852	2949	3		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	255	1	883	2896	3		humerus	SH	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	208	8	852	2949	3		caudal	CO	0	Canidae	2	0	0
San Jose	373	8	853	2952	3		scapula	FR	0	Canidae	2	0	0
San Jose	55	3	875	2928	5		radius	SH	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	57	3	875	2928	5		rib	SH	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	59	3	875	2928	4		cranium	FR	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	63	3	875	2928	4		metapodial	DS	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	64	3	875	2928	4		rib	SH	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	75	7	971.5	2968	3		costal cartilage	SH	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	76	7	971.5	2968	3	10	1st phalanx	CO	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	77	7	971.5	2968	3		2nd phalanx	DS	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	80	7	971.5	2968	2		2nd phalanx	FR	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	81	7	971.5	2968	2		1st phalanx	CO	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	83	7	972.5	2967		10	pisiform	CO	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	97	8	852	2953	2	4	rib	SH	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	117	8	852	2950	2		radius	SH	R	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	134	8	852	2951	2	3	astragalus	CO	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	140	9	924	2567	3		tibia	SH	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	150	8	852	8951	2		left femur	FR	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	152	8	852	8951	2		left femur	DS	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	160	5	924	2567	3		left radius	PX	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	161	5	924	2567	3		rib	PX	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	164	5	924	2967	2		illium	FR	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	165	5	924	2967	2		right tibia	SH	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	169	7	971.5	2968	3		lateral malleolus	CO	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	177	8	852	2950	3	11	tooth	CO	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	180	8	852	2950	2		left tibia	DS	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0

Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens	Chop	Saw	Carnivore Damage	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Pathology	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	helical fracture on one side, percussive flakes on the other
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	part of spine and infraspinatus fossa
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	unfused
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	unfused
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	unfused
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	unfused
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	LM3
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Site	Cat #	Area	Unit N	Unit E	Level	Fea P.A. #	Skeletal Element	Portion	Side	Taxonomic ID	Size	Age	WS
San Jose	181	8	852	2950	2		left astragalus	CO	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	186	8	852	2950	2		left tibia	DS	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	196	8	852	2950	2		lateral malleolus	CO	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	210	8	852	2952	3		cervical vertebra	MID	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	253	1	881	2897	4		tooth	CO	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	261	8	854	2950	4	7	scapula	PX	R	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	300	8	854	2951	3		mandible	FR	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	303	8	854	2950	4		humerus	DS	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	312	8	853	2951	2	5	left tibia	PX	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	317	8	852	2951	3		right rib	PX	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	322	8	853	2950	3		cervical vertebra	FR	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	324	8	853	2950	3		3rd phalanx	FR	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	325						3rd phalanx	FR	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	329						cervical vertebra	FR	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	330	8	853	2948	1		right scapula	PX	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	335						left scapula	FR	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	338	8	853	2949	3		left tibia	PSH	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	340						3rd phalanx	FR	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	343						thorasic vertbrae	FR	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	401						lumbar vertebra	SH	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	402	C12	868.06	2891.2	0-45		right humerus	DS	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	406	9	935	3046.5	2		left rib	PX	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	407						lumbar vertebra	FR	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	413	9	934-936	3045-3049.5	area cleaning		lumbar vertebra	FR	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	414	9	934-936	3045-3049.5	area cleaning		1st phalanx	DS	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	423	9	935	3047.5	3		2nd phalanx	CO	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	424	9	936	3046.5	2		left humerus	SH	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	425	9	936	3046.5	2		thorasic vertebra	FR	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	432						mandible+ tooth	FR	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	437	2	917	2912.5	2b		right radius	DS	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	442	2	917	2914.5	2		right navicular cuboid	CO	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	444	10	888	3000	2		left rib	PX	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	446	10	888	3000	2		right astragalus	CO	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	453	8	852	2951	3		right radius	DS	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0

Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens	Chop	Saw	Carnivore Damage	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Pathology	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	L1/2M
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	thin fragment of tooth attached to Lower right Molar socket
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Site	Cat #	Area	Unit N	Unit E	Level	Fea	P.A. #	Skeletal Element	Portion	Side	Taxonomic ID	Size	Age	WS
San Jose	454	1	882	2894	3			2nd phalanx	FR	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	456	8	853	2949	3			right tibia	PX	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	464							thorasic vertebra	FR	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	465	8	853	2950	3			left tibia	SH	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	467	9	934	3048	3			right tibia	SH	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	469							phalange	CO	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	470							left tibia epiphyses	PX	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	480	8	853	2952	3			left astragalus	FR	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	482	8	853	2952	3			right humerus	SH	0	Capra hircus	3	0	0
San Jose	1	1	880	2898	2			tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	2	1	880	2898	3			tooth	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	3	1	880	2898	3			radius	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	5	1	883	2896	1			ishium	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	9	1	883	2896	1			rib	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	11	1	883	2897	2			metapodial	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	13	1	884	2896	2	3		thorasic vertebra	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	14	1	884	2896	2	3		cranium	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	15	1	884	2897	3	3		lumbar vertebra	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	16	1	884	2897	1			tibia	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	21	1	885	2896	3			navicular cuboid	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	22	1	885	2897	2			tooth	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	23	1	885	2898	4	3		1st phalanx	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	24	1	885	2898	4	3		metapodial	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	25	1	885	2898	4	3		thorasic vertebra	MID	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	30	1	885	2898	2	3		pisiform	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	34	1	885	2898	2	3		ulna	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	35	1	885	2898	2			vertebra	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	37	1	885	2895/2896	4	14		radius	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	43	2	920	2917.5	2			mandible	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	44	3	874	2930	2			ulna carpal triquetrum	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	45	3	874	2930				femur	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	47	3	874	2930	5			rib	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	48	3	874	2930	4			rib	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	52	3	875	2928	2			humerus	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	53	3	875	2928	2			cranium	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	60	3	875	2928	4			radius	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	61	3	875	2928	4			metapodial	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0

Site	Cat #	Area	Unit N	Unit E	Level	Fea	P.A. #	Skeletal Element	Portion	Side	Taxonomic ID	Size	Age	WS
San Jose	78	7	971.5	2968	3			2nd phalanx	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	79	7	971.5	2968	2			phalanx	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	82	7	971.5	2968		10	6	2nd phalanx	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	84	7	972.5	2967	3			metapodial	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	88	7	972.5	2968	2			mandible	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	101	8	852	2949	3			pisiform	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	102	8	852	2949	3			metapodial	DS	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	105	8	852	2950	1			tooth	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	112	8	852	2950	3			carpal	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	113	8	852	2950	3			metapodial	DS	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	114	8	852	2950	3			2nd phalanx	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	116	8	852	2950	2			metapodial	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	119	8	852	2950	2			pisiform	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	120	8	852	2950	2			tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	121	8	852	2950	2			metapodial	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	123	8	852	2950	2			tooth	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	131	8	852	2951	1			phalanx	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	138	8	852	2952	2			tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	142	8	852	2952	3			metapodial	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	143	8	852	2952	1			vertebra	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	145	8	852	2953	3		9	Calcaneus	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	148	8	852	2953	2			tibia	DS	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	149	8	852	8951	2			vertebra	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	163	5	924	2967	4		12	tooth	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	170	7	971.5	2968	3			metapodial	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	184	8	852	2950	2			mandible	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	185	8	852	2950	2			metapodial	DS	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	190	8	852	2950	2			tooth	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	204	8	852	2949	3			ishium	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	209	8	852	2952	3			caudal vertebra	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	211	8	852	2952	3			tooth	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	212	8	852	2952	3			femur	PX	L	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	215	8	852	2953	2			1st phalanx	DS	0	Caprinae	3	0	5
San Jose	216	5	921	2967	2		3	mandible	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	217	5	921	2967	2		3	mandible	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	218	8	852	2949	1			metapodial	DS	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	222	8	852	2951	2		4	scapula	FR	R	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	224	8	852	2953	2			hyoid	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0

Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens	Chop	Saw	Carnivore Damage	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Pathology	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		unfused
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		unfused
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		unfused
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		incisor
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	premolar
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	incisor
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	premolar
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	signs of osteoporosis
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	drilled
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	lower molar
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	upper molar
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	incisor
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	refit with Cat # 219. Cat #219 subsequently erased from catalogue entry
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	

Site	Cat #	Area	Unit N	Unit E	Level	Fea P.A. #	Skeletal Element	Portion	Side	Taxonomic ID	Size	Age	WS
San Jose	225	1	880-886	2893-2898			rib	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	226	1	880-886	2893-2898			rib	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	228	1	880	2898	4		radius	DS	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	233	1	882	2895	3		rib	PX	R	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	236	1	885	2898	4	3	rib	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	237	1	885	2898	4		rib	PX	L	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	242	1	882	2894	3		rib	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	247	1	882	2894	3		tibia	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	251	1	886	2895	3		cranium	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	252	1	886	2895	3		cranium	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	254	1	881	2897	4		thorasic vertebra		X	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	256	8	853	2949	3	3	tibia	SH	R	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	259	8	853	2949	3	3	ulna	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	262	8	854	2949	3	4	femur	PSH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	265	8	853	2951	2	20	rib	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	267	8	853	2951	2	20	radius	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	272	8	853	2951	2		femur	DS	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	273	8	853	2951	2		2nd phalanx	DS	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	276	8	854	2951	2		rib	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	278	8	854	2951	2		thorasic vertebra	MID	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	280	8	854	2951	2		scapula	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	281						scapula	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	283	8	854	2951	2		hyoid	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	284	8	854	2951	2		maxilla	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	285	8	852	2949	3		radius	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	298	8	854	2951	3		long bone	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	302	8	854	2951	3		metapodial	DS	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	315	8	852	2949	3	2	humerus	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	318	8	852	2951	3		rib cartilage	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	320	8	852	2951	3		rib	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	323	8	853	2950	3		rib	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	326	8	853	2950	3		rib	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	339	8	853	2949	1		metapodial	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	348	8	853	2949	2	1	rib	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	353	8	854	2951	1		rib	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	357	8	854	2950	3	4	metapodial	DS	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	361	8	853	2951	3		tooth	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	366	8	854	2950	3	5	rib	SH	L	Caprinae	3	0	0

Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens	Chop	Saw	Carnivore Damage	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Pathology	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	helical fracture
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	unfused
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	glenoid fossa
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	glenoid fossa
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	1	8	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	LIM
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	

Site	Cat #	Area	Unit N	Unit E	Level	Fea P.A. #	Skeletal Element	Portion	Side	Taxonomic ID	Size	Age	WS
San Jose	370	8	854	2950	3		tooth	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	378	8	853	2952	2		ulna	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	379	8	853	2952	2		rib	SH	R	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	381	8	853	2953	3	30	cranial	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	389	8	853	2953	3		tibia	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	390	8	853	2953	3		metapodial	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	394	8	853	2953	3		2nd caudal vertebra	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	396	8	853	2953	3		tooth	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	400	C1	864	2930	0-55		radius	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	420	9	934	3046	2		tooth	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	428	9	935	3046.5	1		tooth	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	429	9	935	3047.5	2		vertebra	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	435	7	971.5	2968	3		ulnare	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	455						scapula	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	472	8	853	2949	3	3	left humerus	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	481	8	853	2952	3		femur	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	20	8	852	2951	3		radius	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	26	1	885	2898	2	3	rib	PX	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	36	1	885	2898	2		rib	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	41	2	917	2914.5	2B	3	2nd phalanx	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	42	2	917	2914.5	2B	2	rib	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	46	3	874	2930	3		rib	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	99	8	852	2949	1		femur	DS	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	133	8	852	2951	3		phalanx	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	139	8	852	2952	2		2nd phalanx	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	365	8	854	2950	3	2	cranium	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	427	9	934	3047	4		rib	SH	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	156	8	852	8951	2		right rib	FR	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	304	8	854	2950	4		left femur	SH	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	173						3rd phalanx	FR	0	Carnivora	2	0	0
San Jose	266	8	853	2951	2	20	radius	PX	0	Carnivora	2	0	0
San Jose	166						caudal	CO	0	Canis familiaris	2	0	0
San Jose	126	8	852	2950	3	9	metatarsal	SH	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	6	1	883	2896	1		unidentifiable	FR	0	very large artiodactyl	5	0	0
San Jose	50	3	874	2930	4		mandible	FR	0	large artiodactyl	5	0	0
San Jose	51	3	874	2930	4		mandible	FR	0	large artiodactyl	5	0	0
San Jose	118	8	852	2950	2		mandible	FR	0	Large artiodactyl	5	0	0

Site	Cat #	Area	Unit N	Unit E	Level	Fea P.A. #	Skeletal Element	Portion	Side	Taxonomic ID	Size	Age	WS
San Jose	159	5	924	2567	3		illum	FR	0	large artiodactyl	5	0	0
San Jose	227	1	880	2898	4		vertebra	MID	0	very large artiodactyl	5	0	0
San Jose	257	8	853	2949	3	3	tibia	PSH	0	Large artiodactyl	5	0	0
San Jose	286	8	852	2949	3		humerus	PSH	0	Large artiodactyl	5	0	0
San Jose	364	8	854	2950	1	1	tibia	SH	L	Large artiodactyl	5	0	0
San Jose	27	1	885	2898	2	3	tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	28	1	885	2898	2	3	tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	33	1	885	2898	2	3	tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	171	7	971.5	2968	3		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	176	8	852	2950	3	11	tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	191	8	852	2950	2		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	192	8	852	2950	2		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	193	8	852	2950	2		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	195	8	852	2950	2		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	213	8	852	2953	2		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	250	1	886	2895	3		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	296	8	854	2951	3		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	328	3	875	2928	4		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	334	8	853	2949	2		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	351	8	854	2951	1		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	354	8	854	2951	1		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	356	8	854	2950	1		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	358	8	853	2951	3		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	391	8	853	2953	3		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	392	8	853	2953	3		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	404	SC8	788.1	3053.9	surface		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	415	9	934-936	3045-3049.5	area cleaning		LP	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	436	2	917	2912.5	2b		tooth	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	449	4	937	2968	2		left LM	FR	0	Bovinae	5	0	0
San Jose	385	8	854	2949	2		cervical vertebra	CO	0	Lepus californicus	1	0	0
San Jose	375	8	853	2952	2		scapula	MID	0	Lepus sp.	1	0	0
San Jose	248	1	883	2898			long bone	SH	0	Mammalia	0	0	0
San Jose	232	1	882	2895	3		cranium	FR	0	Artiodactyla	3	0	0
San Jose	240	1	886	2895	2		tibiotarsus	SH	R	Meleagris gallopavo	2	0	0
San Jose	268						nid	FR	0	NID	0	0	0
San Jose	293	8	854	2951	3		metapodial	SH	0	Odocoileus hemionus	4	0	0

Site	Cat #	Area	Unit N	Unit E	Level	Fea P.A. #	Skeletal Element	Portion	Side	Taxonomic ID	Size	Age	WS
San Jose	374	8	853	2953	2	1	metacarpal	PX	R	Odocoileus hemionus	4	0	0
San Jose	263	8	853	2951	3	8	anter	FR	0	Odocoileus sp.	4	0	0
San Jose	264	8	853	2951	3	8	antler	FR	0	Odocoileus sp.	4	0	0
San Jose	485	8	853	2951	3	8	antler	FR	0	Odocoileus sp.	4	0	0
San Jose	486	8	853	2951	3	8	antler	FR	0	Odocoileus sp.	4	0	0
San Jose	109	8	852	2950	1		cranium	FR	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	54	3	875	2928	2		cranium	FR	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	62	3	875	2928	4		left rib	PX	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	65	3	875	2928	4		right ulna	DS	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	86	7	972.5	2968		10	cranium	FR	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	162	5	924	2567	3		right rib	SH	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	167	7	971.5	2968	3		lumbar vertebra	MID	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	178	8	852	2950	3	5	left metatarsal	CO	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	183	8	852	2950	2		left rib	SH	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	187	8	852	2950	2		rib	SH	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	327	8	853	2950	3		left zygomatic	FR	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	345	8	853	2951	1		navicular cuboid	FR	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	347	8	853	2951	1		vertebrae	FR	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	403	C12	868.06	2891.2	0-45		cranium	FR	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	409	9	934	3047	3		sternum	FR	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	416	9	935	3047.5	4		right rib	PX	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	417	9	935	3047.5	4		vertebra caudal	MID	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	421						tooth	FR	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	430	9	934	3048	3		tooth	CO	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	445						phalanx	DS	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	463	8	854	2951	2		occipital	FR	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	471						vertebra	FR	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	476	8	854	2950	3		cranium	FR	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	478	8	853	2952	3		left tibia	SH	0	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	146	8	852	2953	3	10	vertebra	CO	0	Rodentia	1	0	0
San Jose	147	8	852	2953	2		atlas vertebra	CO	0	Rodentia	1	0	0
San Jose	207	8	852	2949	3		pubis	CO	0	Rodentia	1	0	0
San Jose	308	8	854	2949	3		lumbar vertebra	CO	0	Rodentia	1	0	0
San Jose	484	8	854	2949	2		metapodial	CO	0	Rodentia	1	0	0
San Jose	67						tooth	CO	0	Otospermophilus beecheyi	1	0	0
San Jose	19	1	884	2898	2		thoracic vertebra	CO	0	Sciuridae	1	0	0

Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens	Chop	Saw	Carnivore Damage	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Pathology	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	split in half along the long axis, with a dry fracture at the end
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	parietal fragment
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	unfused
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	molar
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	right incisor
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	unfused
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	incisor
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Site	Cat #	Area	Unit N	Unit E	Level	Fea P.A. #	Skeletal Element	Portion	Side	Taxonomic ID	Size	Age	WS
San Jose	384	8	854	2949	2		ulna	CO	R	Silvilagus sp.	1	0	0
San Jose	270	8	853	2951	2		innominate	FR	X	Sylvilagus nuttallii	1	0	0
San Jose	393	8	853	2953	3		vertebrae	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	69	7	971.5	2967		10	tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	70	7	971.5	2968		10	tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	72	7	971.5	2968		10	tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	74	7	971.5	2968	3		tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	106	8	852	2950	1		tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	151	8	852	8951	2		tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	174	8	852	2950	3	11	tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	189	8	852	2950	2		incisor	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	198	8	852	2950	2		tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	199	8	852	2950	2		tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	201	8	852	2950	2		tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	203	8	852	2950	2		tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	214	8	852	2953	2		tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	229	1	880	2898	4		tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	246	1	882	2894	3		tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	249	1	886	2895	3		tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	269	8	853	2951	2	20	tooth	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	277	8	854	2951	2		tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	288	8	854	2951	3		tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	313	8	853	2948	3		tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	314	8	853	2948	3		tooth	CO	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	344	8	854	2949	1		tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	355	8	854	2951	1		tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	376	8	853	2952	2		tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	380	8	853	2952	1		tooth	FR	0	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	397	8	853	2953	3		tooth	FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	405	9	935	3046.5	3		tooth	FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	418	9	934	3046	2		tooth	FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	433	4	938.5	2968	5		tooth	FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	434	4	938.5	2968	5		tooth	FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	441	10	888	3001	3		tooth	FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	443	10	888	3000	2		tooth	FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	447	10	888	3000	2		tooth	FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	451	7	971.5	2968	3		tooth	FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	452	8	853	2953	3		tooth	FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	468	9	934	3047	3		tooth	FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	0

Site	Cat #	Area	Unit N	Unit E	Level	Fea P.A. #	Skeletal Element	Portion	Side	Taxanomic ID	Size	Age	WS
San Jose	475	8	854	2950	3		tooth	FR	X	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	125						scapula	PX	X	Caprinae	3	0	0
San Jose	128	8	852	2950	3	9	auditory bulla	CO	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	0
San Jose	292	8	854	2951	3		auditory bulla	CO	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	0
San Jose	311	8	852	2948	2		auditory bulla	CO	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	0
San Jose	382	8	854	2949	2		auditory bulla	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	0
San Jose	399	8	853	2953	2		auditory bulla	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	0
San Jose	419	9	934	3046	2		auditory bulla	FR	X	Artiodactyla	3-4	0	0
San Jose	333	8	853	2949	2		left auditory bulla	CO	X	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	448	2	918	2909.5	3		auditory bulla	CO	X	Ovis aries	3	0	0
San Jose	90	7	972.5	2968	3		tooth	CO	X	Sus scrofa	4	0	0
San Jose	103	8	852	2949	3		tooth	FR	X	Sus scrofa	4	0	0
San Jose	175	8	852	2950	3	11	tooth	CO	X	sus scrofa	4	0	0
San Jose	206	8	852	2949	3			FR	0	NID	0	0	0
San Jose	221	8	852	2949	1			FR	0	NID	0	0	0
San Jose	321							FR	0	NID	0	0	0
San Jose	341							FR	0	NID	0	0	0
San Jose	58						femur	SH	0	NID	1	0	0

Burn	Cut Type	Cut Intens	Chop	Saw	Carnivore Damage	RDNT	Root	Fr/Fresh	Fr/Wth	Pathology	Notes
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	incisor
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	DLP4
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	