

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

ANTHROPOLOGICAL REPORT ON
LAND USE: PUEBLO OF SANDIA 94 2624

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SEPTEMBER 30, 1985

FILED
DEC - 7 1994
CLERK, U.S. DISTRICT COURT
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Historical Background

Sandia Pueblo is an Indian community located approximately 13 miles north of Albuquerque, New Mexico on the east bank of the Rio Grande river, a few miles to the west of the Sandia Mountains.



Figure 1. Location of Sandia Pueblo

Archeological evidence shows that the village site was occupied around 1300 A.D. and that the village has remained in essentially the same area since then. The surrounding

area was occupied by Indian hunters as early as 11,000 years ago and there is evidence of numerous smaller sites around Sandia and in the foothills of the mountain dating in the last millenia. Sandia religious practices also show great antiquity. Certain religious shrines belonging to the Sandia people show that the same religious practices have continued from 1300 A.D. to the present.

Evidence from Spanish documents shows that Sandia Pueblo was one of the leading Pueblos of the Southern Tiwa province. This province stretched from the area of present day Bernalillo, New Mexico south almost to Belen, New Mexico. At the time of first Spanish contact by the Coronado expedition in 1540-42, it contained as many as twenty villages, probably all speaking the same Southern Tiwa language. These villages occupied the area of present day metropolitan Albuquerque and its suburbs. Sandia oral tradition states that Coronado spent a winter at Sandia and can even point out the area of the house where he stayed. At the time of the Pueblo Indian Revolt in 1680, Sandia was one of the larger Southern Tiwa villages

*Winter
Pueblo Mountain*

In 1748 after the unsettled conditions arising from the Pueblo Revolt had calmed, Sandia Pueblo was given a new Spanish land grant. This document stated that the east boundary of the Pueblo's land was the "Sierra de Sandia", or Sandia Mountain. After the United States acquired the area by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, the government provided for land surveys to settle title to the lands in the region. While the Sandia claim was patented by Congress, the survey of their land was in error and the main ridge of Sandia Mountain was excluded, although Sandia people continued to view the mountain as theirs and to use the resources it contained. Instead of the north and south boundary lines continuing to the top of the mountain they arbitrarily stopped at the top of the first ridge (see Figure 2).

Wint

In 1906 a significant portion of the mountain was incorporated into a National Forest; today, the Cibola Forest, Sandia District. In 1978 a major portion of the west face of the mountain was declared a Wilderness area further restricting access and use. In recent

years the foothills of the mountain began to be heavily developed and this created a loss of access to the mountain for Sandia people, especially to the major religious shrines.

Sandia people relied upon the mountain to satisfy physical and spiritual needs and they were able to utilize it in traditional ways until quite recently. Faced with increasing loss of access and harassment in their attempts to continue their religious practices, the Sandia Tribe initiated efforts to regain control over the land most significant for their religion. This claim area comprises portions of the rugged west face of the mountain to the crest. The majority of it is in Wilderness status. It rises in elevation almost a mile— an island of more northern habitat.. Figure 2 shows the area in relation to the current reservation. The tribe is attempting to recover the land that their grant included, but which the subsequent survey under U.S. administration denied them.

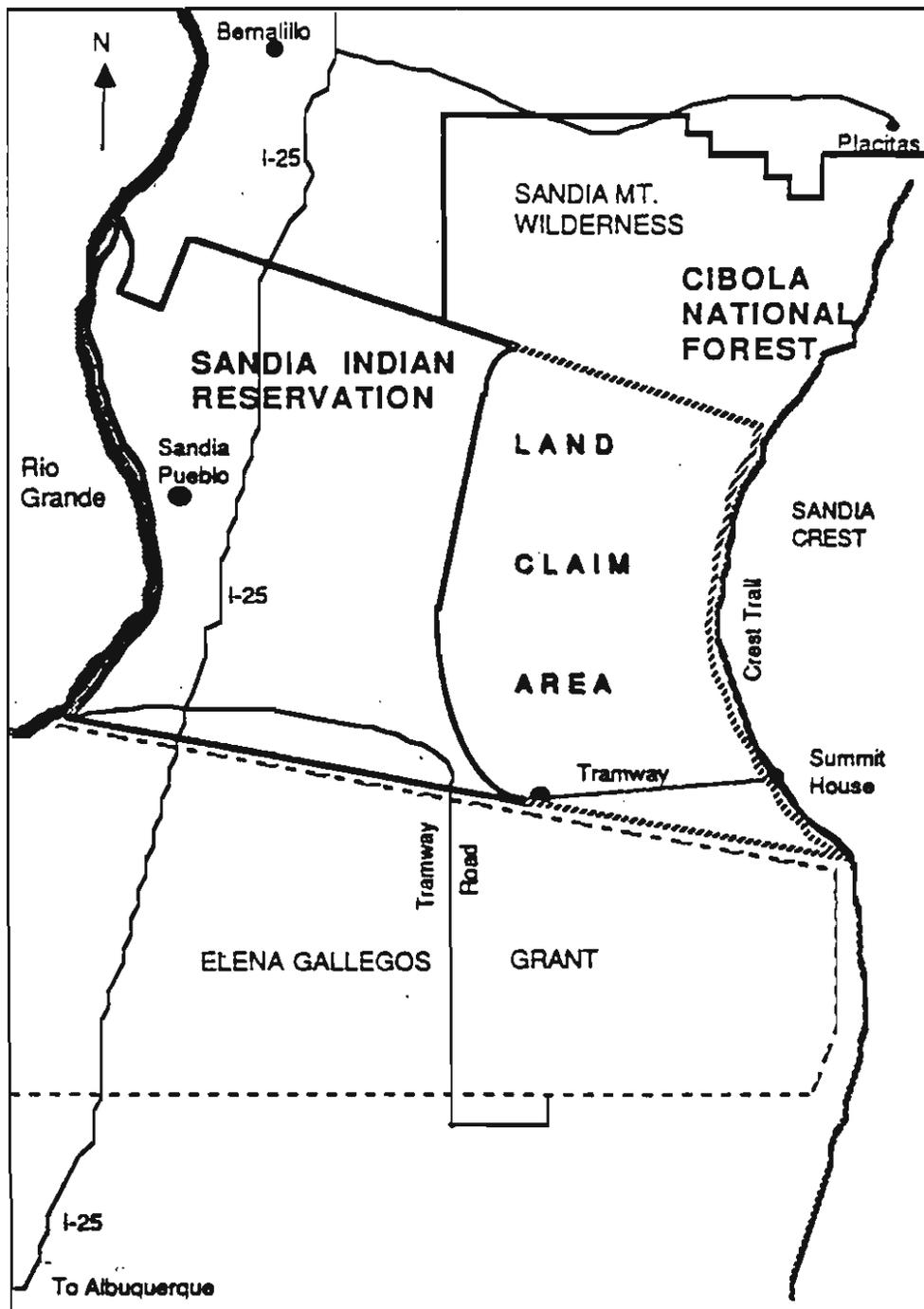


Figure 2. Location of Sandia Reservation and Claim Area

Significance of the Mountain to Sandia People

Sandia Mountain is sacred to the people of the pueblo. It contains their holiest shrines. Since Sandia people have been living next to the mountain for at least 600 years and possibly earlier, it is thoroughly incorporated in their religious beliefs, practices, prayers, oratory, and songs. In order to practice Sandia religion, spiritual leaders must make pilgrimages to the shrines and leave offerings at them at certain times during the year. These shrines are located on the mountain from the crest of to the foothills. The priests visiting these shrines are dressed traditionally and must not be seen by outsiders. They must have privacy in order to perform their religious office. They have no wish to lead outsiders to their sacred shrines which might then be despoiled. Participation in the pilgrimages by members of the religious societies is essential to the spiritual and physical well-being of the Sandia people. Younger people who are carrying on Sandia's religious tradition must make these pilgrimages in order to be full members of the community.

It is only from this mountain that certain resources needed for religious ceremonies can be obtained. These include: healing herbs growing only in the higher elevations of the mountain; herbs used in life crisis rites such as birth, and initiation; traditional wild foods that must be eaten during certain observances; minerals such as mica and certain colored sands; the bark and twigs of certain trees used to make prayer sticks left as offerings; branches of fir trees used at five to seven major ceremonies each year; and certain animal products such as the meet and hides of deer, and feathers of certain birds.

The sacred shrines have a significance for the Sandia people that is hard for an outsider to appreciate. In Sandia view, they go back to the beginnings of the world. They carry the religious charter in an unbroken line from the first existence of Sandia as a community. People have a strong emotional tie to them. The feelings that Christians have toward Bethlehem or Calvary or that Muslims have toward Mecca may help to convey some of the felt significance, but even this falls short.

It is from the shrines and sacred areas that Sandia people derive the spiritual blessings and the physical resources that enable them to survive. One leader summed up the importance of the mountain this way:

The Sandias have always considered the Sandia Mountains as part of their lives, their way of life, both in acquiring food and spiritual aid from these mountains. We always face the Mountain when we pray and in many cases or ritual, many rituals that are performed in the village, are finalized in the mountains—there in the mountains in many of the shrines that are up there. In other words, the Sandias believe that those mountains hold all the...spirituality that Sandia is blessed with.

We believe that all our blessings derive from the mountains. It is very true that it doesn't look like those mountains can provide very much because of their bareness, but we do believe that the spirit is there that will grant us our lives. After all, ... it's the spirit that any nation, any people believe in, and it's the spirit that gives life. This is what we believe.

Their adaptation to this area is very successful since the Sandia people are living in the place where they began as a people. They are still there. All of their identity as a culture and a people derives from their continuing religious practices centered on the mountain. Everything that Sandia people could possibly need for their survival is here and focused on the land and the blessings that flow from it. This is a perfect and complete place.

The mountain is both the focus and the provider of Sandia's spiritual life. As one Pueblo member put it:

It's the Indian religion and that Mountain is to me--is our life. And that's where we pray.

We know that's where our life is at. The mountain is upon us and is looking at us and protecting the village. Like I said, that's our church, That's our altar, that's where we pray at. To me that means my life. It's a wonderful feeling when you can get up in the morning and look toward the Mountains, watching it and praying to it. I just feel good all over when I see that Mountain because it is our livelihood, our altar.

In recent years, the religious practices that have endured for hundreds of years, have been extremely threatened by development. Religious leaders in the community acutely feel the loss of control over the shrines critical to their religion. One leader expressed it this way:

...when the time of the year comes when they perform these rituals, when they go to these gatherings, when they perform, they wonder, we wonder, I wonder, how the Great Spirit has been mutilated. ...We often wonder whether the spirits blame [us] for not protecting that area. We often wonder, is it right for us to go back to the spirit when we don't protect the area? But how can you protect it when it was taken away! We have no jurisdiction as far as we're concerned. We feel and we know that that area is our land and that's all we can say. That land is *ours*, those mountains are ours. The Indian will always pray even if he has to pray to the other one, but his mind will be where the spirit is *supposed* to live, where he knows the spirit is, his mind will be there. it will be the same things as you on earth praying to the Lord in heaven.

Religious Shrines and Their Use in the Claim Area

Shrines and sacred areas are holy places to Sandia people. They are sites or natural features which are regularly visited and at which offerings may be made. Some shrines belong to, or are the responsibility of, a specific society ("clan" in Sandia English terminology). These groups each have particular functions to perform for the community. The details of what they do are not known outside of that society. Other shrines are under the care of a specific religious leader, such as the cacique or *t'aykabede*.¹ Some are known only to the leaders of the society responsible for them, while others are generally known and may be visited by any male Pueblo member who knows their location.

Most shrines are visited at least twice a year by the priests, but unpredictable conditions arise when they are visited more often. Ceremonies begun in the village are completed on the the mountain in the claim area. In a given year there will be fifteen to twenty-five ceremonies that must be finished in the claim area. There is variation in the

yearly calendar since some ceremonies occur every four years. In addition there are the visits by the religious leaders and visits by individuals for special petitions. Regular missions to the sites must be undertaken in order for Sandia people to move through the normal stages of life and the rites of passage that mark those stages. Loss of access to the sites disrupts the entire system of initiation and movement through various age grades and life phases. Hunters visit shrines whenever they are in the area to make offerings. After each mission to a shrine or collecting area, certain information critical to the fortunes of the community is reported back to the religious leaders by those who participated in the pilgrimage. Such information is used to direct the activities of the village and its members. Thus there is very heavy and unpredictable use of the shrines in the claim area.

Specific Religious Shrines

Sandia elders identified major shrines within the claim area (see map at rear for exact locations). These are all of extraordinary significance to the continuance of Sandia cosmology, belief, and even the community itself. Uninterrupted access to these sites is fundamental to the continuity of Sandia Pueblo as a distinct cultural entity maintaining a continuous tie to the past. Inability to carry out the functions of the societies, units, and leaders is undermining the entire social organization of the community and the training of the youth in the community.

Trails to the shrines begin from the center of the village and proceed east to the mountain and through a gap in the first ridge of the mountain and then down the other side into Juan Tabo Canyon. At the bottom of this canyon in the claim area is a shrine known as thukura 'box elder'. This is a spring with life-giving water. Offerings were made here for rain. Pilgrimages to the other shrines always stopped here. Nearby, under a very large oak tree, is a favorite camping spot used by many people from Sandia when they came to the mountain to pick piñon or gather other wild plants. Arroyo bottoms in the canyon contain black sand which is collected for use in dry painting. The trail then climbs out of

the canyon and goes either through the La Cueva tract or to the north to the canyon trail that is used to reach the evergreen collecting area. The trail gives access also to other sites within the vicinity.

Two important sites in the claim area are located on a formation known in Sandia as toyai 'the cane'. Canes symbolize the authority of the officers of the village. The two shrines are heyune, the North side shrine, also called hwiop'athu 'slippery rock', and hek'unc, the South side shrine and are the responsibility of the cacique and his helpers. The cacique is a religious leader responsible for the well-being of the entire community. He selects one shrine to visit in February. The other shrine is visited in midsummer each year. The shrine visited first alternates in the next year, a principle representing the dual organization common in Tanoan villages. This area is the highest on the north side of the mountain and is known in English as the Shield. It is a favorite of mountain climbers. The cacique shrines are in the vicinity of a feature known as the Knife Edge, a wall of stone dividing the southwest and north faces of the Shield.

These sites are the most inaccessible of all the Sandia shrines. Although one might think that the remoteness and difficulty of reaching them would guarantee preservation and privacy, this is not the case. The Shield and the Knife Edge are challenging to mountain climbers and enjoy great popularity. According to the Forest Service, normal use would be four to five climbers per day, except in winter.

A third major shrine, a stone circle used for offerings, is located to the south of the two cacique shrines. Its Sandia name translates as "cacique's offering place". This ancient shrine is visited by the cacique and his assistants after they have visited one of the two shrines at higher elevations. This is a spot where the members of a pilgrimage to the cacique shrine break their fast and leave offerings on their way back down the trail to the village.

Another shrine is located in Waterfall Canyon. This shrine is used in finishing rituals for ceremonies conducted in the village. It is reached by taking the Piedra Lisa trail

north until it intersects Waterfall canyon, the first stream crossing the trail. The trail is not maintained or marked and is quite overgrown by willow. It ends at a thirty-five foot waterfall located about .75 miles from the trail intersection. This is the shrine location. While the trail is difficult and is definitely not for the average trail hiker, it is nothing compared to the difficulty of the North cacique shrine. The closeness of this shrine to the trailhead and the waterfall which runs most of the year make this a favorite locale for Anglo visitors. The ranger for this district informed me that it gets an average of two visitors per day. In the winter, the site is a favorite practice climb for ice climbers.

There are two shrines at lower elevations belonging to the society known as the Summer or Rainbow People. The first site is near a spring, marked by two large boulders. There is alternation between these two sites as there is for the cacique shrines, with visits made in February and in midsummer. Visits are made to the first shrine in order to determine the proper times for the planting of food crops in the village and to determine how the agricultural cycle will operate in the coming year. The second site, aeupatlua 'beautiful or brilliant place', is very close to the Jaral pueblo site (LA 4875) and may be of great antiquity. The Jaral site is a Glaze F site, the latest glaze and dates from the mid-1600's to early 1700. It is likely that it is an ancestral Sandia village and probably a refuge site used to flee from the Spanish after the Pueblo Revolt.

This shrine is the locus of a first fruits ceremony. Unripe produce is taken to this site in thanksgiving and to ensure the continuity of food crops for the village. The Summer People have a four day retreat in the village. On the night of the third day, Pueblo members bring them food which they are allowed to eat. On the fourth day, offerings of agricultural crops such as green corn, beans, melons, peas, and other crops are taken to the shrine as offerings and an altar is set up there just as in the village. In recent years as a result of housing developments, the pueblo members have been denied privacy at these sites in the claim area. The ceremonies are still performed but are done at substitute shrines on the reservation since the true sites are so open to the public. This temporary solution is

unacceptable to the spiritual leaders since the ceremonies cannot be performed at the actual shrines. The spring in the vicinity appears to have a home built over it or very close by.

These sites are very heavily impacted by development. Heavily used hiking and horseback riding trails run within sight of one shrine. On a visit to this sight, we observed 8 horseback riders in the space of one hour. On a later visit we encountered the owner of a riding stable known to Pueblo leaders. He reported that the current Miss America and a companion were riding in the area— a fact later confirmed. This incident serves to graphically dramatize the tremendous impact of development on the Sandia people and their heritage. Further serious impacts will occur if the proposed Forest Service-Alvarado Realty exchange proceeds, permitting the building of up to 160 additional homes in the area.

*9. Total
14 9000
LA 50275
is
proposed*

On the North side of the mountain in the claim area, on the highest peak known as toyai, near a rock with a window through it about 3' x 6', is a site that was important in the procurement of deer before hunting was banned in the claim area. This is a sacred site called taynah. Deer were driven over the edge of the cliff here. Those that died or were severely injured were taken home for food, and hides which were used ceremonially.

There are many shrines in Cañon Del Agua or Water Canyon. For the most part these are hunting shrines, though there is one major shrine at a ruin in Water Canyon. Shrines are located at the bends in the canyon. This is a prime hunting area as there is always plenty of water in the canyon. These shrines are visited frequently by the War Captain, who has responsibility for hunting and gathering areas and by hunters in the canyon. The canyon serves as an entry way to the north side of the mountain and the shrines to the north as well as to the hunting sites. Sandia elders report that it is a good camping area and both Sandias and others camp in the vicinity as it has plenty of water, wind breaks, is protected and has hidden spots at the bends. Another site (LA 50275) farther up Water Canyon in the claim area has a historic occupation after 1910 This area is still visited by Sandia hunters who leave offerings there for a good hunt.

The Mountain is also important to Sandia history. The most significant site is Friendship Canyon, where the Sandias made peace with the Comanches.² This canyon is on the north side of the mountains. Tribal members discuss times when the village had to flee to the mountains to escape the Spanish, and later the Apache, the Commanche, and the Navajo. Each Sandia also can relate personal history that has occurred on the mountain.

Sacred Areas

Locales where certain types of trees that have ceremonial uses grow, such as a certain species of willow, aspen, the box elder, cedar (juniper), piñon, pine, fir and spruce are sacred areas—a type of shrine. Although it is the trees themselves that are of significance, the locale where they grow and are collected is also important. Other sacred areas would be places for collecting any resource needed for religious purposes. These are collected in unpredictable cycles as well. While evergreens are collected five to seven times per year for ceremonial use, other collection times would depend upon need resulting from special circumstances in the village. As one elder put it:

There's a willow that grows up there only on one certain place; and in that doing [ceremony] you have to have this certain kind of willow. We call it mountain willow, and you don't just go there and chop it down and bring it. You have to watch how you cut it. And you only cut what you need—no waste. You pay for it with cornmeal first, some feathers. Those would be shrines, you see. You might call it the willow shrine because that little piece is providing you with that wood. If any thing, any piece, even dirt at a certain time, maybe you need, if you're getting it there, it's a shrine, because it's providing [for] you for your rituals, your beliefs. That's a shrine because it's providing you with something you need in your life.

These areas are visited whenever the resource found there is needed.

Herbs and other resources are gathered both for ceremonial, medicinal, and secular uses. The names of sixty species of trees, plants, vines and shrubs that are utilized by Sandia people and found in the claim area were collected and the identity of the flora verified. The following chart lists these flora and some of their general uses.

<u>Common Name</u>	<u>Scientific name</u>	<u>Uses</u>
Apache plume	<i>Fallugia paradoxa</i>	Woody stems used to make arrow shafts
Aspen	<i>Populus tremuloides</i>	Medicinal use of bark
Aster, spiny aster	<i>Machaeranthera bigelovii</i>	Stems, roots quench thirst
Beargrass	<i>Nolina microcarpa</i>	Seeds used in rattles
Box Elder	<i>Acer glabrum</i>	Medicinal use; prayer sticks
Bull nettle, tomatillo del campo	<i>Urtica gracilis</i>	Curdles milk; diuretic
Cachana, gay feather	<i>Liatris punctata</i>	Talisman against evil eye
Canail, Tule	<i>Typha latifolia</i>	Pollen used ceremonially
Chokecherry	<i>Prunus americana</i> ; <i>P. virginiana</i>	Ceremonial use; Berries eaten; medicinal u
Cota, Indian Tea	<i>Thelesperma</i> (three spp.)	Tea, medicinal and nonmedicinal uses
Cottonwood	<i>Populus</i> (two spp.)	Prayer sticks
Cow parsnip	<i>Hieracium lanatum</i>	Medicinal uses
Datil, Banana yucca	<i>Yucca baccata</i>	Soap, shampoo; fiber; fruit eaten
Douglas Fir	<i>Pseudotsuga</i>	Ceremonial use of branches
Engelmann Spruce	<i>Picea engelmannii</i>	Ceremonial use; medicinal use
Escoba de la Vibora; Snakeweed	<i>Gutierrezia sarothrae</i>	Wash for blindness
Filaree	<i>Erodium cicutarium</i>	Forage for stock; medicinal use
Juniper	<i>Juniperus osteosperma</i>	Berries eaten; flavoring; wood; aromatic le
Limber pine	<i>Pinus flexilis</i>	Poles
Mallow	<i>Malva neglecta</i>	Medicinal use against arthritis
Mountain Mahogany	<i>Cercocarpus montanus</i>	Used for prayer sticks; arrows
Mormon tea; canutillo	<i>Ephedra torreyana</i>	Medicinal use
Narrowleaf Yucca	<i>Yucca angustissima</i>	Fiber and cordage; seed used for rattles
Oak	<i>Quercus gambelii</i>	Acorns eaten; medicinal use
Oshá	<i>Ligusticum porteri</i>	Medicinal herb; ceremonial use
Piñon pine	<i>Pinus edulis</i>	Edible nuts; gum for ceremonial use
Ponderosa pine	<i>Pinus ponderosa</i>	Timber; wood; medicinal
Poleo mint	<i>Mentha arvensis</i>	Medicinal tea; tea; food herb
Ponderosa pine	<i>Pinus ponderosa</i>	Wood
Prickly pear	<i>Opuntia macrorhiza</i>	Used for jams, jellies, pickles, fruit
Purslane	<i>Portulaca rufis</i>	Tops eaten
Rocky Mountain Beeweed	<i>Cleome serrulata</i>	Paint for pottery; used as greens; medicinal
Scarlet Bugler, Red Penstemon	<i>Penstemon barbatus</i>	Herbal medicine
Soapweed yucca	<i>Yucca glauca</i>	Soap and shampoo; ceremonial use; fiber
Spearmint, Yerba Buena	<i>Mentha spicata</i> (viridis)	Medicinal tea; tea; food herb
Squawbush	<i>Rhus trilobata</i>	Berries eaten and used in a drink
"sticky bush"	<i>Nuttallia multiflora</i>	Sticks to clothes; used in play
Wild grape, Canyon grape	<i>Vitis arizonica</i>	Eaten; jellies and jams
Wild onion	<i>Allium</i> (five spp.)	Food and seasoning
Wild oregano	<i>Monarda menthaefolia</i>	Seasoning
Wild potato	<i>Solanum jamesii</i>	Food plant
Wild rhubarb; Canaigre	<i>Rumex hymenosepalus</i>	Medicinal for sores
Wild spinach, goosefoot	<i>Chenopodium berlandieri</i> , <i>C. desicatum</i>	Eaten as greens
Wild tobacco; punche	<i>Nicotina glauca</i> ; <i>N. attenua</i>	Ceremonial; medicinal; smoking
Willow	<i>Salix</i> (multiple species)	Used for prayer sticks; basketry; medicine
Woolly Mullein	<i>Verbascum thapsus</i>	Used as tobacco; smoked
Yerba de Manso	<i>Anemopsis californica</i>	Medicinal for sores, kidneys; diuretic
Yerba de la Negrita	<i>Sphaeralcea coccinea</i>	Medicinal use all parts

Fig. 3. Plants in the Claim Area and Their Uses

Few of the resources named in Fig. 3 occur on the reservation. If they do, it is only in isolated areas adjacent to the reservation boundaries for all but a few species. In order to collect any of the flora, a permit must be obtained from the Forest Service. While the majority of the plants are collected by cutting only the needed part above the roots, there are some species such as Oshá, *Ligusticum porteri*, for which the root is the essential part.

The Forest Service has stated that it will not give permits for whole plant collection. Thus, the religious needs of the Sandia people cannot be met by a plant permit system.

The springs and waterfalls in the mountains are sacred places and some of the most major shrines have a source of water. There are twenty-one springs in the claim area, each a shrine. Water procured on pilgrimages from certain shrines is used ceremonially, and must be used in particular practices. Water may also be procured for curing purposes. Ordinary people may also obtain this water and keep it in their homes for personal use.

Other uses of resources in the claim area include the collection of different colored sand used in dry paintings, ceremonial use of certain minerals such as mica, and in the past hunting of animals such as deer. In the past, the mountains also provided timber for building and grazing land.

Summary

The Sandia Mountains of the claim area are of extraordinary significance to the people of Sandia Pueblo. They contain the most sacred shrines and sacred areas used for the collection of resources necessary to the practice of traditional religion and culture. Without free access to the mountain and without privacy for religious observances, Sandia religion cannot be practiced.

Sandia was probably founded in its present location around 1300 A.D. and has developed in the region for almost six hundred years, perhaps longer, since Indian people have lived in the area for thousands of years. Sandia cosmology is closely tied to the landscape of the surrounding region with the mountains the most prominent feature. It is mentioned in the mythology, the songs, the prayers, and the ritual oratory. This also argues for great antiquity of the relationship between Pueblo people and the mountain in the claim area.

The attachment to this place is overwhelming. All of Sandia history takes place here. The mountain and the relationship that Sandia people have always had with it is embodied in religious and moral obligations. Pilgrimages to sacred shrines on the mountain have always formed part of the ceremonial cycle of the Sandia people. The holiest Sandia shrines are located within the claim area. Pilgrimages to the mountain shrines are undertaken by young men in order to move through the grades in the ritual system. Without access to the shrines, the system is undermined and Sandia is unable to transmit its moral, philosophical, and religious heritage to the younger generation. Information obtained through visits to the shrines informs the ritual calendar and guides decision-making by religious leaders.

Ceremonies begun in the village are completed on the mountain. Offerings are made in a spirit of reciprocity so that the village will continue to receive the resources and blessings it needs to survive and prosper. Resources such as plants, animals, or minerals which are needed for religious practice found only in the claim area are "paid for" by gifts of corn pollen and corn meal. A strong conservation ethic dictates that only what is needed may be taken and none wasted.

Since time immemorial, the mountains have provided water, shelter and refuge, game, and wild plants for food, medicine, and ceremonial use. Sixty species of plants found in the claim area are used ceremonially, medicinally, as food, seasonings, beverages, and smoking materials by Sandia people. Almost all can be found only in the mountains since they grow only at elevations higher than the reservation.

The mountains have also provided game animals for ceremonial use, and for food. Deer are still important as well as some species of birds. The mountains also provided timber and grazing lands in the past. It must be stressed that the Sandias utilized the entire mountain for these purposes, not just the claim area. The land was not fenced and there was free movement and use.

The lands in the claim area are on the rugged west face of the mountains from the present Sandia boundary to the top of the main ridge. The Spanish grant documents clearly include the main ridge, for there are no other areas in the vicinity that provide water, pasture, and timber.

The faulty Clements survey of 1859 which ignored the grant documents and the boundary calls, resulted in a boundary that deprived Sandia Pueblo of the main ridge of the mountain and resulted in a very oddly-shaped grant. Later resurveys did not question these erroneous documents. These surveys, as well as the language difficulty, since no Sandias spoke English at the time they were made, and legal uncertainties conspired to deprive Sandia of its original land. The Pueblo attempted to recover its lost land, but lack of funds to retain attorneys and do the necessary research prevented them from pursuing it to conclusion.

The Sandia people were still able to utilize most of their major shrines in the mountains, however, until development in Juan Tabo canyon and the surrounding areas in the 1970's restricted their access to some of them. The growth of mountain climbing as a sport resulted in even the most inaccessible shrines being heavily visited by climbers. Today all of the major shrines are heavily impacted by hikers, climbers, and development in the vicinity. Sandia people are threatened and harrassed while on religious missions.

Without free and uninterrupted, unobserved access to the shrines, the Sandia people are unable to practice their religion, a fundamental right guaranteed U.S. citizens and given special protection by the American Indian Religious Freedom Act. The integrity of the community, its political system, and the maintenance and transmission of its cultural identity and traditions are severely jeopardized by the loss of free access to the religious sites in the claim area.

NOTES

¹ The Sandia language is Southern Tiwa and a dialect is also spoken at Isleta Pueblo to the south. It belongs to the Tiwa branch of the Tanoan family which also includes the subfamilies Tewa, Towa, and Kiowa. Sandia has not officially adopted an orthography. In this paper Sandia words are written utilizing ordinary English symbols. The combination, tl, represents the voiceless lateral, and eu represents a central vowel.

² No dating is available for the Commanche peace but it must have occurred in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries.

Major Shrines in the Clai Area

