Archaeological Practice and Political Change:

Transitions and Transformations in the Use of the Past in Nationalist, Neoliberal and Indigenous Bolivia

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Summary

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This study will explore how major governmental changes in Bolivia affected both archaeological practice and the socio-political use of archaeological resources. Spanning the years between 1979 and 2010, and contextualised by a complete analysis of archaeological law passed since 1906, this dissertation will present a broad discussion of changes within Bolivian archaeology and politics and will follow targeted aspects of archaeological practice and governmental use of the past during several distinct periods in Bolivia's history. Through this, I will clarify how changes in the national politics of Bolivia have affected the use of archaeological resources by governments, citizens and descendant groups.

In the narrowest sense, this research will identify how major political shifts affect both Bolivian archaeology and the use of the past in Bolivian identity politics. Few in-depth historical analyses of Bolivian archaeology have been produced and none of these have the benefit of incorporating the actions of the current Indigenous-led administration. This is the first time that all historic Bolivian archaeological laws have been collected, analysed individually and evaluated collectively for evidence of long-term trends. Also, this project represents the first time that word frequency analysis tools have been used to gain information about a large body of Bolivian archaeological texts. The information gleaned from this study can be used to better inform the formulation and continuation of archaeological projects within Bolivia.

In a broader sense, this project demonstrates the effectiveness of a new methodology through which significant changes in a particular state, national or international archaeology program can be evaluated over time. Moreover, the Bolivian case study, being clearly defined, can prove to be a significant comparative model to which other situations involving modern Indigenous issues, nationalism, identity politics and archaeology can be related. Due to the worldwide economic realities of archaeology-based tourism and the effectiveness of past-based political rhetoric, I assert that such research is necessary if we are to continue to practice archaeology in a modern globalised context.

Declaration

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text.

This thesis meets all the requirements of page length and word count as set forth by the Department of Archaeology.

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Figure 2.0   *An elderly Aymara woman votes to approve the new 'Indigenous' Bolivian constitution and to redistribute land from large to small landholders (photo by Karita, 2009)*

1.1 Objectives

In this study I will explore how major governmental changes in Bolivia affected both archaeological practice and the socio-political use of archaeological resources. Spanning the years between 1979 and 2010, and contextualised by a complete analysis of archaeological law passed since 1906, this dissertation will present a broad discussion of changes within Bolivian archaeology and politics and will follow targeted aspects of archaeological practice and governmental use of the past during several distinct periods in Bolivia's history. Through this, I will clarify how changes in the national politics of Bolivia have affected the use of archaeological resources by

governments, citizens and descendant groups. I will also identify how these political shifts have affected archaeological practice.

1.2 Relevance

A significant body of scholarship over the past few decades has been devoted to the role of archaeology in politics and the role of politics, particularly identity politics, in archaeology. We have come to understand that the collective or competing motivations of nations and states, of Indigenous people and descendant communities, of imperialist powers and international organizations, and of archaeologists themselves have an impact on how the past is studied, interpreted and used by people in the present. We archaeologists have no choice but to work within existing power systems. Indeed, if we wish to continue practicing archaeology as it has come to be defined, we must continue to clarify our role in this struggle for personal, national and political rights to the past.

Despite this large body of recent work and the need for archaeologists to relate properly to the environment in which we practice, the landscape is complex and still largely ill defined: timely investigations of unique or significant case studies are needed. Furthermore, any significant change in the balance of power with respect to control of the past warrants academic investigation, not only because of ethical and theoretical concerns, but because such a shift may have an immediate and severe effect on practical and logistical aspects of the practice of archaeology.

A shift in the balance of power has recently happened in Bolivia and we now have a new piece of the puzzle to work with. An Indigenous-led government has gained control and is interpreting concepts of the past in its own way for its own purposes. While there is a long history of scholarly inquiry into the ways in which how archaeology and the past have been used and interpreted by political states, and there has been significant discussion of how archaeology has been used by Indigenous groups, little has been written about the archaeological consequences of Indigenous groups gaining actual control over their political environment. In Bolivia an Indigenous-focused government has gained control over the state, giving us a rare glimpse at the confluence of state, national, nationalistic and Indigenous archaeologies.

The dust has yet to settle and Bolivia remains a state in transition. However, the question of how changes in the national politics of such a dynamic country as Bolivia over the past three decades have affected archaeological practice is not only timely, it is

pressing. While the particulars of modern Bolivia may seem unique, archaeologists are working within a world much changed since our discipline was institutionalised and defined. When faced with assertions of state, national or Indigenous ownership of the past, archaeologists have struggled to clarify their own role, their own legitimacy. We encounter more and more situations where the future of our discipline appears uncertain. To understand the complicated forces at work within Bolivian archaeology is to gain a better understanding of archaeology in various countries and political situations.

1.3 Dissertation Structure

The relevant background and context of this dissertation is presented in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. In Chapter 2, I will discuss aspects of archaeological heritage studies by introducing relevant cases from throughout Latin America. Concepts of ownership and control of the past will emerge as aspects of Latin American identity politics. Chapter 2 provides regional and thematic context for the Bolivian case study. In Chapter 3, I will present a detailed sketch of Bolivia's social and political history as it pertains to archaeology and archaeological practice. Chapter 3 identifies several turning points in archaeology and in the use of the past in Bolivia and discusses the political and social environment in which these shifts took place. These key shifts will serve to structure the analysis of later chapters.

Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 are the analytical core of this dissertation and through them the question of how major governmental changes in Bolivia affect both the socio-political use of archaeological resources and archaeological practice is explored. In Chapter 4, I present the methodology used to approach the Bolivian case study. Here I define a three-pronged approach to uncovering various indicators of socio-political influence on Bolivian archaeology that are expanded upon in subsequent chapters.

In Chapter 5, the first of three results chapters, I provide an in-depth discussion of over 100 years of Bolivian archaeological law. Set against the backdrop of social and political change discussed in Chapter 3, this chapter provides perhaps the first complete discussion of chronological and progressive legal change in Bolivian archaeological law.

Moving on to the disciplinary output of the archaeological process, Chapter 6 presents the results of a textual analysis of Bolivian archaeological documents. Using a unique methodology involving custom word-frequency analysis, this chapter looks at

trends within the corpus of Bolivian archaeological texts. Structured by the periods identified in Chapter 3 and supported by the legal analysis of Chapter 5, this textual analysis is intended to identify ways in which Bolivian social and political changes have consciously or unconsciously altered the content and focus of archaeological work.

Chapter 7 is a discussion of how Bolivian archaeology is experienced. Reaching beyond the more formal lines of inquiry presented in Chapters 5 and 6, Chapter 7 is a multifaceted investigation into how the less tangible aspects of archaeological heritage and practice have been affected by Bolivian politics and social change. This chapter is focused mainly on archaeology 'on the ground', and how the most recent political changes in the country have played out in the archaeological sphere. Drawing upon various sources, including archaeological literature, popular media, and a targeted survey of Bolivian archaeologists, this chapter is focused on four related issues: the changing nature of the Aymara New Year ceremony at the site of Tiwanaku, archaeological tourism, the very recent controversy over the management of Tiwanaku, and the future of archaeological practice.

Finally, in Chapter 8, I relate the results of the various lines of analysis to the broader aspects of heritage and archaeology presented in Chapter 2. Here the implications of this research for the wider field of heritage studies are discussed and recommendations for the further study of the influence of contemporary social and political change on the discipline of archaeology are made. In this chapter, modern Bolivia is presented as a potential model for the types of use and reuse of the ancient past seen in a rapidly changing, globalised but not necessarily Westernised world.

1.4 Original Contribution

In the narrowest sense, this research will identify how major political shifts affect both Bolivian archaeology and the use of the past in Bolivian identity politics. Few in-depth historical analyses of Bolivian archaeology have been produced and none of these have the benefit of incorporating the actions of the current Indigenous-led administration. This is the time that all historic Bolivian archaeological laws have been collected, analysed individually and evaluated collectively for evidence of long-term trends. Also, this project represents the first time that word frequency analysis tools have been used to gain information about a large body of Bolivian archaeological texts.

The information gleaned from this study can be used to better inform the formulation and continuation of archaeological projects within Bolivia.

In a broader sense, this project demonstrates the effectiveness of a new methodology through which significant changes in a particular state, national or international archaeology program can be evaluated over time. Moreover, the Bolivian case study, being clearly defined, can prove to be a significant comparative model to which other situations involving modern Indigenous issues, nationalism, identity politics and archaeology can be related. This work is of particular importance in Latin American countries with large, politically active Indigenous populations and major archaeological sites, such as Perú, Ecuador, and Guatemala. However, due to the worldwide economic realities of archaeology-based tourism and the effectiveness of past-based political rhetoric, such research is necessary if we are to continue to practice archaeology in a modern globalised context.

2. Archaeology, Heritage and Latin America

Figure 2.0   Aymara children from Cochabamba costumed as "15th century indigenous people" for a feature film (photo from Tambien la Lluvia, Moreno Films 2010)

> *[W]hile heritage can unite, it can also divide.*
>
> (Silverman and Ruggles 2009: 3)

The question of how government changes have affected archaeological practice and the use of the past in Bolivia is posed against the backdrop of the greater corpus of heritage research in Latin America. To say that the modern use of Latin America's ancient past is complex would be an understatement. The influences of colonialism, post-colonialism, Indigenousness, nationalism and globalisation have resulted in a Latin American archaeology that is far more than an academic inquiry into the past. Rather archaeology is used in Latin America to affirm personal and collective identity, to provide political and social validation and to serve as a lifeline out of crippling poverty.

Ownership and control of the physical manifestations of heritage are often sources of conflict between minority and majority groups within a state. With that in mind, it is worth noting that the modern Latin American states that contain the bulk of

the monumental archaeological cultural patrimony[1] of the continent also house its largest Indigenous populations[2]. The direct connection between Indigenous communities and the physical remains of the pre-Conquest past has been a source of much contention throughout the history of Latin American archaeology and nation building. The questionable 'right' of Latin America's mestizo majority to "define and manage the cultural heritage of the minority" (Silverman and Ruggles 2009:3) is of profound political and social importance.

In this chapter I will present some of the key aspects of archaeology and politics in Latin America that can be broadly classified as heritage studies. I will specifically dwell on issues that directly relate to the Bolivian case study as presented in subsequent chapters. I will discuss some of the ways that the past is used in modern Latin America, primarily through examples from within academic literature. Through this I will explore the complicated questions of who owns, controls and interprets the past in Latin America and who benefits financially and socially from Latin American archaeology. This will form a foundation for the assessment of changes in archaeology and the use of the past in Bolivia.

2.1 The Term *Indigenous*

The question 'Who is Indigenous?' is not about the person who answers, but about the person who asks.

(Haber 2007: 226)

Who is Indigenous? There is no definitive answer to that question and even asking it is problematic. Any working definition of *Indigenous* is deeply mired in identity issues and politics. Broadly speaking, modern Indigenousness is a response to a particular set of social and political realities that occurred following European colonisation. It is the by-product of the subjugation, discrimination and marginalisation experienced by otherwise unrelated cultural groups after their conquest. Rather than being an objective racial category, Indigenousness is *felt* by both those who identify as Indigenous and those who do not. The severe drawbacks and consequences of this post-Colonial 'definition' of sorts are outside of the scope of this project. However, the

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1 Cultural Patrimony (*patrimonio cultural)* is the term commonly used for cultural heritage in Latin America. It includes, but is not limited to, portable and non-portable objects, the historic environment, intangible heritage and everything to do with archaeology.
2 Bolivia, Guatemala, Perú, Ecuador and México. These states contain the heartlands of the Maya, Aztec, Teotihuacán, Olmec, Tiwanaku, Inka, Moche, and Nazca cultures, among others.

existence of a global concept of Indigenousness is an important political reality that has an effect on heritage management and archaeological practice.

That said, at both an international and an archaeological level, *Indigenous* is an extremely ambiguous term, at least when applied broadly. I tend to agree with Haber (2007: 226), that being Indigenous is self-determined. I am aware of the difficulties inherent in using this term and I have attempted to employ it with caution. I will use *Indigenous* to refer to people, groups and communities who self-identify as such with no emphasis on minority, social standing, race in an objective sense or geography. In the case of Bolivia, *Indigenous* will be employed to describe people who identify themselves as members of a named Native American group[3]. I will specify the particular group in question whenever a distinction is required. All other uses of term *Indigenous* in this text will have their sources clearly referenced.

I have chosen to capitalise *Indigenous* within this text. I believe that *Indigenous* describes a human ethnic or national grouping akin to terms such as Canadian, Navajo, Quechua or French, and thus should, by rights, be capitalised. However it can be argued that *Indigenous* is a superficial racial grouping, akin to white, black, mestizo or criollo[4], and thus should not be capitalised. I acknowledge that there is a significant amount of literature in support of capitalising Indigenous as a display of solidarity for the cause of Indigenous empowerment.

2.1.1 To be Indigenous in Bolivia

Perhaps a more appropriate question to ask is "who is Indigenous in Bolivia?" In most of Latin American society, especially in Bolivian society, there is little ambiguity about who is Indigenous and who is not. Bolivian Indigenousness is related to a professed belonging to a named pre-Conquest cultural group as well as any combination of various cultural traits such as use of an Indigenous language, possession of a non-Hispanic surname, having familial roots in particular communities and wearing Indigenous clothing. The societally-maintained definitions of those who are Indigenous and those who are not in most of Latin America will reduce the amount of term confusion in this text. Such use of the term *Indigenous* may not be appropriate in other geographic contexts.

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3   Primarily this will mean people who identify as either Aymara (over 2.0 million people) or Quechua (over 2.5 million people), but may include the approximately 500,000 Bolivians who belong to any one of 34 other government-recognised Indigenous groups and the small uncontacted Indigenous groups that exist in Bolivia's Amazonian lowlands.

4   I will employ these terms in the Bolivian sense. *Mestizo* refers to people of mixed European and Native American ancestry. Mestizos are the majority group in most of Latin America but are the largest minority group in Bolivia. *Criollo* refers to people who, although locally born, consider themselves to be of European ancestry. Historically, criollos comprised the highest political and social class. They are sometimes referred to as 'white'.

However, this is but the tip of the iceberg when it comes to Bolivian Indigenousness. While cultural traits, such as language and dress, provide outward markers of modern Bolivian Indigenousness, the historic use of 'Indigenous' and related terms, as well as how these identities have been maintained socially and legally is relevant to this discussion.

First it should be noted that there is a distinction between personal Indigenous identity and what Arnold and Yapita (2005) call "Intellectual Indigenism". Intellectual Indigenism in Bolivia is closely tied to radical movements and is the byproduct of various urban intellectual movements which began in the late 1960s and 1970s. This manifestation of Indigenism is Bolivia-specific as it is based on the particular political situation of the country and a recent pantheon of heroes, and may even be city specific within Bolivia (Arnold and Yapita 2005: 143). In contrast, what Arnold and Yapita term "Ayllu Indigenism" is grounded in deep memories of the pre-Conquest. It is focused on land ownership, preservation of leadership structures, and is less tied to either mestizo radical movements or trade unions than Intellectual Indigenism. These types of Indigenist sentiment are not mutually exclusive: a self-identifying Bolivian Indigenous person most likely draws upon elements of both to construct their personal identity. As will be seen in Chapter 2 and throughout this dissertation, both strains of Indigenism are clearly visible within Bolivian political, social, and archaeological discourse. Yet to fully disentangle the two at every instance is outside of the scope of this dissertation.

It is worth noting that both Intellectual Indigenism and Ayllu Indigenism are highland concepts, grounded in the recent Aymara and Quechua past and shared cultural experience. A distinction has been historically drawn between highland Indigenous cultures and the Indigenous cultures of the Amazonian lowlands. Relations between highland and Amazonian cultures in Bolivia have been complex since well before the Conquest. Historically, Amazonian Indigenous people have been viewed by Andean groups as being primitive or backwards, mirroring, in a sense, how highland Indigenous people have been viewed by the criollo elite. Amazonian Indigenous people represent a small minority of the Indigenous people of the country and their social and political objectives do not always line up with those of highland groups. Indeed, to use a single term, Indigenous, to describe both modern Andean and modern Amazonian cultures is a perfect example of the questionable homogenizing nature of the use of the word.

Indeed, at least historically, highland and Amazonian Indigenous people have been terminologically separate. During the Colonial period, highland Indigenous people in Bolivia were divided into two groups for administrative purposes: *originarios* who were considered to be tied to a particular land-holding and tax-paying ayllu, and *forasteros*, migrants who were not officially attached to a defined land-holding group (Klein 2003: 48). By the 17th century, these represented two distinct classes in Bolivia, with the originarios placed above the forasteros due to their access to land rights. Transitioning between these classes was possible, if difficult, and it is unclear how far these terms were used in the construction of separate identities during the period. Furthermore, other Indigenous social classes formed in the shadow of large criollo land holdings and the growth of urban centres. *Haciendados* were the servant workers on criollo haciendas, many of whom were originally forasteros or from forastero families who had no access to land. *Minganos* were free wage labourers who flocked to the rapidly developing mining centres near Potosí, most of whom were originarios that opted not to return to their communities following obligatory mine labor (Klein 2003: 50). These minganos were the foundation of the *cholo* class. While *cholo* was originally employed in Bolivia as a sort of synonym for mestizo, a person of mixed Amerindian and European ancestry, minganos that spoke Spanish and wore European dress were incorporated into this cholo class causing the term (and most other terms mentioned above) to lose its strict racial definition (ibid).

Today the terms *mingano*, *forastero* and *haciendado* have been almost entirely abandoned. *Originario*, however, has come to be synonymous with the term *Indigenous*. Although it is strongly tied to Indigenous people living in rural highland settings, urban and lowland dwellers who self-identify as Aymara or Quechua will often style themselves as an originario, often citing their ayllu affiliation and their ancestral village. In contrast, the term *Indigena* is closely tied with lowland Amazonian groups to the extent that some Bolivians separate Indigenous people into those two basic categories: originarios from highland cultures and Indigenas from lowland cultures. Historically this captures the historic legal difference between Andean originario communities and Amazonian Indigenous groups: originarios were perceived of as having both legal and ancestral claims to land and Amazonian Indigenous people were not. This situation was aided by the white (and even originario) perception of Amazonians as the archetype of "the savage". The use of the term *Indigena* by a Quechua or Aymara speaker in reference to an Amazonian "frequently implies a

pejorative sense of superiority on the part of the speaker" (Arnold and Yapita 2005: 145), and may be related to the pejorative use of the word *indio* to refer to Andean Indigenous people.

As will be discussed later in this dissertation, the term *Indigenous* is now starting to be applied universally to all Indigenous Bolivians, both those from the highlands and those from the Amazonian lowlands. This is, in part, due to the homogenizing, pre-Conquest utopian tone taken by the current Morales administration (see Chapters 3 and 5), and due to participation in a more global discourse on Indigenousness. However these historic distinctions are far from erased. Indigenous politics in Bolivia are almost universally Andean Indigenous politics and at the time of writing (late 2011), the Indigenous-led Bolivian government is facing significant criticism for its violent suppression of Amazonian Indigenous protest. Yet the mere emergence of a non-white Bolivian president and the perceived focus of his administration towards Indigenous modes of thought (see Chapter 3) may be having a strong effect on how Indigenous Bolivians are defined internally and externally. Historic identity and ethnicity boundaries may be shifting (or, indeed, may be being strengthened). Just how Bolivian Indigenousness will be defined, affirmed and maintained in coming years remains unclear.

2.2 Archaeology: A Public Good for all Publics?

[T]hat the past is a public heritage seems to be a value held primarily by members of dominant societies and rarely one held by indigenous peoples.

(Zimmerman 2009: 145)

If we are able to strengthen our identity as Mayas, with or without help from archaeology, then we will be rescuing and preserving the heritage that our ancestors have left to us, and, consequently, our historical past.

(Cojtí Ren 2009: 90)

Much of the backbone of modern archaeology is based on how the discipline serves the public. There is a strong notion that public and academic inquiry into the past satisfies an ill-defined set of deep personal needs. We archaeologists conceive of archaeology as being a public good for all publics and as being useful in a complex world. However, it is often unclear which 'public' is truly served by archaeology. In a region such as Latin America, where political conflict is both societal and ethnic, the

potential use of archaeology constantly changes. Historically speaking, the presumed purpose of archaeology itself has been one of the discipline's most variable aspects.

In this section I will comment on several ways that disciplinary archaeology has been used, ill-used or rejected as a source of public good in Latin America. These examples display how archaeology is integrated with a concept of social improvement in Latin America and are relevant to the Bolivian case study presented in later chapters.

2.2.1 Who Does Archaeology Help?

The idea that archaeology can improve the quality of life of Indigenous people and other communities is widespread. It is the "action archaeology", the "archaeology for living communities, not just in or near them" described by Sabloff (2008: 17). Sabloff cites Bolivian and Peruvian raised fields as a prime example. In the 1980s and early 1990s, experimental ancient-style raised fields were constructed in the Altiplano by archaeologists seeking to explore the possibility of using ancient technology to increase modern crop yields. A bumper crop of manioc and peanuts is commonly presented as solid proof that archaeology can help people in a tangible way.

The raised field projects were an amazing archaeological success: they revolutionised both our understanding of Andean agriculture, population density, and the entire field of experimental archaeology. However, at a community level, they were not necessarily socially relevant, at least in the long term. The raised fields experiments proved that an archaeological reconstruction of pre-Conquest technology was possible and that this method of agriculture could have sustained the civilisations of the Altiplano, but they did not permanently change the agricultural methods of the Aymara farmers involved in the projects. As Sabloff notes only in the caption of a photo (see Sabloff 2008: 22), the raised fields at the Bolivian community of Bermeo are now abandoned. By 1996, all of the Indigenous communities in Bolivia that had participated in the building of raised fields with the NGO Fundación Wiñaymarka had abandoned that mode of cultivation (Swartley 2002: 7). The Indigenous farmers who participated in the projects felt that the increases in crop yields were not worth the added hassle of setting up and maintaining the raised fields. They saw expanding the fields as technologically difficult and were unable to divert the needed man-hours away from their dependable 'traditional' fields. Can it really be said that archaeology has helped those Aymara communities, or did the Aymara communities that participated in the experiments help archaeology?

The underlying assumption behind the assertion that archaeology can help Indigenous communities in Latin America is that these communities actually want or need our help. There is an ingrained belief among Western archaeologists that an understanding of an archaeological view of the past is both useful to Indigenous people and welcomed by Indigenous communities; that forced colonisation by Europeans robbed Indigenous people of their past and that we archaeologists aid in decolonisation efforts by returning that past to them. Zimmerman (1989: 64) comments "[w]e [archaeologists] like to think that we are carrying out a noble task, preserving the Indian past". Benavides (2009a: 139) recounts the sincere belief among Ecuadorian archaeologists, most of whom identify as mestizo, that if everyone took their archaeological work more seriously much of the crimes perpetrated against Indigenous Ecuadorians in the Amazon would cease. He believes that this is a "racist and colonial legacy of our Western origins" (Benavides 2009a: 139). In other words, to believe that an archaeologist is needed to recover the Indigenous past is tantamount to saying that the Indigenous past is incomplete. It is also a denial of alternative forms of history and remembrance that may exist within Indigenous culture and a placement of archaeological investigations above other experiences of the past.

Indeed, this mode of thinking may give rise to a 'false Indigenousness' that the Indigenous group does not claim. For example, Swartly's critique of the previously mentioned raised field projects in Bolivia and Perú rests on how non-Indigenous the raised field technology really was (Swartley 2008). To the Western press reporting on the projects, the fields were Indigenous because they represented pre-Conquest technology, not because they were associated with modern Indigenous communities. That the Indigenous communities ultimately abandoned these fields may be because they did not represent an internal conception of modern Indigenous Andean identity.

The disconnect between what archaeologists see as their role in 'helping' Indigenous people and what Indigenous people think that Western archaeology can be effectively used for is well presented by Iyaxel Ixkan Anastasia Cojtí Ren (2010), a trained archaeologist who self-identifies as Maya. She sees no need to bridge the gap between archaeologists and Indigenous groups and proposes a model where Indigenous inquiry into the past and archaeological inquiry into the past are separated: their outputs, not their processes, compared. She sees Western archaeology as useful in educating a non-Indigenous public about the value of Indigenous culture, challenging stereotypes and racism from within.

2.2.2 Non-Archaeological Past-Based Identity

Why do archaeologists study the past? Are they trying to disprove our religion?

(Chick Hale, a Potawatomi, from Zimmerman 2009: 148)

"[T]rue" archaeological heritages will only lead us into greater webs of domination and historical misrepresentations.

(Benavides 2009b: 165)

In Latin America, what archaeologists believe to be truth supported by testable evidence and what Indigenous communities know to be true often conflict. The separation between archaeological reality and Indigenous reality can range from minor disagreement over the practical use of an artefact to a complete denial of ancestry. The idea of a non-archaeologically sanctioned yet still past-based Indigenous identity is an important one. The existence of a non-archaeological pre-Conquest past poses a challenge to the local purpose of archaeology and the community reception of archaeological information. That valid history can be reconstructed outside of the traditional confines of Western empirical research is one of the most heated sources of conflict between Indigenous people and the archaeological establishment. The perception of Western archaeologists as tools of the government's opposition to Indigenous oral history and social memory reverberates throughout Latin America.

Indigenousness Without Archaeology: Ecuador

Founded in 1986, *La Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador* (CONAIE) is one of the most successful Latin American Indigenous rights organisations to come out of the Indigenous discourses of the 1970s and 1980s. CONAIE claims to represent the interests of all of Ecuador's diverse Indigenous groups and, through a series of popular uprisings, has ousted several Ecuadorian presidents and changed the tone of Ecuador's political mainstream. However, Benavides (2009a: 135) notes that, despite CONAIE's "successful reclaiming of its past and political present", the organisation rarely engages in any sort of archaeological discourse and has not set forth a particular heritage agenda. The organisation's claims of Ecuadorian Indigenous originality are not accompanied by claims to archaeological sites or objects. That is not to say that Ecuadorian Indigenous identity lacks a sense of past connection; rather, as Benavides notes, these "original descent communities may be implementing

historical plans different from our anthropological/archaeological ones" (Benavides 2009a: 136).

What does this mean? While I was conducting research in Ecuador in mid-2007, several government archaeologists I spoke with believed that most Indigenous Ecuadorians did not see themselves as connected to ancient cultures: they insisted that even the Quichua[5] speakers in the country imagined that they 'popped into existence' during the Conquest. The archaeologists expressed frustration at trying to preserve and study a past that Indigenous Ecuadorians did not seem to want. The denial of a validating cultural connection to the past on the part of a marginalised social group that is actively seeking greater political power seems counterintuitive, yet this is a clear example of an Indigenous rejection of a Western archaeological past. The act of collective rejection is, itself, a form of resistance to non-Indigenous historical narratives.

Benavides made observations similar to my own in Ecuador. Basing his argument on an in-depth ethnographic study, he portrays CONAIE as a group that actively and collectively claims a utopian version of the Inka as their direct ancestors. He notes that CONAIE represents *all* Ecuadorian Indigenous people with prominent participation from the Cañari, Salacas and Saraguros: groups who, according to archaeological evidence and Conquest-era accounts, actively resisted and were slaughtered by the invading Inka (Benavides 2009b: 160–161). Benavides believes that this alternative Ecuadorian past represents "the ambiguous nature of archaeological heritage". However, I believe that this example highlights the separateness and the compartmentalisability of archaeological heritage. Among Indigenous groups in Latin America, archaeological history is not the only history and archaeological heritage is not the only heritage.

In Ecuador, the idea of a shared 'Inka-ness' is an important component of Indigenous resistance to the government. The Republican governments of Ecuador, and the Spanish Colonials before them, used the history of the Inka as violent invaders to break apart Indigenous communities, shift allegiances away from traditional leaders and to promote a Hispanic cultural ideal. To recast the Inka as utopian and pan-Indigenous allows CONAIE to fight very modern and very real forms of oppression that exist in the recent memories of Indigenous Ecuadorians.

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5   Also *Kichwa*. This is the northern Quechuan language spoken in Ecuador.

A Maya Past Without Ancient Maya Ancestors

Does an Indigenous group with a complete understanding of their own past, as defined by their cultural institutions of history and memory, need archaeology? Breglia (2009: 61) presents another Latin American example of Indigenous opposition to an archaeological heritage. Her ethnographic work in the Maya-speaking community of Kochol in Yucatán documented that community's complete rejection of origins in the nearby archaeological site of Chuchucmil. Furthermore, she observed that community participation in mainstream archaeological work only confirmed the residents' belief that they were not the descendants of the ancient Maya. The particulars of artefacts, architecture and burials at the site were interpreted by the local community as proof the site was occupied by one of the other 'races' of Maya folklore who are seen as hunchbacks and dwarves. Rodriguez (2006: 165) calls this attribution a "well documented narrative" among Maya-speaking communities that has existed for over a century at least, citing Tozzer's 1907 documentation of the concept.

This narrative is not part of archaeological reality. Breglia recounts that she was "privy to more than one pedagogic intervention on the part of archaeologists aimed towards educating the people of Kochol about their history, their heritage, and the great works and civilization of their ancestors, the ancient Maya" (Breglia 2009: 64). Yet, Cojtí Ren, who self-identifies as Maya, notes that knowledge of ancient sites and culture "already exist[s] in present Mayan communities" (Cojtí Ren 2010: 91). Despite there being a complete understanding of the site of Chuchucmil within the local community, and despite the residents of Kochol openly sharing this history and its significance to their own modern identity, the archaeologists simply could not accept that the people of Kochol did not need or want archaeological *truth*. The desire to educate the residents of Kochol about their *real* past was not malicious; indeed, through such discussions, the archaeologists revealed their own passions for the ancient culture that they studied. Yet these acts were paternalistic. The archaeologists, without noticing it, openly rejected oral history and an Indigenous belief system as baseless superstitions that could and should be educated away.

2.3 Archaeology and Poverty

It would not be meaningful to know our past, which was glorious and full of knowledge and wealth, if our current conditions remained precarious and deficient.

(Cojtí Ren 2010: 89–90).

Moving on from disciplinary archaeology and public relevance, in this section I will discuss poverty in Latin America as it relates to archaeology and use of the past. Not unrelated to the idea that archaeology can improve lives is the assertion that archaeology or the products of archaeology can alleviate poverty. Culture is certainly marketable and in much of Latin America it is the only thing that communities have to sell. The spectre of cultural tourism looms large in Latin America and an ever-increasing portion of these countries' economies depends on tourist income. Archaeological sites, as points of tourist interest, are at the centre of competing local concerns. The question of "who owns the past?" is all the more pressing when control over the past is perceived as the only way out of poverty.

However, tourism is not the only point where archaeology and poverty meet. Archaeology, a field that requires years of specialised training and higher education, is not usually performed by the poor. The economic educational barrier that keeps people in poverty also keeps them out of the archaeological mainstream. Indeed, the economic divide between archaeologists and the poor communities that they work in can, at times, greatly increase tensions and fuel negative rumours and perceptions. Thus the changing relationship between archaeology and various aspects of poverty in Latin America is important to consider.

2.3.1 Tourism: Sustainable or Unsustainable? Free or Fair?

Tourism is a multi-billion dollar industry that has become vital to the economic wellbeing of many modern states. The protection and promotion of tourism is seen as a governmental duty that is reflected in legislation, regulation and other state-level activities. Touristic appeal is often focused on the cultural and archaeological assets of a country and state-level interest in tourism can have an effect on archaeology. Archaeology itself has become intimately tied to international tourism. Tourist interest in archaeological sites directly and indirectly inspires funding for archaeology. Through tourism, the public admires our work and our profession is validated and given prestige. Archaeological tourism represents the most direct means through which the

public can be educated about the past and is the primary format for the public consumption of archaeological interpretation.

Indigenous groups have traditionally seen tourism as a mixed bag. Foreign interest in Indigenous ways of life is often denounced as being a socially acceptable form of exoticism that maintains a post-Colonial Western/non-Western divide. Conversely, the influx of tourists to Indigenous areas is also accused of being the worst of global homogenisation: it threatens cultural diversity by forcing changes in traditional life-ways and conformity to Western norms. Yet the popular concepts of sustainable tourism and eco-tourism have been put forth in recent years as potential saviours for poor Indigenous communities. In situations where cultural collateral is the only marketable good that an Indigenous group has, the desire to increase tourism based on that culture is often great.

When attempting to gauge the success of archaeological tourism in Latin America, especially in Indigenous communities, one comes face to face with the question of sustainability. Tourists do not arrive simply because they are wanted, and the infrastructural investment needed to even allow for the possibility of tourism to a region may be well beyond the means of an Indigenous community. Indigenous groups are often at the mercy of state-level tourism funding initiatives that may not serve community-level needs. While non-governmental organisations that focus on supporting Indigenous tourism abound, it is the rare Indigenous community that truly achieves financial stability through tourism. Is archaeological tourism truly sustainable at a community level or are we dealing with a 'tourism gold rush' mentality? Is sustainable tourism for Indigenous communities in Latin America a false hope?

Related to the topic of sustainability is the question of whether tourism can be fair. The seeming dichotomy between free (as in free-market) tourism and fair tourism again forces one to ask if tourism provides realistic benefits to poor Latin American communities. Tourism revenue naturally comes to those who are able to invest in related businesses. Individuals and corporations that are wealthy enough to make larger capital investments and are experienced enough to invest wisely are likely to benefit most from the local tourism industry. This can be problematic and may lead to a situation where local communities only see a modest share of tourism revenue simply because they do not have access to the necessary investment capital. In the case of archaeological tourism, the added irony of there being a sense of Indigenous 'ownership' or 'natural inheritance' of archaeological sites tends to garner support for

those who see a lack of Indigenous profit from tourism as fundamentally unfair. That said, efforts to promote 'fairness' over 'freeness' in Latin American tourism have had limited success.

Archaeological Tourism: Sustainability and Fairness in Practice

In Latin America there is no lack of examples of poor communities rallying around archaeological tourism. For example, while I was conducting fieldwork in Bolivia in 2004 and 2005, various members of the Tiwanaku[6] community reported that nearby villages were jealous of the tourism earnings of the Tiwanaku village. This sentiment was again seen when some of my colleagues, who wished to excavate near other villages, were forced to severely lower expectations as community members expressed hope that the archaeologists would 'find another Tiwanaku'. The archaeologists felt that the pressure to find tourism-worthy archaeological remains was unreasonably high.

Yet when assessed through the lens of permanent community poverty relief through sustainable tourism, Tiwanaku may not be what the other communities imagine. Through her extensive anthropological work at that village, Sammells (2009) found that tourism does not provide a full-time living for the residents of Tiwanaku and that the community was forced to rely on mixed income sources. It is in this inherent touristic fickleness that Sammells sees the roots of a local form of fair trade tourism that has developed at the site. At Tiwanaku, "no one person was allowed to monopolize this resource" and "those who made more money than they could productively reinvest into tourism-related business invested it elsewhere" because there were community enforced limits on individual tourism investment (Sammells 2009: 59). In other words, community restrictions on tourism-related activities, such as limitations on the number of crafts stalls that a single family could operate near the site, forced those who profited the most from tourism at any one time to reinvest their earnings into another activity (agriculture, transportation, education etc), allowing other community members to benefit from tourism revenue.

Archaeological tourism in Latin America is rarely so fair. At the popular Maya sites in México, economic benefits have been minimal for local communities and ownership of hotels and other businesses is "confined to large-scale Mexican chains and foreign investors" (Rodriguez 2006: 164). At major sites such as Chichén Itzá,

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6   Tiwanaku is the name of a major archaeological site and a nearby modern Aymara village in Bolivia. It will be discussed at length in Chapter 3.

ethnically Maya locals are lucky to gain employment performing the lowest level of service work, and the Maya see little of the revenue from site activities reinvested into their communities. The situation in the Maya region casts a dark shadow over hopes of tourism revenue in the rest of Latin America. For example, while there is general excitement among the Aymara of Bolivia's Copacabana Peninsula about the prospect of attracting tourists through archaeology, Chávez notes that people in the community are "becoming aware of the strong possibility that the ruling elite from La Paz (including the national and international hotel companies, private tourist and travel agencies) could co-opt their past for profit that could exclude the community" (Chávez 2008: 270). Sustainable archaeological tourism that primarily benefits poor Latin American communities currently suffers from a lack of clearly successful projects.

The concern of poor communities over the co-option of archaeological sites by wealthy investors or by the government, and over the loss of potential revenue streams often leads to tense situations. A particularly strong example of the anger caused by perceived unfairness in tourism development is documented by Silverman (2009: 96) at the now-famous site of Sipán, Perú. She records that by September of 2001 residents of the village of Sipán were so dissatisfied with the course of tourism in the area that they blocked tourist access to the archaeological site, a form of protest which will be discussed in the next section. Residents were protesting the government's inaction in response to calls for sewers, electricity and running water. The residents of Sipán also condemned the construction of the massive government-sponsored site museum for Sipán in the town of Lambayeque rather than at the site itself. The choice of Lambayeque was due, in part, to the very lack of infrastructure that the residents of Sipán were angry about. As it is common for tourists to visit the museum and not the site itself, the residents of Sipán felt that they had been twice robbed: first by the government interfering with the lucrative local activity of archaeological looting, and second through unfulfilled promises of increases in quality of life from tourism revenue. The Peruvian government has recently made improvements to Sipán, mostly in response to tourists' complaints over the crippling poverty that surrounds the archaeological site (Silverman 2009).

Figure 2.1   *Realistically, foreign interest in staying at Sipán (above, photo by Fernandez, 2007) vs. Lambayeque (below, photo by Firacso, 2006) would be limited even if the Sipán museum had been built at the site*

Sipán illustrates one of the troubling realities of archaeological tourism as a means to alleviate Latin American poverty: tourists experience poverty as unsettling. Even the most spectacular of archaeological sites or museums will not convince most tourists to remain in a poverty stricken village any longer than they must. It is

pragmatic to argue that tourists were not going to stay in Sipán anyway and by building the museum in Lambayeque, a city that tourists *would* spend time in, tourism revenues could be increased for the whole province. However *fair* it would be to build the museum at Sipán, it most likely would not be *sustainable*.

Communities in Bolivia also experience the drawbacks of tourists' unease at the sight of poverty. Numerous sources have noted that tourists see visiting Tiwanaku as a daytrip. Organised tours bring tourists to the site in either the morning or afternoon and take them back to La Paz after a couple of hours. Community members complain that tourists never stay the night and rarely even eat in the village. The hotels in town are often completely empty (Sammells 2009: 78). Locals claim that the paving of the Pan-American Highway, which passes by the site, has made tourism less profitable (Sammells 2009: 81): they believe that when it was harder to *get* to Tiwanaku, the tourists that visited were forced to stay for a while and spend more of their money locally. It is likely that the day-trip mentality of tourists to Tiwanaku is a product of discomfort at perceived poverty rather than the result of road improvements.

During the course of her extensive research at the village of Tiwanaku, Sammells uncovered an interesting correlation between what tourists perceive as poverty and what locals see as an indication of sound building practice or even outward display of wealth (Sammells 2009: 66). The tourists she interviewed saw Indigenous clothing, particularly on women, as a clear indicator of poverty. Residents of Tiwanaku, knowing that a traditional woman's outfit costs several hundred US dollars, wore this *cholita* style clothing to signal their financial security. The residents of Tiwanaku considered women's Western clothing to be an indicator of poverty, as it is sold second- or third-hand for pennies.

Western tourists and rural or Indigenous communities in Latin America may not be able to understand each other. How can a community truly eliminate the signs of poverty that make Western tourists uncomfortable, especially when some of those signs of poverty are, culturally, signs of success? How can locals objectively assess the touristic potential of an area? Will tourism to sites such as Tiwanaku ever be anything more than "peripheral" (Sammells 2009: 79)? These questions are at the heart of challenges to the idea of sustainable archaeological tourism in Latin America.

2.3.2 Tourism and Protest

The cultural components of the touristic offerings of many Latin American states depend on Indigenous people. The potential of having influence over a large sector of a

state's economy is not lost on Indigenous groups. Globally, but in Latin America in particular, Indigenous groups have turned to disruptions to tourism as a form of protest. For an Indigenous group to disrupt cultural or archaeological tourism is a double coup: the government feels the pressure of revenue loss and the Indigenous group is able to publicly claim archaeological sites.

There are a number of recent examples of this particular form of protest. In the Mexican state of Chiapas, archaeological sites are treated almost as bartering chips by the forces at play in the region. In 2006, Subcomandante Marcos, along with roughly 5,000 Zapatista supporters from nearby Indigenous communities, symbolically 'captured' the popular ruins of Palenque. Marcos commented that the tourists at Palenque that day "realized, perhaps with surprise, that they came to see the ruins and instead found people that live, walk, [and] talk" (Villafuerte 2006). Indigenous people from around Palenque sell protest souvenirs to tourists: Zapatista dolls made by Maya artisans are popular among visitors and are often sold at the archaeological site itself.

Figure 2.2   *A Maya woman sells Zapatista dolls to tourists near the archaeological site of Palenqué (photo by Lewicki, 2006)*

A more direct example of Indigenous archaeological protest in Chiapas took place in 2008. For almost a month several hundred non-Zapatista Tzeltal and Tzotil Maya blocked the entrance to Chinkultic, a mid-sized Classic Maya site. The villagers

were protesting both a lack of government investment in the area and what they considered to be an excessively high entrance fee to the site. They felt that both of these factors discouraged tourism. During their occupation of the site, the Tzeltal and Tzotil charged visitors 15 pesos less than the regular price for entry, saying they would use the money collected to make infrastructure improvements. Although administrative workers were driven from the site with sticks, archaeologists were allowed to keep working. Eventually the site was raided by a 300-person police force. Six protesters were killed and ten others sustained bullet wounds in the melee (de la Cruz 2008). At Chinkultic, the Indigenous idea of control over the site involved the continued presence of tourists and archaeologists and the appearance of responsibility. The severity of the Mexican government's response to this protest is an indicator of how complex the struggle for control over archaeological resources is in Latin America.

Other examples of protest in the form of tourism disruption abound. In June of 2002, at the height of the tourist season, veterans of Guatemala's civil war blockaded the site of Tikal. Around 70 tourists who were in Tikal when the entrance was blocked were kept in the site for a number of days and the international press reported on the incident as a potential hostage situation. The protestors, all of whom were Indigenous people, poor campiseños[7], or both, were former paramilitary 'civilian' fighters who, because of their civilian status, were not entitled to a government pension.

In Perú, Machu Picchu is a constant site of community or Indigenous protest through the disruption of tourism. In 2000, the Intihuatana or 'hitching post for the sun' was damaged during the filming of a beer commercial. The incident inspired hundreds of local protestors to demonstrate, calling for paved roads and agricultural improvements to the region. The protestors blockaded Machu Picchu's access roads for days and even successfully blocked the railway line that feeds tourists to the site. The Machu Picchu tourist train line was shut down several times again in 2008, including once by Indigenous farmers protesting free-trade policies with the United States. Indeed, successfully preventing tourists from reaching Machu Picchu has come to be seen as the hallmark of a successful Peruvian protest of any kind.

In Bolivia, the specific use of disruption of tourism as a form of Indigenous protest is best illustrated by the events surrounding the 2004 June solstice, which will be discussed at length in Chapter 7.

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7   *Campiseño* is a ubiquitous term in Latin America and is usually translated as *peasant*. However, the term lacks the feudal, medieval feel of the English term. Perhaps *rural countryman* is a better translation.

2.3.3 Poverty and Education Barriers

We made this land fruitful with our labour […] and we will not let the archaeologists close the land […] because for us it is the patrimony of our children.

Resident of Kochol, Guatemala (Rodriguez 2006: 167)

In this subsection I will discuss one of the enduring ways in which poverty is maintained in Latin America: the educational divide between the rich and the poor. This divide contributes to the interactions between archaeology and poverty in two ways. First, the numerous economic and social barriers that prevent members of poor communities from gaining higher education also prevent them from becoming archaeologists. Second, the lack of primary and secondary education in poor and remote communities fuels a general distrust in archaeologists and their motivations.

An Archaeologist by Education

Within the discipline of archaeology, it is almost universally agreed upon that the skill set that makes an archaeologist professional is acquired through a combination of on-site training and university-level higher education. The professionalisation of the discipline is considered to be the key indicator of scientific modernity. Conceptually speaking, archaeological education separates the *real* archaeologists from everyone else, and practically speaking, it provides the minimum required criterion for the issuing of excavation permits by governments and other regulatory bodies.

In many Latin American countries, poverty and the sad state of primary and secondary education effectively prevent poor and Indigenous students from attending University. These same students are effectively prevented from becoming archaeologists. In a moving account of her own difficulties in receiving higher education, Cojtí Ren presents a situation where archaeology is a way in which race-based social classes are affirmed and maintained. She believes that the "lack of knowledge and participation of Indigenous people in archaeology" in Guatemala "is institutionalized by the government" (Cojtí Ren 2010: 89). She notes that barriers such as higher degrees and government permissions keep Indigenous Guatemalans, most of whom never receive the primary or secondary education needed to be offered a university place, from being anything more than manual labourers on archaeological projects.

Even those poor or Indigenous people who are able to access tertiary education may still avoid archaeology as a career path for complex racial and societal reasons. Antonio Cuxil, another Maya heritage professional, believes that even the Indigenous people who do make it to universities in Guatemala are discouraged from becoming archaeologists by severe societal racism (Cuxil 2010: 96). He believes that Maya who study ancient cultures draw attention to their own 'Maya-ness' in a setting where they may not wish for others to notice their race. Both Cojtí Ren and Cuxil believe that poverty keeps Indigenous people from archaeology.

Effectively, the educational barriers that are inherent in Latin American society serve to drive a wedge between archaeologists and Indigenous or poor communities. There are nearly no modern circumstances where someone without at least the lowest level of professional tertiary education will be accepted as a true archaeologist. This results in a situation where many Indigenous people see serious engagement with the past in a non-archaeological manner as an alternative to archaeology.

Stealing the Land and Treasure

Poverty in Latin America is often blamed on lack of investment in education, on government inaction and, especially in Indigenous communities, on government malice. That archaeologists are often government employees bearing government issued permits can be a source of legitimate local fears. Chávez recounts that Indigenous communities near Yaya-mama culture archaeological sites on Bolivia's Copacabana Peninsula viewed archaeological excavation as a means through which the government would eventually seize their land (Chávez 2008: 259). This was coupled with an educational problem: a local rumour that the project was extracting gold flakes from the mica-tempered pottery found in the region, essentially stealing this source of income out from under the community[8].

Fears of land confiscation and suspicions that archaeologists have a financial stake in antiquities sales are neither confined to Bolivia nor found only within Indigenous communities. Cavalcante Gomes (2006: 152) recorded an account of such fears among the Paraúa of Brazil, who do not identify as Indigenous. A misunderstanding of the goals of her work and the community's fears about archaeologists having ulterior motives led to Cavalcante Gomes' physical removal from the site by the Brazilian Institute of the Environment after locals accused her of biopiracy. Both Chávez and Cavalcante Gomes emphasise the role of education efforts

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8   I encountered this same rumour while working in highland Ecuador.

in quelling local fears. However, the existence of these suspicions highlights the impact of poverty on attitudes toward archaeological work.

A particularly strong example of the combination of distrust in the government and a lack of education leading to extreme conflict between a poor community and archaeologists is an incident that occurred at the previously mentioned Maya-speaking community of Kochol. Community members barred access to the archaeological site following a proposal made by archaeologists that a museum be built on communally held land (Rodriguez 2006: 165). The archaeologists thought that a museum would be a source of tourism profit for Kochol: that through it the community could both embrace its ancient heritage and make money.

Community members expressed fears that fencing off the area would compromise communal land rights and access. When asked what would happen if the community turned the proposal down, an archaeologist replied that the government would come one day and open a museum and "you guys [the locals] will not have control over the land" (Rodriguez 2006: 165). During this meeting, archaeologists were speaking in English, which was then translated to Spanish and conveyed to the people of Kochol. The people of Kochol discussed matters in a Maya dialect and relayed their concerns in Spanish, which was then translated into English. In this case fundamental mistrust mixed with genuine misunderstanding.

The impression that the archaeologists were trying to restrict use of communal land and the misunderstood threat of government intervention infuriated the community, leading to various forms of local action. One community member, who noted his own lack of employment or education, was quoted as saying "[w]e made this land fruitful with our labour[…] and we will not let the archaeologists close the land[…] because for us it is the patrimony of our children" (Rodriguez 2006: 167). At Kochol heritage was in land use and access, not in archaeological remains. This may be obvious to a subsistence farmer but less so to an archaeologist.

Cojtí Ren notes that economic challenges force Indigenous Guatemalans to focus on survival and thus they have little interest in participating in archaeology (Cojtí Ren 2010: 89). In light of this reality, it is no wonder that the non-financial motivations of Western archaeology are not well understood in poor Latin American communities. Not only do communities feel that they may lose their only source of income (land), but the introduction of the idea of archaeology makes them feel that they risk losing a type of income that they did not know they had.

2.3.4 Section Summary

Archaeology is not usually directly associated with Latin American poverty. However, the idea that aspects of archaeology can relieve poverty, especially within Indigenous communities, makes poverty a vital subject of consideration when assessing the changing use of archaeology and the changing conceptions of the past.

Perhaps the most important sphere in which archaeology and poverty interact in Latin America is that of cultural tourism. Prefaced by adjectives like 'sustainable' and 'fair' and prefixes like 'eco-' and 'ethno-', tourism is constantly discussed as a means through which Indigenous or poor communities can escape poverty. The marketing of archaeological heritage is a major component of this type of tourism. Yet there is an inherent flaw in tourism aimed at poverty relief: tourists do not like to see poverty. In most situations the potential for archaeological tourism to increase quality of life is minimal. Tourists are hard to attract, especially in situations where they will come face to face with what they see as poverty. Poor communities are forced to face a situation where their genuine desire for tourism does not produce results. Many such communities do not understand exactly why their efforts at promoting tourism have failed. In most cases, attempts at small-scale archaeological tourism will remain on the periphery of Latin American tourism efforts.

That said, the visibility afforded by disruptions to less peripheral archaeological tourism is a method of poor and Indigenous protest in Latin America. By blocking access to the archaeological sites that are government-run money-makers, Indigenous groups are able both to call attention to their causes through the real loss of government revenue, and to assert a claim to the archaeological site. It is this sort of assertion of ownership and thus legitimacy that will be discussed in the next section.

2.4 Archaeology and Legitimacy

We [archaeologists] like to think that we are carrying out a noble task, preserving the Indian past.

(Zimmerman 1989: 64)

In this section I will present several ways in which archaeology has been used to lend political and social legitimacy to both political states and Indigenous nations in Latin America. It is in this section that the related yet separate concepts of nationalistic archaeology and Indigenous archaeology emerge as potential areas where the influence of governmental changes on archaeological practice and public perceptions of heritage

can be observed. Through relevant Latin American examples, this section will define the key aspects of Indigenous and nationalistic archaeology as they have been discussed archaeologically. It will also describe the various ways that states, nations, Indigenous groups and communities have sought legitimacy through the use of tangible and intangible aspects of the ancient past.

2.4.1 Archaeology and the State in Latin America

In modern Bolivia and throughout Latin America the ancient past forms an important component of state and national identity and, to that end, is politicised and political. In this section I will provide a short summary of the manifestations of nationalism and of state legitimacy-seeking, both from within disciplinary archaeology and in other interactions with the past. Discussions of the politicisation of the results of archaeological inquiry and of archaeology itself are always controversial and an understanding of both nationalistic archaeology and archaeological nationalism is needed to inform further commentary on the changes to Bolivian archaeological practice and interaction with the past over time.

Terminology

That archaeology can be used to legitimise governments, nations, states and nation-states[9] is well documented in archaeological literature. In this study a clear distinction will be made between states and nations. While the former is a physical reality, the bordered territory on a political map that is controlled by one government[10], the later is more of an identity-based concept centred on an ideology of shared cultural characteristics and history[11]. Nationalism, then, is both the application and the manifestation of this shared national ideology and is distinct from patriotism, a term which is associated with feelings of fidelity to a state.

The idea of nationalistic archaeology was brought in to sharp focus by Bruce Trigger who recognised that "the nature of archaeological research is shaped to a significant degree by the roles that particular nation states play, economically,

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9   A *nation-state* exists when the geographic boundaries of an ethnic population and a political state coincide. Nation-statehood is relatively rare in the modern world and the only American country that can safely be called a nation-state is Paraguay where roughly 95% of the population identifies as mestizo and 90% of the population retains the Paragueño identity marker of understanding the Guaraní language.

10   I employ a definition of *state* proposed by Max Weber: a state is a type of political organisation that holds a monopoly over legitimate use of physical force within a given territory. It is an "impersonal institution which has the authority to make laws and is able to maintain organizational and policy-making powers" (Simpson 2008: 54).

11   I use *nation* as it appears in the Oxford English Dictionary: "A large aggregate of communities and individuals united by factors such as common descent, language, culture, history, or occupation of the same territory, so as to form a distinct people". Multiple nations can exist in one state, nations can transcend state boundaries and individuals can belong to multiple nations.

politically, and culturally, as interdependent parts of the modern world-system" (Trigger 1984: 356). Trigger believed that observable regional variation in archaeological inquiry and tradition is influenced by the geopolitical status of the modern nation-state, and not by academic isolation as others had previously postulated. In the course of arguing that differing archaeological traditions do not represent infantile forms of a single mature archaeology, Trigger made the case for the presence of three basic archaeological traditions: nationalist, colonialist and imperialist.

While citing Trigger profusely, other authors have taken issue with the seeming rigidity of Trigger's three-part division of our discipline. In modern discussions of nationalistic archaeology, a sharp distinction must be made between archaeology that is simply sponsored by a governmental authority (state archaeology) and archaeology that is specifically performed to validate the specific agenda of a nation or government through assertions of ethnic continuity, assertions of geographic validity, or affirmation of authority structures (nationalistic archaeology). Furthermore, nationalistic archaeology, which is traditionally defined as being performed by trained archaeologists, must be sharply distinguished from non-professional nationalistic use of archaeological resources and conclusions (archaeological nationalism). This distinction will be maintained throughout this text.

Nationalistic Archaeology in Latin America

Numerous commentators have asserted that research into actual nationalistic archaeology (to reiterate, archaeology performed for nationalistic purposes or interpreted in a nationalistic manner by trained archaeologists) is Euro-centric. Indeed, this claim can be and has been levied against most academic inquiry into nationalism despite the revolutionary origin of most Latin American states. Perhaps the most obvious and overt example of nationalistic archaeology comes from Bolivia. The "Nationalist Archaeology"[12] scheme of Carlos Ponce Sanginés will be discussed at length in subsequent chapters. While other examples of nationalistic archaeology in Latin America are less all-encompassing than post-1952 Bolivia, several are worth noting.

Curtoni and Politis (2006: 102) have drawn attention to cases where Colombian archaeologists concluded that the advanced civilisations that once existed within the territory of the state were catastrophically wiped out, despite there being almost no

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12   Archaeologist Carlos Ponce Sanginés used the term *Arqueología Nacionalista* to describe his post 1953 state-sponsored archaeological programme. *Nationalist Archaeology* will only be used to describe this specific Bolivian programme and the time period that this programme was in place.

evidence for such an event. This highly political conclusion allowed for living Indigenous people, conceived of as historic latecomers, to be eliminated as claimants to those civilisations and to Colombia itself, thereby allowing the Colombian government to symbolically inherit the land.

Related to this practice is a tendency among Colombian archaeologists and scholars to portray the Muisca as "primordially Colombian" (Gnecco 2008: 1105). Gnecco and others see this as a clear signal on the part of the archaeologists that the modern Colombian state, and Colombian-ness itself, can and should be linked with this impressive pre-Conquest civilisation. Modern Indigenous groups do not factor into the equation. This is the 'Gaul is France' assertion: a form of nationalistic archaeology that sees archaeologists directly projecting a present state onto a past civilisation. This sort of conflation of past and present is seen throughout Latin American nation building, for example in Argentina where the pre-Conquest Patagonian cultures have been referred to academically as "the first Argentineans" (Kohl 1998: 235).

In Uruguay, archaeologists and other scholars publically dismissed the pre-Conquest cultures of the country as primitive savages, in contrast with more distant monumental cultures such as the Inka. Verdesio (2008: 1118) believes that this was an overtly political move on the scholars' part: calling the Indigenous people of Uruguay's past 'primitive' validated poor treatment of modern Indigenous people on the part of the state. Also, as in Colombia, this scholarly casting of original Indigenous people as uncivilised confirmed the legitimacy of the non-Indigenous state as the most valid claimant to the territory.

Despite these examples, nationalistic archaeology is considered by most archaeologists to be relatively rare and difficult to sustain within the modern global discipline of archaeology. As a feature of the professionalised nature of archaeology, scholars whose research and conclusions are based on unsupportable political beliefs are quickly discredited internationally, even if they are taken seriously at a national level. For true nationalistic archaeology to exist on a large scale in modern Latin America, the term *archaeology* must be redefined to include so-called *alternative archaeologies*. However, as will be discussed in the next section, the widespread phenomenon of archaeological nationalism clearly exists in modern Latin America and is one of the primary ways that the past is used publically and politically.

Archaeological Nationalism in Latin America

Archaeological nationalism is the use of the tangible and intangible aspects of the ancient past to support the goals of a nation or state. It is distinguished from *nationalistic archaeology* by the non- or semi-professional status of its practitioners. In other words *archaeological nationalism* does not consist of the academic output of trained archaeologists, but rather the interpretation of that work (as well as other sources of information about the past) by others. While this distinction may seem like splitting hairs, archaeological nationalism goes unchecked by the archaeological mainstream and tends to have a life of its own. The list of examples of archaeological nationalism in Latin America is endless; the few examples discussed here represent the basic form that Latin American archaeological nationalism tends to take.

Perhaps the most well known example of archaeological nationalism in Latin America comes from post-revolutionary México. There, an idealised version of the Aztec has come to be seen as the common ancestor of an equally idealised Mexican citizen (Trigger 1984: 359). Affecting Aztec-ness effectively creates a permanent barrier between the dominant mestizo 'Aztec' Mexicans and the clearly non-Aztec Indigenous Mexicans[13], such as the modern Maya, and allows this dominant mestizo cultural group to claim ancient legitimacy.

The Aztec ideal in México is reinforced through the use of national symbols inspired by modern notions of the pre-Conquest past. For example, the national coat of arms that features prominently on the country's flag is based on a pictogram found in the pages of several Conquest-era Aztec codices. It portrays a golden eagle devouring a snake while perched atop a prickly pear cactus and is thought to represent the foundation myth of the Aztec city of Tenochtitlan and, by extension, the foundation of the Mexican state.

Another strong example of archaeological nationalism is Inti Raymi, a solstice ceremony that takes place at the Sacsayhuamán near Cuzco, Perú. Originally conceived of as a tourist pageant in the 1940s, this popular event follows a government-approved script based on the Conquest-era writings, rather than any conception of the solstice from within contemporary Indigenous culture, making it a historical reconstruction rather than a modern religious event (Yates 2008). A key moment of the pageant is when an actor playing the Inka king symbolically hands over custodianship of Perú,

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13   Nahuatl, the language of the Aztec, is still spoken by an estimated 1.4 million Nahua people in México, around 200,000 of whom are monolingual. These people are normally not considered to be more Aztec than mestizo Mexicans; rather Aztec-ness exists outside of the Indigenous/non-Indigenous dichotomy.

passing all the legitimacy and power of the Inka civilisation to the Peruvian government. Inti Raymi will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.

In summary, archaeological nationalism in Latin America tends to take the form of the state's legitimisation through the claiming of an idealised common pre-Conquest ancestor. A utopian version of the past is defined and reinforced through the use of meaningful symbols and public pageantry. Symbolic hand-overs of power reinforce the notion that the state government, not modern Indigenous groups, are the true inheritors of the land and power of the great civilisations of the past. Finally 'true' archaeological or historical information cannot compete with the public vision of the past: popular culture outweighs academic expertise.

2.4.2 Indigenous Archaeology in Latin America

In this subsection I will discuss Indigenous archaeology as it has come to be defined by the archaeological mainstream. Indigenous archaeology should be treated as distinct from other types of Indigenous interaction with the past, primarily because of the existence of an international archaeological mainstream. To put it another way, Indigenous archaeology either competes with mainstream archaeology or is a component of mainstream archaeology. It, like Indigenousness itself, is defined comparatively. This has major implications for the perception of Indigenous archaeology by practicing archaeologists and by Indigenous groups.

The overriding themes of current archaeological definitions of Indigenous archaeology are racial minority and a degree of assumed lack of technical specialisation and formal training. In the eyes of the archaeological mainstream, cultural continuity with the archaeological past is what sets apart Indigenous peoples from other stakeholder groups. Thus, as a stakeholder to the past, Indigenous peoples are seen as having a slightly larger stake than non-descendants. This transforms Indigenous people into a group that should be 'consulted' according to proper mainstream archaeological practice. Archaeological definitions of Indigenous archaeology often describe a consultation process rather than a complete alternative to our built notions of archaeological theory, practice and purpose. Indigenous archaeology is not commonly seen as a rival to mainstream archaeology in the eyes of mainstream archaeologists.

However, there are some that define Indigenous archaeology as a legitimate and complete alternative to mainstream archaeology. These people envision an Indigenous archaeology that is not part of the empowerment process, but is rather the end result of

empowerment. This form of Indigenous archaeology represents the assertion that Indigenous people are the only legitimate interpreters of the ancient Indigenous past.

Indigenous Archaeology as Defined by the Archaeological Mainstream

The general sense of Indigenous archaeology from an archaeological perspective is summed up by Atalay (2007), who defines it as "archaeological practice that foregrounds knowledge and experiences of Indigenous people to inform and influence Western archaeologies as part of the decolonisation of the discipline". She emphasises that this manifests as consultation and collaboration (Atalay 2006a: 271) and that the Indigenous community engages with "the process of archaeology" (Atalay 2007: 251). She implies that this work is inherently multivocal and results in the "democratizing of archaeological knowledge" (Atalay 2008: 43). Practitioners of Indigenous archaeology, according to Atalay, are "not just concerned with carrying out archaeological research on Native land using mainstream archaeological methods and theories, rather they bring new tools to the table" (Atalay 2008: 30).

'Consultation' is a term frequently used to characterise archaeological interactions with Indigenous people (Atalay 2006b: 289; Lippert 2006: 432; Murray et al. 2009: 67; Nicholas 2006: 350), as is the stronger term 'collaboration' (Atalay 2006b: 289; 2008: 30; Chilton and Hart 2009; Martinez 2006; Murray et al. 2009; Wilson 2007). Within the case studies presented in the literature, it is the archaeologists who develop projects and either consult or collaborate with Indigenous groups. Consultation/collaboration, as presented, ranges from simply letting an Indigenous group know that an archaeological excavation is going to take place to allowing for direct Indigenous participation in actual archaeological investigation, perhaps in a field school setting (Chilton and Hart 2009: 91; Clarke 2002: 259; Two Bears 2006; Watkins 2003: 277; Wilson 2007: 331).

Empowerment is also a common theme within the literature. In this discourse, Indigenous archaeology is seen as providing source material for the cultural and social regeneration of the Indigenous group. Indeed, some archaeological commentators go so far as to say that Indigenous archaeology begets "liberation" (Zimmerman 2006: 87). A typical example of the use of this term is seen in the work of Nicholas (2006: 362), who calls archaeology "an effective tool of empowerment" for Indigenous residents of British Columbia. The use of the term "empowerment" is complemented by the frequent assertion that Indigenous archaeology "decolonises" the discipline (Atalay 2006a: 271, 2008: 30; Hodder 2008: 197; Smith and Jackson 2006; Wilson 2007: 324).

Thus, the combined model of disciplinarily defined Indigenous archaeology is as follows. An archaeologist who was trained in the Western school of the discipline and who belongs to a dominant cultural group designs an archaeological project. That archaeologist approaches a politically oppressed, previously colonised racial minority group that considers itself to be related to the ancient culture that the archaeologist wishes to study and thus is Indigenous. (Atalay 2007: 252; Clarke 2002: 254; Lippert 2006: 437; Murray et al. 2009: 67; Nicholas 2006: 362; Watkins 2003: 282). The archaeologist consults with the Indigenous people, incorporates some of their concerns when possible and encourages Indigenous participation in the archaeological work at hand (Chilton and Hart 2009: 90; Clarke 2002: 259; Watkins 2003: 277). These Indigenous people have previously been marginalised by archaeology and archaeologists (Atalay 2008: 51) and thus are happy to have the experts finally including them (Hodder 2008: 197). The archaeological methodology used during the excavation and the theoretical model framing the questions that are asked are 'mainstream' and beyond disciplinary reproach, but they incorporate some of the ideas presented by the Indigenous group (Atalay 2008: 30; Beck and Somerville 2005: 473).

Following excavation, the archaeologist walks away with results that include such Indigenous information as is helpful to Western archaeology (Nicholas 2006: 354). The Indigenous people walk away empowered, or at least not dis-empowered (Smith and Jackson 2006: 241), by the resurfacing of heritage that they may not have even known about beforehand (Atalay 2006b: 284; Chilton and Hart 2009). Some Indigenous participants are then inspired to seek further archaeological training (Nicholas 2000: 115; Wilson 2007: 331).

Turning toward critiquing this model, it is important to note that in the situation described the archaeologist retains decision-making power. First, the archaeologist has approached the project with their own questions that address their own research agenda. The archaeologist makes the choice to contact the Indigenous community. If permission to excavate is refused by an Indigenous group, the archaeologist can often choose to ignore the refusal. The balance of power is not shifted, as some commentators seem to believe.

Second, the Indigenous community is 'consulted' about the archaeological process. Even the term 'consultation' indicates that the power balance of the situation remains in favour the archaeologists. They are the actors in the consultation, and they are the possessors of the information that comes from the process (Lippert 2006: 437).

Furthermore, the archaeologists conducting the consultation will choose which Indigenous concerns to incorporate and which to ignore; they are the decision makers.

Finally, there is an assumption that the information contained within archaeological sites and the archaeological interpretation of the material remains that were discovered are of use to the Indigenous group: that Indigenous people want the information that archaeologists give them (Gnecco 2006: 85). This betrays a deep-seated belief that colonised cultures have had something fundamental taken away from them; that they are incomplete. In other words, the idea is that archaeology locates that which is lost, helps to complete the whole and thus empowers the downtrodden. Just such a sentiment was seen in archaeological interactions with the community of Kochol discussed in the previous section.

An 'Empowered' Concept of Indigenous Archaeology

A more 'empowered' concept of Indigenous archaeology, while not specifically defined, is apparent in a number of archaeological sources. A type of Indigenous archaeology that reduces or restricts the influence of mainstream archaeology has existed as an undercurrent in discussion of Indigenous control of the past for some time. Usually centred around an assertion that Indigenous people are best suited to interpret their own past, this idea of an empowered Indigenous archaeology exists in a variety of examples taken from archaeological literature on the subject of Indigenous archaeology.

A straightforward example can be seen in the work of Aikio and Aikio (1989: 128), who recount that Sámi students in Norway have called for a halt on excavations of Sámi sites until they themselves are prepared to conduct the work. The authors indicate that the direct cultural link that the Sámi have to these sites would provide "a more accurate interpretation of archaeological results" (Aikio and Aikio, 1989: 128). In a similar vein, Nicholas (2006: 362) asserts that Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people experience the archaeological record in fundamentally different ways and calls for "Aboriginal initiatives" which include the formal training of archaeologists who self-identify as Indigenous. It is unclear if Nicholas believes that these trained Indigenous archaeologists should replace non-Indigenous archaeologists. He does believe that there remains a place for non-Indigenous people within his idea of Indigenous archaeology (Nicholas 2006). Watkins (2000: 177) believes that true Indigenous archaeology is achieved when Indigenous people assert control over "the quantity and quality of archaeology performed within their homelands". Watkins'

stance supports the idea of Indigenous veto power over archaeological work, but it neither mandates that Indigenous archaeology be modelled around specifically Indigenous questions and concerns nor requires any archaeological work to be performed specifically by Indigenous people (Watkins 2003: 278).

In a particularly striking example of the possibility of a more empowered Indigenous archaeology, Martinez asserts that Indigenous groups in North America have always practiced "an Indigenous archaeology, a set of methods used to protect, record, and teach about the land used by current tribal members and their ancestors" (Martinez 2006: 496), a sentiment shared by others (Atalay 2006: 280b; Hamann 2002; Two Bears 2006: 381). Martinez defines Indigenous archaeology as "methods that protect and conserve traditional cultural sites through stewardship influenced and controlled by Native people and their beliefs" and notes that since all North American tribes are unique, every Indigenous archaeology will be different (Martinez 2006: 496). Taken literally, her idea of Indigenous archaeology is not of an archaeologist either consulting or collaborating with an Indigenous group, but is of archaeology under Indigenous control.

Perhaps the most obvious call for complete Indigenous control of Indigenous archaeology within archaeological literature is an often-cited article by Carlos Mamani Condori, an Aymara scholar and anthropologist who was recently selected by Bolivia's Indigenous-led government to serve on the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (Mamani Condori 1989). Mamani asserts that if the Indigenous peoples of Bolivia had never been colonised, they would have developed their own scientific version of archaeology (Mamani Condori 1989: 49). He also contends that modern Indigenous Bolivians are better able to interpret the archaeological remains of their ancestors than Western archaeologists because of their unquestionable cultural continuity to pre-Conquest culture. Mamani believes that archaeology could "be taken back by the Indians" and calls for "an Indian archaeology, under our control and systematized according to our concepts of time and space" (Mamani Condori 1989: 58).

Empowerment Difficulties and Legitimacy

The irony in using the term Indigenous archaeology in archaeological efforts towards anti-colonialism is that *Indigenous* is an inherently colonial term. Archaeologists use the phrase 'Indigenous archaeology' to describe mainstream archaeology that involves Indigenous people, and not alternative forms of archaeology that are, themselves, Indigenous. The comparative aspect of defining Indigenousness as

that which is non-European complicates the situation further, rendering even the most well-meaning 'empowerment' efforts of non-Indigenous archaeologists open to accusations of paternalism or even cultural appropriation. In a model where Indigenous people need 'our' help, it is clear that the Western archaeologist retains power, both over the empowerment process and over the archaeology that is performed. However, if Indigenous groups are able to empower themselves, the resulting empowered version of Indigenous archaeology, as a true alternative archaeology, may bear little resemblance to the mainstream form of our discipline.

2.4.3 Legitimacy Beyond Archaeology: Other Indigenous Claims to the Past

While a complete discussion of global trends in Indigenous claims to the past is outside the purview of this study, many of the methods that Indigenous groups have used to claim the past in addition to direct archaeological participation are worth noting. In this section I will briefly discuss issues of land rights, of repatriation and of the right to interpretation as they relate to Indigenous claims to the past. These topics are of significant importance to the Indigenous people of Latin America and represent some of the clearest examples of the use of the past to claim legitimacy and social rights. Because examples highlighting these particular issues are both numerous and complex, Bolivian examples will be favoured over others.

Land Rights

Forced removal or dissolution of land rights is a defining experience for many Indigenous people. Indeed, the term *Indigenous* itself, stripped of any modern political meaning, implies a sense of originalism that is tied to land. If an Indigenous culture is the culture that first inhabited a given piece of land, the land itself is clearly an important component of cultural definition and identity. Land rights have always been a major issue for most Indigenous groups. Indigenous claims to land are often based on pre-Conquest or even more ancient ideas of cultural organisation and ownership.

In the former British colonies there exists an area of common law that has been built up around the idea that Indigenous land rights were not extinguished following colonisation. The application of so-called Aboriginal or Native Title varies widely from country to country, as does the burden of proof required by Indigenous groups claiming land. Archaeological evidence is customarily presented alongside Conquest-era written accounts that confirm the geographic distribution of cultural groups. Courts have often denied oral history and other intangible evidence of Aboriginal Title.

In the former Spanish colonies of South America, there is no direct precedent for Native Title, and Indigenous land rights are argued for on slightly different grounds. Particularly in Andean South America, there exists an Indigenous idea of collective landholding where individual ownership of land is downplayed. The perception is that individual landholding is a post-Conquest concept and that Indigenous groups have a cultural right to own land communally. In Colonial Bolivia the retention of communal land (admittedly the land often associated with forced *Reducciones de Indios*) was encouraged since it was a net benefit for Spanish administrators. The Spanish received taxes and indentured mine labourers from Indigenous communities in exchange for otherwise leaving them to their land[14]. The right of Indigenous communities to this arrangement was confirmed by several written agreements with the Spanish and Colonial governments.

Following independence from Spain and continuing into recent decades, various successive Bolivian governments attempted to force plot demarcation and individual land titling, despite Indigenous attempts to continue with the terms of the pre-Revolutionary tribute agreements. Government officials have argued that private ownership is a necessary component of taxation and land reform and that they have been providing deeded ownership of land to Indigenous Bolivians. Indigenous groups maintain that individual land titling is an attempt at forced hispanisation in the form of the dissolution of Indigenous community organisation and governance, as well as a clear attempt to divide up Indigenous land so that it can be legally seized. They believe that communal land ownership is an immutable ancient right and that any supposed transfer of ownership is invalid. This assertion is a major source of social friction, especially in areas where individual titling led to a transfer of land to non-Indigenous landowners. That these transfers of title were illegal is an idea supported by the current Indigenous-led administration.

Thus, in Bolivia, as in other parts of Latin America, Indigenous claims to land have focused on the right to collective land ownership. The primary argument for communal land holding is the perception that this is the pre-Conquest form of Indigenous administration. Beyond merely claiming land based on ancient occupation, Bolivian groups profess the right to own and manage land in a certain way based on ancient social organisation. While archaeological evidence is sometimes discussed in

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14   This arrangement may be one of the primary reasons that Bolivia has retained an Indigenous majority unlike any other Latin American country.

the context of such claims, more often it is the oral or felt history that is evoked in discussions of past-based claims to Bolivian land.

Repatriation

Repatriation, as applied to Indigenous claims to the material remains of the past, is a multifaceted issue. Repatriation claims, by and large, concern ethnographic and archaeological portable objects or human remains that have been moved from their place of origin by means of licit or illicit sale, coercion, theft, scientific collection or archaeological excavation. The removal of Indigenous cultural objects is often cited as one of the most symbolic examples of imperialist exploitation of the non-Western world. Beyond the potential religious aspects of many of these objects, many Indigenous groups see the return of cultural material as a political necessity and a basic human right. Thus, in recent decades, all parties involved have taken repatriation claims seriously.

Legally, repatriation is jurisdiction specific. The success of a repatriation claim depends mostly on the legal traditions of the country that the contested material currently rests in. Western legal concepts of ownership rarely allow for undocumented claims and in cases where objects were removed legally under colonial law (however unfair, unequal or racist that law might have been), legal ownership by the current possessor of the object is often assumed.

Under very limited circumstances, international Indigenous repatriation claims fall under the purview of the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (UNESCO 1970). However the UNESCO Convention applies in only very narrow circumstances: if the state that members of the Indigenous group are citizens of supports the claim, if both that state and the state in which the objects currently rest are signatories to the convention and have completely enacted the convention through local legislation, and in most cases only if the object in question was removed from its place of origin after 1970. One of the very few Indigenous-led repatriation cases that met those requirements was made by the residents of Coroma, a Bolivian Indigenous community, who successfully lobbied for the return of textiles that had been illegally removed to the United States. This example will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Figure 2.3   *Coroma community members with textiles like those that were the subject of a successful repatriation claim based on the 1970 UNESCO convention (photo by Jaxa, circa 1998)*

The UNESCO Convention was not specifically intended to address post-Colonial Indigenous repatriation claims. Rather it was meant to limit the flow of illegally exported cultural objects from one state jurisdiction to another. Even the much tougher and thus less popular UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects (UNIDROIT 1995), which does acknowledge Indigenous rights to claim cultural objects, requires state-level support. Furthermore, the state, on the part of the Indigenous group, must establish that "the export of the object *significantly impairs*" the traditional or ritual aspects of the group's culture (UNIDROIT 1995). Basically the objects in question must be "essential for the survival of [the Indigenous community's] culture and traditions" (Schneider 1995) and the Indigenous community must prove this to the satisfaction of the courts of the state that the objects are currently in. These burdens are almost universally prohibitive.

There is little in the way of international law that has been successfully applied to Indigenous claims for cultural repatriation. That said, in recent decades public opinion in most Western countries has tended to swing in favour of Indigenous claimants, particularly when it comes to repatriation of human remains. When faced with a public debate over the more grisly collections to come from European Imperialism (for example Ecuadorian *tzantas* or shrunken human heads), institutions and governments holding controversial objects are increasingly returning them without

the involvement of the courts. Such voluntary returns are seen as being in the spirit of positive cultural exchange and are considered to be 'the right thing to do'.

The success of claims for the repatriation of Indigenous cultural objects within states, usually an Indigenous group lobbying for ownership of objects in public collections, varies greatly from state to state. Such claims in Bolivia have been largely unsuccessful. Perhaps the only successful internal repatriation claim from a Bolivian Indigenous community was the return of the so-called Bennett monolith to the village of Tiwanaku. This return will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

All told, when it comes to Latin American claims, the effectiveness of repatriation efforts rests almost entirely on the goodwill of whatever institution holds the objects in question. The applicability of international law specifically to Indigenous claims is limited. That said, the desire to do the right thing and to avoid public shame makes negotiation lucrative for modern museums and some collectors. Latin American Indigenous groups realise that they have the potential to become the publicly acknowledged and legitimised owners of archaeological patrimony simply by appealing to these forces.

Interpretation

In many cultures, Indigenous history is based on unwritten forms of recording, usually a combination of oral history and cultural memory, from which an understanding of the ancient past is built. Interpretation of the past is perhaps the most controversial of Indigenous claims: Western researchers, who tend to depend on the idea of an objective truth, are rarely able to accept non-material versions of history. Indigenous groups, who approach the situation as experts in the field of their own past, often believe that downplaying oral history and cultural memory constitutes a neo-Colonial denial of a legitimate, non-Western way of recording the past. Thus for an Indigenous group to claim their own past, many feel that they must define what that past is. Such definitions often differ from archaeological conclusions.

Bolivia offers some of the best examples of Indigenous groups both demanding the right to interpret their own past and largely succeeding at doing so. The wiphala, a flag that symbolises Bolivian Indigenousness, is popularly thought to be ancient, but some prominent archaeologists insist that it is less than 40 years old. The solstice ceremony at Tiwanaku is popularly thought to have been going on for hundreds of years, yet many non-Indigenous commentators insist that it was created in the 1980s by the government to draw tourists away from Perú's solstice festival. Tiwanaku is

commonly believed to have been built by Aymara speakers, the ancestors of the modern Aymara, yet a growing number of archaeo-linguists dispute this. Most significantly, the pre-Conquest past is commonly felt to have been utopian: all groups living in a peaceful communal coexistence with no warfare or strife before the coming of the Spanish. Thus in Bolivia, archaeological arguments about an objective past truth that contrasts with the pre-Conquest utopian view or the felt ancientness of various symbols do not change the wider Indigenous views on the subject. This is directly comparable to the non-Indigenous archaeological nationalism mentioned in the previous section.

2.4.4 Section Summary

An important conclusion that can be drawn from this section is that opposing groups are forced to use the same past for legitimising purposes. As Benavides (2009a: 134) observed in Ecuador:

> *National narratives by the state, local communities, or even the Indian movement were consistently put together from the same loose and jagged remains of the pre-Hispanic past and used to legitimize each one's political claim and cultural survival.*

Yet who determines if a group, be it an Indigenous community or a state government, has the right to assert their interpretation of the ancient past over other claimants? It is the group that ultimately has control over access to that past which will prevail in asserting their right to past-based legitimacy. To which group this right is ascribed is variable and the use of the past for legitimacy seeking is a clear area in which governmental and social change is visible in the public and political use of the past.

2.5 Bolivia

At the beginning of Chapter 1, I put forward the following question: *How have major governmental changes affected both the socio-political use of archaeological resources and archaeological practice in Bolivia?* In other words, how independent are archaeology and archaeological resources from the political and social shifts that occur in modern states? In this chapter I have presented some of the ways that communities, governments and archaeologists use archaeological resources in modern Latin America. As I have shown, Latin American archaeology and Latin American use of the past are a very real part of

such major issues as poverty relief, public welfare, racial equality and assertion of political and cultural legitimacy.

Some combination of Indigenous legitimacy-seeking, state-level nationalism and poverty relief through tourism are present in each of the cases presented in this chapter. As prominent aspects of modern Latin American reality, I have chosen these topics as the primary points of discussion in this study of modern Bolivian use of the past. What effects does the combination of Indigenous issues, nationalism and tourism have on how we study and interpret the past? What separates Indigenous archaeology from nationalistic archaeology? Does tourism threaten or strengthen Indigenous and State claims to the past? Do changes in the influence of each of these areas of interest produce different archaeologies? Do they promote different pasts? With Bolivian archaeology as my case study I hope to address these broader issues.

Why Bolivia? In many respects, Bolivia is the ideal setting for an investigation into the changing influence of Indigenous issues, nationalistic movements and international tourism on both the practice of archaeology and the public use of the past. As will be seen in later chapters, Bolivia has experienced an easily definable 'nationalistic' period as well as a clear 'Indigenous' period. The governments in control of the country during those times based much of their own legitimacy on certain interpretations of the pre-Conquest past. Anecdotally, this resulted in archaeological changes that have neither been fully defined nor confirmed. Because of the clear boundaries between Bolivian political periods and the prevailing impression that Bolivian archaeology has been affected by stark political change, our understanding of archaeology can be contextualised and informed through systematic study of the manifestations of Bolivian archaeology over time.

3. Bolivia: A Case Study

Figure 3.0   *Bolivian actors dressed as the 18th century Aymara rebellion leaders Bartolina Sisa and Túpac Katari; these historic figures employed the emotional power of popular ideas of pre-Conquest Indigenous culture to further their aims and serve as the spiritual leaders of Bolivian Indigenous protest (photo by Newmy51, 2008)*

This chapter contains the basic background needed for understanding how political shifts have influenced the practice of archaeology and the use of the ancient past in modern Bolivia. Based on a roughly chronological outline, each section in this chapter will explore both the role of Indigenous people in politics and social life as well as the general nature of archaeology during successive periods of Bolivian history. This provides the framework for the discussion presented in subsequent chapters.

3.1 Geography and Demographics

The Plurinational State of Bolivia (The Republic of Bolivia until 2009) was established in 1825. The county was carved out of an area that the Spanish called Upper Perú and was named after the Venezuelan-born revolutionary hero Simón Bolívar who nominally served as the country's first president. Before the Conquest, the Inka placed

the territory that would be Bolivia within the Qulla Suyu (alternatively written as Collasuyu), a province that included parts of modern Chile and Argentina. This designation has resurfaced from time to time throughout Bolivia's modern history.

Effectively, Bolivia has two capital cities. La Paz was founded in 1548, first on the site of the pre-Conquest village of Laja in the Altiplano[15] but later moved to its present location in the Chuquiago Marka valley. La Paz became the de facto seat of the national government in the 1890s following shifts in mining interests and in the power among the country's governing elite. Sucre, which is the constitutional capital of Bolivia, was built upon the pre-Conquest settlement of Charcas in 1538. Once called La Plata by the Spanish, the city was renamed to honour the revolutionary leader and second Bolivian president Antonio José de Sucre. Despite the constitutional retention of Sucre as the capital, for all practical purposes La Paz is the seat of Bolivian government.

Figure 3.1   *Map of modern Bolivia showing the location of Tiwanaku (adapted from http://www.nationsonline.org, 2010)*

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15   The high plain-like plateau at the widest point of the Andes that has an average height of 3,750 meters.

Geographically Bolivia is quite disparate: the extreme altitude of the Altiplano contrasts with the lowland Amazon Basin to the east. Bolivia is now landlocked, having lost its coastline to Chile in the late 1800s, but shares control of Lake Titicaca with neighbouring Perú. Bolivia is extremely rich in natural resources and has experienced several mineral booms, the first being the exploitation of the phenomenal silver lode located near Potosí under Spanish rule. The country contains an estimated 50% to 70% of the world's lithium, has been a world leader in tin, antimony and tungsten extraction and is second only to Venezuela in South American natural gas reserves. Bolivia ranks third in the cultivation of coca leaves, a plant that is native to the lower eastern slopes of the Andes.

Despite being rich in natural resources, Bolivia remains economically poor and is one of the least developed countries in the Western Hemisphere. It has the lowest GDP in South America and over 60% of the population lives below the poverty line. This is, in part, due to Bolivia's extreme political instability: the country has experienced over 180 coups and has had 90 recognised presidents in less than 200 years.

Politically Bolivia is a republic with an executive branch headed by a directly elected president and supported by a bicameral legislative branch divided into the Chamber of Senators (proportionally elected from party lists) and the Chamber of Deputies (partially directly elected from districts, partially proportionally elected from party lists). A Supreme Court is elected by popular vote to five-year terms. A presidential candidate must receive an outright majority of the vote to enter office. This is a rare occurrence in Bolivia where numerous political parties front presidential candidates. If an outright majority is not obtained, the Bolivian Congress deliberates to select a candidate. Coalition governments are put forward at times to simplify this step.

Bolivia is the only country that retains a self-identifying Amerindian demographic majority with between 55% and 70% of the population self-identifying as members of one of over 30 Indigenous groups. The majority of Bolivia's Indigenous population identifies as either Quechua or Aymara. The remaining 45% to 30% of the population considers themselves to be either of mixed Amerindian and European race (*mestizo*), white European (*criollo*) or, in the case of a very small minority, Afro-Bolivian. For most of Bolivian history the elite criollo minority has maintained social and political authority with little opportunity for the Indigenous majority to participate in Bolivian public life. The country remains extremely racially segregated and economic disparity tends to break along racial lines.

3.2 The Colonial Period (1532–1828)

3.2.1 *Reducciones* and the Persistence of Indigenous Institutions

At the time of the Conquest, highland and parts of lowland Bolivia was divided into a number of so-called 'kingdoms', which appear to be roughly ayllu-based[16]. To what extent each individual Aymara kingdom was subject to the Inka is unclear, but tribute, competition and trade between the Inka and Aymara were an important part of the late pre-Conquest. The Aymara kingdoms are nearly absent in the 16th century Spanish chronicles, a symptom of both the delayed Conquest of the Bolivian highlands and the "Cuzco-centric" (Murra 1968: 115) focus of the chroniclers. The pre-Conquest history recorded by 16th century Spaniards was elite Inka history, not Aymara history.

Following the Conquest, perhaps the most important factor in understanding the role of Indigenous people in Upper Perú (Bolivia) is the clear societal division between Europeans and Indigenous people. The Spanish administration of the region depended on the idea of a "separate and wholly distinct mass of American Indians" dominated by a Spanish minority and that "[h]owever differentiated [they were] internally, the Indians were still considered as an isolated and repressed mass, lower in status than even the poorest and most illiterate conquistador" (Klein 2003: 29). On a social and political level, the most influential Aymara lord or religious leader was beneath the lowest and most tangential Spaniard.

This Indigenous/Spanish social dichotomy was maintained by domination through indirect rule that was slightly more indirect in Upper Perú (modern Bolivia) than in other Spanish territories. The initial disruption to Indigenous living patterns in the region was drastic. Indigenous people were forced into *Reducciones de Indios:* artificially created villages, often near a significant pre-Conquest location, which were envisioned as way to civilise, convert and tax a once dispersed Indigenous population. To illustrate the drastic changes that forced *Reducciones* meant for Indigenous modes of living, Klein notes that in five sampled districts in Upper Perú 129,000 Indigenous people who had lived in over 900 individual communities were reduced to only 44 villages (Klein 2003: 36).

The *Reducciones* changed the basic nature of the Aymara ayllus. Once based mostly on kin-relationships, the Colonial period ayllus became more dependant on location with clear centres in the new villages. It is through this combination of

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16   Ayllus are moieties that are the basic social and political unit of Indigenous life in the Andes, a system of kinship and territorial ties that an individual is born or married into.

Spanish-enforced population concentration and geographic centring of the ayllus that allowed for the preservation of some pre-Conquest power structures within Indigenous society in Upper Perú.

The resulting Indigenous communities were "fundamentally postulated on the idea of the preservation of the pre-existent Indian society and government" (Klein 2003: 34). Indeed, Spanish administrators "considered it worth [their] while to try and understand Andean institutions, if only to use them for colonial purposes" (Murra 1968: 119). The main outcome of the *Reducciones* in Upper Perú was the development of a system of corvée mine labour obligation called the *mita system*[17]. Indigenous communities retained their traditional power structures and ownership of land in exchange for taxation paid in coin and in the form of rotating terms of mine labour. To risk simplifying a very complex social situation, once the Indigenous population had been forced into *Reducciones*, they were left alone, to an extent, provided that Indigenous leaders paid taxes and sent a specific number of community members to work in the silver mines.

Conditions in the mines were abysmal and the entire system was unforgivably exploitative, but it did result in a unique societal balance that preserved Indigenous culture and prevented hispanisation and assimilation. That is not to say that Indigenous communities did not participate in the agrarian and mercantile opportunities present in the 17th and 18th centuries: as landholders, they most certainly did. However, the resulting retention of Indigenous authority structure, language and even religion in exchange for corveé labour is one of the main reasons that Bolivia retains an unmixed Indigenous majority to this day. Unlike in most other Spanish colonial situations, Indigenous life and Spanish life in Upper Perú were physically and conceptually separate.

3.2.2 Túpac Katari Born and Reborn

The later colonial period in the Andes was characterised by Indigenous rebellion. Two hundred years of heavy taxation and the *mita* system had taken its toll and Indigenous society, for lack of a better word, was greatly eroded. Both disease and a desire to escape forced mine labour diminished the populations of the former *Redduciones*. The complete lack of an Indigenous presence in public life and governance of the region coupled with the observation of white wealth gained through Indigenous labour ensured that tensions would eventually come to a head.

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17   The idea of the mita or mit'a is based on a pre-Conquest Inka system of mandatory labour.

Although the latter half of the 18th century saw many local Indigenous uprisings, two in particular have come to symbolise the most salient aspects of Indigenous resistance and are considered to be crucial events in the definition of an Indigenous component to Andean politics and society. The enduring social memory of the Túpac Amaru and Túpac Katari uprisings have lingered in all sectors of Peruvian and Bolivian society as inspiration for the oppressed Indigenous masses and as a terrifying warning for the non-Indigenous elite.

Amaru was born José Gabriel Condorcanqui Noguera in 1742 at Cuzco. A mestizo with a Jesuit education and the title of Marquis of Oropesa as well as a hereditary Indigenous chieftainship, Condorcanqui claimed descent from the last Inka ruler and styled himself accordingly as Túpac Amaru after his notable ancestor. Amaru's rebellion, inspired by the idea of restoring Inka rule and spurred on by the continued abuse of Indigenous labour, began in 1780.

Amaru amassed an army bent on retaking the Inka capital of Cuzco, but he was eventually captured by the Spanish and sentenced to torture and death. After having his tongue cut out, Amaru was famously sentenced to be drawn and quartered, yet his body proved too strong to be pulled apart. He was eventually executed by being beheaded in the same manner and even the same Cuzco plaza as his Inka ancestor over 250 years before. An immediate result of Amaru's rebellion was one final attempt to purge the ancestors of the former Inka elite (including Amaru's family) and a ban on outward indications of Inka culture, such as clothing, and even the act of self-identifying as 'Inka'.

Figure 3.2   *Sculpture of the drawing and quartering of Túpac Amaru by Ecuadorian artist Oswaldo Guayasamín (photo by Ribiero, 2007)*

Katari was born Julián Apasa Nina near Ayo Ayo on the property of the Hacienda Lacaya in what is now Bolivia. He was Aymara and professed to be of the ayllu Sullcavi. Information about Apasa's life before he appears at the epicentre of Indigenous resistance is riddled with posthumous hero worship and speculation. It appears as if Apasa was a *forastero*, a social class that originally represented some degree of break from living under the auspices of communal land and Indigenous leadership in an attempt to avoid *mita* obligations. It is almost certain that Apasa was illiterate, poor and lowborn. He seems to have been an itinerant trader who moved throughout the region. All and all, he was a far cry from the elite and educated Amaru.

Figure 3.3   *Reconstruction of Túpac Katari's home near Ayo Ayo (from GADLP, n.d.)*

Perhaps the most complicated aspect of Apasa's rise to power and enduring historic legacy is that he is easily confused with both Amaru and another rebellion leader, Tomás Katari: confusion that existed even in the 1780s. Tomás Katari, too, was a non-Spanish-speaking member of the Aymara underclass who led ten communities in the Macha area in various forms of rebellion between 1777 and 1780 (Andrien 2001: 207–208), within the legal system of the Viceroyal authorities. Much of the power gained by Tomás Katari seems to have come from rumours that he had been to Spain and had won Indigenous reprieves from the king himself (Szeminski: 172). This associated Tomás Katari with the authority of the absent but respected monarch and gave him a deity-like immortality in the eyes of his followers.

Thus, following the death of Tomás Katari and all of his brothers in early 1781, Julián Apasa, who had been amassing a resistance army in the La Paz region, assumed the leadership of the rebellion. Reborn as Túpac Katari, he blurred the lines between simply inheriting Amaru's and Tomás Katari's authority and actually being the living

incarnation of those leaders. As proof of his status, Túpac Katari claimed to possess letters from both Amaru and the Spanish King confirming his right to lead the insurrection and may have even worn a mask over his face to hide that he was not, indeed, the familiar Tomás Katari. Contemporary accounts indicate that the conflated image of Túpac Amaru, Tomás Katari, and Túpac Katari represented a sort of immortal messianic redeemer that was desired by the Indigenous people of Upper Perú (Thomson 2003: 189).

Sinclair Thomson (2003: 188) has referred to Túpac Katari as "a new light, outside the shadows of colonial stereotype and prejudice". The actual Túpac Katari is viewed by history as being a radical populist and separatist who acted out of a belief in both a utopian Andean social order and in the cycle of meaningful cataclysms, or *pachakutis*, that linked the present with the past and the future (Campbell 1987: 115; Canessa 2000: 125–126). He used the salient aspects of the pre-Conquest to provide legitimacy for his movement. For example, popular mythology holds that during the rebellions, Túpac Katari visited pre-Conquest Aymara tombs and called to his ancestors "now is the time to return to the world and help me" (Hylton and Thomson 2007: 30). In the short time between his rise to power and his death, Túpac Katari cycled through numerous names and self-stylings[18], the most complex of which hearkened back to a sense of pre-Conquest authority despite his own low birth by Indigenous standards.

A complete account of Túpac Katari's uprising is outside the scope of this text; suffice to say it was brutal internally and externally. He both governed his followers and antagonised his besieged Spanish enemy through fear. It became clear in later communications that Katari saw the end game of his rebellion as Europeans returning to Europe and Indigenous people remaining in the Andes: basically everyone going back to where they belonged[19]. Katari was captured by the Spanish and was drawn and quartered in Chinchayapampa in November of 1781. Far from evicting Europeans from the Andes or even securing a stronger social position for Indigenous people within Hispanic society, the rebellion of Túpac Katari inspired further repression of Indigenous people and an increased Spanish desire for social separateness.

The most important aspect of these two uprisings for the purposes of this study, was the attempt to establish or re-establish an ancient order. Both Túpac Amaru and

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18   Sinclair Thomson (2003) records, at the very least, the use of the names "Tomás Túpac-Katari", "Julián Túpac-Katari Inga", "Julián 'Puma' Katari" and the self-stylings of "Inka king", "Viceroy", or "Governor". He notes that one particular construction, "Governor don Julián Túpac-Katari, descendant and principal trunk of the royal armies that governed these kingdoms of Peru" was a clear attempt to frame his status around the authority of the Inka.

19   "Thus, I will send all the Europeans on their way so that they move to their lands"; "They can all go safely to their country; they will be given an open path" (from Thomson 2003).

Túpac Katari invoked the ancient past rhetorically and through the use of cultural symbols such as significant names, locations and clothing. A sense of pre-Conquest utopianism was already strong among the Indigenous populace, and charismatic leaders who preached a return to the old ways were well received. Legitimacy through ancientness is a fundamental element of the modern Indigenous authority structure.

3.3 The Republican Period and Early Archaeology

3.3.1 Indigenous Bolivians in the New Republic

The final triumph of Simón Bolívar's army at Junín and then Ayacucho in 1824 resulted in the full liberation of the Andes. In Bolivia, the war for independence took the form of six *republiquetas*, criollo and mestizo guerrilla bands that existed on the fringe of Spanish society as quasi-states. At times these bands would loosely align themselves to the local Indigenous power structures, but by all accounts these alliances were fleeting. It is fair to assume that Indigenous communities did not necessarily see white independence from Spain as a means through which their social and political situation would improve.

Republican-era Indigenous people "were not accepted as full citizens in the nation-state, but as subservient beings whose political, social, and economic development retarded the building of new, modern states" (Langer 2009: 529). That said, the existence of such societal stratification was extremely influential in the construction and maintenance of Bolivian social and political institutions. The prevailing criollo perception of the Indigenous majority as an economic liability may relate to the structure of Indigenous society at that time. Many, if not most, Indigenous Bolivians were tied to their communities both spiritually, in the form of ayllu membership, and physically, due to communal landholding. This effectively prevented individual Indigenous people from ever achieving the post-Independence criollo ideal of acting as economically independent individuals.

Thus the primary positions that Indigenous Bolivians occupied in Republican era society were as troublesome antagonists and scapegoats for criollo economic frustration. 'The Indian problem', then, was met with a concerted effort by successive Republican governments to break apart Indigenous institutions, such as collective land holding and trade networks, supposedly so as to incorporate Indigenous people into modern society. There is little evidence that the conceptual outcome of Indigenous 'modernisation' was expected to lead to either hispanisation or an Indigenous role in

public life. Rather criollo elites pictured a situation where Indigenous Bolivians would exist as a docile, pliable underclass, and they often publicly longed for Indigenous people to disappear entirely.

Naturally, the anti-Indigenous government programs of the period, which included forced individual titling and seizure of what was once communal land, intense taxation (which ironically, according to Platt (1982), the state depended on), and the disruption of Indigenous alternative economies were not well-received by Bolivia's Indigenous majority. This, coupled with a complete lack of political representation, incited uprising after uprising throughout the latter half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. It is in these rebellions that the spectre of Túpac Katari grew into the figure of the Andean messiah, amassing an army underground to exact vengeance on the criollo oppressors. Yet these rebellions did not lead to Indigenous political representation or full citizenship.

3.3.2 Tiwanaku-centrism

When [the god Viracocha] had emerged from the lake he went from there to a place near the lake where today there is a town called Tiahuanaco in the province of Collao referred to above. When he and his people arrived there, they say that he suddenly made the sun and the day and ordered the sun to follow the course that it follows.

Juan de Betanzos, 1551 (trans. by Hamilton and Buchanan 1996)

Before launching into a more detailed discussion of the history of Bolivian archaeology, a few words must be said about the site of Tiwanaku. Despite having an extended and varied archaeological past which includes numerous distinct cultural traditions, academic inquiry into the ancient civilisations of what is now Bolivia is almost completely focused on the Tiwanaku culture. While this may be changing, academic and popular Tiwanaku-centrism (a term I borrow from Capriles Flores 2003) combined with a secondary interest in the later Inka culture is an important component of the progression of Bolivian archaeology.

AkE :	Akapana East	Kk:	Kk'arana
Ch:	Chunchukala	La:	La Karana
CJ:	Ch'iji Jawira	MK:	Mollo Kontu
Ka:	Kalasasaya	Pu:	Putuni
Ke:	Kerikala	ST:	Sunken Temple
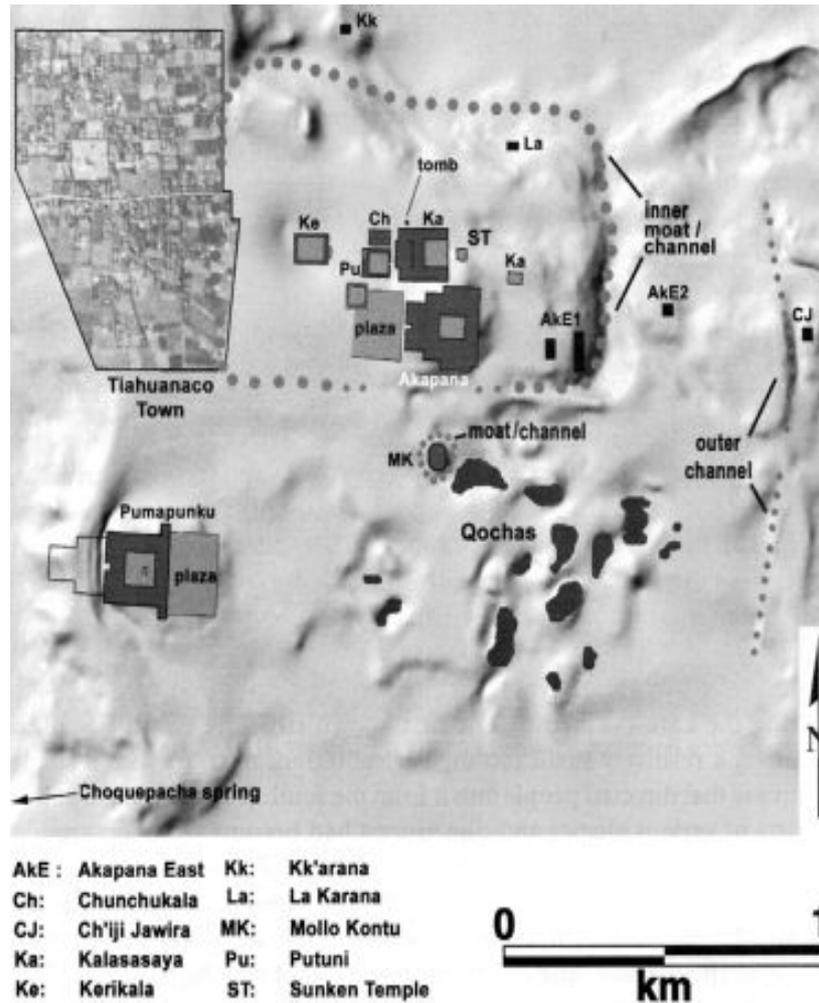
Figure 3.4   Map of the monumental core of Tiwanaku (from Janusek, 2008)

Tiwanaku[20] is located in the heart of the Altiplano about 70 km west of La Paz on the road to the Peruvian border. The monumental architecture of the site dates from around AD 300 to AD 1000 (the so-called Tiwanaku IV and V periods) and consists of a pyramid complex (the Akapana), several temple enclosures (notably the Kalasasaya, Kerikala and Putuni complexes and the so-called Semi-Subterranean Temple) and the massive Pumapunku complex. Tiwanaku was a significant entity during the Andean Middle Horizon and the exact nature of its influence on other sites in the region is the source of much debate among archaeologists (for example Albarracin-Jordan 1996; Augustyniak 2004; Janusek 2004: 121–122, 2008; Kolata 1986). Tiwanaku is far from sites of similar size, far from lake Titicaca, far from the fertile lowlands and is even far from sources of workable stone and wood. These enigmatic elements lend the site to infinite interpretations both in academic circles and in the public imagination.

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20   The site is also known by the hispanised *Tiahuanaco* or the composite *Tiahuanacu* by some sources, primarily historic ones. It is impossible to tell what the site was called during its peak. The name itself is meaningless but from as far back as the Conquest the ruins have been called something similar to Tiwanaku.

As there is no obvious reason why a monumental centre should be located at this seemingly forbidding site, speculation as to the meaning of Tiwanaku's placement abounds. It is clear from archaeological evidence in Perú and Chile that the Tiwanaku culture had an influence over much of the region. The nature of that influence, however, is debatable and claims include Tiwanaku as the capital of a powerful expansionist state, Tiwanaku as the motherland of far flung colonies, Tiwanaku as the birthplace of a pervasive religion and Tiwanaku as a powerful trading monopoly. Much of this general bafflement centres on the apparent broad reach of the Tiwanaku culture and the lack of the traditional forms of dominance and control.

Equally contentious is the nature of the site itself. Tiwanaku has been portrayed as everything from an empty spiritual centre populated by priests to a bustling imperial capital. The division between the sacred and the profane at the site has been endlessly studied, questioned and challenged (Yates and Augustine 2006). Did Tiwanaku consist of an exclusive ceremonial core surrounded by urban sprawl? Did Tiwanaku peons live next to temples? Are the astronomical and terrain alignments discovered at the site by archaeoastronomers merely coincidental? Was the site ever finished or was it always in flux? Was there a moat keeping the profane out and the sacred in? Is this building a temple, palace or market? What do all the doorways mean? Were the Tiwanaku Aymara speakers? Do the anthropomorphic stelae at the site represent leaders, priests or gods? Who ran the place?

Tiwanaku is a blank slate for both archaeologists and lay audiences to project their desires on to. By offering an answer to any of these unanswerable questions, an archaeologist or commentator essentially creates the Tiwanaku that they want to exist.

3.3.3 Early Bolivian Archaeology

Following independence from Spain, a period of European antiquarian interest in the pre-Conquest Andes came with the influx of new European diplomats and scholars into the region. Janusek (2008: 6) called this the period of "armchair archaeology" in Bolivia, however the self-styled explorers and naturalists who drifted through the region in the mid to late 1800s represented the best that American inquiry into the ancient past had to offer.
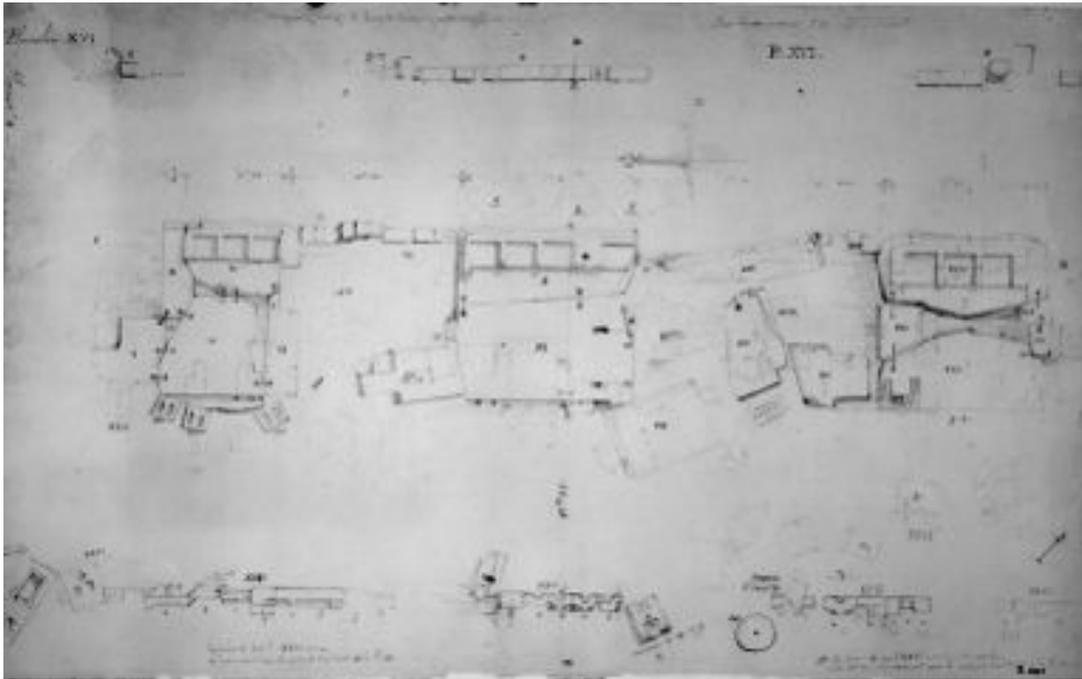
Figure 3.5   Sketch of the Pumapunku complex produced in the mid 1800s that demonstrates the level of care put into 'armchair archaeology' at Tiwanaku (by Leónce Angrand, circa 1866)

Modern Western archaeology, meaning systematic excavation that conforms to a disciplinarily approved methodology, began in Bolivia around 1894. In that year Max Uhle, a German national considered by many to be the father of South American archaeology, conducted limited excavations at Tiwanaku and visited some other Bolivian sites under the patronage of the University of Pennsylvania (Delpar 2008: 61). The discipline of archaeology was becoming institutionalised throughout the Americas and the push towards scientific methodologies was felt in Bolivia.

Figure 3.6   Archaeologist Max Uhle leans against an unexcavated Gateway of the Sun at Tiwanaku (photo by Uhle, circa 1894)

With academic interest in the pre-Conquest cultures of the Andes on the rise, lay interest increased, and by the turn of the century the looting of archaeological sites, particularly Tiwanaku, became a problem. During this time amateur enthusiasts amassed remarkable collections of Tiwanaku material (Janusek 2008: 10). It was this increase in looting that inspired Bolivia's first antiquities law in 1906 (see Chapter 5) that specifically protected Tiwanaku, the islands of Titicaca, and Inka ruins from unauthorised digging.
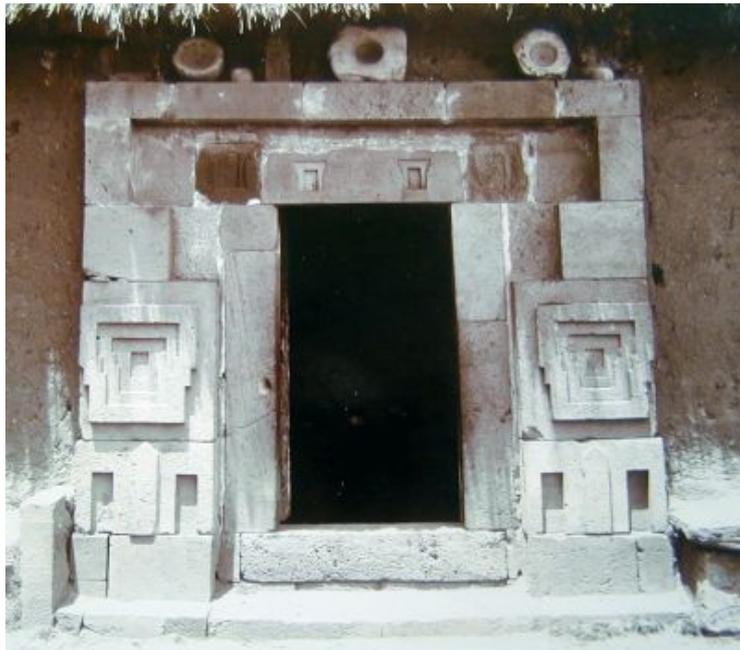
Figure 3.7   A doorway in the modern village of Tiwanaku showing the reuse of stonework from the site (photo by Créqui-Monfort, circa 1903)

By the 1930s, archaeology in Bolivia had expanded beyond Tiwanaku to other major sites such as Chiripa and Lukermata (Janusek 2008: 11). In 1932, Wendell C. Bennett established the first chronology for Tiwanaku and unearthed the so-called Bennett Stela or Monolith, a 7.3 metre tall anthropomorphic statue, within one of the site's temples. This stela has inspired a considerable amount of political debate and legislation since its discovery.

At this time foreigners conducted nearly all of the archaeological inquiry into the ancient cultures of what is now Bolivia. The absence of the development of a local archaeological tradition within the country was noticeable and sorely felt by some Bolivians. Scarborough (2008: 1092) and Ostermann (2002) recount that Bennett's

excavations were met with editorial protest in Bolivian newspapers[21]; the archaeologist was accused of expropriating Bolivian culture. Arthur Posnansky, a naturalised citizen, was Bolivia's most notable home-grown excavator during the early days of Bolivian archaeology (see Ponce 1994). In 1934 Posnansky had Bennett's excavation and export permits revoked, a move that forced the North American scholar out of the country (Delpar 2008: 67). Once Bennett was successfully pushed out of Bolivia, Posnansky took over the excavation of the stela and successfully lobbied for its removal to La Paz (Scarborough 2008: 1095).
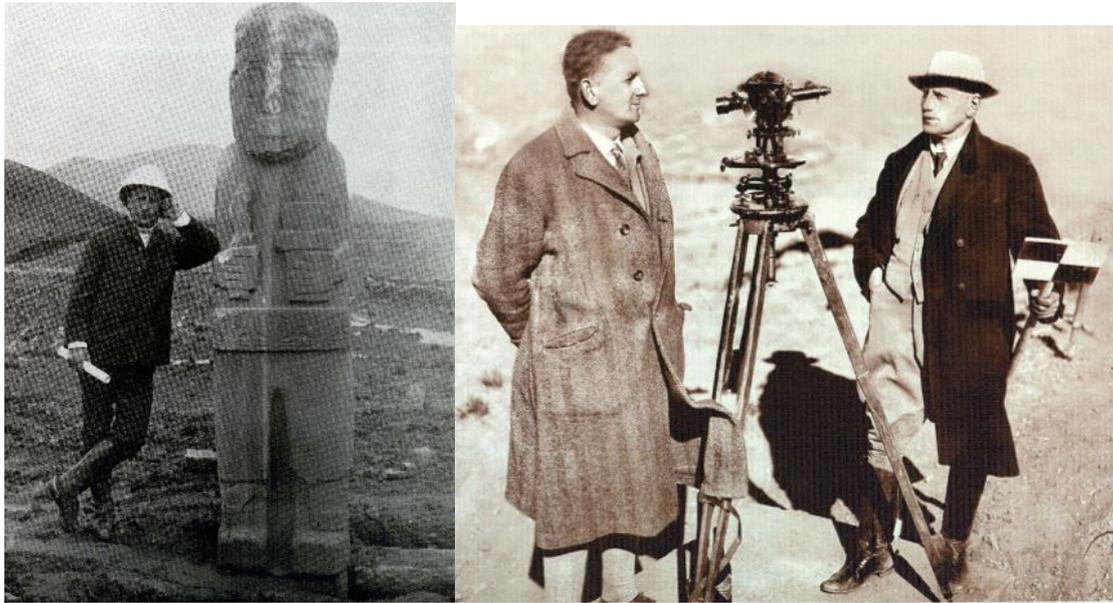
Figure 3.8   *Arthur Posnansky with a monolith at Tiwanaku (from Posnansky 1945); Wendell C. Bennett meets with Posnansky at Tiwanaku (photographer unknown, 1932)*

Over the course of his career, Posnansky published prolifically on Tiwanaku topics and even produced a Tiwanaku-themed silent film, *La Gloria de la Raza* (Posnansky 1926), all of which promoted his particular views of the past. Posnansky concluded that the Tiwanaku civilisation was tens of thousands of years old and was the foundation of all mankind in the Americas. David L. Browman (2007) believes that Posnansky's views represent a "fantastic" or "mythical" archaeological tradition. This tradition, which existed quite separate from the foreign archaeological work that was conducted in the country, dominated internal Bolivian archaeology until Posnansky's death in 1946.

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21 I have not been able to locate these historic editorials.

3.4 Revolution, Reform and Nationalist Archaeology

In 1952 the MNR (National Revolutionary Movement) party came into power through a wave of protest and armed conflict known popularly in Bolivia as the National Revolution (Baptista Gumucio 1978: 19). While broad in focus, the basic tenants of the MNR at that time centred on nationalism, nationalisation and the incorporation of Indigenous people into what the government viewed as being Bolivian society. Two of the most notable results of the Revolution were the nationalisation of the country's mining interests through the creation of the state mining corporation, COMIBOL, and the eradication of the feudal hacienda system, an action which elevated Indigenous people in Bolivia, at least legally, to the status of citizens (Baptista Gumucio 1978: 19). Despite ensuring voting rights and increased access to education, the MNR reforms are now viewed as a mixed blessing for Indigenous Bolivians because the government's idea of a homogenised mestizo Bolivia was actually a vision of a hispanic Bolivia. Distaste for forced hispanisation during this period would evolve into the Indigenous resistance movements of later decades.

The national pedigree espoused by the new government was one deeply rooted in a particular vision of the pre-Conquest past in which a mighty and expansive Tiwanaku *state* would serve as the foundation stone for a glorious Bolivian future (Stanish 2002: 177). Tiwanaku, originally Indigenous but now adopted as the progenitor of all Bolivians, would serve as a propaganda tool. This convenient foundation mythology, based in the pseudoscientific ideas of Posnansky, was reshaped into a modern, scientific form by archaeologist Carlos Ponce Sanginés.

3.4.1 Carlos Ponce and Nationalist Archaeology

Born in La Paz in 1925, Ponce obtained an archaeology degree in Argentina following his Bolivian degrees in law (Lémuz Aguirre 2005: 78) as Bolivian universities did not grant archaeology degrees until the 1980s. Politically, Ponce was a populist and a senior member of the MNR (Stanish 2002: 176). Immediately following the 1952 Revolution, Ponce was put in charge of the Bolivian Indian Institute, which housed several other up-and-coming young archaeologists who supported the MNR. That same year, Swedish archaeologist Styg Ryden was kept from digging in Bolivia by national authorities (Lémuz Aguirre 2005: 78), marking the start of the isolationist policy that would characterise Bolivian archaeology for the next few decades.

Figure 3.9   *Carlos Ponce Sanginés in Potosí in 1961 (from La Prensa, March 21, 2005); Stanish (2002: 177) believes that the inclusion of this photograph in many of Ponce's books implicitly links the institutionalisation of Bolivian archaeology with the 1952 Revolution*

In 1953, Ponce was appointed Culture Officer of the Municipality of La Paz and in this capacity he co-founded the journal *Khana* that served as a semi-official government mouthpiece for the dissemination of archaeological information (Lémuz Aguirre 2005: 79). In 1957, Ponce created and was made director of the Centre for Archaeological Research of Tiwanaku (CIAT) and, in the following year, the Ministry of Education released a massive resolution outlining Ponce's national archaeological standards (República de Bolivia 1958). In the early 1960s, he served in a diplomatic position in Mexico and in 1963 he was appointed Minister of Rural Affairs. From these vantage points within the government, Ponce promoted the idea of a unifying and homogenising past (Angelo 2005; 188) and modernised Bolivian archaeology as scientific nationalistic archaeology.

With the 1958 Ministry of Education resolution, Ponce believed that "the true national scientific archaeology was born" (Ponce 1995, quoted in Stanish 2002: 177). Bolivian archaeologist Carlos Lémuz Aguirre (2005) put it best when he wrote "Ponce succeeded in placing revolutionary nationalism in the service of archaeology and archaeology in the service of revolutionary nationalism"[22]. Ponce was ahead of his time in accusing American and European archaeology of being "neo-colonial"; he and his followers considered their "National Archaeology" to be ideologically opposed to foreign scholarship (Janusek 2008: 12). The direct result was a 20-year-long ban on

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22   "Ponce logró colocar al nacionalismo revolucionario al servicio de la arqueología y la arqueología al servicio del nacionalismo revolucionario"

foreign archaeologists in Bolivia (Janusek 2008: 12; Lémuz 2005: 79) and a Bolivian archaeology that was for Bolivia by Bolivians.

A notable feature of the archaeological assertions of this period is the idea of Tiwanaku as a densely populated centre of a powerful empire that expanded into Perú, Argentina and Chile, subduing the local populations by force (Janusek 2006: 471). Tiwanaku material is found outside of Bolivia, however there is little evidence that suggests that this represents militaristic expansion. Yet, National Archaeology in Bolivia insisted that Tiwanaku was an expansionist state for the purpose of national pride (Janusek 2004: 122) and rejected any characterisation of the culture that did not conform to this model (for a critique see Mamani Condori 1989).

Ponce's work drew an even broader picture of Tiwanaku importance and sophistication. He firmly believed that the later Inka culture was descended from Tiwanaku. Tiwanaku itself was portrayed as an empire in its own right with the same socio-political structures that were known to historically exist among the Inka: an organised military, a tax system and well administered provinces (Stanish 2002: 176). Again, little archaeological evidence can be found to support this.

The elevation of Tiwanaku to the spiritual ancestor of the modern Bolivian nation came at what is now seen as a high price. For Tiwanaku's Kalasasaya to truly be, as Squier stated, "the American Stonehenge" (Scarborough 2008), it had to look the part. A 1958 Ministry of Education resolution states that no excavation could be conducted at Tiwanaku without restoration afterwards (see Chapter 5). Thus, in the mid 1960s extending into 1975, Ponce rebuilt the Kalasasaya, responding to criticism with land expropriation, legal action and brisk declarations of the site being protected as a national monument (Lémuz Aguirre 2005: 80). Ponce's reconstruction of the site core succeeded in elevating Tiwanaku to a status "worthy of an optimistic national spirit" (Janusek 2008: 14); however, even contemporary authors believed that the reconstructions represented "Ponce's Stoneheresy" rather than an American Stonehenge (Gasparini 1973: 17).

Ponce's archaeological programme displays most of the characteristics of nationalistic archaeology (see Chapter 2). Ethnic continuity was asserted through the creation of an idealised common Bolivian ancestor, the Tiwanaku, to which time and money were devoted over less popular civilisations and sites. Geographic validity was asserted by equating, at least in a spiritual sense, the modern Bolivian state to the Tiwanaku state; the Tiwanaku were presented as Bolivians. There was clear political

control over the study of the past, and archaeological conclusions conformed to the state idea of a powerful, expansionist empire. Finally, Ponce firmly believed that archaeology was meant to serve the interests of the state. Ponce himself called his own archaeological scheme "National Archaeology" and considered himself to be the "institutionaliser" of the discipline in Bolivia (Stanish 2002: 177).

Figure 3.10   *The eastern entrance to the Kalasasaya as excavated (photo by Créqui-Monfort, circa 1903) and as it is today after National Archaeology era reconstruction (photo by the author, 2005)*
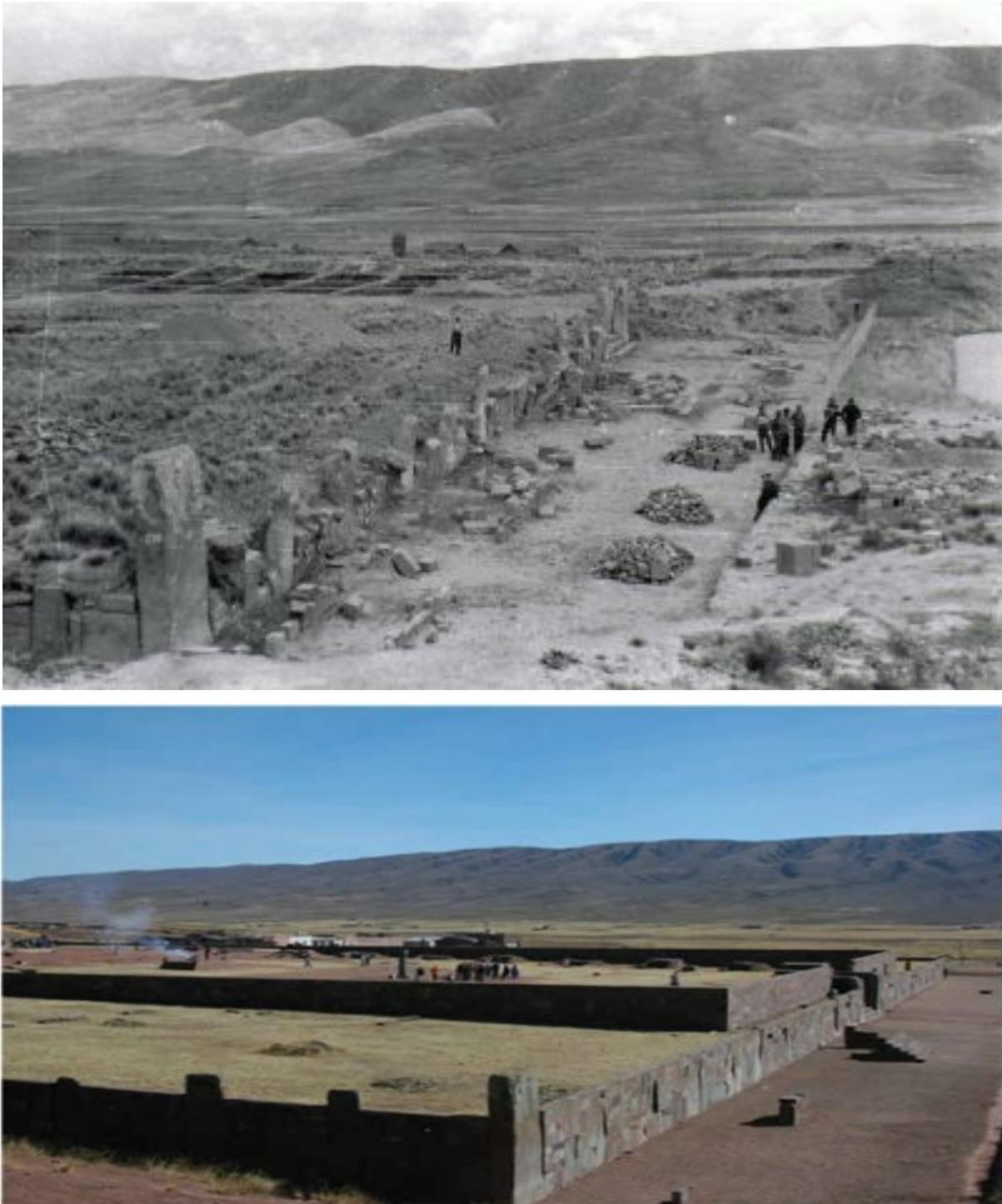
Figure 3.11   *The southeast corner of the Kalasasaya photographed by Gregorio Cordero Miranda during reconstruction and the same corner of the temple today (photo by the author, 2005)*

When viewed in hindsight, this era of Bolivian archaeology is both criticised and revered. While areas of the site of Tiwanaku are now easily dismissed as fantasy coated in concrete, Ponce and the other archaeologists of the period revolutionised the

discipline and introduced scientific techniques to the country. Their work made archaeology important to Bolivia by making the past Bolivian.

3.5 Indigenous Criticisms and Post-Nationalisms

A defining feature of the National Archaeology in Bolivia was an insistence that modern Indigenous people are the descendants of the Tiwanaku and other pre-Conquest civilisations (Ponce 1977: 4). While this conclusion may seem obvious, when racism and period racial theory were applied to monumental South American sites during a previous era, the result was a belief that such grandeur must have been created by anyone but the Indians[23]. Although within the National Archaeology there was no place for conclusions that denied the ancestry of Indigenous people as lying anywhere other than within civilisations such as Tiwanaku, the results of the nationalistic archaeology program have been condemned by critics as cultural appropriation (see Mamani Condori 1989).

Following the 1950s, archaeology was linked directly to the Bolivian state and its project of modernity (Angelo 2005: 187). However, for a state to have modernity as a primary goal implies that some of the citizenry are not modern. Many Indigenous people felt that, through the nationalist archaeology program, the government was blatantly appropriating their past at the expense of their modern vibrant culture; that the shared past being promoted from on high was in fact the Indigenous past being taken away from Indigenous people (Mamani Condori 1989: 47). Thus the same pre-Conquest past that formed the foundation of the homogenising nationalist scheme also lent spiritual credence and authenticity to the Indigenous rights movements that would grow in strength throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

3.5.1 "We are foreigners in our own country": Indigenous Political Movements and the Past

In July of 1973 a group of Indigenous activists representing several organisations issued the *Manifesto de Tiahuanacu* as a founding statement for a particular type of Indigenous action that would come to be known as Katarismo or the Katarist movement (Albó 1987; Canessa 2000; Hylton and Thomson 2007; Rivera Cusicanqui 1987) after the 18th century Indigenous leader Túpac Katari. This powerful and significant document clearly outlines the oppressive aspects of Bolivian society and goes on to make demands for radical change. In a particularly salient passage, the

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23Indio (Indian) is commonly viewed as a racial slur in Bolivia (Canessa 2006: 258).

writers of the Manifesto de Tiahuanacu (Union Puma De Defensa Aymara, et al. 1973) attacked the previously discussed push for modernisation in the form of cultural homogenisation:

> *We peasants want economic development, but it must spring from our own values. We do not want to give up our noble inherited integrity in favour of a pseudo development. We fear the false "developmentalism" imported from abroad because it is not genuine and does not respect the depth of our values. We want an end to state paternalism and we no longer wish to be considered second class citizens. We are foreigners in our own country.*

Society was being forced to come to terms with the idea of "two Bolivias", one Indigenous and one not (Hylton and Thomson 2007: 105). Varese (1982: 32) notes "the almost desperate need" that the Indigenous movements of this time had to "reconstruct... [their] own civilizing history" and to "expose the fictitious, official national history". He characterises this as a sort of necessary "ethnic chauvinism", a response to the 'civilising' mission of white-led neo-colonial Latin American governments. He believes that Indigenous people should be considered "a reservoir of civilizing alternatives" as seen through the knowledge, technology and art of the Indigenous past as well as the present (Varese 1982: 32). In other words, the sentiment of the Manifesto de Tiahuanacu "represents an attempt to produce a meaningful [I]ndigenous alternative to the Western model of modernity" (Canessa 2000: 121).

The Manifesto was not produced at Tiwanaku, nor is the site even mentioned in the text, rather its writers sought to employ the emotional symbolism of Tiwanaku for Indigenous purposes. The manifesto calls the Indigenous groups of Bolivia "an ancient people" and, from this vantage point of original authenticity, demands are made. The writers believe that the white elites were not representative of Indigenous interests; rather they supplanted the pre-Conquest way of being (Rivera 1987: 152). As the Political Manifesto of the Confederated Union of Peasant Workers of Bolivia (CSUTCB) asserts, "[t]he peasants of Bolivia are the legitimate heirs of the great prehispanic societies, which built the Andean civilization" (Rivera Cusicanqui 1987: Appendix 7); white-led governments are not.

The theme of ancient authenticity among Bolivian Indigenous groups is not merely a convenient and politically oppositional device. Serulnikov (1996: 193) believes

that Bolivian "insurrectional movements" are "inspired by an autonomous system of cultural beliefs that enabled native peoples to link expectations for political change with an idealized pre-Hispanic past". A clear example of this idealised past can be seen in the CSUTCB political manifesto which states that prior to the Conquest "[h]unger, theft and dishonesty were unknown" and that people lived in harmony with each other and the environment (from Rivera Cusicanqui 1987: Appendix 7). Such assertions have their roots both in the 'Incaic Socialism' espoused by turn-of-the-century Peruvian intellectuals as well as a much older social memory of late 18th century Indigenous uprisings in the Altiplano.

During a 1979 Indigenous-led blockade, the Red Cross requested that a group of people be allowed to pass through the block, as they had been waiting to do so for four days. Jenaro Flores, the leader of the blockade, initially denied the request, responding that the Indigenous protesters "have been waiting for four hundred years" (Albó 1987: 405; Stern 1999: 147). During periods of conflict the Aymara concept of time tends to become cyclic (Hylton and Thomson 2007; 135) and Túpac Katari, the personification of Indigenous anti-colonial struggle in Bolivia, lurks quite literally just below the surface of the ground. Katari is said to be rejuvenating himself underground so that he may emerge to help overthrow non-Indigenous dominators when the time is right. His last words are said to have been "I die, but I shall return tomorrow as thousands and thousands"[24] (Canessa 2000: 125; wording alternatives abound, for example see Barr 2005: 84, and Canessa 2006: 246) which is often taken to mean that Katari is spawning an army below the soil or that any contemporary Indigenous movement is the army that he begat. Threats to the Indigenous majority of the country are said to come near to "awakening the sleeping giant" (Hylton and Thomson 2007: 150).

Figure 3.12   Túpac Katari returning with his army of millions (by Miguel Vagalume, 2006)

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24   "Nayawa jiwtxa, nayjarusti waranqa waranqaranakawa kutanïpxa"

Katari's return is not only a metaphysical rallying point: at times this messianic character is seen as completely physical. Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui (1987:33) has recorded some first-hand accounts that indicate that participants in the 1914 Pacajes rebellion actually spent time searching for the severed arm of Katari that was believed to be buried nearby. Although Rivera and others tie the underground rejuvenation of Katari to the older myth of Inkarrí/Inca Rí[25] (Campbell 1987: 117; Rivera Cusicanqui 1987:33), by the 1970s it was Katari who silently amassed energy underground in the public consciousness.

3.5.2 Indigenous Criticisms of Bolivian Archaeology in the 1980s

With the rise of the Indigenous movement came various critiques of Bolivian archaeological norms from within Indigenous intellectual circles (Capriles Flores 2003: 348). In 1980 Aymara sociologist Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui asserted that the "stratigraphy of thought" and the ideology of the white intelligentsia dominated the teaching of Bolivian archaeology and anthropology at the highest levels (Rivera Cusicanqui 1980: 212). She characterised the methodology of the post-1952 governments as paternalistic towards Indigenous people, stating that the racist and cliché 'Indian problem'[26] was simply renamed the 'peasant problem'. Government policy, she wrote, negated Indigenous culture and heritage by pushing for so-called "national integration" and at the heart of this was the expropriation of Indigenous history as an attractive, profitable national history (Rivera Cusicanqui 1980: 219). Rivera accused the Bolivian government of consciously appropriating what was ideologically usable from the "historical memory" of Indigenous people and of creating a state monopoly on that past which barred the practice of independent or critical archaeology (Rivera Cusicanqui 1980: 220).

In perhaps the best known article on the subject, Aymara historian Carlos Mamani Condori called attention to the complete lack of Indigenous voices in the study of Bolivian history and so-called prehistory (Mamani Condori 1989). He characterised the nationalist archaeology scheme of the 1950s as a time when living Indigenous cultural heritage was "converted into a mere souvenir of a dead past" to be entombed in museums (Mamani Condori 1989: 46).

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25   According to her version of the myth "the severed head of the Inca continues to grow under ground" and "the day will come when the body will finish growing and will be completed after which the Inca will return". Following this, the world will be balanced again (Rivera Cusicanqui 1987: 33).
26   The 'Indian problem' has become a code phrase for racist attitudes towards Indigenous Andeans.

Mamani (1989: 48) believes that Bolivian archaeology suffered from Western colonialism:

...they take possession of what is not theirs in order to lay the foundations of their 'nation' in a past that does not belong to them and whose legitimate descendants they continue to oppress.

He asserted that if the conquest had never occurred, the Indigenous people of Bolivia would have developed their own rigorous discipline of archaeology. He believes that Indigenous Bolivians would be able to better interpret the "social, economic, and religious-political" aspects of their past due to their privileged knowledge of their own cultural institutions (Mamani Condori 1989). Mamani directly calls for "an Indian archaeology, under [Indigenous Bolivian] control and systematized according to [their] concepts of time and space" as a means of "winning back" a co-opted past and to "strengthen [their] present demands and [their] projects for the future" (Mamani Condori 1989: 58).

Archaeological concerns are also present in some of the public resolutions put forth by Indigenous groups in the 1980s. For example, point 12 of the Conclusions and Resolutions of the 5th National Peasant Annual General Meeting (from Rivera Cusicanqui 1987: Appendix 6), held in La Paz in 1982 states:

We condemn publically the looting of archaeological sites of enormous cultural value and the sale of looted objects to foreign museums. We demand that effective protective measures be taken.

While not a direct accusation of cultural appropriation, such a statement betrays a lack of confidence in the handling of archaeological material by government representatives.

3.5.3 Archaeological Change and Academic Nationalism

Change did occur in Bolivian archaeology in the 1980s, perhaps in part due to Ponce's resignation from the directorship of the national archaeology service in 1982. However, this change did not produce the internal Indigenous archaeology that scholars such as Mamani called for. Dante Angelo (2005: 190) has characterised Bolivian archaeology since the mid 1980s as undergoing a process of decentralisation. By

moving away from Ponce's Tiwanaku-centric model, more excavations have taken place in areas such as the eastern lowlands. He cautions that much of the work done in "peripheral areas" is of implicitly centrist character (Angelo 2005: 191) and that Tiwanaku remains the conceptual nucleus from which all other pre-Conquest cultures of the area radiated. To put it another way, non-Tiwanaku research is often still done either in comparison with or despite Tiwanaku, but always with Tiwanaku in mind.

José Luis Paz Soria believes that archaeology in Bolivia is now, and always has been, a nationalist endeavour, done by and for archaeologists (Roddick 2004). He and other scholars indicate that the institutionalisation of archaeology in Bolivia as a nationalistic project resulted in a self-sustaining nationalistic tradition among archaeologists themselves; basically that Nationalist Archaeology in Bolivia became a self-perpetuating academic nationalism and that this has a distinct impact on the balance of archaeology and Indigenous issues.

Starting in the 1980s, foreign archaeologists were allowed to work Bolivia again, a move that would change the character of Bolivian archaeology. An archaeology degree program was created in 1984 at the Universidad Mayor de San Andréas, La Paz, and the influx of foreign academics allowed a more cosmopolitan education for archaeology students (Capriles Flores 2003: 348). Albarracin-Jordan (1997) believes that the ideologies of foreign archaeological projects in Bolivia represent both neo-colonialism and the continued Tiwanaku-centrism outlined by Angelo (2005). Foreign archaeological projects represent the bulk of archaeological work done in the country and the criticisms and issues presented by Indigenous groups are often not taken seriously (Capriles Flores 2003: 349). While there was a considerable Indigenous uptake of the new archaeological degree offered within the country, in the field Indigenous Bolivians were still seen by archaeologists as a source of cheap labour. They usually did not share in the projects' goals or even the information gleaned from excavation (Paz Soria 2004 summarised by Roddick).

3.5.5 The Indigenous Political Sphere in the 21st Century

Although the 1980s in Bolivia represented a general return to democracy, it did not mark any level of tangible change in Indigenous political representation. Following the 1982 national election and throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the "indigenous majority have received only rhetorical recognition, with no major party delivering on the promise of political and economic inclusion" (Van Cott 2003: 758). However, participation of Indigenous Bolivians in mainstream politics expanded greatly at the

start of the 21st century, and can be seen in the success of Indigenous political parties. Prior to 2002, the combined vote share achieved by all Indigenous parties combined never surpassed 4.6 percent (Van Cott 2003: 754), despite Bolivia's Indigenous population majority. However, by the national election of 2002, just two Indigenous parties, the Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS) and the Movimiento Indígena Pachakutik (MIP) claimed a full 27 percent of the vote share (Van Cott 2003: 752). A further outcome of that election was a massive Indigenous presence in both houses of the Bolivian congress: prior to 2002, no more than 10 Indigenous people held congressional seats at any one time, but following the national election, 41 out of 157 seats were held by members of Indigenous parties.

For years Indigenous movements had made attempts to enter state-level politics with little success. The question must be asked: what changed in the early 2000s that allowed Indigenous people to enter a space traditionally occupied solely by the criollo oligarchy? Van Cott (2003) believes that the Indigenous political successes of the 2002 elections were the natural outcome of "the maturity and institutional consolidation" of Indigenous social movements and the mobilisation efforts of the previous 20 years. This, combined with election reform in the mid-90s[27], contemporary Indigenous social victories and a break down in Indigenous confidence in traditional parties, led to a situation where the public saw Indigenous political representation as not only feasible, but mandatory.

The 1990s and 2000s saw major backlash to the neoliberal reforms of the 1980s (see Chapter 5). Although hyperinflation was successfully curbed by extreme privatisation, this led to no tangible improvement in the quality of life of most Bolivians. The public perception was that neoliberalism robbed the masses of control over national resources to stabilise the institutions of the oligarchy for the benefit of the oligarchy alone. This sentiment came to a head during the so-called 'Water Wars' of Cochabamba in 2000: a multifaceted dispute involving small communities, the Bolivian government, international corporations and international institutions. In 1999 the World Bank mandated that Bolivian water services be privatised. This pressure resulted in the Bolivian government putting the state agency that ran Cochabamba's waterworks up for auction. A multinational business consortium was the sole bidder,

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27   The 1994 Law of Popular Participation and the creation of 68 uninominal congressional districts through the 1995 Constitution allowed regional parties, such as those that represent geographically concentrated Indigenous groups, to form municipal governments and compete in Bolivian elections for the first time (Van Cott 2003: 755).

winning a 40 year concession that guaranteed a minimum 15% annual return on investment.

The result was a social explosion. Residents of Cochabamba feared that, depending on legal interpretation, the consortium was actually given a monopoly over all water in the Cochabamba area, including community managed water that had never been under the control of the original state agency. Also, the managers of the consortium were either unwilling or unable to engage with the economic realities of Bolivia: the company raised water rates by an average of 35%, making water cost about $20 a month in a country where the minimum wage was less than $70 a month.

The dissatisfaction with the results of neoliberal privatisation resulted in protests and a general strike. The conflict continued for months and eventually the unrest spread to other areas of the country. Most major highways were blockaded and groups from outside of Cochabamba got involved and made their own demands. After over 3 months of unrest, the government relented and revoked the contract with the consortium. Oscar Olivera, one of the key leaders of the water wars, was quoted as saying "The people have recaptured their dignity, their capacity to organize themselves and most important of all, the people are no longer scared" (PBS 2000).

This success in the face of unpopular government action has been cited as a source of inspiration for Indigenous political movements since 2000. Following the 'Water Wars', Indigenous leaders had tangible proof that their rhetoric of becoming social actors rather than a stratum of society that was acted upon was successful and that Indigenous issues were the whole country's issues. Indeed, from 2000 until 2005, the country saw three presidential resignations, two[28] of which were the direct result of Indigenous popular uprising.

3.6 An Indigenous President and the Past in the Present

In December of 2005, Juan Evo Morales Ayma was elected as the first self-identifying Indigenous president of Bolivia. By commanding 53.7% of the vote, Morales won the election through a rare outright majority meaning that no run-off or coalition government was required to produce a constitutional president. In December of 2009 Morales was re-elected with an improved outright majority of 63% and is the sitting Bolivian president at the time of writing.

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28   Hugo Banzer Suárez, who was president during the 'Water Wars', resigned in mid 2001 after having been diagnosed with lung cancer.

Figure 3.13   Official portrait of Evo Morales; his choice to forgo a Western coat and tie was seen as symbolic gesture in favour of the country's Indigenous majority (from http://www.presidencia.gov.bo, 2006)

Morales, commonly referred to as Evo, "seems to incarnate a pan-indigenism" (Canessa 2006: 250) which is the source of much of his popular appeal. Born to a poor family in the highlands near Oruro, by the age of six Morales worked as a migrant sugarcane harvester and, eventually, a llama herder. Due to financial constraints, Morales was unable to finish high school and became a coca farmer, migrating to the Bolivian lowlands in 1980. In 1985 he was elected General Secretary of a coca growers' union, and ten years later was chosen as the president of the coordinating committee of the Cochabamba coca growers' union. Morales became a visible figure in the general opposition to neoliberal war-on-drugs policies, a stance that lead him to be seen as a representative of the interests of the Indigenous poor. His administration represents the first true break in the power of the white oligarchy that has ruled Bolivia since the Conquest. One of the defining characteristics of the Morales administration is a public validation of a past-based Indigenous version of Bolivian nationalism.

3.6.1 Past-based Rhetoric

Throughout his political career, Evo Morales has used a variety of past-based themes to serve as a sort of common thread throughout his public speeches and

writings. In his spoken word, "cultural heritage is constitutive of indigenous citizens" (Albro 2005: 446), meaning that the appropriation of any concept or any thing that is claimed as cultural heritage (for example the coca leaf, hydrocarbons, an archaeological site) by those who are not Indigenous is an attack on Indigenous Bolivians. These rhetorical references are made so frequently that I will only cite a few examples of each. Suffice to say that Morales' public record contains dozens if not hundreds of instances of the following past-based themes.

Evo Morales frequently refers to the "500 years" of oppressive waiting endured by Indigenous Bolivians (Albro 2005; Chávez 2006; Morales 2003; 2005; 2006; 2007). This sentiment is directly tied to the rhetoric of the Katarista movement and seeks to place Indigenous people in a position where pre-Conquest authenticity and rights are maintained on a higher level even if they are currently being oppressed. The implication is a return to power and to a pre-Conquest non-Western way of being. Supposedly, this is what Indigenous Bolivians have been waiting for and if it is happening then a *pachakuti* is taking place. The use of the concept of the pachakuti to symbolise the re-founding of an Indigenous Bolivia is also frequently used by Morales (Albro 2005: 443; Morales 2007; also see Chávez Quispe 2009 for a discussion of pachakuti in contemporary spirituality from an Aymara perspective). The use of the phrase "500 years" and the invocation of a pachakuti appeal to the deep-seated sense of Indigenous messianic millenarianism that is documented by numerous sources (for example Campbell 1987: 115; Canessa 2000: 125–126; Postero 2007: 3).

Another frequent theme from the Andean past is the invocation of the earth goddess Pachamama (Castro 2009; Chávez 2006; Morales 2007; 2009b; 2010a; also see Chávez Quispe 2009). Pachamama is honoured alongside the Christian God in most Aymara communities of modern Bolivia and is worshiped privately and publicly even by self-identifying Catholics. Morales himself publically espouses this modern Andean religious dichotomy: "I believe strongly in the rites and in Pachamama, but of course I am a Catholic and an admirer of Jesus Christ" (Morales 2009a). Symbolically, Pachamama represents the idealised pre-Conquest utopian vision: an earth mother from a non-Western way of life and a time when everyone lived in harmony with each other and with the environment. Morales invokes Pachamama for exactly this purpose: to criticise Western civilisation and to imply that there is an older, authentic and Indigenous way of being.

The use of the Inka motto *ama sua, ama llulla, ama qhella*[29] is also a common feature of Morales' rhetoric (Castro 2009; Morales 2006, 2010a). Supposedly representative of the pre-Conquest way of life, the phrase is considered to be anti-Western and anti-Hispanic. It is yet another appeal to the Indigenous public's ideal of a pre-Conquest utopia to be recreated in the present. The attractiveness of the motto is in its simplicity and nobility. This conveys a vision of an Indigenous civility that existed before the 'civilising' projects of previous Bolivian governments.

3.6.2 Use of Archaeological Sites

The Morales administration has gone beyond past-based rhetoric in an effort to validate its political message. From the earliest days of Morales' presidency, archaeological sites have been used as emotionally loaded backdrops for political events, lending their perceived ancient authenticity to the current government. It should come as no surprise that Tiwanaku is the main setting for these public manifestations of an Indigenous version of the past. The prime example of this is the investiture ceremony that took place at Tiwanaku on 21 January 2006, the day before the official presidential inauguration in La Paz. On this day Morales was declared Apu Mallku[30] atop the Akapana pyramid.

While this provided colourful newspaper fodder for the curious Western world, the Apu Mallku ceremony at Tiwanaku appears to have been carefully crafted to fit within a Bolivian Indigenous social context. While Morales did participate in a Western-style presidential swearing-in ceremony the next day (but not in a Western coat and tie), the Indigenous ceremony at the archaeological site came first. Furthermore, having the ceremony at the politically charged site of Tiwanaku made Morales "authentically Aymara" (Postero 2007: 9), tying him directly to past incarnations of Aymara nationhood. On 21 January 2010, Morales was once again declared Apu Mallku at Tiwanaku at the start of his second term as president. During that ceremony, Morales wore a different set of 'ancient' vestments and was presented with two staffs modelled after those held by the 'staff god' on Tiwanaku's Gateway of the Sun. The presidents of Venezuela, Chile, Paraguay and Ecuador were in attendance.

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29   ''do not lie, do not steal, do not be lazy'' in Quechua
30   This term roughly translates to *Supreme Leader* in Aymara. The *Mallku*, a title that literally means *condor*, are the traditional leaders of the *ayllus*. While the office of Mallku has persisted since the Conquest and *Apu Mallku* appears to be a pre-Conquest construction, this particular incarnation of the title has existed since 2000 and Morales is the fourth to hold the office.

Figure 3.14   *The ceremonial route around Tiwanaku taken by Morales during his first Apu Mallku ceremony (from La Razón, 22 January 2006)*

Figure 3.15   *'Ancestral' and 'sacred' vestments from the first and second Apu Mallku ceremonies explained by a La Paz newspaper (from La Razón 2006; 2010)*

Although inconveniently located quite a distance from La Paz, Tiwanaku has served as a sort of reception space for the Morales administration. For example, on May 28, 2006 Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez broadcasted his television talk show *Aló Presidente* from the Kalasasaya temple at Tiwanaku with Morales serving as a co-host. During the show Chávez referred to the site as a "sacred place", a "holy city" and the "nest of Amerindian civilisation" and took an on-air tour of the site (Chávez 2006).

Another example of Tiwanaku's use as a symbolic setting by the current government occurred on October 11, 2007 when the site was used for Morales' official celebration of the *United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People*. The festivities at Tiwanaku were part of a three-day summit attended by the Maya Nobel Prize winner Rigoberta Menchú, as well as representatives of other Indigenous groups from around the world. In this instance Tiwanaku was used to validate the Indigenous cause at an international level through the ancientness of the place which implied the ancient authenticity of Indigenous culture.

Figure 3.16   Morales and Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez host Chávez' television show at Tiwanaku (Aló Presidente 2006); Morales and Rigoberta Menchú at Tiwanaku (photo by BBC News, 2007)

The use of Tiwanaku for such purposes speaks to the effectiveness of the ancient backdrop. On 2 March 2010 Morales hosted a torch lighting ceremony for the Odesur South American Games at Tiwanaku. On this occasion Morales (2010b) announced:

Brothers and sisters...we think that the new ambassadors who come to present their credentials, if they want to, should do so at Tiwanaku... If a president wants to have an official State-to-State, President-to-President visit, we are willing to receive them at Tiwanaku if the Bolivian people want.[31]

31   "Hermanos y hermanas, con nuestro canciller David Choquehuanca, hemos pensado que los nuevos embajadores que vienen a presentar sus cartas credenciales, si quieren, lo harán en Tiwanaku... Si algún Presidente quiere hacer una visita oficial de Estado a Estado, de Presidente a Presidente, hacia el pueblo boliviano, si desea,

Morales has opened the door for Tiwanaku to become the acknowledged spiritual centre of the current Bolivian State. By suggesting that foreign ambassadors and leaders present themselves at Tiwanaku, Morales once again implied that Tiwanaku, with its pre-Conquest authenticity, is the seat of Bolivian power.

3.6.3 Collective History and a Challenge to Archaeology

With the rise of Indigenous participation in Bolivian social life, various past symbols from within the public consciousness have been validated at a national level. For example, over the past decade a multi-coloured chequered banner called the *wiphala* has slowly replaced the revolutionary tri-coloured flag in many parts of Bolivia. Once used by the Kataristas as a symbol of Indigenous nationalism, the wiphala now represents a sort of "Andean pluralism" (Albro 2005: 443). The wiphala was declared the second official national flag in the new constitution (see Chapter 5), and it serves as a symbol of Bolivia re-founded.

The symbolic power of the wiphala comes from within Indigenous public consciousness. Most believe it to be an ancient banner whose specific colour pattern corresponded to the Qulla Suyu and, thus, what is now Bolivia. To the public, this allows the wiphala to be an authentic symbol of the idealised pre-Conquest. It exists as an appealing challenge to the Western-ness that the other national flag represents.

Figure 3.17   A wiphala waved from the top of the east entrance of the Kalasasaya during Machaq Mara, the winter solstice (Photo by Vranich, 2001)

también estamos dispuestos a recibir(lo) en Tiwanaku''.

The existence of the wiphala in even the recent past is debatable. Javier Escalante, then director of the National Directorate of Archaeology stated that the wiphala, as well as the Tiwanaku solstice ceremony (see Chapter 7), were "inventions of the past 20 years"[32] (Badani 2006). He made this comment at Morales' first Apu Mallku ceremony and the statement was poorly received. Escalante's assertion is characteristic of the competing realities that exist within modern Bolivia. Escalante is a non-Indigenous Bolivian archaeologist. As an expert, he may believe that it is a fact that the Kataristas created the wiphala in the 1980s. However, his structured concept of archaeological truth is ignored in Bolivia's current political atmosphere. The wiphala is ancient because Indigenous Bolivians know that it is.

In another example of non-archaeological collective history prevailing, Stanish (2002: 177) notes that, in direct contrast to the Tiwanaku state/empire model advocated by Ponce as well as others, leftist Indigenous groups have consistently interpreted pre-Conquest civilisations as utopian. Tiwanaku and the other cultural precursors to modern Indigenous people are seen as classless and egalitarian societies whose leaders were collectively elected. While this model does not stand up to archaeological scrutiny and, as Stanish implies, it fell out of fashion among actual archaeologists with the end of the 1980s, it is exactly this understanding of pre-Conquest Bolivia that appears both in Morales' rhetoric and in the new Constitution (see Chapter 5). Currently archaeological expertise does not supersede the collective recollection of Indigenous history, at least as far as the government is concerned.

3.7 Archaeology and an Ethno-Political Past

In this chapter I have outlined the growth of Indigenous participation in the Bolivian public sphere and the growth of professionalised Bolivian archaeology. There is a clear overlap between professional archaeology and the Bolivian Indigenous movements of the past few decades. The use of archaeologically significant discourse starting in the 1970s (the naming of the *Manifesto de Tihuanacu* for example) and the prominence of Indigenous criticisms of archaeology in the 1980s and 1990s (such as Rivera Cusicanqui 1980 and Mamani Condori 1989), provides the foundation for the compelling past-based discourse present in modern Indigenous political rhetoric.

Bolivia experienced massive political and social change following both the 1952 MNR revolution and the introduction of successful Indigenous political parties in the early 2000s. It is safe to assume that, at least on some level, both the use of the past in

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32   "inventos de hace 20 años"

the public sphere and how archaeology is practiced in Bolivia changed as well. Indeed, to use the most obvious example from this chapter, there is no question that Bolivian archaeology before Ponce's Nationalist Archaeology was fundamentally different than Bolivian archaeology after Ponce, but what, exactly, does that mean? What are the mechanisms through which changes in archaeological practice and even the public's use of the past are altered? What are the legal, academic and practical indicators, antecedents and outcomes of politically based changes in how the past is approached? In Chapter 4 I will describe the methodology through which these questions will be investigated.

4. Investigative Methodology

Figure 4.0   The north wall of the Kalasasaya after the solstice (Photo by Winters, 2005)

4.1 A Three-part Approach

In the preceding chapters I introduced the idea of drastic political change having a measurable effect on both the public use of the past and on archaeological practice. Having established in Chapter 3 that Bolivia represents a suitable case study for the kinds of changes seen in the Latin American topical studies presented in Chapter 2, the following original methodology was developed to explore archaeological practice and the use of the past in Bolivia.

As the topic under investigation is complex, I developed a three-part methodology that is meant to illuminate the different ways that Bolivian archaeology has been modified by political change over time. Specifically, by looking at 1) changes in Bolivian archaeological law, 2) word frequency and topic changes in Bolivian archaeological literature, and 3) felt aspects and intangible components to modern Bolivian archaeological practice, I was able to construct a clear framework for a discussion of the confluence of political change and archaeology in Bolivia.

In this Chapter I will discuss the details of these three investigative tracks. The practical and theoretical decisions that were made in the course of this analysis will be discussed, as will the benefits and potential drawbacks of this methodological structure. Although this methodology is only used for the Bolivian case study in this

instance, I believe that it can be applied to other regions without considerable modification. This open structure will allow for further research into the topic of archaeology and political change in modern states.

4.2 Analysis of Bolivian Archaeological Law

One of the primary sources of information about changes in the use of the past in a particular country is national legislation related to heritage management and archaeological practice. A careful examination of the development of archaeological legislation over time yields information about the priorities of each successive government as well as about the influences that various stakeholder groups have had on the highest levels of heritage preservation policy. An analysis of archaeological legislation reveals how central state authorities, rather than professional archaeologists, have approached archaeology. The content and implementation of archaeological legislation is a representation of the government's ability to respond to various social pressures. With this in mind, the first component of my methodology is an in-depth analysis of changes in Bolivian archaeological legislation over time.

4.2.1 Bolivian Archaeological Legislation: Definitions and Sources

Legislation applicable to this study is defined as any government issued law, order, decree or constitutional section that directly relates to archaeological practice, to issues related to past-based heritage or to the preservation of archaeological remains. This is a particular subset of the greater corpus of cultural heritage legislation, which also includes such subjects as the protection of ethnographic resources, historic preservation, archival standards and intangible heritage. Locating the entire corpus of Bolivian legislation concerning a particular topic can be difficult. The Bolivian Government does, at times, provide public access to legislation through a variety of websites. These websites are offline more often than they are online and are not frequently updated. They were not consulted in this study.

Much of Bolivia's heritage legislation is archived on the website of the UNESCO Cultural Heritage Law Database (www.unesco.org/culture/natlaws/). This online collection consists of laws and regulations submitted by member states and thus it can be assumed that the laws on the site were provided directly by the Bolivian Government. Although the UNESCO Cultural Heritage Law Database contains Bolivian legislation dating from 1906 (when Bolivia's first piece of archaeological legislation was passed) to 2001, no legislation passed after that date is available. Even

for the years represented, the UNESCO database was incomplete at the time that this study was undertaken. To make up for the deficiencies of the UNESCO database, I consulted the websites Derechoteca (derechoteca.com) and Lexivox (lexivox.org). At the time of access, Derechoteca and Lexivox were free services that made available historic portions of the government-issued Official Gazette of Bolivia as well as weekly updates to the law. Derechoteca and Lexivox proved to be invaluable and up-to-date sources for more recent Bolivian archaeological legislation.

By combining the legislation available on Derechoteca and Lexivox and the UNESCO Cultural Heritage Law Database, I believe that I have located every piece of clearly archaeological legislation passed in Bolivia since 1906. As there is no official and complete list of Bolivian archaeological law, it is possible that some minor pieces of legislation have been neglected in this study. However, many archaeological laws refer to prior legislation that, along with a review of laws mentioned in academic literature, allows for crosschecking. No piece of archaeological legislation is known to be absent from this analysis.

Many sources are available that archive the historic constitutions of Bolivia. For constitutions passed up to and including 1967, the texts presented by Galindo de Ugarte (1991) were used. All other constitutions and constitutional reforms, including the 2009 constitution, were accessed through Georgetown University's website (Georgetown University Political Database of the Americas 2010).

What is lacking in this analysis is the ministerial resolutions and other such documents that may have been pertinent to archaeological work in Bolivia. When available, significant ministerial documents have been included for analysis. However, as they are not published in the Official Gazette of Bolivia and are not necessarily widely disseminated, I was only able to locate a handful of the most important of these documents (for example, República de Bolivia 1958). Although I feel that it is it unlikely that ministerial documents would deviate in any significant way from the legislation passed in government, it is worth noting this absence.

A complete list of the Bolivian laws consulted in this analysis is available as Appendix A.

4.2.2 Reading, Summarisation and Translation

Once the archaeological legislation was collected, it was read in chronological order. Each document was summarised and an individual commentary document was produced that both evaluated the law in isolation and compared it to other legislation.

Through this process, the specific details of the development of Bolivian archaeological law became clear and the entire body of documents was made suitable for discussion.

For each piece of legislation, keywords were recorded and any wording that obviously related to the themes of nationalism, tourism and Indigenous people was highlighted. Since the legislation is written in Spanish, I performed all of the necessary translation for Chapter 5 from my reading of the originals. All quotations reproduced in English for this text appear in their original Spanish as footnotes.

4.2.3 Analysis Structure for Discussion

Rather than discussing each individual law strictly point-by-point, this analysis was designed to track changes in Bolivian archaeological legislation over time. Because of Bolivia's propensity for rapid and stark governmental change (see Chapter 3), I postulated that the legislation would fall into clearly distinguishable groupings based on the time periods in which it was passed. These period-based groupings, defined by the focus and content of the legislation, form the basic structure of Chapter 5 and are discussed there at length.

Once the period-based groupings of the laws were defined, the laws of each period were evaluated both individually and collectively for how they deal with several key aspects of Bolivian archaeology and cultural patrimony. Stemming from the background research presented in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, I concentrated on 1) the use of the past by the Bolivian government, 2) Indigenous issues in Bolivian archaeological law, 3) archaeological law and tourism, and 4) archaeological practice and the law, specifically focusing on how these areas change over time. These topics not only serve as cross-period points of comparison but allow changes in the law to be correlated with the results of the other approaches discussed in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7.

It is important to note that the content of the legislation may not accurately reflect either the general opinion of practicing archaeologists during each time period or how the laws were (and in some cases, still are) enforced; the other lines of analysis cover these topics. The legislation is meant to reflect the politics (and, perhaps, ideals) of successive Bolivian governments in their own words. The results of the analysis of Bolivian archaeological legislation are presented in Chapter 5.

4.3 Analysis of Archaeological Literature

While an analysis of Bolivian archaeological law is certainly informative, when assessing the influence that drastic political change has had on archaeological practice

and the use of Bolivian past, the output of archaeological work must be examined. To that end, Bolivian archaeological texts were collected, formatted and read by a word frequency analysis program specially designed for this project. The texts were, essentially, broken down into their component parts so that thematic, terminological and other trends could be seen. This analysis was designed to emphasise change in these areas over time, specifically in relation to the political shifts discussed in Chapter 3 and the legal periods defined in Chapter 5. As in Chapter 5, the key aspects of 1) the government, 2) Indigenous issues, 3) tourism and 4) archaeological practice were explored in greater depth. Thus a unique literature analysis methodology was developed in an effort to better understand how changes in the social and political atmosphere had left their mark on the tangible results of Bolivian archaeological work.

4.1 Texts Included

Years

The texts used in this analysis range in date from 1978 to 2010. It is during this period that Bolivia underwent political and social changes particularly relevant to the specific concerns of this study, and it was during these decades that a fully modern and well-published Bolivian archaeology emerged on the international scene. Although originally designed to include Bolivian archaeological literature from as far back as 1906 (the year of the first Bolivian archaeological law), the scarcity of such early literature made for a top-heavy analysis. By focusing in on a time span of particular significance to this project, the questions asked and answered became clearer (see Chapter 6). The years in question both complement the results of the subjective analysis and interviews of Chapter 7 (see section below), and cover the full span of several of the major periods of legislation discovered in the analysis of Chapter 5.

Authors

The texts were limited to those written by Bolivian archaeologists, museum specialists or heritage professionals. By this I mean Bolivian citizens who either have specialised degrees in archaeology, anthropology or a related field or have sufficient field training and experience to be considered professionals. Originally this analysis included non-Bolivian professionals. However it was determined that the changes in archaeological literature related to Bolivian social and political change would be more clearly defined by focusing specifically on Bolivian practitioners. Although it is likely that foreigners, too, have felt the influence of changes within Bolivia over the past three

decades, it is postulated that Bolivians who either work in Bolivia or who were trained there will feel such influences more acutely. In cases where texts have multiple authors of various nationalities, only those with a Bolivian archaeologist as the primary author were included.

Subjects

The texts were limited to those written about Bolivian archaeology, archaeological heritage, site management or museums as they relate to archaeology. In cases where multiple sites were discussed, only articles that focused at least half of their text on Bolivian sites were included. Special care was taken regarding articles that focused on Tiwanaku influence in Perú and Chile. While texts concerning Tiwanaku-period sites in those countries certainly relate to understanding the site of Tiwanaku in the past, only articles that concern the results of excavations or other work in Bolivia were included as it is less likely that Bolivian politics would extend into foreign fieldwork. Texts aimed at both specialised and general audiences were included, as were texts submitted for compliance with government regulation.

Languages

The texts were limited to those written in Spanish or English. These are the two languages that I can read and were the only languages that I could effectively evaluate. Practically speaking, these are the primary languages of Bolivian archaeology and nearly all archaeological work produced in Bolivia, even by non-Spanish or non-English speakers, is published in either of those languages. Not a single text was located that conformed to all of the other stipulations described that was in any language other than Spanish or English. While it is certain that such texts must exist somewhere, they make up such a small portion of the corpus that their absence will not be felt in this analysis.

Sources

Based on the parameters defined above, several methods were devised to locate usable texts. First, all available online text repositories were combed for Bolivian archaeology articles. Thanks to the nearly unlimited access to online journals provided by the Cambridge Library, this method produced a number of usable texts.

Various other online sources were mined for texts. For example, the websites of a number of national and international Bolivian archaeological projects provided digital copies of the writings and reports that they have generated over the years. A number of

websites devoted to the promotion of Bolivian archaeology (for example www.arqueobolivia.com and www.saberesbolivianos.com) were found to house small libraries of Bolivian archaeological texts. Keyword searches were conducted through Google to help identify Bolivian archaeological texts housed on unexpected websites.

Finally, in an effort to both supplement the earlier years of the period being analyzed and to include the work of archaeologists who do not have a strong online presence, archaeological texts that fit the previously defined criteria were located in physical journals, books, and edited volumes and digitally scanned. This scanning was limited to texts that were available within Harvard University's Tozzer Anthropology Library. Over a century of Latin American focus on the part of the Tozzer has resulted in a commendable collection of Bolivian archaeological literature. What was available there was, at the very least, representative of the Bolivian archaeological literature that does not exist online.

4.2 Formatting Texts

Once the Bolivian archaeological texts were collected they were each given a unique filename consisting of the year of publication and the surname of the first author. Each text was recorded in a spreadsheet that contained fields for filename, author(s) name(s), year of publication, language, source (journal, book title etc.), and title. This spreadsheet is available as Appendix B.

All of the documents needed to be in a machine-readable text format before they were run through the word frequency program. Luckily, many of the image-based pdf documents available online included a previously generated textual component and thus did not require additional work. Those pdf documents that did not have a textual component and those that were scanned by me were converted into text files using the Optical Character Recognition (OCR) program Readiris. While using text generated by OCR software does introduce more potential for error than if I was working from original text files, I believe these errors do not significantly affect the interpretations of results as my sample experiment showed (see below).

As the output of this component of the study will be word frequency data for each individual document, the text files were edited by hand to remove superfluous sections that might result in the over-representation of certain words. The sections removed are parts of the document considered not to be main text. All bibliographies were removed, as were acknowledgement sections. Many journals include the name of the author, the title of the work and the title of the journal in either the header or the

footer of each page of an article. These were removed, as were any indices, tables of contents and the like. During this hand editing process each document was skimmed to ensure that no significant errors occurred during the OCR rendering process.

4.3 Word Frequency Program Development

The edited and machine-readable texts were processed by a computer program written in Python specifically for this project (see Appendix C). The program first confirmed that each document was readable and that it had been edited by hand then generated a spreadsheet file that contained basic word frequency data. This data consisted of the total number of words in the document, the total number of distinct words in the document and a list of every word detected ordered first by frequency and then separately in alphabetical order. For each distinct word the total number of times it appeared in the document was recorded as well as the percentage of the whole document that occurrences of the word represented.

It is common in natural-language analyses to filter out so-called 'stop words' during processing. These are common words that provide no contextual information for the purposes of a particular study. For example, the stop words present in the previous sentence are: *these, are, that, for, the, of* and *a*; the program would exclude those words and count *common, words, provide, no, contextual, information, purposes, particular* and *study*. The program used in this study excluded stop words from a hand-prepared list, and also excluded all numbers and 'words' of only one character in length. It also converted upper-case characters into their lower-case equivalents.

4.4 Blind Test for Accuracy

An experiment was conducted to ensure that the word frequency data accurately conveyed the themes of a text to a person with expert knowledge of Bolivian archaeology. I selected a random sample of 10% of the document output files to be analysed blind, with no information as to the author, publication year or subject of the article. Based on each document's 100 most frequent words, I attempted to accurately summarise the focus of each article, record the decade in which the article was written and suggest some information about the author. Following this, I read each of the texts in question to see how far my summaries deviated from the actual document.

In all cases, from the word frequency data alone, I was able to accurately predict the decade and sometimes the exact year in which each document was produced. I was able to determine the broad focus of each text (such as if it was a faunal analysis of fish

bone; if it was an iconography discussion) and was even able to make very specific predictions as to details of the work presented.

Based on the outcome of this experiment I believe that the word frequency data generated by the program accurately represent the aspects of these documents that are relevant to this study. I also believe that another regional specialist trained in Bolivian archaeology would be able to reproduce these results.

4.5 Drawbacks and Limitations

Like with any form of analysis, this methodology has some drawbacks and limitations. First, as the exact number of Bolivian archaeological texts produced between 1978 and 2010 is impossible to know, coming up with a statistically representative sample is impossible. Any statistical data gleaned from this collection of texts will not be said to represent the whole corpus of Bolivian literature from this time period. That said, while this collection of texts cannot be said to be statistically representative, it appears to be qualitatively representative. The purpose of this analysis is to get a feel for changes within Bolivian archaeological literature, not to produce viable, yet unrelated statistics.

It also should be noted that by limiting the texts included to those produced after 1978, any changes in archaeological literature related to the 1952 MNR revolution and agrarian reform or the institutionalisation of archaeology under Carlos Ponce will be absent from this analysis. The decision to limit the scope of the analysis was twofold. First, as will be seen in Section 4.4 below, it is the past three decades that are best represented in the qualitative memories of present archaeological practitioners and it is in this time span that we see the political and social changes that most relate to the present and future course of the use of the Bolivian past (see Chapter 3 and the law analysis of Chapter 5). Second, although texts from certain years prior to 1978 were available (indeed, there seemed to be a blossoming of Bolivian archaeological publication in the mid-1970s), the general lack of extensive external publishing on the part of Bolivian archaeologists before the period in question made finding a suitable number of texts impossible. While these texts may exist within Bolivia, those that do are beyond my reach. I believe that by focusing on the past three decades, a tighter and more applicable analysis is possible.

Finally, one major type of Bolivian archaeological text is almost entirely absent from this word frequency analysis. These are the theses commonly produced to earn a

licenciatura[33] in Bolivia. The licenciatura thesis is a well-accepted form of Bolivian archaeological literature and it is through this medium that a significant amount of new field and laboratory work is disseminated. Licenciatura theses are cited in Bolivian archaeology biographies far more frequently than theses and dissertations are in English-speaking archaeological literature. However, outside of a few theses that have been made available online by their authors, this type of Bolivian archaeological text rarely leaves Bolivia. Incorporating these texts into this word frequency analysis at a later date should they become available would certainly further our understanding of the influence of political and social change on Bolivian archaeological literature.

4.4 Intangible Aspects of Archaeology through Case-studies, Editorials and Essay-based Questionnaires

Both the review of archaeological legislation and the analysis of archaeological literature represent an attempt to introduce an objective element to inquiry into a fundamentally subjective topic. If the body of Bolivian archaeological laws represents the legal restraints upon the discipline and if the corpus of Bolivian archaeological literature represents the patterning of shifts in theoretical approach, what is missing from the discussion are the actual conscious thoughts of archaeologists themselves and their experience of archaeological and political change.

With the goal of contextualising the results presented in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, this portion of my research shines light on the more intangible aspects of Bolivian archaeological heritage. In doing so, I have been forced to tread a thin line between a variety of competing versions of both the past and present. Much of what will be discussed in this section is recent and controversial. To help dissipate the controversial nature of the events described, I devised a multifaceted approach to the subject of the experience of political change on archaeological heritage and the use of the Bolivian past. Clearly, no single dissertation could completely characterise the views and experiences of every archaeological practitioner in the country. However, by exploring the emotional and experiential aspects of targeted topics in Bolivian archaeology, it is possible to see patterns of change that are comparable to those gleaned from the legal and word frequency analyses. Although this line of inquiry is largely subjective, it is

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33   This is the equivalent of a very difficult masters thesis requiring years of field research. It is the highest degree available to archaeologists studying within the Bolivian higher education system.

extremely valuable because it represents the reality of archaeological practice in Bolivia. The results of this analysis are presented in Chapter 7.

4.4.1 Topics of Concern

As this analysis of archaeological experience was envisioned as a contextualisation of the results of both the legal analysis and the word frequency analysis, the specifics of this line of inquiry were developed after the other two courses of investigation were completed. The results of the two previously discussed analyses highlighted several areas as potential points of significant archaeological change. These points, essentially case studies into intangible aspects of the experience of Bolivian archaeology, provide the basic structure of Chapter 7.

The first topic investigated is the Tiwanaku solstice ceremony. It is clear that the ceremony represents a significant point of concern and conflict in Bolivian archaeology. It is a massive yearly event that occurs inside Bolivia's most loved and most controversial archaeological site. The ceremony is described as entirely ancient by some and entirely modern by others. Over the years the event has come to represent first Aymaraness and then the administration of Evo Morales. The solstice ceremony at Tiwanaku is the archetype of the competing versions of the past and the effects of political change on the use of the past in Bolivia.

The second topic investigated in this section is archaeological tourism. As discussed in Chapter 2, cultural tourism in Latin America has been presented as a panacea for poor communities. It is a complex activity with effects on Indigenous communities that are much discussed but still poorly understood. If archaeological tourism correlates with government initiatives and government pressures, Bolivian archaeologists, then, are at the very centre of these changing uses of the past.

The third topic explored in Chapter 7 is the decade of controversy over the management of the site of Tiwanaku. Culminating in a scandal in 2009, which has changed the entire administrative structure of Bolivian archaeology, the battle over Tiwanaku exists on a local, national and international scale. The experience of this controversy is a defining characteristic of modern Bolivian archaeology. As the management of the site of Tiwanaku is inherently political, it is a clear window into the emotional aspects of political change on Bolivian archaeology and the use of the past.

The final topic explored in this section is the future of Bolivian archaeology from the point of view of Bolivian archaeologists. By looking at both perceptions of the

discipline in the present and aspirations for the future, the very idea of archaeological change in Bolivia is clarified.

4.4.2 Source Material

In an effort to incorporate as many viewpoints as possible, a variety of sources were consulted to illuminate the four topics of interest. All topics are discussed making use of the information provided by multiple sources, with the exception of the section on perceptions of the future of Bolivian archaeology, which is based primarily on the results of a targeted questionnaire. Besides the normal historical accounts and journal articles, I consulted three other source types, each of which requires some explanation.

First, this is the only section of the study that references my own first-hand observations at Tiwanaku in 2004 and 2005. While my work in Bolivia at that time was unrelated to this research, I was witness to several major events in Bolivian archaeological and political history. These observations are used sparingly to help clarify information gleaned from other sources, particularly in Tiwanaku-related matters. All sections that rely on my first-hand observations are clearly noted.

Another source of information for this analysis is Bolivian newspaper articles, particularly editorials published since the year 2000. This non-traditional source material is beneficial in two ways. First, as the changing public use of the ancient past in Bolivia is at the centre of this research, the past as presented by widely distributed media is of significance. The newspapers both influence public opinion and are influenced by social and political movements. The past presented in the popular media is an important look at felt or experienced versions of history. It is an added bonus that many of the articles and editorials are written by politicians and public figures. Second, as will become clear in Chapter 7, several of the topics of interest are at the heart of recent scandal and political debate. Much information that I received about these topics through personal sources was impassioned but not confirmable. In some instances it is clear the newspapers chose to publish accusations, rumours and salacious gossip, yet by doing so the information has entered into the public record and thus is influencing both the practice and the use of archaeology. By using newspaper sources, I am able to tie rumours down to a particular source and am not presenting questionable material that has not been previously published.

Finally, in an effort to give voice to practicing Bolivian archaeologists, I developed an essay-based questionnaire that was deployed in mid-2009. The

questionnaire assessed how Bolivian archaeologists feel about the political, social and ethical pressures on their work and gauged the practical aspects of these pressures.

4.4.3 Questionnaire Development

Due to financial and logistical constraints, an essay-based questionnaire was deemed to be the most effective means to record the opinions of Bolivian archaeologists. Twenty potential questions were developed that concerned Bolivian nationalism, Indigenous issues, archaeology and the public. They were designed to be open ended with the hope of producing lengthy responses.

To test the effectiveness of the questions and refine their focus, this draft questionnaire was given to the 2010 class of Cambridge University archaeological heritage master's degree students. As knowledgeable archaeological practitioners, they represented ideal test subjects. The students were asked to substitute their own country for Bolivia and answer the questions as honestly as they could. Through their responses and feedback I was able to modify questions that were misunderstood and to reduce the number of questions to twelve. The students and I agreed at this length, the questionnaire was short enough to keep a respondent's attention but long enough to produce interesting results.

In addition to the twelve essay questions, respondents were asked basic demographic information (age, sex, race) and to describe their archaeological experience. The questionnaire was translated from English into Spanish by me and then checked by a native-Spanish-speaking archaeologist to confirm that the intent of every question was adequately expressed. Both the English and Spanish versions of the questionnaire are available in Appendix D.

4.4.4 Questionnaire Deployment

At the time of writing, Google Docs offered a feature that allowed the free production of web-based surveys. Both the Spanish and English versions of the questionnaire were entered into Google Docs and the resulting professional-looking form was embedded into my own Cambridge University Archaeology Department website. Any responses to the questionnaire were automatically entered into a spreadsheet on Google Docs and an email was generated that notified me of the presence of a new submission. The spreadsheet was locked so that I was the only one who could access the results; respondents were unable to see other people's responses. I translated all responses to the questionnaire myself.

The link to the questionnaire was sent to a number of Bolivian archaeologists whose email addresses were available either online or in publications. Questionnaire participants were also sought on a variety of social networking websites and email lists, and links to the Spanish and English versions of the questionnaire were posted on several Bolivian Archaeology message boards. The respondents were encouraged to answer as many questions as they wished and were asked to focus on the ones that interested them. The respondents were assured that they would remain anonymous in all publications and that they could contact me for more information. All participants were asked to forward the questionnaire link to friends and colleagues who teach, study or practice some form of Bolivian archaeology or heritage management.

4.4.5 Questionnaire Drawbacks and Difficulties

For a questionnaire such as this one to be successful, one is forced to depend on the trust, the intellectual interest and the availability of potential respondents. These factors are notoriously hard to address; they can have an effect on response rate and the responses to the questionnaire itself.

As can be seen in Appendix D, several questions were political in nature, either concerning state policies or political issues that directly relate to archaeological employment by government agencies. At the time that the questionnaire was deployed, Bolivian archaeology was experiencing a significant series of scandals involving the excavation and management of Tiwanaku. These issues, discussed at length in Chapter 7, have resulted in dismissals and a general reorganisation of state-run archaeology. Archaeologists who were either directly involved in the relevant projects or who had friends that were involved may have chosen to avoid this questionnaire out of fear that their responses would be used improperly. To mitigate this concern, I developed an online questionnaire that did not require an email address, I advised respondents to skip questions they were uncomfortable with and I promised anonymity in all my renderings of responses. I cannot be sure that that this satisfied the concerns of every potential respondent.

Another potential difficulty in the deployment of such a questionnaire was to ensure that the respondents were intellectually stimulated by the questions. My target respondents were highly educated archaeologists who risked becoming bored with simplistic, low-level questions. A balance was needed between ensuring that questions were answerable by all possible respondents and avoiding questions could be considered disrespectful or patronising. In an effort to mitigate this issue, I first

developed questions that I, as an archaeologist, would find interesting to answer. Then I tested the questionnaire on other archaeologists and incorporated their suggestions into the final questionnaire. Despite this, it is possible that a potential respondent, when faced with the questions, either felt them to be too difficult or too simplistic to answer, reducing the number of responses.

The most complicated factor to mitigate in a questionnaire such as this is the availability of potential respondents. Because the questionnaire was online, only those archaeologists with an internet connection at the time of deployment were able to respond. In Bolivia, few archaeologists have reliable internet access while in the field, and those checking their email weeks after the invitation was sent may have felt that the time to answer the questionnaire had passed, despite my statements to the contrary. Even those potential respondents with access to the internet who received notice of my questionnaire may not have had the time to respond. In hopes of encouraging busy archaeologists to take time to respond to my questionnaire, I limited the number of questions, made sure that all questions were visible from the start of the questionnaire, and invited potential respondents to make their answers as long or as short as they wished. Little more could have been done to encourage participation.

Response Number	Age	Sex	Location	Racial ID	Archaeology Experience	Response Date
1	25–29	M	La Paz	Not Indigenous	10 years of working in archaeology: Licenciatura; PhD Student	16 Nov 2009
2	30–34	F	La Paz	Sometimes Indigenous	10 years of working in archaeology; PhD	16 Nov 2009
3	25–29	M	La Paz	Aymara	Undergraduate degree in Archaeology	18 Nov 2009
4	30–34	M	La Paz	Not Indigenous	Licenciatura student; work in consulting and museums	19 Nov 2009
5	40–44	F	USA	Not Indigenous	M.Phil and PhD	20 Nov 2009
6	35–39	M	Santa Cruz	Not Indigenous	Licenciado in Tourism	20 Nov 2009
7	35–39	F	USA	Not Indigenous	10 years in Bolivian archaeology; PhD	21 Nov 2009
8	30–34	M	La Paz	Not Indigenous	Declined to answer	21 Nov 2009
9	35–39	M	Santa Cruz	Mestizo	PhD Candidate; former lecturer in archaeology	22 Nov 2009
10	20–24	F	La Paz	Not Indigenous	Undergraduate degree in archaeology; fieldwork and work in a zooarch lab	7 January 2010
11	30–34	M	La Paz	Aymara	Undergraduate degree in archaeology; two field seasons at Tiwanaku	21 April 2010
12	40–44	M	USA	Not Indigenous	MA in Anthropology and decades of field experience in Bolivia	5 May 2010

Figure 4.1   Demographic information of the respondents to the questionnaire

What, then, is an acceptable response rate for a questionnaire such as this? Initially, this source of information was intended to be self-sufficient, but with a response rate in the high teens, the previously discussed additional sources (editorials, first-hand observation, traditional publications) were added to flesh out the issues. It is important to note that this is not a survey for the purposes of statistical analysis and so issues of sample size and response rate are moot. This questionnaire was conceived of as a stand-in for in-person interviews: a means through which Bolivian archaeologists were able to consciously formulate and express their opinions. To that end, I believe that any voluntary response to the questionnaire is valuable and interesting. This biases the results of the questionnaire to the self-selected group of Bolivian archaeologists willing to respond under the previously presented conditions, but this both cannot be helped and in fact should not be helped: as will be seen in Chapter 7 the diversity of both the respondents and their responses provides the expert insight that the questionnaire was developed to produce.

4.5 Chapter Summary

To recap, in an effort to understand how the massive social and political changes that have occurred in Bolivia over the past few decades have influenced both archaeological practice and the public use of archaeology, a unique three-part methodology was developed. Chapter 5, which contains a complete legal analysis of all Bolivian archaeological law, defines clear periods of political interest in Bolivian archaeology and clarifies the way in which such interests are reflected in the regulations that govern archaeological practice. In other words, through this legal analysis the basic framework within which Bolivian archaeology has operated at various points in time will be described and analysed. Moving away from the machinery of the government, Chapter 6 presents the results of a word-frequency analysis of Bolivian archaeological texts in an effort to better understand how archaeological discourse may have changed in relation to the previously identified political and legal shifts. This analysis represents a quantitative view of change within Bolivian archaeological practice as, by reducing the texts to their component parts, changes in tone and focus can be detected. Finally, Chapter 7 takes on the qualitative aspects of the experience of Bolivian archaeology in relation to political shifts. By combining the results of an essay-based questionnaire with both the archaeological literature and the popular media, changes in and reactions to the various public uses of archaeology can be thoroughly explored. The legal analysis and word frequency

analysis represent tangible aspects of the changing use of the past and archaeological practice in Bolivia through periods of major political change. Chapter 7 represents the intangible or felt aspects of these changes.

Throughout these three chapters, several key topics will be focused upon. Specifically, these topics are: 1) the government's interest in archaeology, 2) Indigenous issues, 3) tourism and 4) archaeological practice. These topics were selected because of their clear relevance to the understanding of modern heritage in Indigenous Latin America (see Chapter 2) and because of their importance in the modern Bolivian political sphere (see Chapter 3). While it is postulated that each one of these key topics has a strong influence on modern Bolivian archaeology and on the use of the Bolivian past in public life, how these topics manifest and how they interrelate is unclear. It is precisely these connections that will be clarified by this three-part methodology.

5. Archaeology and Bolivian Law

Figure 5.0   An archaeologist measures the Gateway of the Sun (photo by the author, 2004)

In this chapter I will present the results of the legal analysis described in Chapter 4. This legal analysis is meant to explore observable changes in governmental archaeological policy through the public record of archaeology and heritage law. I have identified six distinct periods in Bolivian archaeological law. These periods, outlined in Chapter 3, correlate to specific political and social events. That such clear and separate periods are immediately recognisable within the corpus of Bolivian archaeological law supports the assertion that the laws contain important information about the changing political use of the past.

It should be noted that archaeological legislation is a government ideal and may not represent how archaeology is practiced, presented to the public, and experienced (these aspects of the changing nature of Bolivian archaeology will be explored in Chapters 6 and 7). However, a comparative analysis of the entire corpus of Bolivian archaeological law demonstrates how successive Bolivian governments approached the

past. I argue that the legislation passed to govern archaeology reflects both the pressure placed on the discipline by the government and the pressure placed on the government by the public.

5.1 The Six Periods of Bolivian Archaeological Law

Bolivian legislation that was deemed relevant for this study consisted of laws, legal decrees, supreme decrees, ministerial resolutions, constitutions and numerous constitutional amendments spanning from 1906 until 2009 whose wording directly concerned archaeological practice and preservation. The end of the first presidential term of Evo Morales in January of 2010 served as a convenient cut-off point. Based on Bolivian political and social history and the wording of the laws themselves, this corpus can be divided into six periods. The identification of distinct characteristics for each period allows for a degree of cross period comparability and helps to define the changes that have occurred in Bolivian archaeological legislation since the first archaeological law was passed in 1906.

Throughout this chapter specific references to Bolivian archaeological legislation will be given in parenthesis. Several changes have occurred over the past century in the official naming system for Bolivian legislation and not all of the laws and decrees cited here contain an identifying national register entry. However, the available dates, register numbers and title information of every piece of Bolivian archaeological legislation cited in this study appear in Appendix A.

5.2 Early Bolivian Archaeological Law (1906–1952)

5.2.1 Summary of Early Bolivian Archaeological Law

This period of Bolivian archaeological law began in 1906 when the República de Bolivia, under the leadership of President Ismael Montes, passed what can be considered the state's first piece of archaeological legislation. This law declared that the ruins of "Tiahuanaco", the ruins on the islands of Lake Titicaca and all the ruins of "the Inca Epoch and before" are "property of the nation"[34] (República de Bolivia 1906). This declaration naturally led to the government being able to control the right to excavate these archaeological sites and to prohibit antiquities smuggling. The 1906 law was expanded upon by a supreme decree signed in 1909 that both specified the penal code to be used in prosecuting antiquities smugglers and mandated the submission of an archaeological report upon the completion of excavations (República de Bolivia 1909).

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34   "...todas las de la época incásica o anteriores"; "propiedad de la nación"

The next piece of archaeological legislation passed in Bolivia was a 1919 law authorising the construction of the "Tihuanacu Palace"[35] in La Paz to house the National Museum (República de Bolivia 1919). This law was a response to a proposal by archaeologist Arthur Posnansky who is mentioned by name in the text. His "Tihuanacu Palace" was meant to inspire a home-grown national architectural style known as "neo-Tiahuanaco" (Browman 2007). This style can be seen as an early attempt to produce a local sense of neo-classicism: a response to the imported Greco-Roman classicism, ironically suggested by a European.

A 1927 law and a 1930 supreme decree established the National Monument scheme and outlined rules concerning their preservation (República de Bolivia 1927; 1930). The list of National Monuments provided in the 1930 decree consists primarily of ecclesiastical buildings and other historic structures. It was not until 1945 that an archaeological site was officially added to the list indicating that these 'National Monuments' were initially conceived of as non-portable historic structures and the objects within them. Following soon after the creation of the National Monument scheme, a 1931 law was passed that created the national "Tourism Promotion Service", citing the country's "archaeological and ethnic" offerings as "magnificent grounds for the attraction of travellers" [36] (República de Bolivia 1931).

Constitutional reforms approved under Colonel Germán Busch in 1938 consolidated the various archaeological powers that the state claimed in prior legislation (Nuevos Aportes 2005: 2). Specifically, Article 163 proclaims that all artistic, archaeological and historical riches as well as religious objects are cultural treasure of the nation and thus cannot be exported. This article also ensures that the state will protect buildings, places and objects that are deemed to be of historic or artistic value (República de Bolivia 1938; Galindo de Ugarte 1991: 572) and represents the first time that archaeological resources are mentioned in a Bolivian constitution (Nuevos Aportes 2005: 2).

Following the new constitution, a 1939 law signed by provisional president Carlos Quintanilla set the legal standards for the newly created General Directorate of Tourism within the Ministry of Foreign Relations (República de Bolivia 1939). Archaeological sites are mentioned several times in this sprawling piece and the Directorate is charged with contributing to the better understanding of Bolivia's archaeological monuments, providing propaganda about "archaeological relics" by

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35   "Palacio Tihuanacu"
36   "Servicio de Fomento al Turismo"; "arqueológico y étnico"; "magníficos motivos de atracción de los viajeros"

"competent authorities"[37], contributing to the conservation of archaeological monuments, and endeavouring to prevent tourists from removing artefacts from the country.

It should come as no surprise that the archaeological site first declared a National Monument was the site of Tiwanaku (República de Bolivia 1945), and in 1948 a law was passed that lifted a previous ban on excavation at Tiwanaku, but only for the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts (República de Bolivia 1948). The 1948 law also mandated the construction of a museum at Tiwanaku to house antiquities found during the reconstructions. Furthermore, it required any antiquities innocently found during building or agriculture by members of the local communities to be turned over to the new museum. This law was signed by President Enrique Hertzog Garaizabal, whose unsuccessful term was characterised by an attempt to move Bolivia back to a pre-Chaco War oligarchic state: a goal which eventually led to the 1952 Revolution and the second period of Bolivian archaeological law.

5.2.2 Use of the Past by the Government (1906–1952)

To assess government use of the past as reflected in the legislation of any period, it is important to recall the definition of *archaeological nationalism* presented in Chapter 2. The question is, then, were the Bolivian governments of this early period in archaeological legislation specifically using past-based symbolism and other tangible but non-archaeological aspects of the past to construct a national identity and support their goals? I think they were not.

The use of the past to assert the geographic validity of the modern state does not appear in the Bolivian archaeological laws of the period. In this vein, the move to declare all antiquities to be property of the nation seems less a nation-building endeavour and more representative of a desire to place all natural resources under government control following significant territory loss (see Section 5.2.6). The laws regarding antiquities are directly comparable with other Bolivian natural resource legislation from the period and thus do not appear to be related to the creation of an archaeologically based geographic foundation mythology.

Within the legislation from this period there does appear to be a special preference for Tiwanaku above other sites, an early stage of the 'Tiwanaku-centrism' of Bolivian archaeology. However, the manner in which the preference for Tiwanaku

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37   "reliquias históricas y arqueológicas"; "autoridades competentes"

manifests itself in these laws does not clearly indicate that the site was being used by the government to construct a national identity on a large scale.

5.2.3 Indigenous Concerns in Archaeological Law (1906-1952)

The laws of this period do not betray an interest in asserting any form of ethnic continuity with past civilisations: no group, Indigenous or otherwise, is specifically listed as a descendant group or cultural inheritor. Indigenous Bolivians are entirely absent from the archaeological legislation from this period and little information can be gained from the law about their use of the past during this period. The absence of Indigenous inclusion in Bolivian public and political life at this time is described in Chapter 3 and it should come as no surprise that early Bolivian archaeological law ignores the existence of Indigenous people.

5.2.4 Archaeological Tourism (1906–1952)

Even at this early stage, governmental interest in past-based tourism is present within the archaeological legislation from this period. The 1931 law that created the national Tourism Promotion Service mentions Bolivia's archaeological offerings as a particular attraction for foreign tourists, stating that it was incumbent on the government to direct the flow of tourism to the country and help the hotel industry. The 1939 law that dictates the function of the General Directorate of Tourism also mentions archaeological resources as a particular tourist attraction and describes a need to conserve monuments and prevent tourists from exporting artefacts. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this law is that the Directorate is charged with creating promotional material about archaeological sites that is written by a "competent authority". It can be assumed that the government's view of archaeological information most likely privileged archaeological authority (as opposed to Indigenous authority), assigning competency to archaeological experience.

The Law of 1945, which declared Tiwanaku to be a national monument, mentions the importance of tourism, although in a slightly opaque way. The law states that "as a means of promoting tourism" the president will create a committee with the "objective of reconstructing a population/village in the Tiahuanacota Style, based on all of the ruins that exist in that place"[38]. What exactly that means is not elaborated upon, however this law evidences a concern over the touristic appeal of Tiwanaku. The

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38   ''Como medio de fomentar el turismo'';'' a objeto de reconstruir una población estilo tiahuanacota, a base de todas las ruinas que existen en aquel lugar''

idea that Bolivian archaeological sites, particularly Tiwanaku, require beautification for tourists is a theme seen in various periods of Bolivian archaeological law.

5.2.5 Archaeological Practice and the Law (1906–1952)

These early laws give only a small glimpse of the actual practice of archaeology at this time. The law of 1906 entrusts archaeological excavations to applicable geographic societies, provided they hold a government permit, and by doing so relies on trusting the auspices of those institutions to provide academic credibility. Following this, the law of 1909 severely restricts excavation at Tiwanaku and the Islands of Lake Titicaca, limiting it to only those individuals who have both presented a "scientific plan" and obtained government permission. It appears as if archaeological work in Bolivia in this early period was limited and was primarily the pastime of foreigners. Outside of minimal excavation permit granting, the government stayed out of the details of archaeological excavation at least with regards to formal legislation.

One exception to the general foreign dominance of early Bolivian archaeology seen in the legislation of this period is the mention of Arthur Posnansky in the 1919 law that created the national museum in his 'neo-Tiahuanaco' style. As the only archaeologist specifically named in any Bolivian archaeological law, it is impossible to dismiss Posnansky's role in early Bolivian archaeology on the ground based on his fantastical theories. As was mentioned in Chapter 3, there is evidence that Posnansky was able to have American archaeologist Wendell C. Bennett removed from excavations at Tiwanaku and Posnansky's involvement in the formation of the national museum seems to indicate that, at least at a governmental level, Bolivian archaeology followed Posnansky. A move towards the favouring of Bolivian archaeologists over foreigners can be seen in the 1948 law concerning Tiwanaku. This law lifts restrictions on excavating at Tiwanaku only for the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, which is further ordered to start reconstructing the monuments there. This reconstruction is not specifically linked either to tourism or to public use of the past, but is clearly meant to be an element of archaeological excavation at the site.

5.2.6 Additional Comments (1906–1952)

The archaeological legislation from this period seems to reflect the actions of an unstable state that is feeling its way around in the territory that it has left. By this I mean that Bolivian archaeological law in the first half of the twentieth century was crafted in a period marked by great territorial loss. In 1903 Bolivia lost the Acre War to Brazil and was forced to cede a significant area of land (de Mesa, Gisbert and Mesa

Gisbert 2007: 400). In 1904, more than twenty years after the conclusion of the War of the Pacific, Bolivia signed a peace treaty with Chile (de Mesa, Gisbert and Mesa Gisbert 2007: 403) which officially acknowledged the cession of Bolivia's coastline, a loss which remains a political and emotional issue in the country up to the present day (Mesa Gisbert 2006: 648). The disastrous Chaco War (1932–1935) ended with Bolivia losing a massive amount of the Gran Chaco region to Paraguay (de Mesa, Gisbert and Mesa Gisbert 2007: 431–443).

Very little of the public use of the past can be seen in this legislation. Indeed, the concerns of the entire Indigenous majority of the country are entirely absent from these laws. What is clear is that the government's main concern at this time was archaeological stability and protection: the act of laying the groundwork to prevent antiquities trafficking and unauthorised archaeological excavations. This may have been out of a concern for tourism, as evidenced by the mention of archaeological remains in tourism legislation in the 1930s and 1940s, or it could simply be a shoring up of natural resources on the road to state modernisation.

5.3 The Nationalist Period (1952–1978)

5.3.1 Summary of Nationalist Period Bolivian Archaeological Law

Following the 1948 law concerning reconstruction at Tiwanaku (República de Bolivia 1948), no directly archaeological legislation was passed in Bolivia until 1958. In the intervening years, the state went through significant political and social changes stemming from the 1952 revolution and subsequent agrarian reform led by the MNR (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario). In 1958, the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts implemented an exhaustive resolution in an attempt to modernise Bolivian archaeological practice (República de Bolivia 1958). This resolution created the Bolivian Department of Archaeology which became the only body able to grant excavation permits within the country. The regulation stipulated what was required of an individual who wished to obtain a dig permit, outlined the quality and calibre of work to be done during excavation and mandated certain post-excavation submissions. Three classes of archaeological site were defined by the resolution. The first class were "National Archaeological Monuments"[39]: Tiwanaku, Wakani, Pariti, Kumana, Lukermata, Chiripa, Kewaya, Pajchini, Pako, Takiri, Sikuya, Iñija, Koana, Inkallajta and the islands of Titicaca and Koata as well as sites to be designated in the future. The second class was composed of sites that had "limited archaeological remains of lesser

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39   ''monumentos nacionales arqueológicos''

execution"[40] and that were considered to be of no artistic or monetary value. The third class were those sites that were deemed to be of purely scientific interest, such as landfills. According to this resolution sites that were declared to be National Archaeological Monuments could only be excavated for the purpose of restoration.

In a further attempt to modernise the Bolivian archaeological system, the Ministry of Education implemented another resolution that mandated centralised record-keeping of all private and public museum holdings (República de Bolivia 1961c). Billed as "safeguarding the Artistic Treasures of the Nation,"[41] this resolution obliged any entity that possessed historical or archaeological objects crafted before 1900 to register them with the authorities or face significant fines. The artefacts in question could not be restored without the permission of the Ministry of Education, nor could they be exported. Constitutional reform, also enacted in 1961, slightly modified the section of the federal constitution that pertained to archaeological materials. Article 199 of the 1961 constitution retained all of the content of Article 163 of the 1938 constitution (Nuevos Aportes 2005: 2) with the addition that "archaeological monuments and objects are property of the State"[42] (República de Bolivia 1961a; Galindo de Urgarte 1991: 573). This passage is rooted in Supreme Decree No 05918, which effectively mandated the same thing (República de Bolivia 1961b; Sociedad de Arqueología de La Paz n.d.).

The collapse of the MNR government came in the form of a 1964 coup (de Mesa, Gisbert and Mesa Gisbert 2007: 509). Following this, Bolivia was ruled by a series of unelected military leaders until 1966. In that year, former MNR member René Barrientos Ortuño, one of the 1964 coup leaders who was already an unelected co-president, was elected to the presidency as all viable opponents were in exile (de Mesa, Gisbert and Mesa Gisbert 2007:515). Barrientos approved further constitutional reform in 1967 and the article concerning archaeological objects was slightly expanded upon. Article 191 of the 1967 constitution is identical to Article 199 of the 1961 constitution except that an additional clause obliged the state to keep a registry of archaeological objects, to provide funds for their custodianship and to attend to their conservation (República de Bolivia 1967; Galindo de Urgarte 1991: 572). This constitutionalised both the previously mentioned 1961 Ministry of Education resolution and a 1965 legal decree (República de Bolivia 1965) that introduced the mandatory registration of "Cultural

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40   "aquellos que exhiben limitados restos arquitectónicos, de ejecución menor que los precedentes"
41   "resguardo del tesoto artistico de la nacion"
42   "los monumentos y objetos arqueologicos son de propiedad del Estado"

Treasures of the Nation". The additional constitutional clause notably obliged the state to inventory private as well as public collections (Nuevos Aportes 2005: 3; Sociedad de Arqueología de La Paz n.d.).

Following more political unrest and Barrientos' death in a helicopter crash in 1969 (de Mesa, Gisbert and Mesa Gisbert 2007: 517), Bolivia was governed by a series of unelected military leaders ruling for very short periods of time. In 1971 General Hugo Banzer Suárez gained control after a bloody anti-leftist uprising (de Mesa, Gisbert and Mesa Gisbert 2007: 526). As far as archaeological objects are concerned, Supreme Decrees 12302 and 12638, both from 1975, were the first pieces of legislation to appear for nearly a decade. The first decree asserted that the "Instituto Nacional de Arqueología" (INAR) was the only state institution charged with the investigation of the pre-Conquest past and the second gave this organisation the responsibility of managing the inventory mandated by Article 191 of the 1967 Constitution (República de Bolivia 1975a, 1975b; Sociedad de Arqueología de La Paz n.d.).

In 1978, General Juan Pereda Asbun, who was the de facto president at the time, signed Legal Decree No 15900 (República de Bolivia 1978). Pereda had been handpicked by Hugo Banzer to run for president and massive election fraud ensured his win. However, Banzer denounced his own fraud causing Pereda and his supporters to oust Banzer in a coup (Mesa Gisbert 2006: 714). Pereda lasted for only four months in office, but in that short time he signed legislation that corrected an inconsistency in archaeological law: Legal Decree No 15900 appears to be an attempt to close a gap in the 1967 constitution. According to Article 22, private property could not be expropriated by the state but according to Article 191 anything that was considered to be Cultural Treasure of the Nation was under state control (República de Bolivia 1967). The decree clarified the situation by stating that cultural treasure in private hands that was either unregistered or not being taken care of properly was subject to seizure as a special class of objects (República de Bolivia 1978).

5.3.2 Government Use of the Past in the Nationalist Period

It is quite safe to assert that the pieces of legislation from the post-1952 period reflect a move towards nationalistic archaeology as outlined in Chapter 2. By this, I mean disciplinary archaeology performed by a trained practitioner to further the goals of a state government. This tangible alteration of archaeological practice and conclusions is most likely due to the presence of the archaeologist Carlos Ponce Sanginés on the national scene. Following the 1952 reforms, Ponce and his followers

effectively institutionalised Bolivian archaeology, founding CIAT (Centre of Archaeological Investigations in Tiwanaku) in 1958 and INAR (Instituto Nacional de Arqueología) in 1975 (Janusek 2004b: 64). Ponce openly described his archaeological programme as 'nationalistic' and saw his work as directly in opposition to the 'neo-colonial' archaeology of the USA and Europe (Janusek 2004b: 64). The 1958 Ministry of Education Resolution was a direct product of Ponce's nationalist vision.

The Tiwanaku-centrism noted in the previous period is clearly maintained following the 1952 revolution. Within the 1958 Ministry of Education Resolution, the site of Tiwanaku as well as Inka period sites are clearly favoured over all others, for example in the singling out of certain archaeological sites as "first class" (República de Bolivia 1958). Of the 13 first class sites listed in the resolution, ten are considered by archaeologists to be mostly Tiwanaku culture/period sites. All of the sites are in the Altiplano near Lake Titicaca and are associated with 'empire' cultures; the Amazonian lowlands are not represented at all. By law, these sites were awarded greater levels of care in excavation and, most significantly, required post-excavation restoration for the stated benefit of the people. These monuments, it is presumed, were seen by the government as coming to symbolise the state.

Government use of the past permeated all aspects of archaeological and public interaction with the past in this period, at least in the arenas that are evidenced by archaeological law. Discussed individually below, Indigenous use of the past, past-based tourism, and especially archaeological practice were purposefully incorporated into a government conception of who and what archaeology was for.

5.3.3 Indigenous Issues and Archaeological Law in the Nationalist Period

As discussed in Chapter 3, the 1952 Revolution fundamentally changed various important aspects of Indigenous participation in Bolivian public life. Agrarian reform combined with the right to vote and to seek education represent a major shift in how Indigenous people interacted with the Bolivian political landscape. However, there is no mention of Indigenous people or their concerns in the archaeological legislation from this period. While Carlos Ponce did believe that modern Indigenous people were the descendants of the builders of monumental sites, such blood ties are not asserted in the law in any way. Ultimately, the 1958 Ministry of Education Resolution links archaeological sites, specifically the monumental ones, with the modern state of Bolivia rather than either confining these sites to the past or assigning them specifically to the modern Aymara or Quechua people. That Indigenous Bolivians deserved any sort of

added influence over the archaeology of the state would be antithetical to the MNR vision of a homogenised Bolivia and to Ponce's belief in 'Nationalist Archaeology'. As in the previous period, Indigenous use of the past cannot be determined through the archaeological law of the Nationalistic period.

5.3.4 Archaeological Tourism in the Nationalist Period

The promotion of archaeological or past-based tourism is not addressed in the archaeological legislation from this period. This may be because of the effective implementation of the previous laws but is more likely a result of the general inward focus of archaeology at this time. The idea that the government was creating an ancient Bolivia for Bolivians meant that any hints at the touristic or experimental value of archaeological sites were shrouded in nationalistic discourse.

Perhaps the only hint of tourism in the legislation from this period comes from the 1958 Ministerial Resolution governing archaeological practice. In it, 'first class' archaeological sites were required to be reconstructed after being excavated by archaeologists. Clearly this mandate for reconstruction can be interpreted to be as minor as stabilisation. However, as was discussed in Chapter 3, full reconstruction was undertaken in earnest at Tiwanaku during this period. It seems as if this reconstruction was done for the benefit of internal Bolivian tourism, rather than international tourism, as the listed purpose of the reconstruction mandate was for the good of the populace. Indeed, it seems like the rebuilt Tiwanaku was, again, meant to serve the Nationalist Archaeology vision of Ponce by engendering national pride.

5.3.5 Archaeological Law and Archaeological Practice in the Nationalist Period

One of the most sweeping effects of the laws of this period on the practice of Bolivian archaeology was a complete ban on foreign archaeologists. Legally this took the form of nearly impossible permit requirements for foreign researchers. In the 1958 ministerial resolution, INAR is entrusted with the power to grant all archaeological permits and the system of criteria clearly favours Bolivian citizens. For example, Article 16 of the resolution requests that foreigners attach aerial photographs of proposed excavation sites to any permit request, an expensive requirement which Bolivian citizens were exempt from. Article 45 of the resolution states that foreign archaeologists must provide the Department of Archaeology with 50 free copies of all publications that result from archaeological work performed in Bolivia. Bolivian citizens, however, were only required to provide 10 copies. Also, Article 29 states that foreign persons are only allowed to work at 'first class' archaeological sites under exceptional

circumstances. In effect, foreign archaeologists were banned from conducting archaeological work in Bolivia for two decades.

The archaeological legislation of this period represents a clear and sweeping change in how archaeology was practiced in Bolivia. Going beyond simply claiming the power to grant or deny excavation permits, the 1958 resolution in particular re-defined Bolivian archaeology and delineated mandated standards of practice. This institutionalisation process, however, was conducted for nationalistic purposes and Ponce's 'Nationalist Archaeology' became Bolivian archaeology.

5.4 The "Lost Decade" (1979–1987)[43]

During this decade no new archaeological legislation was introduced in Bolivia beyond a short law that established an archaeological museum in the Department of el Beni (República de Bolivia 1986a) and another that expropriated the site of Yumani and ensured appropriate payment to the previous owners (República de Bolivia 1986b). Despite this lack of legislation, I believe that the political decisions made during this time period have a clear effect on the particular character of later Bolivian archaeological legislation.

5.4.1 Government use of the Past (1979–1987)

The seemingly inevitable overthrow of Juan Pereda sent the country into a downward spiral of de facto military dictators and ruling juntas strung together by a series of coups d'état. In 1982, Hernán Siles Zuazo became president once again, having been voted into office in 1980. Siles Zuazo left office in 1985 with Bolivia's inflation at an all time high and his popularity at an all time low. The remainder of this lost decade was made up by the third and final presidency of Víctor Paz Estenssoro. Having moved far from his original MNR platform over the years, Paz Estenssoro introduced the radically neoliberal New Economic Policy (NEP) to Bolivia in an attempt to curb hyperinflation. Though it, hyperinflation was immediately curtailed; however, Bolivia remained the poorest country in South America. A complete discussion of this policy is outside of the purview of this legal summary, but it is important to note that up until this point Bolivia managed its resources in a very state-centred manner, a leftover of the MNR reforms of the 1950s. The NEP transformed Bolivia into a privatisation-oriented country where natural patrimony was converted into a commodity.

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43 This term was directly taken from an interview conducted with former Bolivian president Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada (PBS 2001), but "la Década Perdida" is generally the accepted term for the Latin American financial crises of the 1980s. I think it is usefully applied here because it is clear that financial crisis was the main focus of the Bolivian governments of this decade and archaeology, along with nearly everything else, was "lost".

All told, this massive shift to privatisation based around neoliberal economic policies may be the primary reason why there is little in the way of new archaeological legislation during this period. Archaeological law nearly always takes the form of regulation, rather than deregulation. It is easy to see how archaeological nationalism would not be a driving force within a privatising framework.

5.4.2 Indigenous Issues and Tourism in Archaeological Legislation (1979–1987)

Yet again, Indigenous issues with regard to archaeology and the use of the past are not reflected in legislation from this period. As discussed in Chapter 3, this period saw the rise in some of the sharpest criticisms of Bolivian archaeology coming from within the educated Aymara elite. Yet the mature pro-Indigenous, anti-archaeological establishment commentaries of such authors as Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui (1980; 1984) and Carlos Mamani Condori (1989) are not seen in contemporary legislation.

Tourism is not addressed in the two pieces of archaeological legislation from this period. Indeed, tourism does not seem to have been a major concern for the governments of this period.

5.4.3 Archaeological Law and Archaeological Practice (1979–1987)

Although not apparent in the scant legislation from this period, archaeology in Bolivia seems to have experienced a certain degree of neoliberal commodification. While archaeological resources could not be entirely privatised without sweeping legal changes, the neoliberal reforms did allow for the re-introduction of foreign archaeologists who were no longer barred by the archaeology-by-and-for-Bolivians mentality of the previous time period. Again, this is not seen in the scant archaeological legislation from this period but it is likely that this would change archaeological practice immensely, essentially negating the closed nationalistic archaeology from the period before. Another important change to archaeological practice in Bolivia during this period was the formal creation of an archaeology degree at the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés in August of 1984 (Diez Astete 1993: 245), but, again, this major change is not evident in the legislation from this period. Due to the lack of archaeological legislation from this period, however, this particular change in Bolivian archaeological practice will be explored in Chapters 6 and 7.

5.5 Institutional, International and Indigenous Archaeology (1988–2001)

This period is characterised by Bolivia's return to relatively stable democracy following a strategic political accord which led to the presidency of Jaime Paz Zamora in 1989. The fragility of the Bolivian democratic process at this time and the lingering controversy over the particulars of the neoliberal reforms of the previous period seems to have produced a political environment where certain types of past-based issues were discussed and legislated for the first time. Particularly, as will be expanded upon below, this period saw an significant increase in archaeological law that required a sense of internationalism and participation in such bodies as UNESCO. This is a far cry from the closed-door archaeological policy of the Nationalist period. Also, for the first time, the archaeological laws of this period acknowledge the existence of Indigenous people and some even address their concerns. The legislation from this period displays a government interest in promoting an inclusive, multi-ethnic Bolivia that participates on a world stage.

5.5.1 Government Use of the Past (1988–2001)

Very little in the archaeological legislation of this period is focused on either nationalistic archaeology or archaeological nationalism. A striking aspect of the legislation of this period is a focus on internationalism. During this time the government of Bolivia was trying to portray itself as a peaceful modern democracy by participating in various international efforts towards antiquities preservation and cultural exchange. For example a 1997 supreme decree authorised the loan of 50 "pieces of the cultural patrimony of the nation"[44] to a museum exhibit in New York City (República de Bolivia 1997). In particular, much Bolivian law from this period betrays a strong interest in UNESCO.

In 1988 the government declared the site of Incallajta in the department of Cochabamba to be a national monument, assigning the task of defining the site to the Archaeology Institute at the University Mayor de San Simón (República de Bolivia 1988). Incallajta would eventually be placed on the UNESCO World Heritage List and it was during this period that Bolivia began its enthusiastic participation in UNESCO. Also in 1988 the government of Bolivia requested that the United States place emergency import restrictions on textiles produced by the Indigenous people of Coroma under the terms of the UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and

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44   "piezas del Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación"

Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (UNESCO 1970). In March of 1989, this request was successful and it effectively barred the movement of Coroma textiles into the US for three years (United States Customs Service 1989). In 1993, this ban was extended for another three years. The import restrictions led to a number of returns and are considered successful (Booth Conroy 1992; Lowenthal 1992).

Within Bolivia, the MOU was supported by Supreme Decree No 22546, which mandated that any seized Coroma textiles were to be returned to their place of origin, not into the national museum system, because the objects are considered the "inalienable collective property of all members of the [Coroma] community"[45] (República de Bolivia 1990). This is a notable shift from previous legislation that required antiquities to enter into the national museum system.

Following the success of the Coroma MOU, there was a strong push from within the government to have Tiwanaku placed on the UNESCO world heritage list. Tiwanaku was initially referred for World Heritage inclusion in 1991, but the UNESCO committee ruled that the boundaries of the protected area needed to be more clearly defined. In 1998 the bid was deferred again, although a site from a later period, Fuerte de Samaipata near Santa Cruz, was listed. At that time the UNESCO committee confirmed the significance of Tiwanaku but ruled that Bolivia needed to increase its internal protection scheme (Slots 2008).

In response to the UNESCO rulings, President Hugo Banzer Suárez signed Supreme Decree No 25263 which referred to Bolivia's ratification of the UNESCO convention and called for the creation of a "National Commission of Protection, Conservation and Management"[46] of Tiwanaku (República de Bolivia 1998). This was expanded upon by Supreme Decree 25647 which created a "Zone of Protection and Cushioning"[47], basically a 71.5 hectare protected area with a 100-meter-wide protected perimeter that included the site core, the Pumapunku area, the Mollokontu area and the site's museum complex (República de Bolivia 2000a). Notably, this supreme decree charged the national archaeological service with instigating an education campaign for the residents of the Ingavi Province in an effort to protect Tiwanaku and related sites of cultural patrimony from looting, using wording that was clearly designed to appease the criticisms of the UNESCO committee. Following the previously mentioned pieces of

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45   "son propiedad colectiva inalienable de todos los miembros de la comunidad"
46   "Comisión Nacional de Protección, Conservación y Gestión"
47   "Zona de Protección y Amortiguación"

legislation, Tiwanaku was officially placed on the World Heritage list in November of 2000 (UNESCO 2000).

5.5.2 Indigenous Issues and Archaeological Law (1988–2001)

For the very first time, the wording of much of the archaeological legislation from this period reflects an interest in Indigenous appeasement. The year 1989 marked Bolivia's transition back into relatively peaceful democratic elections and the archaeological legislation following the 1989 election may reflect an attempt towards Indigenous inclusion. For example, Supreme Decree 22338 from 1989 declared Tiwanaku to be an "Imperial Millenarian City" and asserted that the site has "given birth to our Nationality and Identity as a Free and Sovereign Country" and had "contributed to the creation of the Bolivian state"[48] (República de Bolivia 1989a). The site is declared to be both 'Imperial', a continuation of post-1952 political aggrandisement, and to be 'Millenarian/Millenary/Thousand-Year-Old', as if to acknowledge a more Indigenous concept of deep time. These word choices contribute to the creation of potentially competing founding mythologies for Bolivian nationhood. Soon afterward, the previously mentioned 1990 supreme decree that called for the return of Coroma textiles specifically states that the returned objects are to go to the Coroma community, not the National Museum. The decree shows a growing awareness of Indigenous cultural property rights and concerns, at least for one class of antiquity, and effectively declares that the people of Coroma have a collective claim to these textiles that is superior to any claim that the Bolivian nation as a whole might have.

The constitutional amendments enacted by president Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada Bustamante during his first term in 1994 demonstrate marked what was, at the very least, a semantic change in how Indigenousness was referred to in Bolivian public discourse. At that time, the text of Article 1 of the constitution was amended by Law No 1585 to describe Bolivia as "multiethnic and pluricultural"[49] (República de Bolivia 1994b). In another nod to Indigenous interests, Supreme Decree No 24117 ordered the "restitution"[50] of a major sculpture from Tiwanaku known as the Bennett Monolith or Bennett Stela to a specially made museum at the site (República de Bolivia 1995). The Bennett Monolith was excavated by Wendell C. Bennett in 1932 and moved to La Paz in 1933 largely due to the influence of Arthur Posnansky. This transfer was much

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48   "milenaria ciudad imperial"; "han dado origen a su Nacionalidad e Identidad como País Libre y Soberano"; "han contribuido a la creación del Estado Boliviano"
49   "multietnica y pluricultural"
50   "restitución"

criticised over the years for a variety of reasons (see Scarborough 2008). Yet, despite being seen by many as an internal case of Indigenous repatriation, the return of the stela did not actually occur until 2003 (Scarborough 2008) and the 1994 decree specifically does not acknowledge Indigenous concern over or claim to the statue.

Indigenous concepts of the past are a component of the Tiwanaku UNESCO bid. In the official declaration of World Heritage status, Tiwanaku was called the "Spiritual and Political Centre of the Tiwanaku Culture" (UNESCO 2000). This wording reflects the same potentially mutually exclusive founding mythology evident in the word choice of Supreme Decree 22338 ('Imperial' vs. 'Millenarian/Millenary/Thousand-Year-Old'); the UNESCO wording references the ideological split in archaeology between Tiwanaku seen as the powerful capital of an empire, a view espoused by post-1952 nationalistic archaeology, and Tiwanaku seen as the spiritual base of a long-lasting, millenarian cultural tradition.

The UNESCO declaration was followed by perhaps the most obvious indication of the growing sense of Indigenous power within Bolivia: the transfer of the management of Tiwanaku to the village of Tiwanaku itself in 2000 (República de Bolivia 2000b). This law corrects what could be seen as a fatal political flaw in the 1998 law that created the National Commission of Protection, Conservation and Management of Tiwanaku by making the Tiwanaku community, rather than representatives of government ministries, the primary decision makers on the committee. This law was supported by Supreme Decree No 26274 that not only mandates an archaeological presence on the Tiwanaku management commission, but specifically calls for "a representative of the Council of Mallkus of Tiwanaku"[51] to serve on that committee as well, effectively guaranteeing a community-based Indigenous presence in all decision-making (República de Bolivia 2001).

The presence of archaeological legislation that acknowledges Indigenous concerns marks a clear break from the previously discussed periods. Yet the change is merely that Indigenous concerns are acknowledged at all; one cannot say that this period of legislation is markedly pro-Indigenous. These are not archaeological laws that favour an Indigenous version of the past. Rather they represent a sense of historical duality supported by the white ruling oligarchy.

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51   "Un representante del Consejo de Mallkus de Tiwanaku"

5.5.3 Archaeological Tourism (1988–2001)

Tourism is not the stated primary concern of any of the archaeological legislation from this period. That is not to say that tourism was not an interest of the government. Indeed, a number of non-archaeological laws passed at this time do relate to tourism management and development, however none of these specifically pair tourism and archaeology.

5.5.4 Archaeological Law and Archaeological Practice (1988–2001)

The most obvious legal change related to archaeological practice during this period is a ministerial resolution in 1997, signed by the National Secretary of Culture, that reformed the regulation of archaeological investigation in Bolivia (República de Bolivia 1997). This resolution was meant to be an adaptation or modernisation of the 1958 ministerial resolution that first imposed a lengthy series of standards for archaeological practice within the country. The Dirección Nacional de Arqueología y Antropología (DINAAR) is named as the ultimate authority for permit-issuing and regulation of archaeological excavation within the country. The burdens imposed on foreign researchers by the 1958 resolution are mostly lifted[52], however the resolution requires that all foreign projects include Bolivian "counterparts", essentially meaning that foreign projects are required to have a Bolivian co-director and contain some DINAAR-accredited Bolivian archaeologists. Foreign projects are required to enter into a contract with DINAAR that states that they will comply with Bolivian archaeological law and will not remove any items from Bolivia without the direct approval of the authorities. To obtain an excavation permit, Bolivian researchers are required to hold a degree in archaeology and have a history of publication and excavation and they are required to leave a deposit with DINAAR as collateral to prove they will hand over any artefacts that they recover. It is also notable that the regulation keeps the system of defining sites by class, however so-called second and third class sites are specifically mentioned as suitable sites for excavations conducted by authorized students of archaeology who need excavation experience for their archaeology degree. The technical requirements for archaeological investigation and reporting in this resolution are more or less the same as those defined in the 1958 resolution.

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52   Instead of requiring 50 free copies of any publication that results from excavations in Bolivia, the 1997 resolution requires that foreigners provide 20 free copies of publications. Bolivians are required to provide 10 free copies. The disproportionate requirements are primarily due to the fact that all Bolivian archaeologists, at least theoretically, are employed by DINAAR and foreign archaeologists are not.

Several of the laws passed during this period reflect a legal interest in the practice of archaeology[53]. For example, a 1989 law that calls for the immediate preservation of the ruins of El Fuerte located near Samaipata, Santa Cruz takes a strikingly more archaeological and professional tone than previous legislation, noting that "the structure is experiencing increasing deterioration and, because of human action and natural forces, there exists the danger of its total destruction in the short term"[54] (República de Bolivia 1989b). A 1994 law which pledged national support for the Palaeontology and Archaeology Museum of Tarija is also slightly more technical than previous periods of legislation in that it specifically assigns funds for the development of a "program of Paleontological-Archaeological and Anthropological Investigation"[55] (República de Bolivia 1994a). One law from this period even creates a specific formal position to be filled by an archaeologist. Following the site's inscription on the World Heritage list, Supreme Decree No 26274 created the positions of "Administrative Chief" and "Resident Archaeologist"[56] at Tiwanaku (República de Bolivia 2001).

The question remains if any change in archaeological practice can be seen in the laws from this period. A continuation of Tiwanaku-centrism is apparent in the sheer number of laws passed during this period that relate to that site. Even a supreme decree that declared the site of Jachakala to be a national monument cited the site's "affiliation corresponding to the Tiwanaku State in its classic and expansive epoch"[57], assigning it value due to association with an imperial Tiwanaku (República de Bolivia 1999). The portrayal of Tiwanaku as 'Imperial' in some of the legislation harkens back to the nationalistic archaeology evident in previous archaeological legislation and the work of Capriles (2003) and Paz (from Roddick 2004) goes a long way towards explaining the continued presence of evidently nationalist sentiment in the archaeological legislation of the period. These scholars believe that the institutionalisation of archaeology in Bolivia as a nationalistic endeavour in the 1950s resulted in a self-sustaining nationalist tradition among archaeologists themselves that continued despite various Indigenous allegations of neo-colonialism (for example

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53   Worthy of note, at least for semantic purposes, is Secretarial Resolution No 064/96 that officially changed the name of The National Institute of Archaeology to The National Directorate of Archaeology and Anthropology (República de Bolivia 1996).

54   "cuya estructura está sufriendo un creciente deterioro por, la acción humana y de los elementos naturales, existiendo el peligro de su total destrucción a corto plazo"

55   "Programa de Investigación Paleontológica-Arqueológica y Antropológica"

56   "Jefe Administrativo";"Arqueólogo Residente"

57   "afiliación cultural corresponde al Estado Tiwanaku en su época clásica y expansiva"

Rivera Cusicanqui 1980; 1987; Mamani Condori1989). Basically, they assert that Nationalist Archaeology in Bolivia became self-perpetuating and continued to influence archaeological practice and conclusions well after both Ponce's retirement and other major political changes.

As discussed previously, certain Indigenous ideas began to trickle into the archaeological laws of this period. However, within the laws themselves, Indigenous issues and archaeological concerns appear to have been sharply divided. This may be a result of an ideological push in the Bolivian archaeological community at the time called "nuestra gente, de nuestra pueblo"[58] (Paz from Roddick 2004). Paz believes that this effort was in direct contrast with the idea of a multi-ethnic (and perhaps multi-vocal) Bolivia, which prevailed in a variety of political and social sectors within the country. Instead, Paz believes this archaeological movement represented the same homogenising desires of Ponce's original 'nationalist archaeology' and that it fostered a sort of academic nationalism resulting in an increased separation between archaeologists and Indigenous groups within Bolivia (Paz from Roddick 2004). This may account for the presence of "imperial" nationalist wording within archaeological legislation alongside "millenarian" Indigenous sentiment.

5.6 Indigenous Political Successes, Archaeological Tourism and a Loss of Cohesion (2002–2005)

5.6.1 The Political Landscape

Laws passed during this period reflect the country's precarious social situation following a variety of major Indigenous-led social upheavals. In 2001 Hugo Banzer Suárez resigned the presidency ostensibly due to lung cancer, but the disastrous Cochabamba 'Water Wars' no doubt sped his exit. In 2002 Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada Bustamante, known as 'Goni', was elected to his second (non-sequential) term as president. During this national election, Indigenous political groups commanded a substantial percentage of the voter share, and the party MAS (Movimiento al Socialism), fronted by Evo Morales, lost only by around 1.6 percent (see Chapter 3). In 2003 the extended social conflicts surrounding the ownership and management of Bolivia's natural gas reserves, known as the 'Gas Wars', came to a head with the violent suppression of Indigenous blockades by the Bolivian military. This was a significant rallying point for Bolivia's Indigenous majority and the turmoil led to Sánchez de

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58   "our people, our community"

Lozada's resignation from the presidency in October of 2003. Carlos Mesa Gisbert, a historian and the sitting vice president, replaced Sánchez de Lozada. He too resigned from the presidency in June of 2005 due to Indigenous criticism and public protest. The chief justice of the Supreme Court, Eduardo Rodríguez, replaced Mesa as president after two other men in the line of succession declined the office. A general presidential election was then held in December of 2005.

5.6.2 Government Use of the Past (2002–2005)

It would be difficult to describe this period as containing a clear sense of archaeological nationalism; rather, the laws are opportunistic and reflect a country that was rapidly losing its sense of social and political cohesion. Carlos Mesa Gisbert, himself a historian and co-author of various books on Bolivian history, seems to have taken a personal interest in archaeology. However, the majority of the archaeological legislation passed during Mesa's presidency was focused on tourism development and investment. If tourism promotion was the primary goal of this body of legislation, at least some of the calls for private and international investment in heritage tourism cite a Bolivian national history as a motivator.

For example, Law No 2804, a long piece of legislation that outlined a 5 year strategic plan for economic development for the city of Sucre, indicates that said development would be in honour of the bicentennial of "the first shout for freedom of America"[59] (República de Bolivia 2004e). This proud reference to the beginnings of the South American wars for Independence is a significant rallying point of Bolivian post-Conquest pride. Yet the archaeological component of this law is non-nationalistic, noting that a National Paleontological and Archaeological Centre should be built in Sucre "to turn Sucre into the main Cultural Centre of Conventions and Tourism in the country"[60].

5.6.3 Archaeological Tourism (2002–2005)

As mentioned in the previous subsection, the primary focus of nearly all of the archaeological legislation from the Mesa administration is focused on the promotion of archaeological tourism. As discussed in Chapter 2, by 2000 archaeological and cultural tourism were being discussed as a panacea for Latin American monetary problems. Tourism was hailed as being the newest growth industry and the archaeological legislation from this period shows a focus on international tourism development.

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59   ''el primer Grito Libertario de América''
60   ''de convertir a Sucre en el principal Centro Cultural de Convenciones y Turístico del país''

Continuing from the general neo-liberal ideals of privatisation, the majority of archaeological tourism laws from the Morales administration discuss internal and foreign private investment rather than, say, public community-run tourism projects.

Law No 2527 (República de Bolivia 2003a)	Declared the region of Cono Sur, Cochabamba to be a priority zone for tourism development citing archaeological sites of the Omereque Culture as being of interest. There is no mention of protection or maintenance of the archaeological sites themselves.
Law No 2533 (República de Bolivia 2003b)	Declared the "Archaeological Monument of Incachaca", an Inka site, to be "Cultural Patrimony of Bolivia"[61] Required the local government to enact preservation policies for the site but went on to mandate the implementation of polices for "tourist exploitation"[62].
Law No 2561 (República de Bolivia 2003c)	Claimed the cultures of Mojos and Camellones in el Beni as cultural patrimony and declared them to be National Monuments; pushed for their incorporation into tourism and economic development plans.
Law No 2580 (República de Bolivia 2003d)	Declared tourism in the department of Pando to be a national priority; called for both the development of tourism and the conservation of archaeological resources.
Law No 2610 (República de Bolivia 2003e)	Declared several areas that include archaeological sites to be the "Tourism Patrimony of the Nation"[63] and urged the department of el Beni to seek private investment in them.
Supreme Decree 27607 (República de Bolivia 2004b)	Designated the site of Laqaya as a "National Archaeological Monument"[64] and urged for it to be incorporated into the nearby and the popular Uyuni salt flats tourist circuit.
Law No 2950 (República de Bolivia 2005a)	Declared investment in the rural tourism circuit at Ravelo to be a national priority; called for national and international investment in a tourism route that included rock art.
Law No 2966 (República de Bolivia 2005b)	Declared the department of Chuquisaca to be a priority area for tourism development and, using the word "etnoecoturístico", called for the establishment of a management framework for local rock art to attract national and international investors.
Law No 2980 (República de Bolivia 2005c)	Made economic investment in archaeology based tourist routes in Oruro a national priority and called for national and international private investment.

Figure 5.1   Archaeological tourism-related legislation from 2002–2005

The sheer number of archaeological tourism laws marks a clear shift in legal focus from previous time periods. This explosion of private investment-based archaeological tourism interest in Bolivia represents a very different way of looking at the past. Rather than being objects of curiosity and general interest (such as we saw in Bolivian archaeological law from 1906 to1951), or the source material for archaeological nationalism (such as we saw in Bolivian archaeological law from 1952 to 1978), or as a means by which to participate in International organisations (such as the flurry of UNESCO and MOU related laws from 1989 to 2001), archaeological sites during this

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61   "Declaratoria de patrimonio cultural de Bolivia al monumento arqueológico de Incachaca
62   "explotación turistica"
63   "Patrimonio Turístico Nacional"
64   "Monumento Nacional Arqueológico"

very short period of archaeological law are clearly seen by the government as a source of touristic revenue and foreign investment.

5.6.4 Indigenous Issues and Archaeological Law (2002–2005)

In this period a shift can be seen in how Bolivian archaeological legislation deals with Indigenous issues. I believe that this change is intimately tied to the political situation within the country. Mounting Indigenous civil unrest and high level political participation meant that all aspects of Bolivian law, including archaeological law, could no longer ignore Indigenous concerns.

In March of 2004 Carlos Mesa signed Law No 2639 that created a "National Day of Promotion of Bolivian Culture"[65]. It declared that on the prescribed day the Bolivian population would have free access to all museums, theatres, galleries and archaeological sites, "regardless of race, sex, language, religion, and economic or social condition"[66] (República de Bolivia 2004c). The following month, Mesa signed Law No 2650 which changed again the first article of the Bolivian constitution, this time to include the word "participative" in the description of the country's government (República de Bolivia 2004d). To put these laws in context, they were passed during a period of escalation in the Gas Wars. By June of 2004 this developed into full-blown Indigenous protest, and highland blockades prevented access to a number of areas including the site of Tiwanaku (see Chapter 3). These two laws can be seen as a small legislative attempt to close the gap between the 'two Bolivias'. The first law is meant to foster a sense of Bolivianness that exists outside of dividing characteristics such as "race" and "language" (code words for Indigenous people); free museum and archaeological site access is meant to reinforce this "Bolivian Culture" (as opposed to, say, Aymara or Quechua culture). The second law complements the first by insisting that Bolivia's government is "participative", again a coded statement directed at the Indigenous groups who were on the verge of blockades at that time.

In April of 2005, on the eve of more Indigenous protest, Mesa signed what can be seen as another consolatory law. Law No 3018 declared "the Aymara New Year" to be the "Intangible, Historical and Cultural Patrimony of the Nation"[67] (República de Bolivia 2005f). The solstice celebration at Tiwanaku is mentioned and the law states that the Aymara ceremony represents "our origins and roots"[68]. While this law does single

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65   "Día Nacional de Fomento a la Cultura Boliviana"
66   "sin distinción de raza, sexo, idioma, religión, condición económica o social"
67   "Año Nuevo Aymara"; "Patrimonio Intangible, Histórico y Cultural de la Nación"
68   "sus orígenes y raíces"

out a very popular Aymara festival at the significant archaeological site of Tiwanaku for special acclaim, it does so in a way that is condemned by Indigenous critics of Bolivian archaeology. Specifically, "the Aymara New Year", not referred to as Machaq Mara or Willkakuti, is declared patrimony of the *Bolivian* nation not the Aymara nation, and is said to be representative of 'our' roots, meaning the roots of *all* Bolivians. The white-led government of Bolivia opened itself to accusations of cultural appropriation in the form of claiming national ancestry in Tiwanaku. Less than two months after this law was passed, and a couple of weeks before the solstice, Mesa was forced to resign.

In June of 2005, only a few weeks after taking office and just a day after the massive solstice ceremony at Tiwanaku, acting president Eduardo Rodriguez signed Law No 3082. This law has very little to do with archaeology; however, I believe it shows how quickly the tides were turning in Bolivia. This law declared the city of Yotala to be cultural patrimony of Bolivia. More importantly, it referred to the modern Amparás as a "Millenarian human group" that was in the region "before the arrival of the Spanish" and that Ampará culture was "valuable to the national identity"[69] (República de Bolivia 2005g). Thus one of the first pieces of legislation that Rodriquez signed was a heritage law praising a modern Indigenous group. Although it too had little to do with archaeology directly, Law No 3102, signed in July of 2005 by Rodriguez, shows a serious government commemoration of the vision of history promoted by Bolivia's highland Indigenous groups. In this law Túpac Katari and Bartolina Sisa were declared the "National Aymara Hero and Heroine"[70] and a monument to them was approved to be erected in the heavily Aymara suburb of El Alto (República de Bolivia 2005h). Katari and Sisa are commonly seen as the patron saints of Bolivian Indigenous uprising, including the uprising that ousted Mesa only a month before this law was passed. Honouring the inspiration behind the overthrow of the constitutional president is a clear political move aimed at cooling a hot situation. Unlike Mesa's Law No 3018, which claimed the New Year celebration for the nation, this law passed by an interim president solidified Katari and Sisa's Aymaraness, not their Bolivianness.

I believe that this period marks the first time that Indigenous issues and concerns have had a clear effect on Bolivian archaeology law. While some Indigenous wording was used in prior legislation, during this period the concerns of the Indigenous political movement are visible. Especially following the ousting of Mesa,

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69   "grupo humano milenario"; antes de la llegada de los españoles"; "valoración de la identidad nacional"
70   "Héroe y Heroína Nacional Aymara"

the two pieces of heritage legislation passed by the interim president assume a pro-Indigenous version of history, first where an Indigenous culture is listed as distinct and valuable because of its pre-Conquest status and second with the commemoration of *Aymara* (rather than Bolivian) folk heroes. These ideas of plurinationality and Indigenous history are seen in later Indigenous archaeological law.

5.6.5 Archaeological Practice

There are several possible reasons for why very little of the legislation from this period directly addresses archaeological practice. The national directorate of archaeology, was a mature organization at this point. Without a significant change in the role archaeology played in Bolivian political life, there was little motivation to alter the laws governing archaeological practice. Also the main archaeological focus of the government was tourism, meaning that issues of preservation were only addressed as they related to tourism.

Despite the lack of government focus on disciplinary archaeology, a few of the laws from this period relate to aspects of archaeological practice by providing financial support for certain archaeological projects. Law No 2924 declared the Valley of Chichas to be the cultural patrimony of the nation (República de Bolivia 2004f). In quite flower language, this law pledged technological and financial support for the study, reconstruction and protection of the "Prehispanic archaeological centre of Chuquiago (Maukallacta[71])". A year later Law No 2989 declared the "Chullpares" and "Chullpas" from a specified list of areas to be the historical and cultural patrimony of Bolivia (República de Bolivia 2005d). This law is unique in that while chullpas/chullpares[72], or pre-Conquest Aymara funerary towers, are immovable architectural objects, the mummies from the towers are mentioned as well, making them the only class of portable archaeological object specifically named as national cultural patrimony. This law gives the president the power to solicit national and international funding for the study and preservation of, and the dissemination of information about the mummies. Law No 3004 had a similar potential financial effect on archaeological practice. Specifically, after declaring the rock art of Inca Pinta in the Poopó Province to be the historic, artistic and cultural patrimony of *the* province (not the nation), the executive is charged with calling for national and international funding for the protection and

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71   This is not to be confused with the Peruvian site of Maukallacta near Cuzco. The preferred spelling of the Bolivian Inka site in Chuquiago is Maukallajta.
72   Oddly, this law appears to identify "Chullpas" as a synonym for "momias"; both Chullpas and Chullpares are structural.

conservation of, and dissemination of information about the rock art (República de Bolivia 2005e).

The only other laws that relate to archaeological practice passed during this period are two standard pieces of legislation that name specific sites as cultural or national patrimony. Law No 2651 (República de Bolivia 2004a), signed by Mesa, declared Inka and Amazonian sites in the eastern Pando department to be cultural patrimony. Law No 3194, signed on the 30th of September 2005 by then-president of the National Congress (although here listed as "Acting President of the Republic"[73]) Sandro Stefano Giordano Garcia, simply declared Serrania de Cota near Copacabana to be National Patrimony (República de Bolivia 2005i).

5.6.6 Anti-Nationalism and Internationalism but not Indigenism?

The archaeological laws from this period are focused on tourism and pacification and reflect a country that was rapidly losing its sense of social and political cohesion. The legislation from this period betrays no indication of political control over the study of the past, archaeological involvement in politics or assertions of ethnic or geographic validity based on the past. The few laws that do claim aspects of the ancient past as components of Bolivianness fall flat in the face of contemporary Indigenous protest.

The laws of this period do reflect a swift change in the focus of heritage and archaeology legislation: a reaction to powerful social forces within the country that spilled out into politics. Several laws seem to indicate that legal heritage decisions were made based on Indigenous political pressure: a government in crisis was attempting to come to terms with an Indigenous worldview. After the resignation of Mesa and with the election of an Indigenous president a seemingly foregone conclusion, the passage of a remarkably terse law calling for a statue to honour the two most important historic leaders in the Bolivian Indigenous movement is a clear sign that Indigenous ideas of history were being pushed at the highest level.

5.7 The Morales Administration and an Indigenous Archaeological Nationalism

In December of 2005 Juan Evo Morales Ayma was elected as the first self-identifying Indigenous president of Bolivia. In December of 2009 Morales was re-elected. I will limit my commentary to legislation passed on or before January 1, 2011. For reasons that will become apparent, aspects of the four categories used in this

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73 "Presidente Interino de la República"

analysis (government use of the past, archaeological tourism, Indigenousness in archaeological legislation, and archaeological practice) are somewhat blurred. Complicating the picture is the passing of a new constitution in 2009 which re-founded Bolivia. As this constitution is a seminal piece of legislative work which outlines the interest and focus for the Morales administration, I will first summarise the archaeological aspects of this document.

5.7.1 Archaeological Aspects of the Bolivian Constitution (2009)

After a series of political delays, a national referendum was held in January of 2009 that successfully enacted a new Bolivian constitution. The referendum passed with 61.43% of the vote and was hailed by president Morales as the way through which a new united Bolivia would be re-founded. Despite the rhetoric of unity coming from the government, the referendum failed to attract support in the eastern lowland regions where Bolivia's white and mestizo population is concentrated. Thus support for the constitution, which is commonly seen as supporting primarily Indigenous interests, split along racial lines on a local and national level:

Province	% Yes for Constitution
Potosí	80.07%
La Paz	78.12%
Oruro	73.68%
Cochabamba	64.91%
Chuquisaca	51.54%
Tarija	43.34%
Pando	40.96%
Santa Cruz	34.75%
El Bení	32.67%

Figure 5.2 *The more Indigenous provinces voted for the 2009 constitution, the less Indigenous provinces did not (Corte Nacional Electoral de Bolivia, 2009)*

The new constitution is unique among other such documents and completely shifts the focus of the Bolivian State towards decentralised autonomies. Indeed, with the passing of this constitution, the very name of the country was officially changed from the "Republic of Bolivia" to the "Plurinational State of Bolivia"[74] (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia 2009a).

5.7.2 Blurred Lines: Archaeological Practice, Indigenous Issues and Tourism

Some of the earliest archaeological laws passed by the Morales administration pertain to archaeological tourism. Like the archaeological tourism laws from the previous Mesa administration, these laws call for the creation of tourist circuits. Law

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74   "República de Bolivia"; "Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia"

No. 3362, passed in February of 2006, calls for tourism development in Pampa Aguallas in the Department of Oruro (República de Bolivia 2006a). This law authorises relevant bodies to both promote tourism and protect the archaeological riches of the city. Law No 3440, passed in July of 2006, called for the creation of a tourist circuit in the Altiplano from Lake Titicaca through Guaqui and Tiwanaku (República de Bolivia 2006b). This law also called for the creation of four museums: a Museum of Natural History and Lake Biodiversity; a Museum of Andean Crops; a Museum of Ethnohistory and Cultures of the Lake; and a Museum of Railways and Ports.

By September of 2006, Morales' tourism-related archaeological laws start to diverge from the Mesa model. For example, Law No 3479, which declared several "Incaic archaeological sites", all in the Department of Cochabamba, to be "National Archaeological Monuments"[75] (República de Bolivia 2006c). This law created a committee to oversee a "Comprehensive Archaeological Project–Ecological and Touristic of the Sub-Region of the Lower Valley of Cochabamba"[76] made up of not only representatives of the Vice-Ministry of Culture and Tourism Development, archaeologists, museum officials and members of municipal government but also a representative of the Centrales Campesinas[77] from each municipality. Thus archaeological, touristic and Indigenous interests are legally required to be represented on the management committees of named archaeological sites. No single interest group appears to be given preference over the management of these Inka sites. On the same day, Morales signed Law No 3487 that classified Santa Cruz la Vieja as a "National Historic Archaeological Park"[78] (República de Bolivia 2006d) and required the National Service of Protected Areas to write a line into their budget for the preservation and investigation of this park.

Supreme Decree No 29222, signed in August of 2007, authorises the purchase of a motor vehicle to be used towards sustainable development and tourism promotion in the Late Titicaca area and reveals a government interest in sustainable tourism development in Indigenous communities. Specifically, the decree cites communities that are difficult to access but have "immense potential"[79] for the development of tourism around their archaeological patrimony (República de Bolivia 2007b). Going a step further, this decree cites a government interest in "building a culture of solidarity

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75   "los sitios arqueológios incaicos"; "Monumento Arqueológico Nacional"
76   "Proyecto Integral Arqueológico–Ecológico y Turístico Subregional del Valle Bajo de Cochabamba"
77   rural peasants' unions
78   "Parque Nacional Histórico y Arqueológico"
79   "inmensa potencialidad"

and participatory tourism to generate stable employment and allow the equitable redistribution of economic surplus" and names Indigenous communities as the main actors in this scheme. As discussed in Chapter 2, the view of tourism as the hope of poor and remote Indigenous communities is now common in Latin America. By the time this decree was passed, Bolivia had moved from the idea of archaeological tourism as a form of foreign investment to tourism as a form of local development and poverty relief.

Several laws from this time period also show that both archaeological practice and heritage preservation were linked to tourism. For example, Law No. 3775 allowed for the construction of a road from La Paz to several other areas (República de Bolivia 2007d). This law mandates that roadwork should safeguard the preservation of this "pre-Columbian route" to incentivise tourism and calls for a signed agreement with UNAR, the National Archaeological Unit. Indeed, other laws passed by the Morales administration incentivise archaeological tourism development. Law No 4114, passed in September of 2009, declared several rural municipalities in Tarija to be a "Zone of Sustainable Rural Ecological Tourism"[80] (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia 2009c). The Ministry of Tourism was ordered to allocate funds for such activities as the restoration of archaeological sites and any investment in such "ecotourism" is to be exempt from municipal tax for 10 years. Such a tax exemption is unprecedented in Bolivian archaeological tourism law and by offering such an incentive the government of Bolivia appears to support archaeological tourism as a development model.

5.7.3 Blurred Lines: Indigenous Past and Political Propaganda

One of the most significant changes in this period of Bolivian archaeological law is the apparent adoption of an Indigenous version of the past. The government focus on a folk version of the pre-Conquest is visible in the new constitution and in several other laws. A conflation of government and Indigenous interests blurs the line between a sincere Indigenous version of the past and the state use of a folk past for political propaganda. The appearance of archaeological legislation related to an Indigenous version of the past represents a clear change in the use of the past in Bolivia.

Although not specifically archaeological, Law No 3610 is worth some discussion. The "Millennial Chipaya Culture"[81] of the Sabaya Province was declared Cultural Patrimony of Bolivia, and the law called for the protection, preservation and

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80   "Zone de Turismo Rural Ecológico Sostenible"
81   "Milenaria Cultura Chipaya"

conservation of that culture (República de Bolivia 2007a). Clearly, the use of the Indigenous-feeling term 'millennial' is not new to Bolivian archaeological law (see República de Bolivia 1989 for example), but in this case 'millennial' was used to describe a modern culture thereby grounding an existing Indigenous group in the distant past. While the political aspects of this law may seem opaque, if the Bolivian government of this period bases its own legitimacy on an idea of pre-Conquest authenticity, then by declaring a modern Indigenous group to be timeless, the government itself reinforces its own ancientness.

The 2009 constitution records the fusing of an Indigenous version of the past with the present government's vision of the pre-Conquest. The preamble sets the stage, rooting the constitution in both the distant and recent past. The first paragraph paints a picture of pre-Conquest Bolivia, in harmony with the earth that "never knew racism until that which [Indigenous Bolivians] suffered during the dismal colonial times"[82]. Powerful words such as plural composition, sovereignty, dignity, solidarity, harmony and equity are used to describe the state. The inhabitants of Bolivia are meant to live "in collective coexistence" and through this new constitution they "are leaving in the past the colonial, republican and neoliberal state" [83]. With the strength of Pachamama, the pre-Conquest earth goddess, listed next to the Christian God, this constitution is meant to "re-found Bolivia"[84] (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia 2009a).

Article 1 presents a Bolivia that is decentralised and composed of many autonomies. Political, economic, legal, cultural and linguistic pluralism are mentioned as part of the country's integration process. Moving forward with the idea of autonomies, Article 2 acknowledges "the pre-colonial existence of the indigenous nations and peoples... and their ancestral domain over their territories"[85] and confirms their right to autonomy, self-government and culture. Article 4 separates church and state for the first time in Bolivia, giving freedom of spiritual belief "in accordance with one's cosmovision"[86]. Article 5 states that the official language is not only Castilian Spanish, but also all the languages of the "original indigenous nations and people" of the country.

In the second section of the constitution, Article 8 mandates that the State promote a number of Indigenous mottos:

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82   ''jamás comprendimos el racismo hasta que lo sufrimos desde los funestos tiempos de la colonia''
83   ''en convivencia colectiva''; ''Dejamos en el pasado el Estado colonial, republicano y neoliberal''
84   ''con la fortaleza de nuestra Pachamama y gracias a Dios, refundamos Bolivia.''
85   ''la existencia precolonial de las naciones y pueblos indígena ... y su dominio ancestral sobre sus territorios''
86   ''de acuerdo con sus cosmovisiones''

ama qhilla, ama llulla, ama suwa (do not be lazy, do not lie nor be a thief),

suma qamaña (live well), ñandereko (harmonious life), teko kavi (good life),

ivi maraei (land without evil) and qhapaj ñan (noble path or life).

While all of these have an air of millennialism to them, the first is popularly regarded as an Inka moral code: a pre-Conquest way of living. Article 9 continues with the rhetoric of multivocality by stating that the goals and functions of the State include decolonisation, consolidation of plurinational identities, the fostering of inter-cultural, intra-cultural and multilingual dialogue and to "preserve plurinational diversity as historic and human patrimony"[87].

The fourth section of the constitution is devoted to the rights of Indigenous people. Article 30 clearly defines what is meant by the term Indigenous:

It is the original indigenous peasant nation and people of the entire human community who share cultural identity, language, historical tradition, institutions, territoriality and cosmovision, whose existence was before the colonial Spanish invasion[88]

This article goes on to list the rights that Indigenous people enjoy, including the right to have their cultural identity inscribed on passports alongside their Bolivian citizenship, the right to collective land titling, the right to intercultural and multilingual education and the right to have legal and economic systems in accordance with their cosmovisions.

The constitution and other laws from this period appear to be an attempt at codifying an Indigenous national symbology. Through this legislation, the government of Bolivia is promoting a past-based Indigenous national iconography. This is not unheard of in Bolivian history (recall Arthur Posnansky's early neo-tiahuanacota style), but these laws represent the first time that popular ancient symbols have been formally enshrined as national symbols. The constitution codifies ancient and Indigenous national symbols. In Article 6 part II, the wiphala, which is commonly considered to be an Inka flag, is added to the list of official symbols of the Bolivian state. This effectively

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87   "preservar como patrimonio histórico y humano la diversidad plurinacional"
88   "Es nación y pueblo indígena originario campesino toda la colectividad humana que comparta identidad cultural, idioma, tradición histórica, instituciones, territorialidad y cosmovisión, cuya existencia es anterior a la invasión colonial española."

makes the wiphala a co-national flag along with the republican banner. The wiphala is a very powerful modern symbol to Indigenous Bolivians primarily because it is grounded in the distant idealised pre-Conquest past. Article 8 is similar to Article 6 in that a popular ancient idea is promoted to national status. The adoption of several Indigenous mottos by the state, especially the Inka "ama qhilla, ama llulla, ama suwa" is another example of the state bypassing several hundred years of colonial and post-colonial history to create a national symbology based on an idealised pre-Conquest past. Through such use the state of the present effectively co-opts the imagined state of the past. Article 100 sums up this clear co-optive aspect of the new constitution by saying that, among other things, the mythology, oral history, cultural practices and traditional technologies of the Indigenous people of Bolivia form part of the "identity of the State". The Indigenous people of Bolivia are being used to form the 'identity of the State' and included with this Indigenous identity is an immensely popular, non-archaeological, utopian version of the pre-Conquest past. An Indigenous state identity is absent from all previous periods of Bolivian archaeological law.

In a similar vein, one of the most interesting Indigenous heritage laws from Morales' first term is Law No 3874. The day before his official presidential inauguration, Morales participated in a ceremony at the archaeological site of Tiwanaku where he became Apu Mallku, a term which can be roughly translated to Supreme Leader of the Aymara. Law No 3874 declared his attire from that ceremony to be "Cultural Patrimony of the Bolivian Nation"[89] (República de Bolivia 2008b). This law clearly shows a strong governmental interest in institutionalising the Indigenous political symbols of the current regime. The law officially plucks poignant artefacts from the past, assigns them modern (Indigenous and non-archaeological) meanings and declares them to the "Cultural Patrimony of the Bolivian Nation" (República de Bolivia 2008b). The Unku, a poncho, is said to represent the original culture of the country as opposed to the non-original culture represented by post-Conquest attire. The Chuku, a four cornered hat copied from preserved pre-Conquest Tiwanaku and Wari textiles, is said to symbolise the unity of the four territorial zones of the country. This is a modern meaning, as before 1828 there was no Bolivia. The Maskay Pacha, a staff, is described as being a symbol of responsibility and power. While the staff has been a pan-Andean power symbol for thousands of years, the exact pre-Conquest meaning of it has been lost. Finally the Warkuntatha Unancha, a Tiwanaku-inspired

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89   "Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación Boliviana"

pectoral, is described as a symbol of Indigenous authority. This is an entirely modern interpretation. These archaeological symbols effectively transfer the symbolic power of the ancient site to the Indigenous president.

5.7.4 Archaeological Practice

The effect of this major socio-political change on archaeological practice in Bolivia is difficult to see in recent archaeological law. The methodologies and results described in Chapter 7 better portray the realities of current Bolivian archaeology as they exist on the ground. However, much of the archaeological law of this period appears to evidence potentially sweeping changes in the way Bolivian archaeology is administered and practiced.

Bolivian archaeological law from this period before the ratification of the new constitution was relatively mundane. In late 2006 Morales signed Law No 3597 that declared the archaeological site of Wayllani-Kuntur Amaya, which represents post-Tiwanaku Aymara chiefdoms, to be a National Monument (República de Bolivia 2006e). This law was written with significant archaeological input as evidenced by comparatively technical wording. In 2008 Morales signed Law No 3833 declaring the archaeological site of Inka Murata to be a "National Historical Monument"[90] (República de Bolivia 2008a). This law called for the devotion of economic resources to "restoration, maintenance and conservation"[91] of the site. Law No 3880, also passed in 2008, declared the ruins of Alcaya to be the historic and cultural patrimony of the nation and tasked the relevant state and local authorities with the protection and conservation of the site (República de Bolivia 2008c).

A shift in the balance of power over Bolivian archaeological practice came with the ratification of the new constitution. Several portions of the document place governance of archaeological excavations in local or Indigenous hands. The first article of the new constitution, for example, indicates that the State seeks to decentralise, promoting the concept of cultural autonomies that make up the Plurinational State of Bolivia. The idea that Indigenous people are the bearers of particular rights is a major part of this idea of pluralistic autonomy. These rights seem to extend to archaeological inquiry and interpretation. Indigenous rights listed in the constitution include the right to the protection of Indigenous sacred places; to the respect and promotion of traditional symbols, rituals and vestments; to the collective intellectual property rights

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90 "Monumento Nacional Histórico"
91 "restauración, mantenimiento y conservación"

over Indigenous knowledge; to obligatory prior consultation before non-renewable resources within Indigenous territory are exploited; to the benefits of said resource exploitation; and to the autonomous management of Indigenous land. It is unclear how decentralised Indigenous control of land will influence the management of archaeological excavation within the country (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia 2009a).

A number of other articles in the constitution may have an effect on the focus of archaeology in Bolivia. Article 98, for example, makes it the fundamental responsibility of the State to preserve and protect the cultures within the county. Article 99 declares the cultural patrimony of the Bolivian people to be unable to be seized and that the money that is generated from cultural patrimony is to be used for its conservation, protection and promotion. Article 100 states that mythology, oral history, cultural practices and traditional technologies, among other things, are the patrimony of Indigenous people and that they form part of the "identity of the State"[92]. It goes on to mandate the safeguarding of Indigenous rights to this intangible patrimony. Article 101 states that both the tangible and intangible components of heritage sites and cultural activities that are declared to be the cultural patrimony of humanity are to be protected by the State. Article 108 requires all Bolivians to defend and protect the cultural patrimony of Bolivia.

When it comes to oversight of archaeological work, Article 300.19 ensures that the governments of the autonomous departments enjoy the exclusive power to promote and conserve both tangible and intangible departmental archaeological patrimony. Article 302.16 gives autonomous municipal governments the same rights over municipal archaeological patrimony. Perhaps most importantly, Article 304.16 gives Indigenous autonomies exclusive power over their own

> [c]ultural patrimony, tangible and intangible. Safeguarding, encouragement and promotion of their cultures, art, identity, archaeological centres, religious and cultural locations and museums.[93]

Article 385 part II confirms that when a protected natural or cultural area within the country overlaps with Indigenous territory, the management of the protected area will be conducted in accordance with the rules and procedures of the Indigenous group.

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92   "Este patrimonio forma parte de la expresión e identidad del Estado"
93   "Patrimonio cultural, tangible e intangible. Resguardo, fomento y promoción de sus culturas, arte, identidad, centros arqueológicos, lugares religiosos, culturales y museos"

Again, it is unclear how this Indigenous power will affect archaeological practice, but it does have the potential to restructure how and where excavation and conservation takes place.

The wording of the new constitution raises many questions about the future of archaeological practice in Bolivia. According to Article 30, Indigenous people have the right to protect their sacred places as well as intellectual property rights to Indigenous knowledge and traditional symbols. What, then, happens when an archaeologist wishes to excavate at a site that is deemed sacred by an Indigenous group? Can an archaeologist publish an artefact that is considered to be a traditional symbol? Can archaeological information be considered Indigenous knowledge? Article 300.19 gives Indigenous autonomies exclusive power over their archaeological centres and museums. Do they have the power to hire and fire archaeologists? Do they have the ability to govern the focus of archaeological work at the sites that they claim? Finally, Article 385 states that when a protected cultural area overlaps with Indigenous territory, all management of the area will be conducted in accordance with the rules and procedures of the Indigenous group. Do the group's Indigenous practices trump mainstream archaeological methodology? Can they keep the archaeologists out?

The answer to some of these questions may be in Law No 4144 passed in December of 2009 (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia 2009c) and Law No 031 passed in 2010 (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia 2010e). Law No 4144 defines exactly what the term *Patrimonio Cultural* means. That law, which is meant to protect the cultural and natural patrimony in the department of Tarija, was written against the backdrop of autonomisation and plurinationality. By defining cultural patrimony in this law[94], the Bolivian government affirmed its own place as the overseer of the archaeology in the plural nation. The law calls on Tarija to propose legal, technical, administrative and financial measures for the identification, rehabilitation and preservation of heritage to create departmental and provincial centres for training people in conservation. The department must also encourage scientific research into heritage, promote public participation in heritage projects and to raise public awareness of the department's

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94   a. Monuments: architectural works, sculpture or monumental painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; b. Sets: groups of buildings, isolated or together, their architecture, unity and integration in the landscape of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; c. Sites: works of man or the combined works of man and nature and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the standpoint of historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological value.

heritage. Presumably the state government can and will intervene if these basic requirements of the potential regional autonomy are not met.

Law No 031 reinforces this State role in Bolivian archaeology following autonomisation. This law clarifies areas of state and local jurisdiction and serves as a framework for the creation of autonomies. Article 86 of this law is devoted to cultural patrimony and spells out the roles of various groups in Bolivian archaeology.

The State	Autonomous Regional Governments
develop national cultural heritage laws and define state level policies on all aspects of archaeology, preservation, etc.	develop and implement department level policy that is in compliance with local Indigenous concerns
control tangible and intangible heritage of general interest and sites that are heritage of all mankind	develop departmental policy regarding cultural heritage that is within the parameters established by national law
define, monitor and fund protected conservation areas	support and promote the cultures of their respective departments
monitor compliance with good standards of practice in archaeology etc.	provide meeting spaces and other infrastructure that promotes cultural and artistic activities
oversee the funding of research, conservation and promotion of heritage	
regulate the classification and reporting of heritage	
Autonomous Municipal Governments	**Autonomous Campiseño Indigenous Governments**
develop and implement municipality-level policy that is in compliance with national law	develop and implement policy for protecting local cultural heritage and research practices regarding their ancestral cultures and languages, as part of state policy
develop municipality-level policy regarding cultural heritage that is within the parameters established by national law	develop standards for all aspects of cultural heritage and archaeology conservation, investigation, and promotion within the parameters of national law
provide meeting spaces and other infrastructure that promotes cultural and artistic activities	promote the development of their history, scientific progress, traditions and religious beliefs; strengthen areas of cultural encounter

Figure 5.3   Duties of the state government and autonomies in the protection of cultural patrimony as defined in Law No 031 (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia 2010e)

The governance of archaeological heritage as set out in this law is quite reasonable. While specific cases will no doubt test the limits of the authority of the autonomies, it appears that even Indigenous groups cannot violate the basic parameters of national cultural patrimony law and the state can intervene if an autonomous government is found to be neglecting its heritage or encroaching on state

jurisdiction. However, what is not present in this legislation is the exact make-up of the regulatory bodies at any level nor are the checks and balances for compliance outlined.

The legislation from this period has clearly altered archaeology as it is practiced in Bolivia in a fundamental way. The introduction of autonomous local and Indigenous governments may add multiple tiers of jurisdiction when it comes to archaeological excavation and heritage preservation. According to the letter of the law, an archaeologist working in a particular geographic area may be obliged to substantially change his or her operating procedures and methodologies depending upon the wishes of different autonomous governments. This move away from a completely centralised state archaeological authority is significant and it remains to be seen exactly how archaeological practice in Bolivia will be coordinated, funded and monitored.

5.7.5 "New History": Is This Indigenous Archaeological Nationalism?

The archaeological law from this time period evidences a clear change in the political use of the past in Bolivia: the government is promoting a sense of Indigenous Bolivian archaeological nationalism. As discussed in Chapter 2, archaeological nationalism is defined as the use of a particular vision of the past by non-archaeologists to reinforce a political position or movement and I believe that these laws and particularly the new constitution do just that with the added caveat that the vision of the past is Indigenous.

The preamble to the constitution pushes the culture of Bolivia into the distant past, idealising the pre-Conquest people as in harmony with the earth and with each other. Negative traits, such as racism, are blamed on the Spanish. The pre-Conquest peoples, although described as being different culturally, are presented here with a certain sameness that allows them to be seen as a generalised common ancestor to all Bolivians with 'Indigenous' blood. Article 9 of the constitution even goes as far as to declare Bolivia's plurinational diversity (conceived of here as an ancestral ethnic situation which is grounded in the pre-Conquest past by the constitution's preamble) as "historic and human patrimony". I see this as an assertion of the cultural uniqueness of Bolivia using a particular conception of a harmonious ancient past.

The preamble also openly sanctions a utopian Indigenous interpretation of the past, an 'alternative archaeology'. This version of the past is independent of mainstream archaeological interpretations of the pre-Conquest Andes and is in direct contradiction to how most Western-trained archaeologists view the Andean past. This interpretation of a utopian, authentic and Indigenous pre-Conquest past is the

foundation for the vast changes laid out in the new Bolivian constitution. and this is the past that the government will use in the validation of its actions.

Continuing with this line of reasoning, the preamble of the new constitution gives honour and glory to the "constituent liberating martyrs of the epic achievement, who have made possible this new history"[95]. While the identity of these martyrs is unstated, the implication is that they are the historic entities that died for the causes listed. They are the popular messianic heroes of the Bolivian Indigenous rights movement: Túpac Katari and Bartolina Sisa (honoured with a memorial by Law No 3102); the leaders of later Indigenous uprisings; those killed while protesting and resisting government actions in recent memory; and perhaps even the Indigenous people who died during the Conquest. Avoiding specifics, this final passage of the preamble is effectively tapping into the pantheon of popular Indigenous heroes to support the political purposes of those in power.

At the centre of this new State nationalism is the popular cultural identity and worldview of Bolivia's Aymara and Quechua ethnic majority: groups that believe their claim to political and social power within the country rests upon their original claim to the land, the enduring nature of their ancient-rooted culture and their Indigenousness. The popular understanding of the current political movement is that the Indigenous people of Bolivia are the inheritors of the power of the Tiwanaku and the Inka and that they have finally regained what was taken from them 500 years ago: self-determination and political control. Right or wrong, fair or unfair, I believe that the Plurinational State of Bolivia represents an Indigenous archaeological nationalism. A state-level institutionalised Indigenous nationalism will no doubt have an effect on archaeological practice. Beyond the introduction of levels of autonomous government that have a role in the management of Bolivian heritage, the legislation of this time period effectively institutionalises the past as seen through the lens of the popular Indigenous movement.

5.8 Chapter Summary

It may seem hard to digest this admittedly massive corpus of Bolivian archaeological law and the changing use of the archaeological past that it represents. Yet, I believe that a clear pattern can be seen, especially when one assesses the main focus of each of the previously outlined periods.

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95   "Honor y gloria a los mártires de la gesta constituyente y liberadora, que han hecho posible esta nueva historia."

5.8.1 Periods of Change and Periods of Transition

Foundation

I see the first period of Bolivian archaeological law (from 1906 to 1952) as being primarily focused on laying the basic foundation of government oversight of archaeological work. By doing so Bolivia was, essentially, doing what every other Latin American government was doing at the time: responding to period ideas of national ownership of archaeological remains. I see this as the most basic of government uses of the past: this period represents the idea of archaeology and pre-Conquest remains as being a resource (comparable to others) that the government should be interested in. Thus we see the creation of the national monument scheme, the foundation of the national archaeology museum, and the earliest form of oversight of archaeological work in the form of required permits and mandated reports.

Nationalism

It is upon this basic foundation, this idea of state-level oversight of archaeological resources, that the nationalistic archaeology of the Nationalist Period (from 1952 to 1978) was built. The major change in the Bolivian government's use of the past at this point is stepping beyond seeing the past as property of the state to seeing the past as embodying the state. In this archaeological nationalism scenario, the state, as the owners of the remains of a glorious past, becomes the inheritors of that past. In Bolivia, the active participation of archaeologist Carlos Ponce in high-level government activities took archaeological nationalism to the higher level of nationalistic archaeology. Thus archaeological practice, not just past-based political rhetoric, was directly used to reinforce a government ideology and particular self-congratulatory vision of the ancient past.

Deconstruction

This particular form of Bolivian archaeological nationalism eventually fell apart in the 1980s, perhaps from a combination of Indigenous criticism in the 70s and 80s and a government crisis that led to neoliberal anti-statism and privatisation. Thus the years 1979 to 1987 saw the retirement of Carlos Ponce and only three minor pieces of archaeological legislation. Neither archaeological nationalism nor nationalist archaeology was a concern of the governments of this period and, in part due to the deconstruction of both, archaeology in Bolivia changed drastically with the re-introduction of foreign professionals to the country.

Internationalism

The very neoliberal economic policy that characterised Bolivia's economic stabilisation and promoted drastic privatisation in the 1980s led to a focus on internationalism in the 1990s. The policy itself was international in nature: it encouraged foreign investment and the participation of Bolivia in international organisations. Thus the archaeological law of the period from 1988 to 2001 is primarily focused on international participation in such bodies as UNESCO. Also, perhaps as a result of this focus on UNESCO-related legislation, a sense of Indigenous awareness can be seen in Bolivian archaeological law for the first time. The laws themselves, although not inherently Indigenous, do note Indigenous concern for the past and hint at the differing foundation mythologies for the Bolivian state and Bolivian culture.

Tourism

After a period of bulking up Bolivian UNESCO World Heritage bids, Bolivian law from 2002 until very late 2005 is focused on investment in international tourism. Nine pieces of legislation from these four complex years are directly related to foreign investment in archaeological tourism development and several more are indirectly related to it. These laws almost entirely ignore the Indigenous socio-political movement that, by this time, was using an Indigenous version of the pre-Conquest past to legitimise its goals. Overtures to Indigenous concerns, such as declaring the Solstice Ceremony at Tiwanaku to be the cultural patrimony of Bolivia, came too late. They also neglect the more archaeological issues of funding for research, conservation and historic preservation in favour of calls for external investment in tourism. This clear government focus on tourism is absent in the archaeological legislation in the six months after Carlos Mesa's resignation. Those quiet laws commemorate Indigenous ideals and can be seen as a lead-up to a fully Indigenous legislative focus.

Indigenous Nationalism

With the election of Morales in very late 2005, archaeological legislation in Bolivia shifts focus entirely. Much of the legislation from this period is focused on providing the country with an Indigenous national symbology rooted in a particular utopian ideal of the pre-Conquest past. While tourism is, at times, a concern of this legislation, it is within the context of so-called sustainable tourism and several laws specifically state that they are intended to foster Indigenous tourism profits. At this time, at a government level, archaeology and the past has shifted from being national to Indigenous and one of the main outcomes of this is the linking of archaeological

management with the process of decentralisation and autonomisation promoted by the new constitution. Autonomies, some of which are to be regional and some of which are to be cultural, are given new rights over the excavation, preservation and promotion of the ancient past within their physical or spiritual territory. How this change in the oversight and management of archaeological resources in Bolivia will affect archaeological practice remains to be seen.
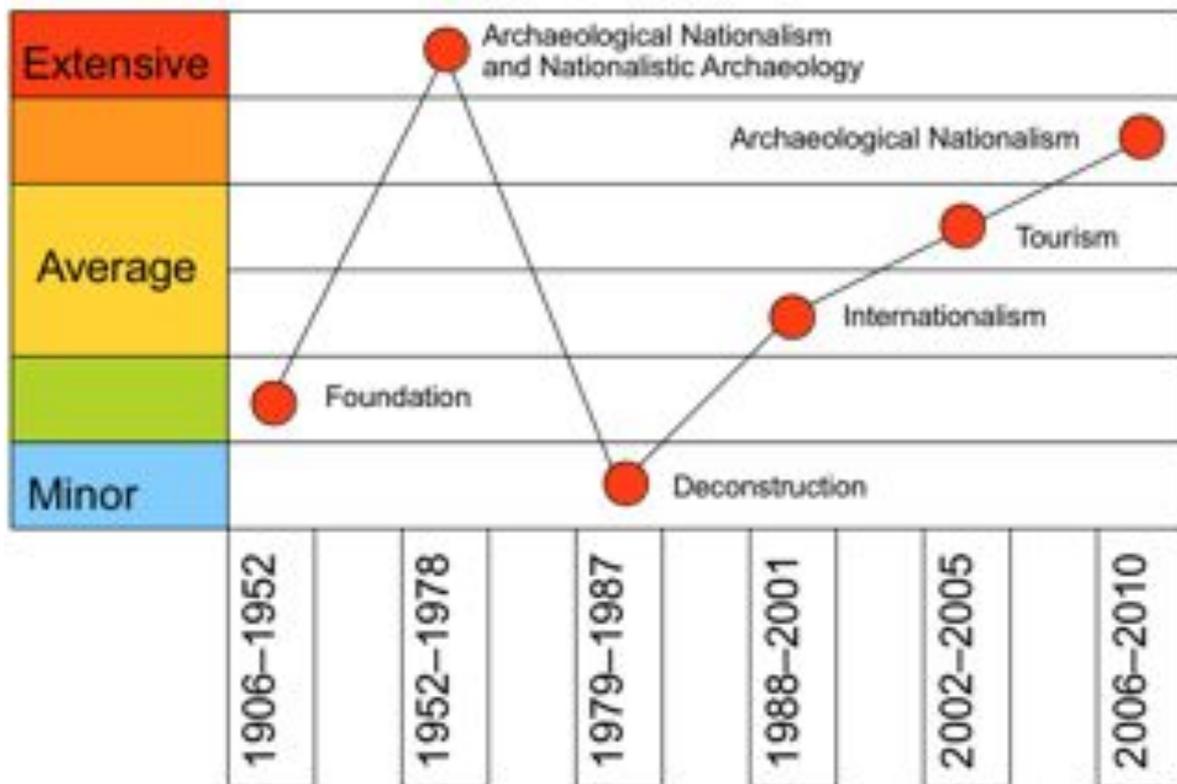
Figure 5.4   *The use of the past by successive governments of Bolivia to construct and maintain state and national ideals or promote a particular political ideology: during some periods the government's use of the past was minor, during others it was extensive.*

5.8.2 Moving Forward

While this chapter has displayed a clear pattern of changes in the use of the past by the Bolivian government, and has brought into focus six distinct periods of such governmental use of Bolivia's past, what remains to be seen is if these legal changes have affected archaeological practice. Using the periods of transition and change identified in this legal analysis and applying a unique methodology of word frequency analysis, Chapter 6 will investigate changes in archaeological practice in Bolivia over time.

6. Word Frequency and Content Analysis of Bolivian Archaeological Texts

Figure 6.0 Vessel fragment from the core area of Tiwanaku depicting the crossed canines of a puma (photo by the author 2004)

   This chapter is based on the interpretation of output of a specially designed word frequency analysis computer program. Described in detail in Chapter 4 and available as Appendix C, this program essentially breaks texts down into their component parts, individual words, and allows for quick and accurate discussion of the contents of a large sample of documents. What follows is a discussion of the patterns within 150 texts produced by archaeologists from Bolivia between 1978 and 2011.

   In Chapter 5, Bolivian archaeological law was explored with the aim of clarifying the changes in the framework within which archaeology has been practiced in the country. Working under the assumption that professionally produced archaeological

literature is a valid reflection of the foci of archaeological work and the interests, ideas, theoretical schools and physical excavations of practicing archaeologists, in this chapter I ask if political and social changes within Bolivia have had a measurable effect on the practice of Bolivian archaeology itself.

6.1 Profile of Archaeological Texts

This section consists of an overview of the sample of Bolivian archaeological texts analysed in this chapter. Section 6.1.1 presents basic information about the texts that was recorded during the collection process that is fully documented in Appendix B. It is not the result of the computer-based analysis.

The sample used in this analysis was limited to archaeological texts that were written by professionally trained Bolivian authors that were published between 1978 and 2011, inclusive. The computer program that was developed for this project rendered each text as a word frequency list and it was possible to quickly and accurately determine a large amount of theme-related data from the basic word-frequency lists produced by the program. Theme information related to the geographic focus of the corpus is presented in Section 6.1.2

It is possible that another researcher looking at the same information may have focused on different thematic trends in the data. However, I believe the following section presents a fair summary of the themes present in this sample of texts. The information in this section provides a basic snapshot of the corpus of texts used in this analysis to qualify and inform the interpretation of results in subsequent sections.

6.1.1 Sample Demographics

The sample of Bolivian archaeological texts used in this analysis is comprised of 150 documents. The publication dates of the documents, as discussed in Chapter 4, range from 1978 to 2011 inclusively (Figure 6.1). With a median publication date of 2003, the texts in this sample are slightly skewed towards the later years of the time period being investigated. The sample is most likely weighted in this direction because of the increased use of the internet for the distribution of academic work in recent years leading to the increased availability of Bolivian texts outside of Bolivia. Also, the introduction of an archaeology degree at the University of San Andrés in 1984 (Diez Astete 1993: 245) has dramatically increased the number of trained Bolivian archaeologists producing professional archaeological texts. Simply put: there were more Bolivian archaeologists in the world producing professional archaeological texts

and disseminating them in the last decade of this study. Of the 150 texts analysed in this study, 137 were written in Spanish and 13 were written in English (Figure 6.2). As Spanish is the first language of most Bolivian archaeologists and is the primary language of Bolivian archaeology, this is not surprising.
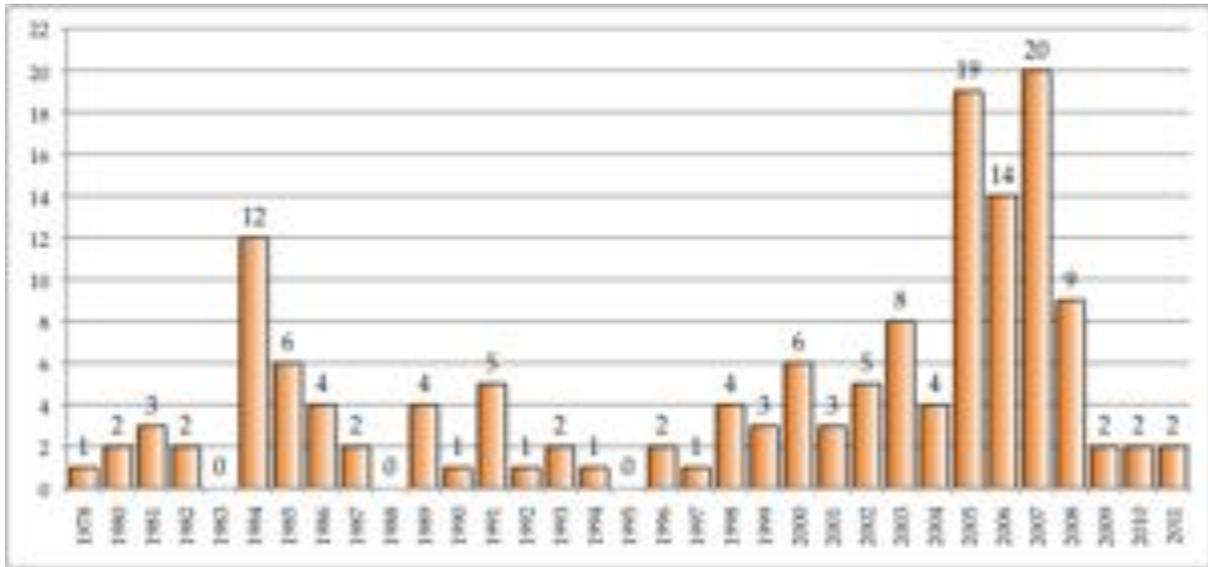
Figure 6.1   Number of texts per year in the sample
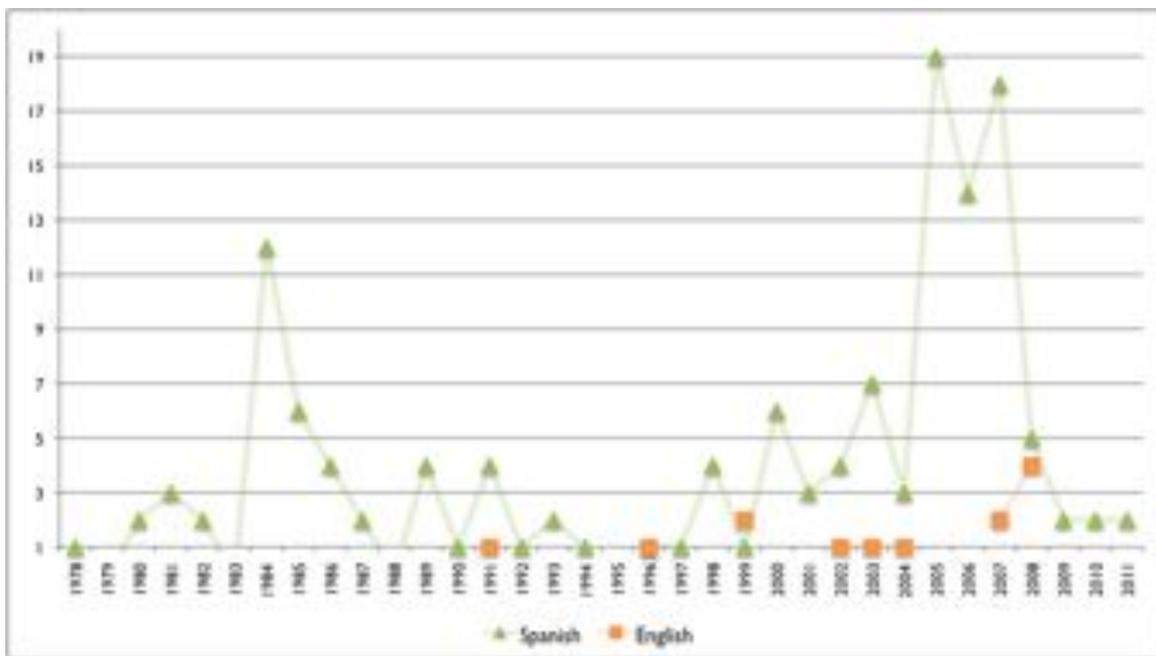
Figure 6.2   Number of Spanish and English language texts per year in the sample

The texts come from a variety of different sources. The exact source of each text is listed in Appendix B. The majority of texts were sourced from Bolivian archaeological journals (Figure 6.3). The remainder of the texts either come from non-Bolivian or

foreign journals, from books or edited volumes, from government reports[96], from dissertations resulting in advanced degrees or from other sources. These other sources are primarily text documents that were found online that are either as-yet unpublished journal articles or the text of oral conference papers.
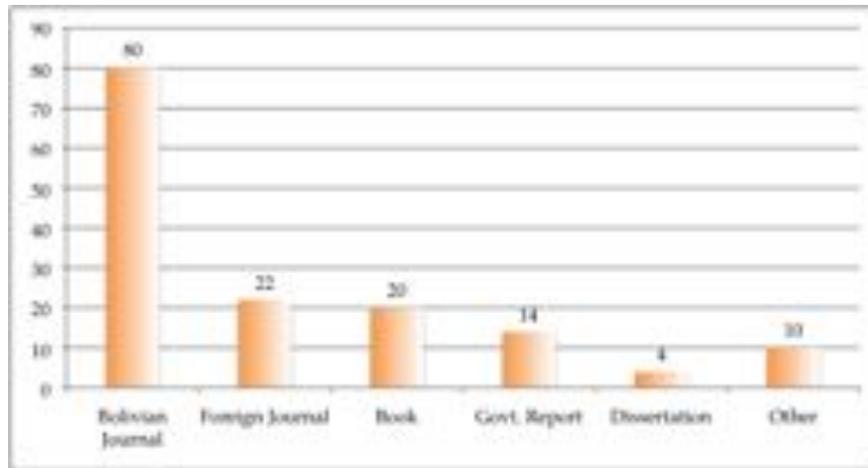
Figure 6.3   Number of texts in the sample by source type

6.1.2 Geographic Focus of the Texts

This subsection was compiled using the output of the word frequency analysis program that was cross-referenced with the original texts of each individual article. This process allowed for a significant amount of thematic data about each article to be recorded, especially in the area of geographic focus. The majority of texts, 119 out of 150, were focused on highland sites and only 17 texts were focused solely on lowland sites. Two texts concerned sites in both the highlands and lowlands and 12 texts concerned topics in archaeology and preservation that were not focused on any specific site (Figure 6.4)

Highland/Lowland	Number of Texts
Highland Site(s)	119
Lowland Site(s)	17
Both	2
Not Applicable	12
Total	**150**

Figure 6.4   Geographic focus of the texts in this sample

96This includes the mandatory excavation reports, or *informes*, produced by archaeological projects for the Bolivian government.

It was also possible to break down the geographic focus further into regional focuses (Figure 6.5). The strong favouring of Tiwanaku-area sites is evident: 39 texts were focused on Tiwanaku as their primary site of physical research[97]. Indeed, the sample is weighted towards texts about the La Paz department. A total of 36 texts were focused on other sites in the La Paz Department, the department in which Tiwanaku is located. Furthermore, 16 texts concern studies of the Lake Titicaca area, which is also in the La Paz Department.

Department or Region	Number of Texts
Tiwanaku Area	39
La Paz Department	36
Lake Area	16
Cochabamba Department	10
Oruro Department	9
Beni Department	7
Potosí Department	6
Chuquisaca Department	4
Santa Cruz Department	3
Tarija Department	3
Multiple Regions	6
General Text/No Region	13
Total	**150**

Figure 6.5   Regional focus of the texts in the sample

Based on this sample of texts, it would seem that allegations of 'Tiwanaku-centrism', or at least highland/La Paz district centrism, are evident in the published output of Bolivian archaeologists.

6.2 Word Frequency Analysis of Archaeological Texts

In this section I will discuss some of the quantitative outcomes of the word frequency analysis conducted on the sample of Bolivian archaeological literature. The information presented in this section is a direct result of the data generated by the word frequency analysis developed for this project.

Figure 6.5 presents the ten most frequently used words in the sample, both overall (from 1978 to 2011 inclusive) and during the significant time periods of policy change (see Chapter 5). The data was organised in this way to see if there are any

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97   Many other articles discussed Tiwanaku comparatively. The count of 39 texts includes those that are soley focused on work at Tiwanaku.

significant changes in the pattern of Bolivian archaeological publication from period to period as it was assumed that changes in Bolivian archaeological policy would result in changes in Bolivian archaeological publication.

Rank	Overall (151)	1978 to 1987 (32)	1988 to 2001 (34)	2002 to 2005 (36)	2006 to 2011 (49)
1	Tiwanaku	Tiwanaku	Tiwanaku	Tiwanaku	Tiwanaku
2	cerámica	cultura	Chiripa	arqueología	cerámica
3	arqueología	cerámica	cerámica	unidad	arqueología
4	cultura	zona	período	área	unidad
5	material	restos	region	social	formativo
6	sector	material	cultura	cerámica	material
7	región	cultural	área	valles	superficie
8	área	base	cultural	cultural	nivel
9	cultural	región	formativo	sector	sector
10	período	sector	arqueología	investigaciones	rasgo

Figure 6.6   *The 10 most frequently used words in the sample of Bolivian archaeological texts, both overall and by time period*

6.2.1 Archaeological Sites as Most Frequently Used Words

The term 'Tiwanaku', spelled in that way, is the most frequently used word in this sample of Bolivian archaeological texts, both overall and during each individual time period. This supports the information presented in Section 6.1.2, which documented a clear focus on highland sites generally and Tiwanaku specifically. It would appear that there is at least some degree of 'Tiwanaku-centrism' in the published output of Bolivian archaeologists over the past three decades.

It is worth noting that only one other archaeological site name appears within this table of most frequently used words. Chiripa, a large pre-Tiwanaku site located in the Lake Titicaca area, is the second most frequently used term within the 34 texts that date from 1988 to 2001. The uptick in Chiripa-related texts might be due to excavations conducted by the Taraco Archeological Project at Chiripa starting in 1990.

6.2.2 Most Frequent Words: A Surprising Lack of Change

A look at the most frequently used words in the sample overall and by each individual time periods reveals a striking homogeny. With the exception of the terms 'Tiwanaku' and 'Chiripa' mentioned above and 'valles' as the 7th most frequently used term from 2002 until 2005, all time periods display only a slight variation on a theme. All of the remaining most frequently used terms are common archaeological words, the likes of which are seen in any standard archaeological report. The most frequently used words in each time period are almost interchangeable and it appears as if there was no

great change from period to period concerning the word choice used to describe Bolivian archaeological sites.

Several factors may account for this apparent three decades of homogenous archaeological discussion. First, there is a strong sense in Bolivian archaeological discussion that the effects of Carlos Ponce's professionalisation of the discipline are still apparent within Bolivian archaeological practice and thus Bolivian archaeological publishing. Paz Soria, records the presence of an ideological push in the Bolivian archaeological community particularly in the 1990s called "nuestra gente, de nuestra pueblo"[98] (Paz Soria from Roddick 2004, discussed in Chapter 5). Thus with "nuestra gente, de nuestra pueblo", Paz seems to describe a situation where Bolivian archaeology was encouraged to remain insulated and unchanging. This perception of Bolivian archaeology was clearly visible in the responses to the questionnaire that will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Whatever the reason may be, a simple analysis of basic word frequency in this sample does not support the hypothesis that Bolivian archaeological literature has undergone obvious changes as a result of the political and social climate it was practiced in. The following section will present the results of more complex word frequency analyses to see if more subtle changes related to the four interest areas of this study (the government, Indigenous issues, tourism, and archaeological practice) are apparent in this sample of Bolivian archaeological texts.

6.3 Word Frequency Analysis for the Four Focus Areas

In Chapters 2 and 3 I identified four areas of interest within the changing use of the past and archaeological practice in Bolivia: government involvement in archaeology, Indigenous issues, archaeological tourism and the practice of archaeology. In this section I will present the results of the word frequency analysis related to these subjects and offer some interpretation of this output, especially in relation to the information gained from the legal analysis of Chapter 5.

6.3.1 Indigenous Issues and Archaeology

The conventional wisdom is that discussion of Indigenous issues within archaeology has increased in recent years. As discussed in Chapter 3, the interaction between Indigenous people and archaeology in Bolivia is a pressing concern that involves practically all aspects of how the discipline is practiced within the country.

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98   "our people, our community"

The increased presence of Indigenous people in Bolivian politics and public life, especially since the early 2000s, is a particular area of interest in this project and a portion of this chapter's analysis was developed to look at changes in how Indigenous people are approached within this sample of Bolivian archaeological literature.

The terms used to describe Bolivian Indigenous people can be controversial. What may seem like an acceptable term to some is perceived as a racial slur to others. One such term is Indian/Indio. This is a derisive term to many Indigenous Bolivians, a slur that recalls 500 years of severe social inequality. The alternative, Indigenous/Indigena, does not carry such a connotation and tends to be preferred in most Indigenous circles, however there are some sectors of Bolivian society that view that term as only applying to the jungle-dwelling people of the lowlands. A final term that is both considered positive and is in common use in Bolivia is the term originario, often in the form 'pueblo originario', or original people. Both 'pueblo originario' and 'Indigena' appear in the new constitution. 'Indio' does not. The question is: do the terms used to describe Bolivian Indigenous people in this sample of archaeological literature change over time?

Within the 150 texts that comprise this sample, 44 texts directly refer to modern Indigenous Bolivians with one of these three racial terms. Seven texts use a synonym of 'Indio', 27 contain a synonym of 'Indigena' and 10 contain a synonym of 'Originario' (Figure 6.7a and 6.7b).

Year	Total # of Texts	Indio	Indigena	Originario
1978	1	-	-	-
1979	-	-	-	-
1980	2	1	1	-
1981	3	-	1	-
1982	2	-	-	-
1983	-	-	-	-
1984	12	-	2	-
1985	6	-	-	-
1986	4	-	-	-
1987	2	-	-	-
1988	-	-	-	-
1989	4	-	-	-
1990	1	-	-	-
1991	5	-	1	-
1992	1	-	-	-
1993	2	-	-	-
1994	1	-	1	-
1995	-	-	-	-
1996	2	-	-	-
1997	1	-	-	-
1998	4	1	-	-
1999	3	-	-	-
2000	6	-	1	-
2001	3	-	-	-
2002	5	-	2	-
2003	8	-	3	3
2004	4	-	1	-
2005	19	-	4	3
2006	14	1	-	1
2007	20	1	4	1
2008	9	2	4	1
2009	2	-	2	1
2010	2	1	-	-
2011	2	-	-	-

Figure 6.7a   Number of texts each year that use the terms 'Indio', 'Indigena' or 'Originario'.
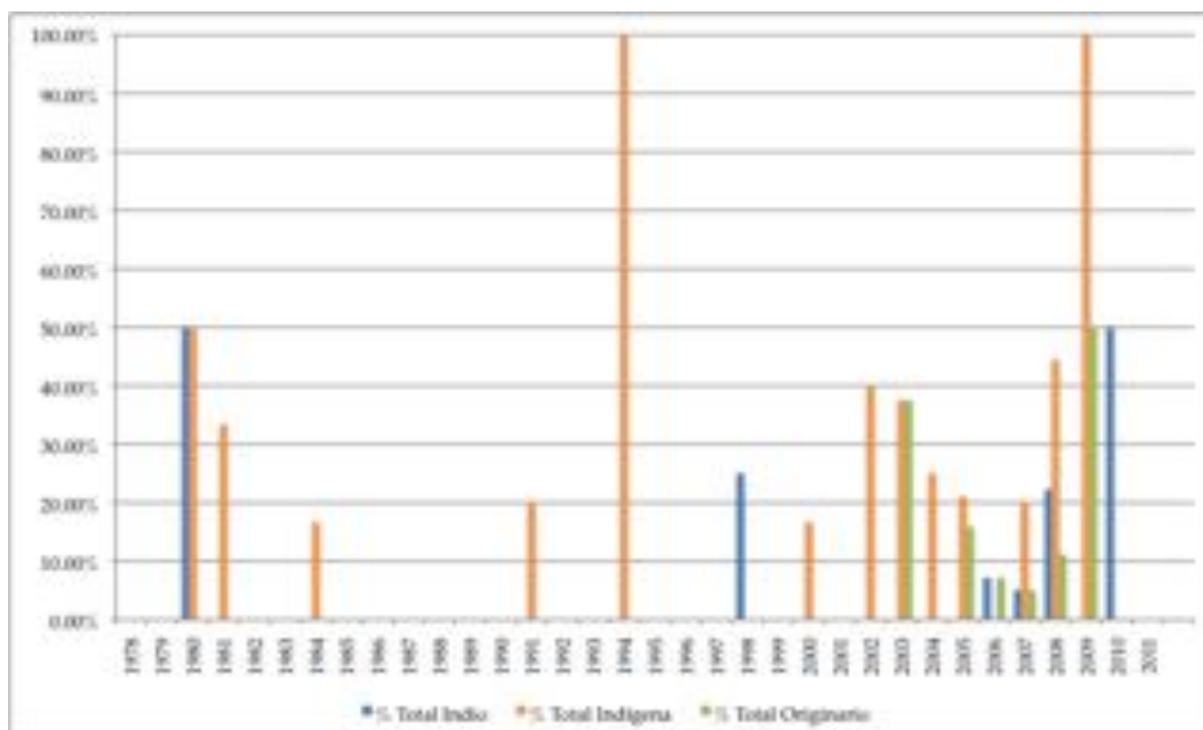
Figure 6.7b   *Percentage of all documents in the sample that contain synonyms of Indio, Indígena, or Originario to describe modern Indigenous Bolivians; these terms are not mutually exclusive: some texts contain more than one of these terms*

The first pattern within this data is the infrequency of the term 'Indio' in the sample. Only seven articles refer to modern Bolivian Indigenous people as 'Indios'. One of the seven is a pointed critique by an Indigenous Bolivian; another uses 'Indio' in reference to that older text. The remaining five articles use 'Indio' in very limited contexts, and only two of the seven do not also employ a synonym of 'Indigenous'. I believe it can be said that by 1978, the term 'Indio' was not consistently being used in Bolivian archaeological literature.

While the term 'Indigena' is consistently used across all time periods, it is clear that 'Originario' is a relatively recent term in Bolivian archaeological literature. The term first appears in 2003 and is seen in most subsequent years. While it does not replace 'Indigenous' as the preferred term, the start of its use correlates with the start of the Mesa presidency, a significant turning point as seen in Chapter 5, and continues through 2009 when the new constitution was passed. It will be interesting to see if the use of this term grows in coming years.

Finally, it is clear from Figure 6.7 that the volume of Bolivian archaeological texts that mention Indigenous people at all, by any term, has increased in the past decade. From 2000 onward, the presence of terms to describe modern Indigenous Bolivians are

a fairly consistent element of the corpus, a feature that correlates with the increase in Indigenous participation in Bolivian public life at that time. While this data does not prove that the political shifts in the early 2000s forced archaeologists to pay attention to Indigenous Bolivians within archaeological texts, I believe that the uptick in the presence of terms related to Indigenous people during that period is at least related to this change in society.

6.3.2 Tourism and Archaeology

In Chapter 2 I discussed how archaeological tourism has become an important factor in the development plans of many poor and Indigenous communities in Latin America. In Chapter 5 I discussed how Bolivia is no exception to this trend, at least as far as the law is concerned. Especially during the short Mesa presidency from 2003 to 2005, tourism took centre stage in Bolivian archaeological law and nearly all applicable legislation from the time period concerns the development of tourism. This interest in tourism extended into the Morales administration, but often with a slightly different tone. In Morales-period laws there is a clear interest in so-called sustainable tourism, tourism that is designed to benefit Indigenous communities directly.

In this section I will explore how a clear government interest in the development of archaeological tourism has had an effect on the textual output of Bolivian archaeologists. Using the word frequency analysis program, I was able to isolate all the articles in the sample that mentioned tourism in relation to Bolivian archaeology or archaeological sites (Figure 6.8).
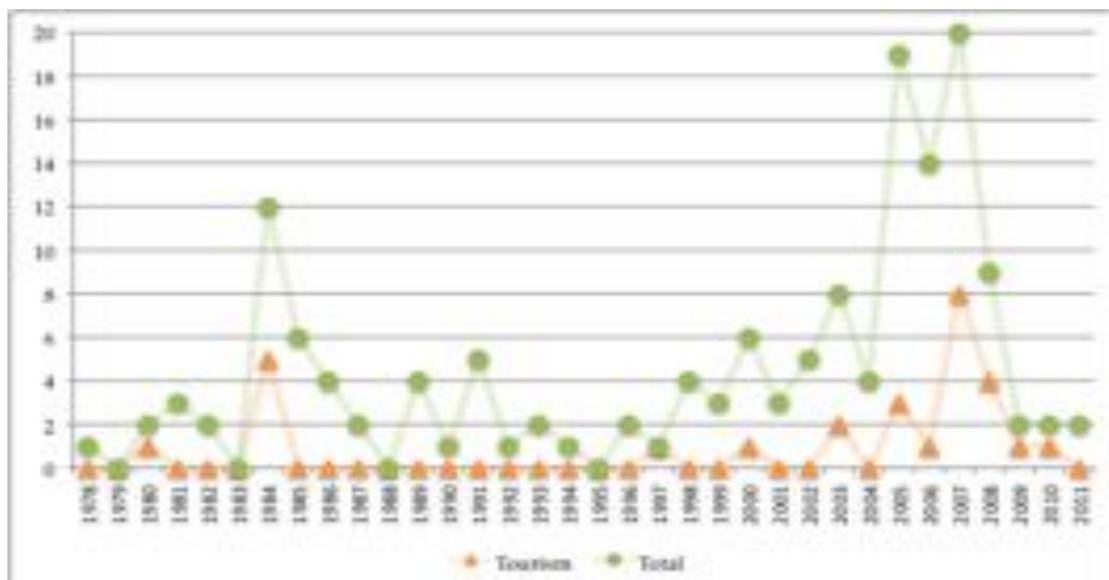
Figure 6.8   Number of texts that mention tourism in the sample in each year

A total of 28 texts in the sample met this criterion, the majority of which were concentrated in the 2000s, after the start of the Mesa presidency in 2003 and peaking in 2007 during the Morales administration. This same concentration is still present when the percentage of Bolivian archaeological texts that mention tourism is plotted per year (Figure 6.9). While this appears to directly correlate with the increased government interest in the promotion of archaeological tourism during both those periods, it is worth remembering that the sample of Bolivian texts itself is weighted towards that time period.
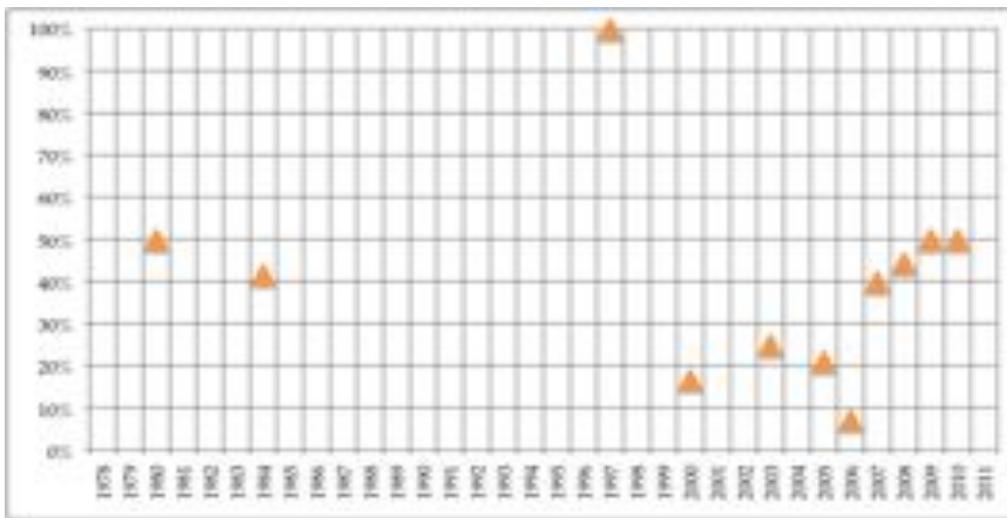
Figure 6.9   Percentage of total texts for each year that mention tourism

To try to move away from a false correlation based simply on the fact that more Bolivian archaeological texts exist from recent years, Figure 6.10 records how tourism is mentioned in the text, not simply that it was mentioned. Using the word frequency analysis program, the 28 Bolivian archaeological texts that mention tourism were separated from the greater sample and the passages that mention tourism were isolated. Based on my qualitative reading of the texts, I recorded in what tone the authors discussed archaeological tourism. Did the author engage with the topic and see tourism as mostly positive, mostly negative, or did they have a mixed or neutral reaction? Conversely, was tourism mentioned casually with no analysis whatsoever?

Time Period	Positive	Negative	Mixed or Neutral	Casual Reference	Total
1978–1987	0	0	1	5	6
1988–2002	1	0	0	1	2
2003–2005	2	0	2	1	5
2006–2011	4	2	2	7	15
Total	**7**	**2**	**5**	**14**	**28**

Figure 6.10   Number of documents per time period that discuss tourism in a positive tone, a negative tone, a mixed or neutral tone, or make only casual reference to tourism

With few exceptions, nearly all texts that mention tourism before 2003 mention the practice only casually. After 2003, we see more texts offering nuanced discussions of tourism. While eight texts from after 2003 make casual mention of tourism, twelve texts provide more detailed discussions of archaeology and tourism. This increase in detailed discussion of tourism in Bolivian archaeological literature corresponds to the increase in government interest in archaeological tourism at that time, as seen in the legal analysis of Chapter 5.

6.3.3 Archaeological Practice and Government Involvement

Changes in the actual practice of archaeology are difficult to see simply through textual analysis. What is printed does not necessarily provide a detailed or accurate account of how or even why archaeological excavations took place and what decisions were made during the process. It is equally difficult to see exactly where and how the government directly influenced the practice of archaeology via this method of analysis. What word frequency analysis can do is provide a means to see how topics related to archaeological practice and the Bolivian government are discussed and we can draw educated conclusions from there. This sub-section combines the two interest areas of changes in archaeological practice and government involvement in archaeology.

In previous chapters I presented the perception of there being a certain degree of "Tiwanaku-centrism" in Bolivian archaeology. A strong interest in Tiwanaku is clear in the history of Bolivian archaeology (Chapter 3), particularly during the MNR revolution and during the present Morales administration, and the emphasis on Tiwanaku in Bolivian archaeological law (Chapter 5) supports this. Earlier in this chapter we saw that 'Tiwanaku' was the most frequently used word in Bolivian archaeological literature during all periods of the analysis. Figure 6.11 shows the percentage of the total documents in the sample each year that mention the site of Tiwanaku. In most years, 100% of the documents mention Tiwanaku and in only one

year does the percentage of documents that mention Tiwanaku drop below 75%. This means that even texts that have little or nothing to do with Tiwanaku at least mention the site. It is clear that Tiwanaku looms large over Bolivian archaeological work and perceptions of "Tiwanaku-centrism" are justified.
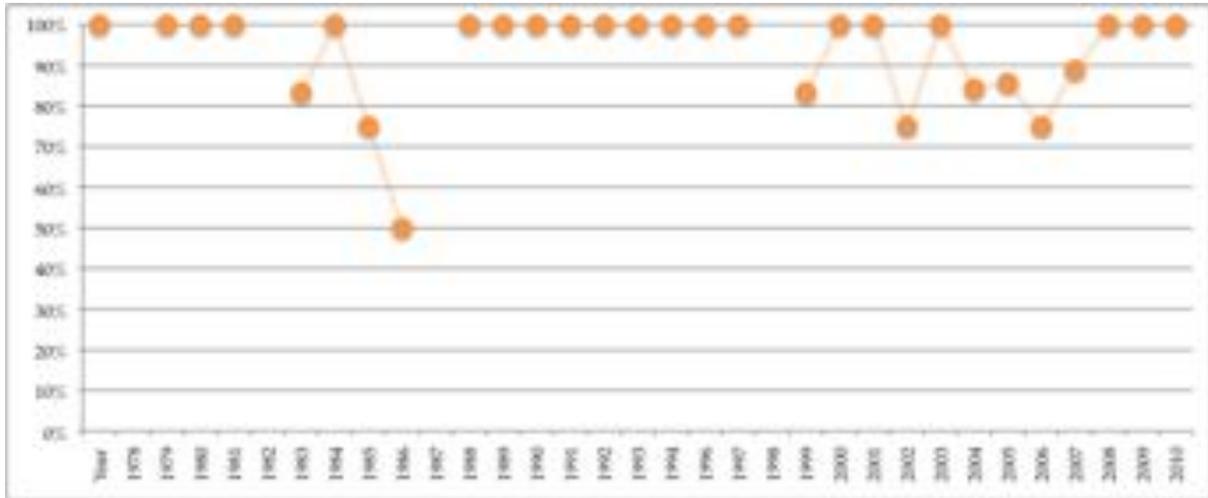
Figure 6.1   Percentage of the texts in the sample per year that mention Tiwanaku

As discussed briefly in Chapter 3 and Chapter 5, archaeological debates about Tiwanaku are often remarkably political. Because the exact nature of Tiwanaku (as a people, as a culture, as a city, and as a political entity) is unknown and contentious, it is postulated that the descriptor terms that Bolivian archaeologists employ to describe Tiwanaku are related to the political situation in which they work. For this section of the analysis, four synonym groups were identified as potential descriptor terms for ancient Tiwanaku: empire, state, hegemony and culture.

'Empire' was considered to be the most grandiose of the terms that could be used to describe Tiwanaku: it implies that the Tiwanaku were a consciously expansive imperial entity that directly controlled parts of Chile and Perú. 'Empire' is strongly associated with the Carlos Ponce brand of Bolivian archaeology and relates to the claiming of a powerful ancient Tiwanaku as a stand-in for a powerful modern Bolivian state. 'State' itself, was interpreted as a step down from 'empire'. While still associated with the projection of Tiwanaku as a well organised and functioning unit with influence beyond its immediate periphery, the term does not necessarily carry with it the expansionism seen in Ponce-era political conjectures of Tiwanaku. 'Hegemony' is seen as being less tied to modern concepts of politics than both 'state' and 'empire', and the use of this term implies that the archaeologists believe that the Tiwanaku practiced an ill-defined form of indirect dominance, less structured and modern than a formal

'state'. Finally, the term 'culture' was interpreted as being a sort of stock phrase used by archaeologists who either did not want to enter into the political and academic argument associated with describing Tiwanaku[99], or authors who simply thought that such a nondescript term was the best descriptor. Figure 6.12 shows the percentage of the articles that mention Tiwanaku that use these four descriptor terms each year.
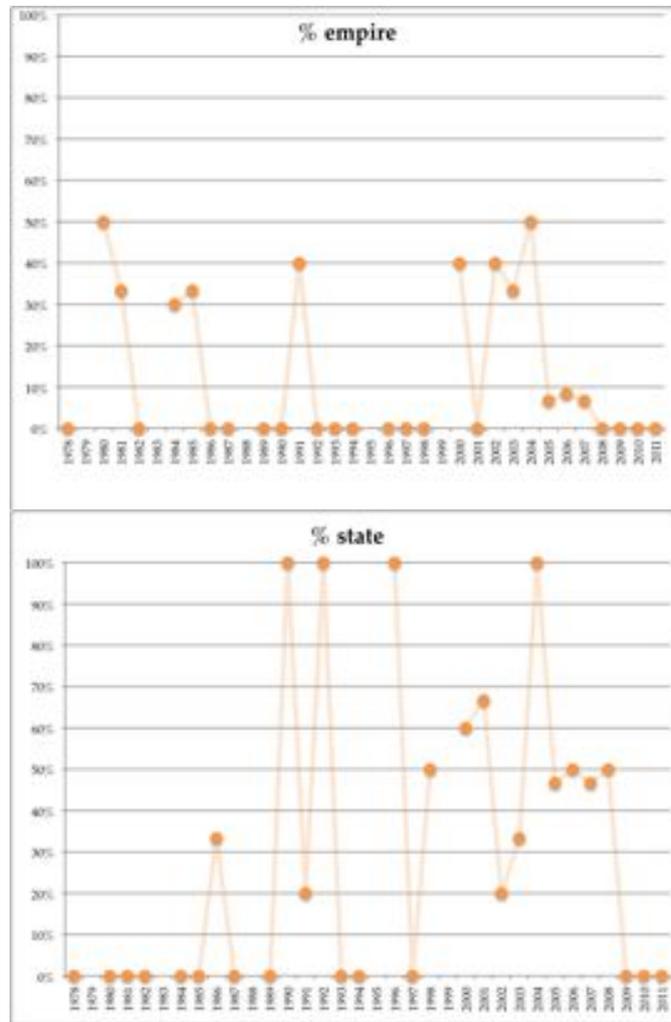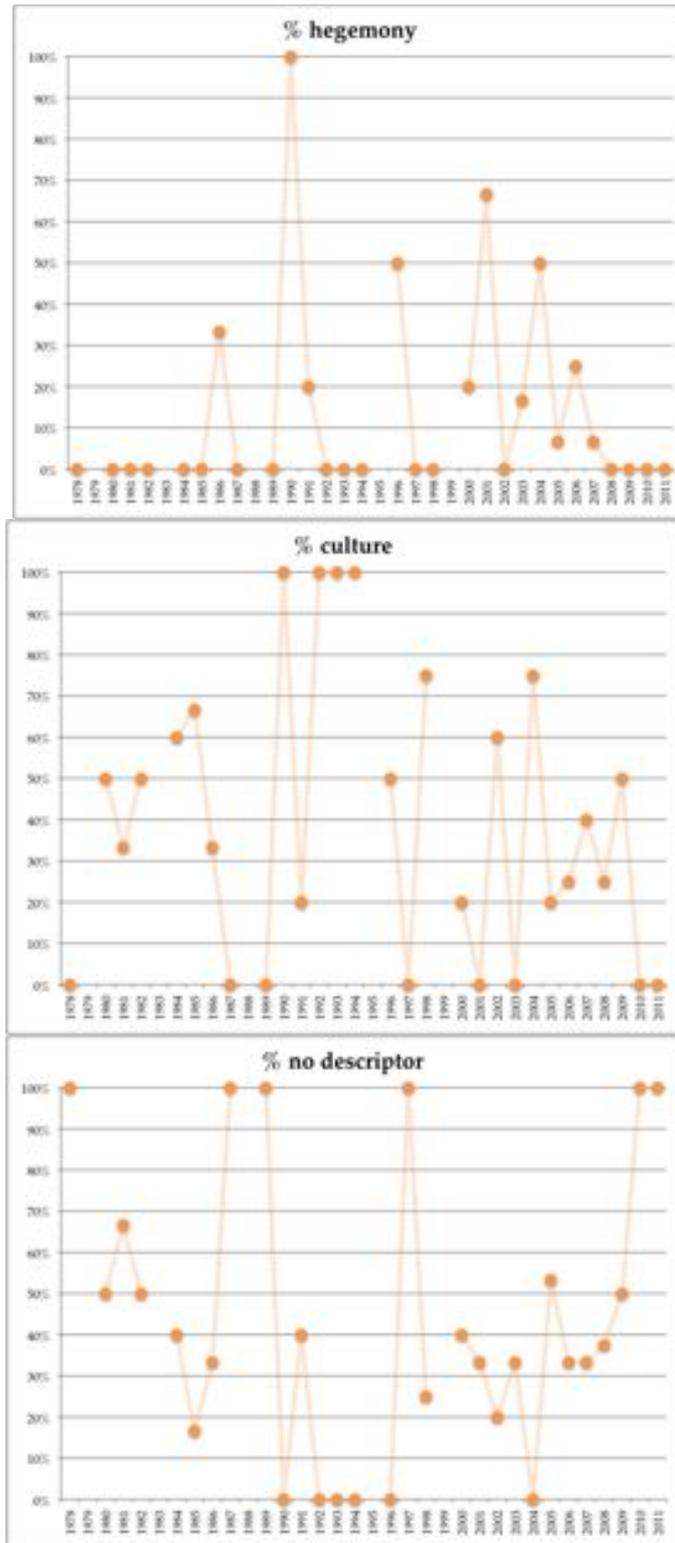
Figure 6.12 *Percentage of the articles that mention Tiwanaku each year that use various descriptor terms for the site*

Figure 6.12 paints a complex picture of how Tiwanaku has been described in Bolivian archaeological literature over the past three decades. However, I believe that

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some significant patterns are visible. First, it is clear that the term 'culture' has been used to describe Tiwanaku consistently for the past three decades. Although less popular than 'culture', the term 'empire' is used in every time period. There does seem to be a slow-down in the use of the term from 2005 onward but the term is not eliminated. Both the term 'state' and the term 'hegemony' do not appear in force until after 1990. Finally, it is not uncommon for Tiwanaku to be discussed without the use of any of these descriptor terms in all periods in this study. It is worth noting that based on the data from this textual analysis, the discussion of Tiwanaku with no descriptor may be on the rise.

To offer some interpretation of these results, it appears as if both the use of the term 'culture' or the use of no descriptor term to describe Tiwanaku has always been a viable option for Bolivian archaeological texts. Disregarding these as neutral, it appears as if synonyms of 'empire' dominate the description of Tiwanaku until 1990, when two relatively new terms, 'state' and 'hegemony' begin to appear in Bolivian archaeological literature. This change in how Tiwanaku was discussed happened at roughly the same time that the government of Bolivia began to participate in more internationally-focused concepts of heritage. A good portion of this internationalism was the beginning of the government's involvement with UNESCO, specifically the making of Tiwanaku into a UNESCO-worthy site. To think of Tiwanaku as a 'World Heritage' site rather than a 'Bolivian Heritage' site is a significant move away from Ponce's model of validation of the Bolivian state through ancestor-claiming. It may very well be that Bolivian archaeologists, consciously or unconsciously, participated in this re-imagining of Tiwanaku: from an aggressive empire to a notable state or a unique hegemony.

6.3.4 Comments

In this section I shown that there is some correlation between changes in the focus of the Bolivian government and in how related issues are discussed in Bolivian archaeological texts. While there is no way to show that these changes are directly the result of governmental or social pressures, the positive correlation is a promising indication that they may be related.

To recap, the presence of discussion of modern Indigenous people in Bolivian archaeological texts shows a marked increase from the early 2000s onward. This increase correlates with the successful introduction of Indigenous people to national-level politics discussed in Chapter 3. While the term 'Indio', commonly seen as a racial slur, is never strongly present in any period being studied, it is clear that the term

'Originario' is strictly a post-2003 feature of Bolivian archaeological texts. This appears to be the preferred term for Bolivian Indigenous people in the eyes of the current administration and its presence in Bolivian archaeological texts mirrors the rise of the movement that ultimately placed the current government in power.

Discussion of archaeological tourism increased following the 2003 election of Mesa to the presidency. Not only do more articles mention tourism following the early 2000s, but more articles discuss tourism in depth. This increase in the serious discussion of archaeological tourism within archaeological texts correlates with a clear Mesa administration emphasis on tourism development and the continued Morales administration support for tourism initiatives seen in Chapter 5.

Finally, looking at the particular case of how the site of Tiwanaku is described, it is possible to see a potential scenario for the way in which government interest may have concentrated the focus of archaeological work. A clear sense of "Tiwanaku-centrism" is apparent in the texts contained within this sample which matches the Tiwanaku focus apparent in Bolivian archaeological legislation. Furthermore, a notable change in how Tiwanaku is described in Bolivian archaeological texts is seen starting in the early 1990s. From that point on, the terms 'state' and 'hegemony' appear, superseding the use of the term 'empire', a term for Tiwanaku that was strongly associated with Ponce's nationalistic vision of the political use of the site. These new terms seem to conform to the government initiative to have Tiwanaku listed as a UNESCO World Heritage site, portraying the site in a tamer, more universalist tone. Furthermore, the term 'empire' is almost never used following the successes of the Indigenous movement in the mid 2000s and the election of Morales.

6.4 Thoughts on the Word Frequency Analysis

All told, this analysis did not show any very strong shifts in the focus of Bolivian archaeological literature over the past 30 years. Indeed, the simple word frequency analysis presented in Section 6.2 showed a remarkably homogenous corpus with each time period presenting roughly the same most frequently used words of any other time periods. This homogeny is explained, at least in part, by the idea presented by some Bolivian archaeologists that they are living the legacy of how the discipline was institutionalised in the country. This topic is further discussed in Chapter 7.

While I believe that there are several positive correlations between certain political shifts in the focus of the Bolivian government and how certain topics are discussed within archaeological literature, these correlations require qualification and

interpretation. It may be that the increase shown in the substantive discussions of Indigenous people and archaeological tourism are related more to changes in the discipline of archaeology than in changes in the Bolivian government's focus.

Thus, while I think that this method of analysis was useful and informative, it did not provide a complete picture of changes in Bolivian archaeological practice over the past three decades. Chapter 8, then, fills in the gaps that still remain in the understanding of how Bolivian archaeological practice has changed in relation to Bolivian politics.

7. The Past as Experienced: Contextualisation and the Bolivian Past on the Ground

Figure 7.0   A modern doorway in the village of Tiwanaku constructed from scavenged stones from the site (photo by the author, 2004)

7.1 Case Studies and Intangibles

Both the legal analysis of Chapter 5 and the word frequency analysis of Chapter 6 focused on tangible aspects of changes in archaeological practice and the use of the past in response to major political shifts in Bolivia. Although informative, both of those methods of analysis omit one of the most important aspects of archaeological heritage: how it is experienced. Yet the experiential component of the past is inherently intangible and, as such, is difficult to define and discuss.

In an effort to understand how stakeholder groups within Bolivia have experienced changes in archaeological practice and the use of the past, this chapter will discuss four major points of interest: the Solstice ceremony at Tiwanaku, archaeological tourism, the management of the site of Tiwanaku and the future of archaeological

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practice. To explore these case studies in opinion, I will employ a combination of sources including a targeted survey of Bolivian archaeological professionals; newspaper articles, editorials and opinion pieces; public statements made by stakeholders; and limited first-hand observation.

While it is certainly impossible to capture the complete range of emotions associated with the changing use of the Bolivian past, I believe that through this multifaceted approach the on-the-ground experience of the Bolivian past at various junctures can be discussed. Naturally this sort of discussion favours more recent events, opinions and emotions, but for the sake of further contextualisation I have extended this analyses into previous decades and periods whenever possible.

7.2 A Ceremony Remembered; A Site Experienced

Every June a major celebration is held at the site of Tiwanaku during the winter solstice. Commonly called the *Año Nuevo Aymara* in Spanish and *Machaq Mara* or *Willkakuti* in Aymara, this ceremony involves the use of ancient structures for public commemoration of the rebirth of the sun and the reordering of the world. Nearly 50,000 people visit Tiwanaku for the solstice and the ceremony is a major yearly source of revenue for the associated village. The festival is honoured by Bolivian law (see Chapter 5), has been a national holiday since 2009 and is attended by presidents and dignitaries. The solstice at Tiwanaku is a significant representation of how the past is used in Bolivia, and changes in the social and political perception of this event mirror greater changes in the function of the past in contemporary Bolivian society.

Figure 7.1   *The Kalasasaya from the Akapana pyramid shortly after the 2005 solstice ceremony (photo by the author, 2005)*

The experience of the solstice differs from person to person. Depending upon who is asked, the solstice is either authentically ancient or the product of the 1980s; it is either a serious religious ceremony, a tourist money-maker or a political stunt; it is either a celebration of pan-Bolivianness or it is a symbol of Indigenous resistance to cultural homogenisation. The solstice ceremony at Tiwanaku is as politically complex as the archaeological site itself.

In this section I will discuss the past and present use of the Tiwanaku solstice ceremony in Bolivia. To do so, I will begin with a discussion of the origins and present realities of the Peruvian solstice ceremony, *Inti Raymi*. Throughout the remainder of this section, Inti Raymi will serve as a comparative example to the Bolivian solstice. Following the discussion of Inti Raymi, I will present the two competing histories of the Tiwanaku solstice and the tangible results of this point of cultural friction. I believe that competition in the perceived function of the solstice ceremony is clearly related to political change within Bolivia and represents a tangible result of an intangible changing experience of the ancient past.

7.2.1 Perú's Inti Raymi: Origins, Form and Function

Available documentary evidence (see Dearborn et al. 1998 for accounts of Inka solar observations within Conquest-era texts) indicates that the Inka solstice festival of Inti Raymi both honoured the sun and served as a reinforcement of the dominant social order. There is evidence that Inti Raymi continued in some form after the Conquest but it was effectively quashed in 1581 by a series of mandates known as the Toledo Reforms. It is commonly held that Inti Raymi was replaced with the Corpus Christi Festival, as the replacement of pre-Conquest sites and ceremonies with Christian equivalents was a common practice during the Conquest.

Modern Inti Raymi is only tangentially connected to its ancient namesake. It is the combination of two Peruvian academic/political movements that were popular among various factions of the educated elite. *Indigenismo* was based on the idea that the Inka were the ideal Marxist state and that if Indigenous people could be converted into a passive proletariat, all of Peru's problems would be solved.[100] *Mestizaje* hinged on the idea that Indigenous 'backwardness' was the root cause of all of Perú's problems and that Indigenous people could only become ideal (if second class) citizens if they were 'mixed in' and thoroughly hispanised. While in some respects *Indigenismo* and *Mestizaje* are opposing social outlooks, they both are focused on what Indigenous people *should*

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100   This is a very simplified description. For a taste of true Peruvian *Indiginismo* see Mariátegui 1928.

be rather than what they are: proponents of either movement felt that Indigenous Peruvians did not participate 'properly' in Perú's national progression. Both movements depended on a significant degree of cultural appropriation and the transfer of ownership of the pre-Conquest past from Indigenous people to Perú as a whole. This is where Inti Raymi fits in.

The first modern Inti Raymi festival was held in 1944 at the Sacsayhuamán ruins near Cuzco. It was the brainchild of Dr. Humberto Vidal Unda, a leading intellectual interested in promoting the art and culture of Perú to a wider audience. Vidal saw the ceremony as a move towards Cuzco's civic and touristic development, not as a revival of ancient faith. The basic source materials used in constructing the Inti Raymi pageant were the writings of 'el Inca' Garcilaso de la Vega, a half-Inka court historian who was born in Perú in 1539 and had moved to Spain by the age of 21. One must read de la Vega's account of the 'true' Inti Raymi with caution. First, as the illegitimate son of a conquistador and an Inka noble, de la Vega had a vested interest in portraying his ancestry as divinely ordained to the Spanish crown. In his account the passive, utopian, well-fed Inka populace happily bow to their benevolent and divine ruler: a divinity that de la Vega felt was in his own blood. Second, there is no evidence that de la Vega ever witnessed an Inti Raymi. His sources concerning Inti Raymi are unknown.

Figure 7.2   *Then-president Alan Garcia shakes the hand of 'the Sapa Inca' in a symbolic transfer of power at the 2009 Inti Raymi festival (Peña Bustinza 2009) after the actor playing the Inka is carried into the ruins (from Cook 2010)*

Moving back to the 1944 Inti Raymi, all of Cuzco was asked to participate in the pageant and the stereotypes of both *Indigenismo* and *Mestizaje* were reinforced. Indigenous Cuzqueños acted out idealised roles: they 'came down from the hills' or

'out of the jungle' and bowed to an actor portraying the Inka king. The Inka king then bowed to Peruvian president Manuel Prado y Ugarteche, symbolically passing his power to the white ruling elite who then inherited the kingdom and the rightful control over the masses. In 1954, the government commissioned an 'official script' for Inti Raymi to ensure that Perú's public face was 'authentic'. After a decade of Inti Raymis, the pageant had already become a major tourist event and the Peruvian government sought to secure their control over the festival. The resulting script was written by white scholars, again from Garcilaso de la Vega, without Indigenous cultural input. All Inti Raymis staged after 1954 have followed that script.

Inti Raymi was conceived of as both an international money-maker and a nationalistic venture that created a government-authorised past. In this version of the past, which has been acted out every year since 1944, the white-run state is positioned as the natural successor of Inka greatness. Indigenous heritage is converted into Peruvian heritage and the government-run event has little to do with modern Indigenous religious beliefs or self-definition.

7.2.2 Tiwanaku: An Ancient or A Modern Solstice Ceremony

Views on the origin and meaning of the Tiwanaku solstice ceremony fall into three general groups: those that believe that the festival has been continuously observed and is authentically ancient, those that believe that the festival is wholly modern and those that see the festival as an amalgam of old and new. The idea of an ancient solstice ceremony is maintained by the Morales administration and it tends to be the common understanding of the event among the Indigenous populace. Opponents of the Morales administration often employ the idea of a modern solstice and this tends to be the common understanding of the event among criollo elites and the non-Indigenous intelligentsia. The final, middle of the road view is the one that is mostly cited and held by archaeologists and anthropologists or individuals with an interest in placing the origins of the solstice outside of the ultra-ancient vs. ultra-modern debate. Each camp claims a monopoly on reality and truth.

Points of Agreement

While many aspects of the Bolivian solstice ceremony are divisive, there are certain elements that are common to all the competing narratives of the festival. First, the Tiwanaku civilisation was, at least to some degree, a solar cult. The site's architectural features contain clear solstice alignments, as well as connections to other sky and landscape features (Benitez 2005). Post-Conquest, it is very likely that the sun

cult was partially replaced with the cult of the Virgin of Copacabana, which ascribed Christian miracles to a location near the birthplace of the pre-Conquest sun (Dearborn et al. 1998: 244).

Most believe that some solstice worship continued through the Colonial and even Republican periods. The relative strength of Indigenous communities in Bolivia and the degree to which they were able to maintain their own internal institutions (see Chapter 3) would allow non-Christian ceremonies to take place. Finally, everyone agrees that the solstice ceremony at Tiwanaku became very popular in the 1990s. Why and how are points of contention.

A Very Ancient Solstice

The belief that the Tiwanaku solstice is an authentically ancient event that has existed in some form since time immemorial is common among Bolivia's Indigenous majority. While proponents of this view agree that the solstice has swollen in attendance and popularity in recent years, they believe that the ritual has existed since well before the Conquest. This belief rests almost entirely on oral history and collective memory rather than written records, and to challenge this version of the origins of the solstice is considered tantamount to denying those forms of recording.

For believers in an ancient solstice, this version of events feels correct and there is a strong sense of the solstice festival being the proper, true and authentic use of the site of Tiwanaku: people feel that the solstice is what the site is for. To the Aymara, the ceremony comes straight out of popular religion. In Machaq Mara at Tiwanaku, all the elements of the ceremony are associated with the Aymara religious need for balancing opposite forces (Ari Murillo 2004: 9), and, by serving this cultural need, the event proves itself to be authentic. The belief in the ancientness of the ceremony at Tiwanaku is a belief in the ancientness of the Aymara themselves and all of the cultural validation that goes along with this.

This felt version of history is rarely denied outright by scholars; however, academics interested in the potential veracity of the ancient Tiwanaku solstice have proposed plausible explanations for existing beliefs. For example, historian Fernando Cajías de la Vega (quoted in La Razón, 21 June 2005) acknowledges a gradual disappearance of the pre-Conquest solstice festival following the introduction of Catholicism. However, he asserts that during the Republican period the solstice rituals were performed clandestinely. Such an assertion of clandestine observance preserves the direct line and 'authentic' pedigree of the solstice ceremony. Cajías also links the

solstice to the Indigenous success at ousting Mesa and quipped that "with the revaluation of pre-Hispanic traditions, the Sun cult was no longer hidden and became accepted" (La Razón, 21 June 2005). Ari Murillo also portrays the "recuperation" of Machaq Mara as an unveiling of what had always been going on underground, writing that "today the mantle has been lifted that covered [the ceremony] and we find that the Aymara of today shine with all their splendour" (Ari Murillo 2004: 29).

A Very Modern Solstice

Pushback against the ancientness of the Tiwanaku solstice ceremony is seen in the editorial pages of the La Paz newspapers every June. In many of these pieces, those who support the idea of an ancient solstice are demonised and accusations range from simple allegations of invention of tradition to allegations of a conspiracy to re-write history. As these criticisms have primarily appeared in response both to the popularity of the festival in the last decade and to the increased power of Indigenous groups, the majority of such comments come from 2002 onward.

Not all assertions of a modern origin for the Tiwanaku solstice are political or non-archaeological. Indeed, a number of archaeologists discuss the solstice as a sort of invented tradition. An example of the common commentary on the solstice as a modern invented tradition can be seen in a 2008 book chapter by Kojan. Although the main focus of the piece is to discuss the Apu Mallku ceremony of 2006, Kojan states that the solstice festival at Tiwanaku was "constructed as a creative re-enactment of the ancient celebrations *imagined* to have taken place at the site" (Kojan 2008: 78; emphasis added). He goes on to assert that there is "little hard evidence" that such a ritual ever took place at Tiwanaku before the conquest and that the Kalasasaya is a modern construction, thus implying that the original, ancient Kalasasaya would not have been used in the same way. By asserting that the ceremony is imagined and lacking in 'hard evidence' Kojan unintentionally but effectively has dismissed Indigenous beliefs and has marginalised Indigenous forms of record keeping and cultural memory. This is not an uncommon archaeological stance. For example, this sentiment is echoed in a statement made by a representative of the National Archaeological Unit (UNAR): "it is impossible to know whether the ancient Tiwanaku people engaged in some kind of ceremony on the Aymara new year" (La Razón 17 June 2008).

In general, the denial of an ancient solstice either rests on the assertion that the festival was created in the 1980s or 1990s as a mock Inti Raymi to draw foreign tourists

or that it is an obvious political stunt. The appeal of the solstice ceremony to 'New Age' tourists is often used as an argument against its authenticity.

A Mixed Solstice: Old and New

The third and final way to see the solstice is as a mixing of ancient and new traditions. The proponents of this view of the solstice ceremony, many of whom are archaeologists and anthropologists, know that they did not witness solstice celebrations, at least in their modern form, at Tiwanaku before the 1980s or 1990s (depending on who you ask), but they feel that, unlike Perú's Inti Raymi, the Tiwanaku observance arose from something deep within Aymara consciousness.

An example of this view can be seen in Swartly's volume on raised fields. In her discussion of the symbolism of Tiwanaku to modern Indigenous people, she states that "beginning in the 1990s, indigenous leaders from the local and urban Aymara community began to return to Tiwanaku to *re-enact* their own version of Aymara renewal in a celebration of the Aymara New Year" (Swartley 2002: 26; emphasis added). Although she places the start of this specific solstice ceremony in the 1990s, Swartly's use of the term "re-enact" pushes the origin of the Tiwanaku solstice festival into the distant past. She conceives of the Aymara participants as re-creating their own version of something older, permitting the modern ceremony to retain ancient authenticity.

7.2.3 The Solstice as a Political and Cultural Symbol

Clare Sammells, who places the first modern solstice ceremony at Tiwanaku in 1980 according to her first-hand interviews (Sammells 2009: 125; 128), has described the festival as a religious yet fundamentally political event. She believes that the modern birth (or re-birth) of the ceremony was an effective declaration by the newly created Aymara political body that Bolivia was an Aymara nation. She notes that the 1992 solstice ceremony was celebrated as a protest against the 500th anniversary of the arrival of Columbus (Sammells 2009: 126) and that the festival itself is symbolically anti-Western.

This proposal that the solstice is a form of grassroots Aymara political protest is apparent in an opinion piece by Felix Layme Pairumani, a professor of Aymara culture, that appeared in La Razón (Layme Pairumani 2010). Layme pushes the first modern solstice ceremony at Tiwanaku back to 1973, tying it to the release of the Manifesto of Tiwanaku (see Chapter 3). He says that only a few dozen people attended the 1973 solstice but that attendance numbers grew through the 1980s and 1990s, roughly in proportion to the growing power of Indigenous groups in the Bolivian public sphere.

Layme also sees the solstice as a symbolic form of resistance to Westernisation: he believes that the ceremony is about expressing different cosmovisions (a term used in the new constitution; see Chapter 5) in the face of the Western January 1st new year.

By 2004, Tiwanaku, and specifically the solstice ceremony, was at the centre of Indigenous protest. Controversy over natural gas issues and the lingering pain from the events that led up to a presidential resignation in 2003 manifested in the form of popular blockades in May and June of 2004. The protestors were almost entirely Aymara and Quechua. As the solstice approached, tensions increased. It was announced by protest leaders that tourists would not be allowed to attend the solstice ceremony at Tiwanaku. The message to the government was a clear claiming of the site and ceremony by the Aymara. Even the archaeologists working at the site, myself included, were asked to leave as the local community feared for our safety.

Figure 7.3   A cartoon published during the 2004 protests likening a trip to the solstice festival to adventure tourism requiring a gas mask and a helmet (La Prensa, 19 June 2004)

The blocking of tourists from the solstice ceremony was a financial blow, not just to the Ingavi Province and the Tiwanaku Municipality, but also to the entire country. Reporting shortly before the 2005 solstice in another period of political unrest, La

Razón noted that the 2004 blocking of the La Paz-Desaguadero highway represented a loss to the district of about 40,000 USD on the day of the solstice alone (La Razón 21 June 2005). This exemplifies the potential power of the disruption of archaeological tourism as a means of Indigenous protest. Not only was the government forced to pay attention to Indigenous demands because of the financial losses associated with tourism discouragement, but the act of disruption was also a symbolic re-conquest of cultural property on the part of an Indigenous group.

That the solstice ceremony has been adopted by the Morales administration as a new state symbol is not surprising. Even before the Morales presidency, the festival was a symbolic affirmation of Indigenousness and ancient authenticity, the very intangible concepts that the Morales administration has sought to align itself with. Many believe that Morales' Apu Mallku ceremony (see Chapter 3) was deliberately structured to recall the solstice ceremony (for example Kojan 2009) and his sporadic attendance of the festival has driven up attendance[101]. In 2009, Morales declared the solstice to be a national holiday, further solidifying the ceremony's association with the political state and thereby identifying the state as Indigenous.

Figure 7.4   *President Evo Morales with Aymara yatiris at the 2010 solstice; several yatiris wear clothing that first appeared at Morales' Apu Mallku ceremony (from AFP, 2010)*

The use of the solstice as a symbol of the Morales administration has caused the festival to be denounced by Morales' political opponents. These opponents subscribe to the belief that the ceremony is inherently modern. In these political circles the solstice has come to symbolise a flawed version of Indigenous-focused history.

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101   There is no reliable source for solstice attendance numbers. Newspapers, organisers and attendees all report different figures. Since the start of the 21st century, attendance figures have ranged from 25,000 to 50,000 for every year but 2004.

In an opinion piece that appeared in La Razón on 21 January 2010 entitled "Historia a la Carte", former president Carlos Mesa took Morales to task for what he considered to be a concerted effort to erase history and "exchange" Republican historic figures and symbols for Indigenous ones. He ended the piece by addressing Morales directly: "the universal calendar, if you've forgotten, begins in January and ends in December…with or without the winter solstice" (Mesa Gisbert 2010). By insisting that the solstice is not the 'real' new year, Mesa is asserting that the President's use of the past is not grounded in reality and that emphasis on the symbolic value of the solstice is flawed. It is worth noting that the 2005 law honouring the solstice at Tiwanaku was passed by Mesa shortly before he was ousted by Indigenous-led unrest (see Chapter 5).

An even stronger denunciation of the solstice ceremony appeared in a 2009 opinion piece by Ramiro Prudencio Lizón who is listed as a historian and a diplomat. He asserts that "the determination to declare a national holiday on June 21st lacks any historical basis because we have never celebrated anything on that day", that the solstice is an Indigenous version of the feast of San Juan rather than a pre-Conquest observance (Prudencio Lizón 2009). Prudencio Lizón nearly cries conspiracy by accusing "a group of anthropologists and Indians" of "devoting great attention in recent years to creating an Aymara culture" (ibid). He sees this as an effort on the part of those groups to falsely "de-Christianise and paganise the Indian peasant" (ibid).

Accusations of solstice-related conspiracy come from both sides of the political spectrum in Bolivia. Marina Ari Murillo believes that the general dismissal of the ancientness or the authenticity of Machaq Mara is a continuation of neo-colonialism perpetrated by white and mestizo intellectuals (Ari Murillo 2004: 23). Echoing the sentiments expressed by Aymara critics of Bolivian archaeology in the 1980s, she believes that this represents profound racism and an attempt to portray Indigenous Bolivians as "utopians, myth-believers, millenarians, a species of crazies, disoriented, desperate, waiting for some imitator of Jesus Christ…all this, they say, is the result of our alleged 'ignorance'" (ibid). Ari Murillo sees denials of the solstice ceremony's validity as having clear political and cultural motivations, with deniers bent on reversing the present political situation that favours Indigenous people. She believes that it is with this goal in mind that the solstice is dismissed as "folkloric expression aimed at tourists" (Ari Murillo 2004: 24).

7.2.4 Section Summary: Tiwanaku's Solstice is Significant because it is Divisive

Perhaps the primary, or at least the most obvious, difference between the solstice ceremony at Tiwanaku and Inti Raymi is that there are no competing foundation myths for Perú's pageant. That Inti Raymi at Sacsayhuamán started in its modern form in 1944, that it is based entirely on the writings of de la Vega, and that the pageant is mostly a tourism vehicle is not debated. If, as many people believe, the solstice ceremony at Tiwanaku began less than 30 years ago, why does the festival lack a clear provenance and pedigree? Why is the Tiwanaku solstice ceremony a symbol of Indigenous resistance and the Inti Raymi festival is not?

I believe that the key element of the Tiwanaku solstice that both differentiates it from Inti Raymi and allows for the disagreement over the festival's origins lies in the source material. Inti Raymi, as the brainchild of a mid-century mestizo scholar, has a bibliography and a paper trail. The event was crafted out of written history, not cultural memory, and like the *Indigenismo* and *Mestizaje* movements that produced it, Inti Raymi is more about white ideals of Indigenous people rather than Indigenous reality.

The Tiwanaku solstice ceremony, in contrast, was created from within Indigenous collective memory. Whether one believes the ceremony is modern or ancient, it is still composed of elements of Aymara religion, social identity and politics. There is no pageant element: there are no actors, no role-played historic figures and no costumes that fall very far outside of traditional Aymara dress. The event is even unscripted and thus, to a degree, uncontrollable. The feeling that the Tiwanaku solstice is authentically Aymara is justified because, compared to Inti Raymi, it is.

Whatever the source of the solstice ceremony at Tiwanaku may be, its rise in popularity does mirror the rise of Indigenous influences on Bolivian state politics and thus Machaq Mara is inevitably linked to Indigenous politics. That this link is maintained is, I believe, inherent in the non-pageant, uncontrollable aspect of the festival. It is tied to an outward expression of Indigenousness because it came from the felt version of Indigenous Bolivian history. How the solstice is experienced by Bolivians, then, is a result of both their cultural and their political identity. The future of this particular use of the site of Tiwanaku will be determined by the political situation within the country.

7.3 Archaeological Tourism

The legal analysis of Chapter 5 revealed tourism to be of growing interest to successive Bolivian governments. Yet it is difficult to assess the actual experience of

Bolivian archaeological tourism and how that experience has changed using the methodologies of the preceding chapters. In this section I will explore the experience of archaeological tourism from the point of view of Bolivian archaeologists. In the first half of this section I will look at the results of the 2009 survey of Bolivian archaeologists. Several survey respondents brought up the topic of archaeological tourism as an area of particular interest or concern and expressed candid views on the practice. In the second half of this section I will look at four case studies of archaeological tourism projects in Bolivia from within professional literature. In these four case studies, the archaeologists involved approached Indigenous relations and the development of Indigenous archaeological tourism in very different ways based on both the political situation within the country and the political situation of the archaeologists' own employment. From this a picture emerges of tourism as a present and future reality in Bolivian archaeological practice: a reality that archaeological practitioners approach based on their own experience of the practice as it relates to local and national politics.

7.3.1 Archaeological Tourism in the Archaeologist Questionnaire

One of the more interesting results of the questionnaire of Bolivian archaeologists that was conducted for this project in mid-2009 was an interest in archaeological tourism. Although tourism was not specifically addressed in any of the questions given, Bolivian archaeologists brought up the subject themselves and their opinions of archaeological tourism fell into three categories.

Tourism as a Government Mandate

Several survey respondents portrayed archaeological tourism as a an inappropriate government focus. They implied that they faced government pressure to perform archaeology that was good for tourism rather than good for science. For example, while discussing the role of the Bolivian state in archaeology, Respondent 1 speculated that the government's present discourse is focused on "development in the form of tourism in most cases" and that this tourism initiative is to be supported by archaeology. Respondent 3 echoed this observation and asserted that foreigners have an easier time conducting archaeology in Bolivia because state-sponsored Bolivian archaeology is "oriented towards tourism in many ways". Respondent 4 also noted this orientation, stating that, when evaluating the role of the state in Bolivian archaeology, "one notices a desire to generate projects linked to archaeology and tourism".

Thus, in some cases, the experience of archaeological tourism on the part of Bolivian archaeologists is one of government pressure or intervention. This observation is certainly supported by Bolivian law, at least since the Mesa administration, and may indicate competition between archaeological and tourism professionals over scarce government funding.

Tourism as an Indigenous Priority

Related to a perception that the present Bolivian government has a strong interest in the promotion of archaeological tourism is the idea that archaeological tourism is an Indigenous priority. Respondent 1 believes that "archaeology, for Indigenous people today, has been understood as a possible source of money; as a base for tourism". Respondent 2 places Indigenous interest in archaeological tourism as starting in the very late 1990s, a date that lines up with the increase in tourism-related archaeological legislation. Although this respondent thought that Indigenous interest in archaeology is now the "result of deeper reflection, the assimilation of the past into a process of strengthening identity", the respondent stated that initial Indigenous forays into archaeology were related to economic interest and tourism.

Voicing concern over the very issues of sustainable tourism and international appeal discussed in Chapter 2, Respondent 2 asked "do Indigenous communities know that not everything archaeological is touristy? If they do not earn money from archaeological patrimony, do they still want to be responsible for its care? What are their priorities?" Similarly, Respondent 7 commented on the problems associated with archaeological tourism in Bolivia and noted "the lack of formal infrastructure to bring tourists to sites beyond Tiwanaku". It would seem that some Bolivian archaeologists either do not believe that Indigenous people can evaluate the touristic potential of archaeological remains or that the infrastructural realities of Indigenous-run archaeological tourism are prohibitive.

Tourism as a Reasonable Output of Archaeology

A few respondents saw archaeological tourism as positive. Respondent 6, who reported having a degree related to archaeological tourism, indicated that the main importance of archaeology in Bolivia is that "it generates resources through tourism". Respondent 7 agreed with this and listed "the promise of being tourist destinations" next to "a source of pride for Indigenous people" as the two main reasons why archaeology is important to Bolivia.

7.3.2 Disciplinary Participation in Archaeological Tourism

Despite the doubts that some Bolivian archaeologists expressed about archaeological tourism, the presence of some positive words on the subject combined with the political necessity that respondents described ensure that in recent years there has been some archaeological observation of cultural tourism. In this subsection I will look at four published accounts of Bolivian archaeological tourism. These four studies highlight the differences in how archaeological tourism development in Bolivia has been approached by archaeologists in the past two decades. These differences go far beyond situational realities. The way that the archaeologists and anthropologists involved record the pros and cons of their projects, their portrayal of political or social aspects of archaeological tourism and their assessment of their research goals shed light on how external and internal politics influence archaeological perceptions of tourism.

Nor Lípez Region

In 2003 Axel Nielsen, Justino Calcina and Bernardino Quispe published a report detailing their experiences between 1996 and 2003 with the communities of Santiago K and Santiago Chuvica (Nielsen et al. 2003). These Indigenous communities are located near the Uyuni salt flats, one of the most popular tourist destinations in Bolivia, and the archaeologists report that it was a project priority to develop a local archaeological tourism scheme to be incorporated into the area's tourist route. Their stated goals for this project are common for modern archaeological tourism schemes: to bring economic benefits to Indigenous communities and to protect archaeological resources.

Nielsen et al. see cultural tourism as related to the formation of a "hybridised and globalised elite culture" which stems from a Western desire to experience the pristine, a vacation from normal modernity. They note the economic potential of this desire and portray Indigenous communities as actively demanding "their rights to participate in the economic benefits of tourism". They believe that archaeologists have been some of the first people to hear these demands and are in a unique position to assist Indigenous communities in tourism development.

The authors spend time assessing the pros and cons of the region's tourism industry. They note that the area is already popular and thus that the potential for tourism development is not merely theoretical. The authors believe that tourism money in the Lípez region, as at other Latin American sites, is concentrated in the hands of only a few individuals (see Chapter 2), yet they see the damage from tourism as being more widely spread throughout the community. They define this damage as the

incidental looting of sites by both tourists and villagers and the widening financial gap between community members, which breaks down traditional relationship patterns. The authors blame tourism for the loss of the connection that locals have to their own archaeological past. Semi-exposed mummies that were once referred to as 'grandfather' are portrayed by the authors as being commodified and sold.

In response to these issues, the archaeologists established the Lakaya Project. They record that members of the communities, not the archaeologists, initiated the project. They say that the overarching principles of the project are "self-management and multiculturalism" and that this has resulted in an enhancement of selected pieces of cultural heritage, and in development of tourist infrastructure and measures to mitigate the aspects of tourism that were resulting in a breakdown of Indigenous traditions. They plan to expand the project to marketing. It is worth noting that these communities benefit from being near a desirable tourist destination. The question remains whether Indigenous communities without previously established tourist sites can truly attract visitors.

While the development of archaeological tourism is portrayed as vital to the continued traditional functioning of the community, it is interesting to note the source of this idea. Absent is the government funding and pressured research focus that is recorded in the sentiments of respondents to the 2009 questionnaire. Instead, the authors of the study feel that because tourism in the region was disorganised, unstructured and "spontaneous", the community was fraying at the edges and tangible and intangible cultural heritage was being lost. Recalling the history of archaeological legislation from Chapter 5, it may be that this project predates the massive upturn in tourism promotion evident in the laws of the Mesa administration. Indeed, the government is not mentioned at all in this report. In the face of what the authors describe as massive archaeological looting, no one appears to be enforcing Bolivian anti-looting law. Although the authors see tourism as the cause of this looting, they portray it as the only solution as well. Through *fair* tourism, then, the authors believe that pertinent archaeological preservation concerns can be addressed; that fair tourism is good for Bolivian Indigenous people and good for Bolivian archaeology.

Cerro Rico de Potosí

Pascale Absi and Pablo Cruz describe a Bolivian emphasis on archaeological tourism, whatever the social cost (Absi and Cruz 2005). In their discussion of tourism and heritage in the Potosí region, these authors contend that the very process of

preparing heritage for tourism creates a "politically correct" version of the past that "occasionally negates the local identities it tries to strengthen" (ibid).

They begin their discussion with a criticism of such concepts as the UNESCO World Heritage list. They believe that the term "Cultural Heritage of Humanity" is inherently mercantile. Sites are spoken of as having "value" in "comparison to similar goods" which they see as, ultimately, a measure of tourist potential: "a market developed mainly for and by the first world" (Absi and Cruz 2005). They hold that Bolivia's Indigenous majority "has a particular way of perceiving and dialoguing with that past and its material vestiges" which is outside of this World Heritage scheme (ibid). Moreover, they see Bolivia's tourist program as essentially city-centred, with tour agencies bussing visitors to sites in rural areas on day trips. This prevents Indigenous communities from either gaining financially from tourism or providing input for tourist paths and routes.

Showing what they feel to be a double standard in the creation of a government sponsored version of the past for tourism consumption, Absi and Cruz discuss the *tinku*, a pre-Conquest form of ritualised warfare. In urban areas, troupes perform stylised tinku dances for tourists and urban dwellers. However, the State police actively repress actual tinkus in rural areas as these tinkus often result in serious injury or death. The authors see the state-sanctioned program of past-based and cultural tourism as a form of government control over Indigenous and rural Bolivians:

> [O]ne can understand the patrimonial process and the tourist program that exists in Bolivia as a vector of domination as well as symbolic violence against local populations that are directed to adopt new cultural and economic standards in the service of the tourism market at the same time as the State relegates its functions to that of developing the micro-business sector (Absi and Cruz 2005)

The authors connect this belief to events surrounding tourism at the World Heritage Site of Cerro Rico de Potosí.

Absi and Cruz document a struggle between two forces in the country in the mid 1990s: one that sought to open the Cerro Rico to massive industrial mining, another that sought to create a polished and beautiful mountain for touristic purposes. Caught in this debate was a group of *palliris*, Indigenous female small-scale miners

who have traditionally worked the area. The palliris' protest against the proposal to industrially mine the mountain (which would, of course, challenge their own traditional mining areas) was taken up by the preservationist side. To a degree, the palliris went along with the preservationist plans to re-fill mined parts of the mountains. However, interviews with some of these women, the majority of whom were monolingual Quechua-speakers, revealed a belief that the fill, which was for the beautification of the mountain, was actually a re-planting of metal in the ground that would grow, fertilise the mountain and become mineable. Absi and Cruz insinuate that the preservationists did nothing to discourage this belief, keeping the palliris uneducated because it served preservationist goals.

The authors note that the Indigenous idea of mining is inherently gestational. The mountain is Pachamama and "mineral production is conceived as a fertile sexual relationship with the mountain"; the mountain then births new metal. They portray the Indigenous miners as the mountain's main devotees, yet note that it was the preservationists (which they equate with promoters of cultural tourism) who employed the rhetoric of saving Pachamama from destruction. Absi and Cruz question why the preservationists got to "decide whether Pachamama can support the massive exploitation of the mountain", not Indigenous people.

Although their argument is primarily based on a criticism of a globalised version of heritage, Absi and Cruz shed light on an interesting period of Bolivian archaeological history that was detected in the legal analysis of Chapter 5. In the mid 1990s, Bolivian heritage legislation was focused on participation in global heritage, specifically in the UNESCO World Heritage Site scheme. This case study from the mid-1990s shows what the authors feel was the true motivation of the desire for Bolivian World Heritage Sites: tourism. They paint a picture of heritage preservation being used as a tool to commodify the Bolivian past: a way to sell an urbanised and sanitised "folkloric" Bolivia to western tourists. Asserting that the scheme was a clear form of State domination of Indigenous culture, the authors record no Indigenous benefits from tourism. They portray it as is a completely negative practice that co-opts Indigenous culture to destroy Indigenous culture.

Quila Quila, Chuquisaca

In her article on community participation in archaeological work at Quila Quila, Lima Tórrez asserts that "archaeological science has the capacity to contribute to local economic development" (Lima Tórrez 2003), specifically in the area of advising on

strategies for archaeological tourism. She is very enthusiastic about the ability of archaeological tourism to generate economic return for Indigenous people and believes that tourism is the source of income that offers the best prospect for Bolivian Indigenous people.

Lima Tórrez' project at Quila Quila began in 1996 as a normal archaeological excavation with community involvement in the form of locally-hired archaeological labourers. She portrays this work as "spark[ing] a real awareness of the local population towards archaeological remains" (Lima Tórrez 2003) and notes the community's hope that the research would lead them to become a government-recognised 'Indigenous District' and thus give them more control over their land and resources. During information dissemination meetings in the community, archaeologists noticed a clear interest among the people of Quila Quila to "break into the field of tourism" (ibid). Development of tourism in Quila Quila would not be from scratch: a local hot spring and some petroglyphs already attracted a small number of tourists and community members were making a small amount of income selling refreshments at those sites. Thus the community already managed points of interest to tourists, and simply wanted to attract more tourism.

The idea was popular and in the late 1990s it garnered support from the Society of Rock Art Research in Bolivia (SIARB) and the National Directorate of Archaeology and Anthrolopology (DINAAR), and was funded by the German Service of Social and Technical Cooperation (DED). Lima Tórrez gives the community the credit for coming up with the project and offers several examples of their commitment to preserving archaeological sites for tourism. She states that the people of Quila Quila represent an "Indigenous movement aware of the value of their cultural heritage" (Lima Tórrez 2003). At the same as arguing against the "implementation of paternalistic policies", the author notes that "the awakening of a sincere commitment to the past" was the result of "dialog between researchers and local actors" not "an empowerment movement" (ibid.).

Unlike in the communities near Lípez where archaeological tourism was portrayed as a community response to the forces that were tearing it apart, or at Cerro Rico, where heritage tourism was portrayed as a direct assault on Indigenous practices and values, Lima Tórrez portrays the development of archaeological tourism as a harmonious partnership between government archaeological organisations and an Indigenous community. Not unlike the case from the Maya region presented in Chapter

2, Lima Tórrez sees archaeology as giving Indigenous people an appreciation for their past that they did not have before; she believes that the people of Quila Quila gained the knowledge that they required to succeed at tourism development through learning archaeology. Archaeology, then, is the driving force.

The view of the past presented in the study is entirely western. Absolutely no Indigenous concept of the past is mentioned as a component of the Quila Quila tourism project. The author recounts a situation where Indigenous people were taught what they should care about. The project generated government interest and international funding, perhaps precisely because it made sense as a western-style grant proposal. The archaeologists experienced archaeological tourism at Quila Quila as a way they could give back to the community, a gift that archaeology was especially well placed to give.

Accessibility of 'Real' Archaeology at Tiwanaku

Recent work conducted by Vasquez Rivera at Tiwanaku seems to raise the question: what stakeholders do archaeologists serve (Vasquez Rivera 2008)? Vasquez Rivera spent several months in the Lithic and Ceramic Museum at Tiwanaku conducting an ethnographic survey of Tiwanaku site guides (Vasquez Rivera 2008). He notes that the guides at Tiwanaku consider themselves to be the direct descendants of the builders of the site and thus to have a right to memory-based reconstructions of the site's history. His fieldwork has shown that the guides' presentations to tourists are usually based on the work of Arthur Posnansky and thus on the idea that Tiwanaku was the cradle of American man. Vasquez Rivera notes that "emphasis is placed on the emergence of the city and its chain of transformations", with much time spent on the Ponce-esque ideas of "Urban" and "Imperial" Tiwanaku. He notes that the guides always tend to explain the culture in a linear way, for example from coarse pottery to fine pottery, from poor construction techniques to fine construction techniques.

Vasquez Rivera believes that the myriad of explanatory models that have been developed in the past half-century by archaeologists have had little or no impact on tour guides, an important stakeholder group at Tiwanaku. While acknowledging that most guides' perceptions of the site provide a "probably fictional perspective", he asserts that this creates a meta-narrative concerning the site and ties this to the concept of archaeological multivocality. He sees the existence of this alternative history at Tiwanaku as having its roots in poor communication: the jargonistic tone of

archaeological publication makes it not relevant to the local community, to tourists and to tour guides.

Although his work is at an early stage, Vasquez Rivera's findings are compelling when one recalls that two of the three other tourism case studies presented saw archaeologists as being both ideally placed and relevant to the development of archaeological tourism. At Tiwanaku, the prime example of archaeological tourism in the country, a century of archaeological interaction with the community has not produced a situation where tour guides consider archaeological results to be relevant. It will be interesting to see what his future work uncovers, but for now it seems like the common trope that archaeology and Indigenous tourism go hand-in-hand may not reflect the actual experience of archaeological tourism in Bolivia.

7.3.4 Section Summary

In this section I have expanded on the experience of archaeological tourism as Bolivian archaeologists and anthropologists have experienced it since its emergence as a commonly discussed theme in the 1990s. While the questionnaire responses and these four case studies cannot fully qualify all aspects of Bolivian archaeological tourism from the point of view of archaeologists, they do represent four distinct experiences of the process.

The archaeologists working in the northern López region link their experience of archaeological tourism to popular ideas of sustainable tourism and Indigenous heritage management. They portray Indigenous people as the primary actors in the process who come to tourism out of necessity. Through archaeological tourism Indigenous culture is preserved and Indigenous communities make money. The archaeologists see this form of archaeological tourism as a positive in the face of a previous negative. This case study represents an ideal: archaeologists and Indigenous people working together to preserve heritage, protect culture and make money. In this scenario, the government is not involved in the process and Indigenous people are portrayed as stepping up and doing everything for themselves with nothing but archaeological support.

The case study from Cerro Rico de Potosí represents the polar opposite of the López example. The events discussed take place in the 1990s and are linked to the increase in Bolivian participation in international heritage organisations identified in the legal analysis of Chapter 5. In this example, non-Indigenous people created an internationally recognised archaeological tourism area that does not meet Indigenous needs using co-opted Indigenous ideas of the past. There is no discussion of potential

Indigenous benefit from increases in archaeological tourism to the region. Indigenous people are portrayed as acted upon, marginalised and ignored by both the government and preservationists. The process is discussed as wholly negative.

Quila Quila provides a third type of archaeological tourism experience in Bolivia. In this case study, government-based archaeological organisations are portrayed as almost leading Indigenous people to 'their' heritage and showing them how to make money from it. The archaeologists in this example see themselves as teaching the people of Quila Quila exactly what their past consists of and there is no discussion of any alternative version of the past or perception of Indigenous heritage. Money is acquired from an international organisation to develop points of tourism that have been identified by the archaeologists as being both in need of protection and of interest, presumably, to westerners. While the people of Quila Quila are constantly referred to as partners in this process, the dominant voice of the project is archaeological and there appears to be little space for any alternative Indigenous perceptions of value or need. The project is portrayed as successful, the mark of success being that the Indigenous groups are shown to respond to threats to the tourism-attracting heritage in a western professional way.

A final and very interesting take on archaeological tourism is evident in the case of the tour guides at Tiwanaku. In this case study, tour guides are portrayed as existing in a conceptual framework that is entirely separate from modern archaeological thought. This separation is reinforced by both the unapproachable jargon of archaeological publication and the confidence that the tour guides have in their own Indigenous authenticity. Here tourism and archaeology are two entirely separate entities and it is unclear if this model can or should change. It is this model that comes close to representing a true Indigenous alternative to archaeology, an issue that will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Several of the questionnaire respondents report a general unease at what they perceive as unrealistic Indigenous perceptions of the tourism potential of archaeological sites in their area. In Chapter 2, I discussed this disconnect, using examples from the villages of Sipán and Tiwanaku and noting that tourists often dislike seeing poverty no matter how magnificent the local archaeological site may be. Yet, some practicing archaeologists in Bolivia are concerned that there exists and idea in Indigenous communities that even minor archaeological sites could draw tourists: that Indigenous communities misunderstand what tourists want out of archaeology itself.

While the four cases show different ways that archaeological tourism has been professionally approached in Bolivia (and thus, different ways that it has been professionally perceived) what is not present is a discussion of the failure of an archaeological tourism scheme. If archaeologists see the potential for failure in current trends regarding Indigenous development of archaeological tourism, why are such failures not being reported? Does lack of professional participation in archaeology-based tourism schemes lead to a lack of reporting on tourism flops? In the case of Bolivia, archaeologists seem to formally report archaeological tourism success but only informally discuss ideas of tourism failure.

7.4 Management of Tiwanaku

In previous chapters I borrowed the term 'Tiwanaku-centrism' to describe both a government and a disciplinary focus on Tiwanaku over other Bolivian archaeological or cultural sites. Because of the continued social, political and archaeological importance of the site, I believe that changes in the management and status of Tiwanaku over the past few decades may shed light on less tangible aspects of the experience of Bolivian archaeology. In order to better understand the forces that influence Bolivian archaeological practice, in this section I will investigate how Tiwanaku falls in and out of use, explore who moderates management decisions and question why authority over the site is claimed by various actors.

7.4.1 Becoming a World Heritage Site

In April of 1991, the government of Bolivia nominated Tiwanaku as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, but it was not until December of 2000 that the site was inscribed on the list. As discussed in Chapter 5, a flurry of Bolivian archaeological law was passed during those years that brought Tiwanaku up to the protection standards set by the UNESCO committee. That process alone confirms a high-level interest in having Tiwanaku be internationally recognised.

In the final 2000 UNESCO nomination document, Bolivia, as the nominating state party, makes clear the primary force behind the government-level desire to have Tiwanaku inscribed. Recalling the rising interest in archaeological tourism discussed in the previous subsection, the nomination justifies the inclusion of Tiwanaku as world heritage with:

The ruins of the city of Tiwanaku are nowadays a tourist centre of the highest importance for Bolivia and for the whole of South America. At the national level a recent analysis of tourist attractions puts the site of Tiwanaku in first place, alongside Lake Titicaca (ICOMOS 2000).

Tourist interest is the primary way that the Bolivian government justified their protracted attempt to have the site inscribed on the World Heritage List.

It is notable, especially in light of the present use of the site (for modern solstice ceremonies and as the spiritual base of various Indigenous movements) that only the archaeological aspects of Tiwanaku are mentioned in the final approval document. Formally, Tiwanaku is part of the global culture of humanity, and is recognized as such. To put it another way, the Tiwanaku that is on the UNESCO World Heritage list is a non-Indigenous Tiwanaku.

The Indigenous aspect of Tiwanaku was not raised as a concern during the World Heritage Committee Meeting in 2000 that eventually resulted in the site's inscription. The primary concern raised by committee members was that Tiwanaku may not be authentic, due to heavy Ponce-era restorations (UNESCO 2000). No concern over Indigenous, political or other modern interpretation of the site was mentioned. This deviates significantly from how site is experienced by both archaeologists and other Bolivians.

7.4.2 Management and Control

A contributing factor to the UNESCO bid as well as to the scandals that have concerned the site of Tiwanaku has been decades of struggle over control of the site. "Who controls Tiwanaku" strikes at the heart of the classic question, "who owns the past?" Is Tiwanaku truly a World Heritage Site, the cultural heritage of humanity? Is it the crowning jewel of the Bolivian nation, the cultural patrimony of all Bolivians? Is it the property of Indigenous Bolivians, inherited by both culture and genetics? Or should it be owned an operated by a distinct subset of Indigenous Bolivians, the modern village of Tiwanaku?

As discussed in Chapter 5, Tiwanaku was the subject of Bolivia's very first archaeological law and was the first archaeological site to be declared a national monument. For most of the past century, Tiwanaku was legally held by the government of Bolivia and managed through a variety of cultural and archaeological bodies that were put in place during Ponce's nationalist archaeology period.

However, Bolivia became very interested in participating in international organisations in the 1990s and an effort was made to push Tiwanaku onto the World Heritage list. It is unclear if the government of Bolivia actually began to see Tiwanaku as beyond Bolivian (as internationalised heritage), but at least some evidence indicates that Tiwanaku was seen as a means to promote Bolivian tourism. In other words, placing Tiwanaku on the World Heritage list was meant to bring profit and notability to Bolivia and was not a serious reclassification of the site in the view of the government.

What was significant was a challenge to the traditional government authority structure at Tiwanaku that arose as an undercurrent of the World Heritage-related site management reforms. Clare Sammells (2009) presents one of the clearest and most detailed accounts of this time period in Tiwanaku's management history[102] and the following events come from her extensive inquiry into the matter. Basically, in 2000, the local government and other local organised groups in the village of Tiwanaku were able to successfully gain legal control of the archaeological site.

Sammells records that on August 7th 2000, the day after Bolivian independence day, a group of Mallkus, archaeologists and Tiwanaku community members gathered outside of the Tiwanaku museums. The rumour was that the supervisor of the museum, who was from Tiwanaku, had handed over the site's keys to protestors under threat of violence. The people of Tiwanaku, angry that they had not received the roughly 40% of site revenue that had been promised by the government, demanded complete control over the management of the site. Sammells notes that a similar incident occurred in 1983, but that changes in Bolivian law by 2000 had set a precedent for the decentralisation of the site's administrative functions. She notes that local authorities justified their demands with the popular identification of the Aymara people with the ancient Tiwanaku. In essence, they were asserting that the rightful owners of Tiwanaku were more than ready to manage the site.

The protest at Tiwanaku was not about a disruption of tourism. In a move that is directly comparable to the Indigenous takeover of the site of Chinkultic in Chiapas (see Chapter 2), Sammells reports that the people who "intervened" on August 7 came prepared with the trappings of an alternative authority. They had printed their own admittance tickets, brought their own visitor sign-in book, and opened the site to tourists at 9 a.m.; the tourists that Sammells spoke with had no idea that anything was peculiar at the site, despite the crowd of poncho-clad supporters congregating just

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102   Sammells witnessed many of the events around this takeover of control first hand.

outside of the gates. Again, as at Chinkultic, archaeologists were given permission to continue their work: "these investigations were seen as integral to the goal of attracting more tourists to the site as well as providing an essential source of scarce local employment" (Sammells 2009: 242). By letting archaeological work continue, the Tiwanaku authorities were signalling that business was continuing as usual, just with a new authority in command that was as serious about the site as the government was.

A public meeting at Tiwanaku on 21 August 2000 was presided over by the Prefect of La Paz and the Vice-minister of Culture. Officials announced that all of Tiwanaku's revenues would stay in the region and local authorities would make all hiring decisions that involved the site. A committee was created to manage the site, consisting of three representatives from Tiwanaku and three national-level members. This management structure was confirmed by national Law No 2054 of 2000 (see Chapter 5). Since the success of this protest, Mallku-level intervention has become an implied threat used by the community of Tiwanaku "to ensure compliance with specific orders" (Sammells 2009: 246).

One result of the intervention raised by Sammells is that with the new management structure at Tiwanaku, it was unclear who had the authority to approve archaeological dig permits. Archaeologists working at Tiwanaku in the aftermath of 2000 were told that while the village would manage all tourist aspects of the site, the National Archaeology Office (UNAAR)[103] would be the sole permit-granting body as mandated by Bolivian law (see Chapter 5). Yet village authorities told these same archaeologists that while UNAAR would grant the permits, Tiwanaku would have veto power over them. This ambiguity is at the heart of an archaeological scandal that hit Tiwanaku in mid 2009.

7.4.3 Archaeological Scandal and UNESCO Intervention

In 2008, 870,000 USD from the Japanese Funds in Trust was approved for the site of Tiwanaku following the reports of a 2002 UNESCO and a 2007 World Heritage Centre mission. Specifically, this money was designated for the protection and conservation of Tiwanaku and the Akapana pyramid as part of a three year plan. In a sense, this award was one of the first public indications that something might be amiss at Tiwanaku. Indeed, it was the start of a major scandal that may completely change how Bolivian archaeology is organised. I caution that the events leading up to this

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103   UNAAR was the acronym for the Bolivian national archaeology office. UNAR was the acronym for the national archaeological unit. Both organisations are now defunct.

scandal are controversial and, outside of my own first hand observations, I have taken care not to record rumours and opinions that have not appeared either in print or as the result of my questionnaire. Despite the difficult nature of this subject, I believe that the recent controversy at Tiwanaku may shape both who controls archaeological inquiry in the country and how that archaeological inquiry is managed. By asking how archaeologists have experienced changes in archaeological practice due to government shifts, this scandal at Tiwanaku should be viewed as a case study in change.

Setting the Scene: Some First Hand Reporting

In 2005 representatives of UNAR began heavy archaeological work on the Akapana pyramid. At the time I was conducting small-scale, unrelated excavations in a plaza to the west of the Akapana. The UNAR project began under the administration of Carlos Mesa but, by the time I arrived at Tiwanaku that June, Mesa had resigned and it was clear that Evo Morales was on his way to becoming the president of Bolivia.

Bolivian archaeologists reported a considerable amount of pressure was placed on them to work for UNAR on the Akapana. An odd animosity exited between the project I worked on and the UNAR project stemming from our growing sense of disapproval. I saw the UNAR excavations to be more concerned with reconstruction in the vein of Ponce's despised 'restorations' rather than sound archaeological work. Large chunks of the ruined pyramid were excavated away in what seemed like very little time. Spoil piles grew as did heaps of ancient cut stone with no clear origin. Questionable excavation methods appeared to be being employed and UNAR representatives seemed very defensive.

The year before, while visiting the site, Carlos Mesa made a speech that emphasised tourism: he denounced any sort of archaeology that might threaten the touristic potential of the site. I wondered if the UNAR project represented a continuation of Mesa's speech: a project to beautify the Akapana pyramid in an outright attempt to improve what tourists saw. The worry turned to complaint: 'what was UNESCO good for if they let something like this happen?'

Figure 7.5   UNAR excavations at the Akapana in 2005: questionable excavation techniques; piles of ancient cut stones for incorporation into the pyramid; a 'new' stairway on the west side of the pyramid, apparently partially constructed from the collected stones; the massive depth of the UNAR dig on the east side of the Akapana (photos by the author, 2005)

Scandal

In March of 2009, UNESCO became interested in the situation at Tiwanaku and sent Francesco Bandarin to produce a preliminary report on the UNAR excavations. In June of 2009, the mayor of the municipality of Tiwanaku effectively fired the archaeologists involved with UNAR's Akapana excavations, citing inferior excavation techniques and damage to the pyramid (La Razón, 31 July 2009). The municipality then hired its own team of archaeologists through a Venezuelan grant that it administered. Initially, the Ministry of Culture denounced this action, questioning whether the municipality had legal standing to prevent a government-level archaeological project from continuing. This ambiguity rested on the unclear division of power created following the management intervention at Tiwanaku in 2000. The municipality had the ability to hire and fire workers related to the running of the archaeological site and believed that it had veto power over archaeological permits. The Ministry of Culture believed that UNAR retained sole jurisdiction over archaeological excavations at Tiwanaku, as per national law. Although they did not acknowledge the community's

right to fire the archaeologists, the Ministry quickly reversed their statements and supported the removal of the UNAR project, perhaps because UNESCO's concern became known.

The basic premise of the scandal at Tiwanaku was two-fold. First, both the UNESCO observer and then the municipal government decided that the UNAR excavations had severely compromised the integrity of the Akapana. Second, an assessment of the two site museums at Tiwanaku showed that the buildings were suffering from severe moisture damage and that the artefacts stored there, particularly the Bennett monolith, were damaged by the poor state of the buildings. This inevitably led to accusations of financial impropriety: if Tiwanaku's UNESCO money was not going towards museum upkeep, where was it going?

The outpouring of public blame was directed initially at Javier Escalante, the long-term head of UNAR. As it turned out, the UNESCO assessment prepared in March had advised an immediate halt to UNAR work on the Akapana pyramid, but Escalante ordered work to continue. It was this work that the Municipality halted in June. As the scandal broke, Escalante maintained that UNAR work at the Akapana had not damaged the pyramid, claiming that the UNESCO representative misidentified ancient and historic damage as being caused by his modern excavations (La Razón, 31 July 2009). He asserted that the village of Tiwanaku had managed both the site and the museum since 2000 and that any damage there was due to their negligence. As more rumours swirled, Javier Escalante was accused of locking either the museum doors or its cases and taking the keys with him, preventing anyone from maintaining the facility (La Razón 29 July 2009).

As the situation grew ugly, Bolivian newspapers noticed that Tiwanaku-period artefacts were up for sale on the internet (La Razón 21 July 2009; La Razón 23 July 2009). Although online sales of South American antiquities are common, the blame was instantly placed on UNAR and it was reported that UNAR had been firing site guards since 2000 (La Razón 21 July 2009). Totally unsubstantiated rumours placed government archaeologists as being involved with online antiquities sales.

Aftermath

From the 24th to the 27th of July 2009, a group of UNESCO professionals, led by Guatemalan archaeologist Maria Rosa Chan, visited the site of Tiwanaku. On July 30, 2009, Javier Escalante was dismissed from his post as the head of UNAR and David Aruquipa resigned as the Director of Patrimony at the Ministry of Culture. Many,

myself included, worried that the situation at the site would cause Tiwanaku to be removed from the World Heritage list. To date, only two sites out of over 900 have been delisted[104] and Bolivia, particularly with Evo Morales at the helm, wished to avoid that embarrassment. The government also hoped to prevent Tiwanaku from being placed on UNESCO's World Heritage in Danger list since the "danger" that the site was in came from government archaeologists. To put it another way, Evo Morales did not wish it to appear as if his administration was endangering the same archaeological site that was his symbolic base of Indigenous authority.

The result of the UNESCO visit was an announcement that immediate attention was needed at the site, particularly in the case of the Akapana pyramid where "serious technical errors were committed" (La Razón 18 November 2009). It was mandated that the overall scheme for the Akapana had to be approved by UNESCO: all intervention would be validated by UNESCO experts and would be subject to permanent Ministry of Culture monitoring (La Razón 14 November 2009). Although the site was scheduled for further UNESCO evaluation, Tiwanaku avoided both being delisted and being placed on the Heritage in Danger list.

Ever since, news from Tiwanaku has been difficult to untangle. A 2010 audit of UNAR conducted by the Ministry of Culture revealed that 611 documented objects were missing from their archaeological stores. Other objects had been stored based on their form rather than by the site of origin rendering them unidentifiable. Half of the objects in UNAR's care were found to be in poor condition having not been conserved in any way (La Razón 12 June 2010). In mid 2010 Freddy Rivera, who had been appointed the Director of Patrimony at the Ministry of Culture following the resignation of David Arequipa, and Soledad Fernandez, then the director of UNAR, accused a UNESCO-contracted surveying company of smearing yellow paint on several original stones at the Akapana (La Razón 21 July 2010). They maintained that the stones could not be returned to their original state and the company responsible agreed to pay 20,000 bolivianos towards the cleaning process after the Municipality of Tiwanaku filed criminal damages charges (La Razón 17 June 2010).

The government has continued its formal investigation of those involved in the scandal. In July of 2010, the Minister of Institutional Transparency and Combating

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104   The Arabian Oryx sanctuary in Oman was delisted in 2007 after the government decided to reduce the protected area by 90%; it appears that Oman wanted this delisting to occur as it cleared the way for unobstructed hydrocarbon prospecting in the area. The Dresden Elbe Valley in Germany was delisted in 2009 after a four-lane bridge was built in the middle of the cultural landscape. Reaction to this was mixed but the situation was portrayed in the media as extremely embarrassing for Germany.

Corruption formally indicted a number of people for anomalies related to the faulty construction of Tiwanaku's site museum. Among those accused of wasteful conduct, negligence and accepting illegal contributions were former Deputy Minister of Culture Oswaldo Rivera, the Director-General of Cultural Heritage Rolando Gomez Saravia and archaeologist Javier Escalante (La Razón 25 July 2010).

Allegations exist that little improvement has since been made to the site. A visit by reporters from La Razón in February of 2011 found a significant amount of fungus or lichens on the Gateway of the Sun, a wet roof collapse in the lithic museum, and what appeared to be deficient drainage measures at areas of the site (La Razón 13 February 2011). On 8 Feb 2011, the Ministry of Culture created the Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas, Antropológicas y Administración de Tiwanaku (CIAAAT) with the aim of meeting the requirements for the site to be regain its UNESCO funding (El Diario 2011). In recognition of the stipulations laid out by the 2009 constitution and the new laws concerning the organisation of autonomous governments, CIAAAT contains representatives from the Autonomous Departmental Government of La Paz, the Municipal Government of Tiwanaku, and includes some supervision from the Central Government through the Ministry of Culture. As of May 24th, 2011 Cesar Cocar Yana, the governor of the La Paz district, has stated that the standards set by UNESCO for Tiwanaku have still not been met and thus that funds for the restoration of the site cannot be disbursed (El Diario 2011).

Through CIAAAT, the Municipality retains control of Tiwanaku. Several respondents to my questionnaire indicated their concern about this situation. Respondent 10 simply asks if it is right for any one group to own something that is considered to be the cultural property of humanity. Respondent 2, while expressing "enormous respect" for Indigenous people, feels that the state is not fulfilling its role as the protector of cultural patrimony if it allows communities to take over the ownership of archaeological sites.

Politics and More Politics

The continued drama regarding the preservation of Tiwanaku has become a convenient vehicle for opponents of the present government to criticise the Morales administration. That the symbolic setting of Morales' claim of authentic authority is the target of sustained national and international allegations of mismanagement makes him, in turn, an easy target, mostly for dissatisfied non-Indigenous politicians. An example of criticism of the management of Tiwanaku being used to attack the symbolic

foundations of the Morales administration can be seen in an editorial written by former president Carlos Mesa (Mesa 2011). Although he carefully acknowledges that Tiwanaku is an important part of Indigenous history, Mesa says that the two Apu Mallku ceremonies at Tiwanaku were "coronations" undertaken with "the clear intention to build a deep bond between Morales and Indigenous history" (ibid.). Calling the ceremonies Hollywood-like, he asserts that while Morales has paid political attention to the site, he has neglected the preservation of Tiwanaku and that this is the reason why the site has deteriorated in recent years[105].

In the article, Mesa attacks the community of Tiwanaku, saying that it is unacceptable that the whims of the community not only govern policy at the site but impede the duties of the state. He says that Tiwanaku is national heritage (not just Indigenous heritage) and that the site's "technical, scientific and touristic management must be done by the state under conditions and policies that are subject to the interests of the state" (Mesa 2011). He accuses the local community of "closing up shop" but asserts that he sees no evidence that the current national government will do any better if it regains management of Tiwanaku. In his closing statement, Mesa recalls how in 2006 Morales nationalised the natural gas reserves of the country. He suggests that the current president should visit Tiwanaku (while "not dressed in the style of ancient Tiwanaku") and nationalise the site, since it is "now 'property' of a tiny part of the Bolivian community" (ibid).

7.4.4. Tiwanaku and the Experience of Bolivian Archaeology in the Present

Perhaps the most notable result of the scandal at Tiwanaku is the dismantling of UNAR in August of 2010. This will no doubt have a substantial effect on the practical aspects of archaeology in Bolivia. It was clear that UNAR would not survive the continued investigations into the unit's actions at Tiwanaku. Protracted corruption investigations, with allegations against 18 officials ranging from the theft of a laptop to trafficking in antiquities (La Razón 20 October 2010) resulted in a general lack of public and government confidence in the organisation. In October of 2010, archaeologist José Luis Paz took on the leadership of the Unidad de Arqueología y Museos (UDAM), which is meant to be UNAR's replacement. Upon assuming this role, Paz announced that his priorities lay in producing a clear register of the archaeological objects held by

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105   As an archaeologist working at Tiwanaku before Morales took office, I must say that it seemed that Mesa took a lax view of preservation, favouring instead tourism promotion. Tiwanaku's management did not change with the election of Morales, and the ill-fated UNAR project began during the Mesa administration. Edgar Arandia pointed this out in a follow-up editorial.

the unit and the national museum system, and developing a modern set of standards for archaeological excavations (ibid.). In early 2011, Paz was made director of Cultural Patrimony at the Ministry of Culture, the 7th person to hold that position in a year.

Several archaeologists who responded to the questionnaire reported a growing sense of fractionalisation in Bolivian archaeology related to the dismantling of UNAR. Respondent 1 mentioned the Tiwanaku scandal and observed that now Bolivian archaeologists are broken into groups who fight amongst themselves for power and pitiful resources. Respondent 3 and Respondent 9 alleged nepotism in hiring. Respondent 2 felt that the organisation of Bolivian archaeology was up in the air in general and specifically wondered how institutionalisation under the new system of political autonomies will take place, essentially asking whether Bolivian archaeology will be centralised after UNAR. Respondent 10 also felt that the situation was bleak, reporting that it was widely felt that the majority of archaeologists would lose their jobs in the protracted fallout from the collapse of UNAR and that "people hand-picked by the government will be put in their place".

7.4.5 Section Summary

If Bolivian archaeology is Tiwanaku-centred, then the present reality of archaeological practice in Bolivia cannot help but be influenced by the various forces that vie for control over that archaeological site. By looking at the recent history of management change at Tiwanaku it is clear that Bolivian archaeological practice, at least on an administrative level, is intimately tied to both government change and government scandal. With Tiwanaku in the public eye, archaeology and site management have become tools for political criticism with debate over the site breaking, apparently, along party and racial lines. In light of the situation, it is no wonder that Bolivian archaeologists feel that they are a marginalised interest group in the ongoing debate over access to Tiwanaku. As it stands, Tiwanaku is in a state of transition, and apparently so is Bolivian archaeological practice. The future of Bolivian archaeology is unclear.

7.5 Future of Bolivian Archaeology

The wounds caused by the 2009 scandal at Tiwanaku were still fresh at the time that this dissertation was written. The situation is clearly political and Bolivians have been forced to confront their own ideas about the use of Tiwanaku for political and tourism purposes. The case will continue to challenge the boundaries between

Indigenous, state and international heritage. Tiwanaku remains a World Heritage Site and a Bolivian National Monument that is managed by an Indigenous municipality. Blame for mistakes at such a site of controversy will continue to be placed politically.

Bolivian archaeologists and heritage practitioners are dealing with a degree of institutional upheaval that has not been seen since the post-1952 period. If Carlos Ponce institutionalised Bolivian archaeology, it is worth considering whether the discipline is now being re-institutionalised, this time without a charismatic ideologue at the helm. In this section I will explore how Bolivian archaeologists view the future of their discipline. Based largely on the targeted questionnaire given in 2009, I will discuss both the murky present that Bolivian archaeologists report experiencing and the idealised future that they see for their discipline.

7.5.1 A Grim Present

Internal Focus and Foreign Dominance

Several respondents to the questionnaire felt that Bolivian archaeology was stunted by its own limited focus. Respondent 1 described Bolivian archaeology as "very limited with very little international visibility, without funds and continually embroiled in political problems on a local or, at worst, a national scale"; in other words, the respondent sees Bolivian archaeology as hindered by its own inward focus and internal scandal. Respondent 8 decried Bolivian archaeology's "western" theoretical positions. In seeming agreement, Respondent 11 believes that Bolivian archaeology suffers from "colonialism" and does not have its own "school" of archaeological thought and practice.

This sense of Bolivian archaeology as being either provincial or neo-colonial is complemented by a sense of foreign dominance of archaeological work in Bolivia. Respondent 7, referring to the re-opening of Bolivian archaeology to foreigners in the 1980s, characterised international collaboration as an important recent change in Bolivian archaeology but said that there are theoretical problems with cooperative projects at Tiwanaku specifically. Respondent 3 stated that the archaeological work done in the country "is led by foreign researchers with little assistance from the state authorities" mostly because Bolivia has failed to develop its own strong school of practice. The respondent believes that it is "easier to conduct research as a foreigner than as a [Bolivian] national", in part because internal institutional nepotism does not usually influence foreign projects, but also because of lack of internal funding. Respondent 4 also noted a lack of economic resources for archaeological work in

Bolivia. Respondent 6, referring to the scandals discussed in the previous section, reported a misuse of the few resources that are available to Bolivian archaeology.

Thus it seems that a sense of provinciality and foreign dominance is strongly felt by Bolivian archaeologists. They portray these as factors that will both limit the work that they are able to personally undertake and prevent Bolivia from becoming the setting of world-class local archaeology. While the archaeologists appear to appreciate international collaboration, there is a strong sense that they wish it to not be necessary for their discipline to function.

Educational Failings

Difficulties in acquiring adequate archaeological training were reported by several respondents. Respondent 5 stated that the academic infrastructure of Bolivia does not provide enough professional training opportunities and that the available archaeological facilities (presumably laboratories, etc.) do not "give Bolivians full control over [their] material remains". Respondent 1 saw educational challenges as extending beyond archaeology, stating that Bolivia's educational system is passing through one of its worst periods.

Respondent 10 agrees with Respondent 1, pointing out that there are major deficiencies in the Bolivian educational system in all areas, not just in archaeology. This respondent felt that there were problems with the archaeology degree offered by the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés (UMSA). Respondent 7 mentioned a very specific example of the lack of educational support that Bolivian archaeologists face at UMSA. This respondent felt that students in Bolivia often lack the financial support needed to finish the final thesis required to earn their degree. Respondent 7 also noted that a lack of archaeological publications in Spanish represents a linguistic barrier for students.

The educational difficulties reported by the respondents appear to relate to the general perception among all the respondents that Bolivian archaeology is severely underfunded. Problems in archaeological education also feed into the perceived provinciality and foreign dominance of Bolivian archaeological work discussed in the previous subsection. The felt experience of Bolivian archaeology, then, is that the discipline will remain in a state of subservience or inferiority until increased education and funding allow Bolivian archaeologists to do better.

Lack of Dissemination of Findings

Several respondents felt, in the words of Respondent 2, that there was a "lack of social commitment in Bolivian archaeological research". Respondent 4, for example,

thinks that the public is misinformed about the sort of archaeological work that is done in Bolivia and that archaeologists must develop ways to engage with society. Respondent 2 criticised the lack of a legislative tool that would compel Bolivian and international archaeologists to educate Indigenous communities and society in general about their archaeological research. Respondent 1 notes that no Bolivian anthropological journals maintain academic standards and believes most of the archaeological material published in the country is severely slanted by opinion. Supporting this sentiment is Respondent 4's belief that a lack of communication exists among archaeological researchers in Bolivia.

Taking a slightly different tone, Respondent 10 agrees that scientific articles about archaeology are rarely disseminated to the public but that this is because there is "a total lack of interest in them". This is blamed on a government and societal interest in "romantic ideas about the indigenous past" which the respondent believes has "replaced archaeological data".

Friction with Indigenous Communities

Respondent 10 commented that one of the biggest changes in Bolivian archaeology in recent years is the power that Indigenous communities have gained over archaeological remains. This seems to have caused a sense of competition for resources between some archaeologists and Indigenous groups. Several respondents, most of whom indicated profound respect for Indigenous people, expressed dissatisfaction at the present government's Indigenous focus.

Respondent 9 believes that there are very positive aspects to Indigenous archaeology and that an alternative reading of the past is good for archaeology, however the respondent cautions that people who are not Indigenous may be being marginalised. While Respondent 5 indicated that this Indigenous focus is more important in places like the La Paz department that have large Indigenous populations, Respondent 1 stated that archaeology in Bolivia currently belongs to Indigenous people, at least figuratively, and that archaeologists have been "orphaned" by the government's Indigenous-focused political discourse. Respondent 10 was equally upset with how archaeologists have been limited in their access to the past in recent years and stated that archaeologists are treated like "outsiders when it comes to defending archaeological sites". The respondent said that this is because the government ensures that archaeological sites "belong to the community in which they are situated" and thus that archaeologists do not have "the right to intervene", even if sites are poorly

managed or being destroyed from looting or neglect. Respondent 10 also stated that the academic achievements of archaeologists in Bolivia are meaningless since prime archaeological jobs are given to people who "get along with local authorities". This respondent mused "many prefer to surrender before suffering the continued rejections of the [Indigenous] communities".

Many Bolivian archaeologists seem to think that future archaeological interaction with Bolivian Indigenous groups is uncertain and unpredictable. Respondent 10 stated "nobody in the government has given a coherent definition of what Indigenous archaeology is" and thinks that, in general, the classification of anyone as Indigenous is biased and vague. Respondent 2 felt that the priorities of Indigenous communities are unknown and wonders if such groups really want to manage archaeological resources that have no touristic potential. Bolivian archaeologists seem to be experiencing multiple points of friction with Indigenous groups and are beginning to feel that the role of the Bolivian archaeologist may be compromised by governmental pushes towards local autonomies.

7.5.2 Moves Towards Change

One of the overriding themes that emerged from the questionnaire responses is the desire for a truly Bolivian school of archaeological practice, which, in itself, is a nationalist vision. The respondents expressed interest in a modern, professional form of archaeology developed for the particulars of Bolivia by Bolivians. They saw this as a way to both gain international respect and push the discipline towards interesting discoveries. There is a strong sense of being on the cusp of major disciplinary change. In the words of Respondent 2, many Bolivian archaeologists "believe that a process of change is taking place in Bolivia which obliges archaeology to take a new direction, more committed to education, ethnicity and understanding the past".

Positive Steps in Education and Internationalism

Respondent 1 described a new generation of Bolivian archaeologists who have entered into international postgraduate programs and who "are trying to push for some form of academic and international support for Bolivian archaeology". The respondent recognised a societal duty for archaeologists to distribute relevant research to the public and the international community and indicated that this new generation is interested in this task. For Bolivian archaeology to reach the ideal of being a "science at an international level" complete with interdisciplinary dialogue, Respondent 1 thinks that "this future must be forged by our work as archaeologists".

Respondent 4 also commented on this younger generation of educated archaeological professionals. The respondent said that the technological capabilities of Bolivian archaeological research (meaning the ability to perform high-level archaeological science) is improving and is, in general, "remediable under the right political and economic conditions". With this in mind, Respondent 4 characterised the future of Bolivian archaeology as "bright". Respondent 9, too, cited increased educational opportunities from which "a new generation of archaeological professionals was born who are trying to professionalise archaeology". Thus, education has effected a changing of the guard in Bolivian archaeology.

Changing of the Guard

Although still pessimistic about the situation, Respondent 3 indicated that a generational change in Bolivian archaeological research could prevent disciplinary stagnation. The respondent saw the future of Bolivian archaeology as "uncertain, until there is a revolution or change in vision among researchers", but thought that such a revolution is possible. Respondent 11, although not as confident in change as the previous respondent, did characterise the future of Bolivian archaeology as a "struggle with the older generations of archaeologists who have their [own] groups of elites".

Respondent 7 indicated that such a changing of the guard is more than possible. The new generation of Bolivian archaeologists that this respondent described is focused on "very different ideas", archaeology that is not just inwardly focused but rather takes into account "a comparative perspective". Respondent 1, despite other dire predictions about the realities of Bolivian archaeology, felt that many aspects of the discipline are "freer" in Bolivia. The respondent saw an advantage in the ability of Bolivian archaeologists to develop alternative opinions that lead to informed professional debate and disciplinary growth.

7.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has explored the changing experience of Bolivian archaeology, especially in recent decades. Although the intangible aspects of governmental change on archaeological practice and the use of Bolivian archaeology are obscure, the four focus areas of this chapter have expanded upon the more tangible results of Chapters 5 and 6. By looking at the Tiwanaku solstice, archaeological tourism, the management of Tiwanaku, and ideas of the future of Bolivian archaeology, the true complexity of Bolivian archaeology is apparent.

Based on the discussion of the previous sections, Bolivian archaeology, then, is experienced as a complex negotiation between remarkably diverse interest groups, all of whom have competing needs. Because of the symbolic political power of Bolivian archaeological sites, particularly Tiwanaku, Bolivian archaeologists have increasingly found themselves at the centre of political debates that they find that they have little influence over. Change, then, to Bolivian archaeologists has been both a gradual erosion of the archaeological institutions that previously governed Bolivia's cultural patrimony and an increased sense of self-awareness, an intense desire for progressive disciplinary development.

Just what form this development needs to take, however, is unclear. Equally unclear is how archaeology will be organised following the final dismantling of the archaeological framework developed during Ponce's national archaeology scheme. The 2009 scandal at Tiwanaku was a seemingly inevitable explosion of an already tense situation. With the new Bolivian constitution specifically giving control of archaeological sites to recognised autonomies, it seems obvious that centralised organisations such as UNAR were never going to be able to survive in their present form. Yet the sheer force of the Tiwanaku scandal and the protracted fallout from it have shown that Bolivian archaeology is in a period of transition.

This sense of being on the cusp of change, which is apparent in all four focus areas presented in this chapter, is intimately tied to the major political shift associated with the election of Evo Morales. His presidency may mark a significant paradigm shift in Bolivian archaeology, a shift that is being experienced in a multitude of ways by archaeological practitioners. It is interesting to note that one of the common themes present in nearly all the questionnaire responses I received is an idea of a new breed of young Bolivian archaeological professionals who are actively engaged in developing themselves and their discipline. I believe that this experience is a product of the very real changes that Bolivian archaeology has experienced in the past few years and the uncertainty of the discipline's future. Indeed, in uncertain times and in the face of various disciplinary challenges, an enthusiastic new school of Bolivian archaeologists appears to be doing what it takes to ensure their disciplinary survival.

8. Archaeology and Change in Modern Bolivia: Questions and Answers

Figure 8.0 *Mallkus with the modern flags of Latin American countries line Tiwanaku's semi-subterranean temple at Morales' second Apu Mallku Ceremony (2010)*

8.1 Archaeology and Socio-Politics in Modern Bolivia

As a preface to this concluding chapter it is worth outlining the substantive contribution of this dissertation. First, this research represents the first time that all historic Bolivian archaeological laws have been collected, analysed and evaluated to identify long-term trends (see Chapter 5). This alone should provide a substantial tool for further research into the past, present and future of Bolivian heritage management. Furthermore, the results of this analysis were combined with the results of the word frequency analysis presented in Chapter 6. This unique methodology had shed light on how legal and social changes are (and are not) apparent in professional archaeological texts. Finally, the incorporation of dispersed, poorly documented, and even controversial information into this analysis (see Chapter 7) provides a view of current archaeological realities. Indeed, that chapter represents one of the first reports of the

recent controversies at Tiwanaku, providing early analysis of the situation within the context of the greater changes to Bolivian archaeology detected in previous chapters.

At the end of Chapter 2 I proposed a series of questions that this study sought to answer. Based on the archaeological heritage issues that I identified within case studies of Latin American states and Indigenous groups, these questions provided the framework for the analyses presented in Chapters 4 through 7. In this section I will revisit each question and offer the answers that my results suggest.

8.1.1 How independent are archaeology and archaeological resources from the political and social shifts that occur in modern states?

There have been many political and social changes in Bolivia in the past three decades and it is clear that aspects of archaeology have changed along with them. However, to say that archaeology is totally dependent on political shifts and thus totally changeable does not fully explain the complexity of the information gathered in this study. Archaeology and political change have a tangled relationship and this study has only partially disentangled the two in the case of Bolivia.

Both formal protection of archaeological resources and regulation of archaeological excavation, as seen in the cumulative history of Bolivian archaeological legislation, are directly dependent on the political and social shifts that underlie the laws and are much less reliant on independent developments in the field of archaeology. This is not a surprising conclusion: laws come from the government and the government represents the prevailing political situation. With almost no exceptions, individual pieces of archaeology or preservation legislation passed in Bolivia since 1906, and certainly those passed during the three decades of this study, are direct reflections of the interests and tone of the prevailing regime. This is most obvious when laws passed after a socio-political transition are compared to laws passed before. The few laws passed during a transition are even more indicative of the dependence of archaeological legislation on the government rather than on practitioners.

While the details of each individual transition and comparison are laid out in Chapter 5, I would like to dwell upon two heritage laws that were passed during the rocky civil situation that led up to the election of Evo Morales as president. First, Law No. 2018, signed by soon-to-be-former-president Carlos Mesa on 12 April 2005, declared the "Aymara New Year" at Tiwanaku to be the "intangible, historical and cultural patrimony of the nation". Second, Law No. 3102, signed by the acting president on 15 July 2005, which declared Túpac Katari and Bartolina Sisa to be the

national Aymara hero and heroine, respectively. Recalling that Mesa was forced to resign the presidency on the 6 June 2005, that the Tiwanaku Solstice is celebrated on June 21/22 and that Morales was elected president on 18 December 2005, it is safe to say that these heritage laws were enacted during a significant political and social transition.

While neither law appears to have much bearing on the practice of archaeology, the fact that archaeological themes so quickly and obviously invade legislation during this moment of political crisis shows the symbiotic relationship between the two. Mesa, facing growing criticism from an unhappy Indigenous majority, passed a law that is focused on honouring what had come to be seen as a symbolic Indigenous institution. Within 2 months of that law being signed, Mesa had resigned: he did not even make it to the solstice. Mesa's interest in honouring the solstice at Tiwanaku is brought into question by the editorials he has since written on the topic (see Chapter 7). In a time of political crisis an event in an archaeological setting with modern social significance is easily co-opted for the purpose of political appeasement.

The second law, which came only a couple weeks after the solstice and exactly a month after the resignation of Mesa, is very clearly tied to the political situation in the country. The historic entities of Katari and Sisa, who were said to have engaged in politicised invocations of archaeology themselves, were declared "national Aymara" heroes in a very short law that also allowed for the construction of a statue of the couple in El Alto. This law conferred public honour on the semi-mythologized patron saints of the contemporary Indigenous political movement, the movement that had just forced the president to resign. It anticipated the election of Morales four months later and signalled a tone and focus change in the use of the past in Bolivian politics. This law shows that the legal version of the past, and thus archaeology, had become Indigenous in response to political change. The legislation passed following the election of Morales conforms to this now Indigenised model.

However, law represents only the theoretical connections between archaeological practice, preservation and political change: it is a framework that is not necessarily enforced nor internalised by the practitioners of archaeology. When it comes to the disciplinary output of Bolivian archaeologists during and after major social or political changes, archaeology is far more independent from politics than the law would suggest. The analysis of archaeological literature presented in Chapter 6 revealed Bolivian disciplinary archaeology to be remarkably static, at least in terms of

the written results of archaeological investigation. Although minor and even interesting changes were discovered in the 30 years of archaeological literature that was analysed, when taken as a whole these changes did not convey a sense of archaeology blowing wildly in the winds of politics.

The relatively homogeneous nature of the sample of Bolivian archaeological texts is probably due to a combination of institutional stability, meaning that archaeology in Bolivia was institutionalised in a specific way and that that style of archaeology was self-replicating, and because of the outside influence of international archaeological discourse. However strong an influence politics may have on the regulation of archaeology in the country, at least in the past 30 years political changes have not had much of an effect on how archaeology is reported professionally.

Again, archaeological publication does not offer a complete picture of the interplay between heritage and preservation and socio-political change. How independent, then, is the experienced aspect of archaeology from social and political shifts? The various lines of evidence collected in Chapter 7 indicate that archaeological practice and the intangible aspects of archaeology in Bolivia are heavily influenced by the prevailing social or political situation in the country. Perhaps this is most evident in the feelings expressed by Bolivian archaeologists themselves. They perceive the current government's interest in Indigenous issues as influencing their work as archaeologists and, even more directly, as being the driving force behind heritage management decisions. Some portrayed a situation where archaeological positions and career advancement were available only to those who tied themselves either to the old guard of Bolivian archaeologists or to the current government. The government was portrayed both as providing inadequate funding for archaeology and education related to the past and as using archaeological sites and information for political purposes. In a way, the government was seen as both inept and powerful.

I believe that archaeology and heritage preservation are not independent from socio-political change in Bolivia. While international standards of archaeological inquiry are maintained through transitions, both the legal and practical aspects of the practice of archaeology and heritage preservation are an integral component of Bolivian politics, not a separate entity.

8.1.2 What effect does the combination of Indigenous issues, nationalism and tourism have on how archaeologists study and interpret the past?

In seeking to answer this question, the results of this study look contradictory at first. While the archaeologists who responded to the questionnaire see such issues as major or even defining features of how they are able to practice archaeology in Bolivia at the moment and while archaeological law at any given point seems to reflect whichever of these motivations are in the government eye, archaeological publication in Bolivia is only barely affected by such shifts. How is such a sharp division maintained?

I believe that the results of the previous three chapters point to a situation where such issues as Indigenous politics, nationalism and tourism have a strong effect on how the Bolivian past is studied but only a minor effect on how the Bolivian past is interpreted following the end of the Nationalist Archaeology scheme of the 1950s through the 1970s. In other words, the effects of such issues are intensely practical but not necessarily theoretical.

A good example of a practical but not theoretical external influence on archaeological practice and interpretation is the Indigenous movement in Bolivia. In Chapter 5 I showed that there has been a clear Indigenous influence on archaeological law following the election of Evo Morales which is epitomised by the text of the 2009 Constitution. The Constitution puts forth a government-sanctioned foundation mythology for the state of Bolivia and it is within this foundation mythology and the legal changes resulting from it that Bolivian archaeology now functions. In Chapter 7 I discussed how Indigenous issues have been felt on a practical level by practitioners of archaeology, mostly in the form of changes to regulation and government focus, as well as how the growing influence of often-Indigenous autonomies may lead to their having a strong stake in the future of Bolivian heritage preservation. Archaeologists in Bolivia, as the questionnaire showed, look at such changes with both interest and concern.

However, the word frequency analysis of Chapter 6 does not show a very strong change in archaeological literature in response to the increased influence of Indigenous Bolivians. From 2003 onward, terms that refer to Indigenous people are seen more frequently in Bolivian archaeological literature (although they were clearly present in earlier periods as well), and the term "Originario" first appears. The sudden appearance of this term at roughly the same time that Indigenous Bolivians begin to make significant political advancement in public life may not be coincidental: I believe that its appearance in archaeological literature simply reflects the term's appearance in broader Bolivian society. It is not unique to archaeology, and is the equivalent of the

current North American preference for "Native American" or "First Nations" over "Indians". Society changed its vocabulary but archaeology did not make a conscious change. Indeed, the set of most frequently seen words in this sample of Bolivian archaeological literature does not change during the rise of the Indigenous movement, the election of Evo Morales or the passing of the 2009 Constitution. The general makeup of the corpus of Bolivian archaeological literature stayed the same as it had in previous years.

Clearly, archaeology can only function within the limits that regulatory bodies (be they governments or, perhaps, Indigenous autonomies) set for the discipline. Those with the authority to grant and rescind permits and to judge professional competency will no doubt set the limits of the practical side of our archaeological work. Those with an agenda that differs from that of the ruling power must either cease to function, lobby for change or work covertly, at least at a practical level. However, I believe the results of this study show that archaeological output, that is publication and even interpretation, is largely independent from the practical pressures that seek to contain it. In the past 30 years it appears that despite major social and political changes, Bolivian archaeologists have largely chosen to continue their disciplinary interpretation as they see fit: to a high professional standard that conforms to internationalised archaeological norms rather than non-archaeological internal influences.

8.1.3 What separates Indigenous archaeology from nationalistic archaeology?

While I believe the results of this study have clarified this question, a definitive answer does not necessarily exist there is not necessarily a definitive answer. The definitions of both of these terms are variable and it is hard to compare what is not easily defined. That said, in Chapter 2 I offered my own working definition of both terms and, using those definitions, I believe that the results of this study have shed more light on the situation.

To recap, I defined nationalistic archaeology as archaeology performed by trained professionals that seeks to confirm or support the agenda of a state government, often through questionable interpretation of the remains of the past. The archetype of nationalistic archaeology in Bolivia is the "Nationalist Archaeology" of the post-1952 period. I offered two competing definitions of Indigenous archaeology. First, that Indigenous archaeology is normal disciplinary archaeology that consults Indigenous groups and incorporates some Indigenous questions into otherwise-standard research plans. Second, that Indigenous archaeology is an alternative to

mainstream archaeology: that it is archaeology performed by Indigenous people in an Indigenous way to answer Indigenous questions and fill Indigenous needs. The first purports to be a component of a seemingly never-ending 'empowerment process'. The second appears to be the end result of empowerment. In the case of modern Bolivia, where an Indigenous majority now controls the government, I believe it is only worth speaking of empowered Indigenous archaeology and thus the second definition. The question then becomes: if Indigenous people control a modern state, can an archaeological agenda that they push be considered a nationalistic archaeology? I believe so, but I do not believe that this has happened yet in Bolivia if we stick to the strict definition of nationalistic archaeology that I have proposed.

The results of Chapter 7 particularly show a situation where government interest in Indigenous control over certain aspects of Bolivia, including autonomous governance of land on which archaeological sites are located, is having an influence on how archaeology is practiced in the country. Take, for example, the extreme case of Tiwanaku where the local Indigenous community publically fired the national archaeological unit and hired their own archaeologists to continue work at the site. The trickle-down effect of this was not the ending of Indigenous or autonomous influence over archaeology, but was rather the dismantling of the national archaeological unit and a complete shakeup of the archaeological authorities of the country.

One way to look at this is to say that archaeology crossed Indigenousness and lost, that a nationalistic Indigenous agenda has prevailed over the discipline. However, I think that this is a naive view of the situation. At this point it is worth recalling my definition of archaeological nationalism, a term that is separate from nationalistic archaeology. I defined archaeological nationalism as the use of various interpretations of the ancient past by people who are not archaeological professionals in order to support a nationalistic agenda. It is basically a group, nation, or state using a potentially fallacious popular view of the past to support their modern needs without the support of real archaeologists or professional excavation. I think it is quite clear that Bolivia has entered a period of strong archaeological nationalism. The 2009 constitution, which is filled with a strong sense of pre-Conquest utopia, the use of Tiwanaku as a political backdrop, and the particulars of the rhetoric of the current president all confirm this idea, the idea that a non-archaeological version of ancient Bolivia is publically and popularly supported by those in charge of the country.

This, however, has nothing to do with archaeology and archaeological practice. In this study I found absolutely no evidence that Bolivian archaeologists are engaging in any form of Indigenous Nationalistic archaeology. Their archaeological conclusions are not clearly being influenced by the government's need for a pre-Conquest Indigenous utopia. Indeed, even the actions of the Indigenous community at Tiwanaku support this conclusion. Although they fired the national archaeological unit, they were not fired for not being Indigenous (some probably were Indigenous), but were fired for what the community believed was incompetence. The replacements the community hired were not hired because they were Indigenous (most probably were not Indigenous), and nor were they hired because they were going to affect some sort of Indigenous archaeological scheme: rather, they were hired as replacements who were deemed professionally sound and competent.

What separates Indigenous Archaeology from Nationalistic Archaeology? Nothing, provided that the Indigenous group is in control of a modern state government and is using professional archaeologists and archaeological investigation in a nationalistic way. Had I detected a situation in Bolivia that was clearly comparable to the nationalistic archaeological schemes following the 1952 revolution I would have asserted that these were one and the same. Indeed, with an Indigenous government in power that had a vested interest in promoting a vision of archaeological nationalism, Indigenous nationalistic archaeology is a possibility. However, I see no professional participation whatsoever in the construction of this particular view of the Bolivian ancient past and without actual archaeological participation, nationalistic archaeology cannot be said to exist.

As a side note to this question, Indigenous archaeology, in the fully empowered sense, does not seem to exist in Bolivia yet either. A separate archaeology, in the way that Mamani described as far back as 1989, has not come to fruition yet in the country. The number of Indigenous people participating in archaeology and gaining advanced degrees in the discipline is on the rise but that has not been translated yet into a complete alternative school of Indigenous archaeological practice within the country. It would seem that now is the time, under the new system of autonomies, for this to develop if it ever will. This is a situation to watch.

8.1.4 Does tourism threaten or strengthen Indigenous or State claims to the past?

It would appear that the promotion of tourism has certainly strengthened the Bolivian state's claims to the past, at least historically. Looking at the question from a

legal perspective, the increase in state interest in archaeological tourism seen in laws passed from the Mesa administration onwards can be seen as a conscious state effort to bring a profitable sector of the Bolivian economy under state control. This appears to have been felt by several Bolivian archaeologists who responded to the questionnaire presented in Chapter 7. Basically, they felt that a government focus on tourism has translated to government funding of archaeological projects that lead to tourism development. To push this combination of law and experience to its obvious conclusion, if the government only funds the sort of archaeology that leads to tourism and if the government is the primary regulator of tourism, then the government becomes the body with the strongest claim to the touristic past that is uncovered.

The obvious counter to this is that the current constitution of Bolivia sets up a decentralised system when it comes to the preservation of archaeological sites and the promotion of localised tourism. Community autonomies, at least theoretically, become the units that decide where emphasis on archaeological and tourism development should be placed within their territories. If we accept that the rise in archaeological tourism may represent a strengthening of a State-level claim to the past, at least from a funding and regulatory standpoint, then the development of archaeological tourism by an autonomy may represent a strengthening of either a local or an Indigenous claim to the past in nearly the same way. If an Indigenous or local autonomy determines that any archaeological scheme they approve should have a tourism development component, or to take it a step further should be primarily focused on tourism development, then that is the sort of archaeology that will be conducted.

I think that two further observations can be made about the situation in Bolivia when it comes to tourism and claims to the past. First, tourism appears to in no way threaten either Indigenous or State claims to the past (keeping in mind that Indigenous claims and State claims are not necessarily two competing forces at the moment). While there are natural fears as to the privatization of tourism and the consolidation of tourism profits in the hands of the wealthy, such a system is not what the current government is promoting (recall that they use terms such as 'sustainable tourism') and it does not conform to the few thorough case studies of community level archaeological tourism in Bolivia that exist, of which Tiwanaku is the primary, perhaps even unique, example. In a sense, tourism appears to solidify the Tiwanaku community's claim to the archaeological site, compelling them to act definitively and drastically when they feel their claim is under threat. While it remains to be seen if other autonomous areas

with archaeological tourism potential maintain a comparably strict system of both profit sharing and localized control of archaeology as it relates to tourism, the new construction of the Bolivian state certainly gives them the opportunity to do so.

Second, despite the general archaeological nationalist sentiment that prevails under the current Bolivian government, this has not lead to isolationism. In other words, while the ancient past is being fully employed by the Bolivian government to create a certain vision of itself and its citizens, that past is incorporated fully into tourism schemes directed at foreign visitors.

8.1.5 Do oscillations in the influence of the State or Indigenous groups produce alternative archaeologies?

The simplest answer to this question is that oscillations in the influence of the government, Indigenous groups, and tourism do not produce remarkably different archaeologies. I have detected no clear evidence that actual archaeological practice and the practical output of archaeology has changed significantly over the past three decades in relation to these influences[106]. To answer this question I first must offer my working definition of "alternative archaeologies". I take that term to mean systems of inquiry into the past that openly claim to be "archaeology" but that employ research questions or a complete methodology that is distinctly different from textbook archaeological practice. Nationalistic archaeology as defined above would be an 'alternative archaeology', as would the more empowered definition of Indigenous archaeology. I do not believe that there is evidence that a clearly different archaeology has emerged in Bolivia in the past three decades.

Looking at the history of Bolivian archaeology, two points of "alternative archaeology" seem to stand out. First was the 'fantastical' archaeology of Arthur Posnansky which was both a product of its time and a response to a local void in archaeological research. That foreign archaeologists took him at least moderately seriously is a testament to the state of local archaeology in Bolivia at the time. In other words, the only alternative to Posnansky in Bolivia came from the outside, and Posnansky's actual alternative archaeological assertions only really live on in the world of New Age, von Däniken-style theory. It has no place in the modern practice of Bolivian archaeology.

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106   It should be said that archaeology in Bolivia has changed in this time, just not in a way that is appreciably different to changes seen in archaeology worldwide. In other words, changes in Bolivian archaeology are seemingly discipline-wide changes, rather than responses to Bolivia-specific issues.

The second alternative archaeology in Bolivian history would, I claim, be the openly nationalist archaeological scheme put in place following the 1952 MNR revolution. This is not to say that the archaeological work of the researchers working in Bolivia at that time was anything but professional, but rather that archaeology was conceived of as being entirely in the service of the state and thus the questions asked, conclusions made and even the preservation methodology practiced at that time was significantly different from global archaeological norms. An extreme example of this is the reconstruction of the Kalasasaya temple at Tiwanaku, a move that was heavily criticised by foreign archaeologists even as it was occurring. In the alternative sphere of Bolivian 'Nationalist Archaeology' the reconstruction of the Kalasasaya was a logical step: it created a glorious space in which a certain view of the Bolivian past could be affirmed and transferred to the public. To archaeologists outside of this system the poured concrete and seemingly random consolidation is an abomination, significantly different from the practical standards of the day. Furthermore the prevailing questions asked in Bolivian archaeology at the time were clearly alternative in that they fell outside of the normal disciplinary questions common to the era, focusing more on items of state propaganda importance, often with seemingly foregone conclusions. To restate, while the archaeological methodology of the day was scrupulously scientific, the questions asked and conclusions obtained were alternative as were some of the major preservation choices made.

No such extreme situation has existed in Bolivia since the end of 'Nationalist Archaeology', which leads me to believe that alternative archaeologies that exist as true fields of practice rather than theoretical models may only come into existence in extreme situations. Such extreme situations include scientific authority vacuums or the coattails of ground breaking and massive socio-political change. While the social and political oscillations seen in Bolivia over the past three decades are certainly interesting and complex, and while they certainly have had an influence on archaeological practice and interpretation, they were not drastic revolutions, so to speak, and left no room for the growth of a practiced, truly alternative archaeology. Archaeology in Bolivia was institutionalised as a science and it has conformed, at least in that sense, to international disciplinary norms ever since. Even clear and direct calls for an Indigenous alternative to archaeology made by Bolivian Indigenous scholars has not resulted in such an alternative being practiced. As of yet, the slow building and consolidation of influence that eventually brought an Indigenous man to the

presidency of the state does not seem to constitute a drastic enough change for archaeological authority to be unseated.

8.1.6 Do the State and Indigenous groups promote different pasts?

I believe that the results of this study show that the State and Indigenous groups are not completely separate entities in the case of Bolivia. The standard definition of 'Indigenous people' as both a demographic minority and a politically less powerful group in a modern state clearly does not apply in modern Bolivia. To say that Bolivia is an exception to this rule is naïve: most commentators found it to be unlikely that Bolivia would be ruled by a ideologically Indigenist government even months before it happened. Bolivia may not be the only state that finds itself with an Indigenous government in power.

That said, the answer to this question is that the State and Indigenous groups do not necessarily promote different pasts, provided that the state and the Indigenous groups have a significant amount of overlap. Indeed, when the Bolivian state is Indigenous, the past it promotes lines up with a greater sense of pan-Andean pre-Conquest utopianism that has been popular in Indigenous circles since at least the 1970s. Conversely, when the Bolivian government has not been Indigenous, very little of the past promoted by the State has had an Indigenous theme to it. Previous governments have supported a less utopian and more expansionist version of the past. In a way, this vision of a mighty Tiwanaku with wide political influence and control conforms to a Western model of what makes a civilization powerful and important and, indeed, a Western model of what makes a country powerful and important. The Indigenous model of the past is decidedly anti-Western: it is an alternative.

However, it should be said that these two Bolivian pasts do use the same basic ingredients to affirm and promote their position. Both depend heavily on popular constructions of archaeological information and a felt sense of collective history. Tiwanaku—the place, artefacts, culture, religion, and people—plays a significant role in all constructions of the Bolivian past. Tiwanaku is the central figure in the past promoted by all permutations of the Bolivian state, Indigenous groups, and now the Indigenous-led state. In other words, although their interpretations and thus narratives are different, all Bolivian pasts have the same source material.

8.2 The Broader Picture

8.2.1 What does this imply for the future of Bolivian archaeology?

I think that most practitioners of Bolivian archaeology would agree that the discipline is at a crossroads. The way that both the government and the public in Bolivia use the past has changed quite rapidly and, as was especially seen in Chapter 7, this has led to a major revision of the country's archaeological administration. Despite the changing landscape, Bolivian archaeologists are not resigned to being static figures and it is through disciplinary development that I see the future of Bolivian archaeology.

Many of the Bolivian archaeologists that responded to my questionnaire discussed a "new generation" of Bolivian archaeologists who are devoted to propelling the discipline forward, to lobbying for their rights as an interest group, and who are determined to continue to prove their relevance to Bolivian society. I believe that this new generation exists and that they are clearly exploring new ways of learning and practicing archaeology. One of the most notable trends that is evident in recent years is the sheer number of young Bolivian archaeologists who are currently seeking doctoral degrees at foreign universities. This is a result both of the lack of a archaeology doctoral program in Bolivia and of a desire to be taken seriously within the international archaeological community. Perhaps, then, the future of Bolivian archaeology rests in the development of internal higher educational opportunities: in the creation, as some of the respondents put it, of a home-grown school of archaeology that is internationally competitive and locally relevant. The creation of such a system would prevent the loss of archaeological talent to foreign institutions and would ensure that research that is relevant to Bolivia's ever changing socio-political reality is consistently and competently conducted.

While it is easy to say that doctoral-level research should be developed, doing so depends both on money, something that the Bolivian government does not have, and on the willingness of Bolivians who have received doctorates abroad to come back to Bolivia to teach and research. The second will not happen while Bolivia is perceived as a hostile environment for locally-based archaeological research. I fear that, at least at this moment, there is a general impression among archaeologists that the current government is not supporting archaeology and that working within the Bolivian system is a risky career move for those with foreign PhDs. Only time will tell if this situation will change.

8.2.2 What does this imply for the future of Latin American preservation and development?

This study has demonstrated that although Bolivia appears to be an extreme case-study in Indigenous and political use of a complicated past, it does not fall outside the general trends that are seen elsewhere in Latin American heritage and preservation. Indeed, all of the interesting trends in Latin American heritage studies that were outlined in Chapter 2 exist in Bolivia. I believe that this further proves that no particular country exists entirely in a vacuum and that there is real potential for comparative analysis of Latin American heritage issues provided complete country-specific studies have been conducted.

If we look at Bolivia as representative of Latin America, at least to some degree, it is clear that two of the primary forces in the present and future of heritage and preservation are tourism and poverty. The various points, outlined in this study, where tourism intersects with poverty appear to be some of the most pressing issues that both communities and governments in Latin America face. A particularly strong example of this comes from the site of Tiwanaku presented in Chapter 7: a situation where a poorer Indigenous community depends on tourism for survival but cannot fully come to terms with what tourists want. In this extreme case features that the community considered to be signs of wealth and success (Indigenous women's clothing; sensible mud-brick houses) are seen by foreign tourists as signs of poverty. Signs of poverty, of course, make tourists uncomfortable. This brings us back to one of the larger unanswered questions in Latin American preservation in the age of tourism: does tourism preserve culture or does it destroy culture? Are Indigenous people in Latin America paid to protect their archaeological sites and to continue to practice the sort of Indigenous activities that tourists wish to see, or are they forced to bow to tourists' demands and to modify their sites, culture and selves to make tourists more comfortable?

Clearly these questions have been asked before, but what I wish to stress is that all archaeologists working in Latin America must evaluate their own role in this debate. To simply ignore that tourism is a driving force at both a community and government level, to ignore tourism's benefits or dangers, is to neglect the reality of the social situation in which we Latin American archaeologists work. Tourism impact should be a major component of any community discussions and all parties should come to a point where touristic realities are fully understood. There is serious potential for further research on this topic, especially in the area of incorporation of tourism education into archaeological schemes.

8.2.3 What does this imply for the future of heritage studies?

This study is deeply embedded in various current avenues of heritage studies research. However, when looking at the results of this study, I cannot help but speculate about where heritage studies must go in the future. It has been said before countless times, but it is worth repeating, that heritage studies is not a discipline that can be practiced independently. Rather, heritage issues should be a component of all archaeological, anthropological, and ethnographic research that is conducted in the modern world. I see heritage studies to be about the assessment and understanding of the impact of actions: the investigation of the chain of people, places, events, and emotions that lead to decisions being made and to the reaction to those decisions. Identity and motivation are key themes in heritage studies and they should be thoroughly investigated in all instances where other disciplines tread close to heritage.

Thus, I think that this study shows that the future of heritage studies, at least in the field of archaeology, rests in the integration of heritage work into the normal archaeological routine. Just as we would not dream of excavating a large pre-Conquest cemetery without any input from a bone expert, we should not dream of excavating a potentially socially, politically, or culturally complicated context without consulting a heritage expert.

Rather than spending time labelling archaeologies (Indigenous archaeology, nationalistic archaeology, feminist archaeology, postcolonial archaeology, etc.), putting heritage into categories (tangible, intangible), or even trying to define so nebulous a concept as heritage, we should focus on introducing heritage questions to all archaeological research. We should teach that line of thinking in the classroom and we should practice it in the field. Not only will this type of study enrich our own archaeological conclusions, but we will be prepared for the impact of major political and social shifts: the very changes I examined in this study.

8.3 What is next?

I believe that the clearest and most interesting avenue for future research in this area is to follow the impact of the changes in the administrative structure of Bolivia following the new constitution on practical heritage preservation issues in the country. The process of autonomous governance of districts, municipalities and Indigenous groups has begun and while there has been some legal acknowledgement of potential areas of archaeological and preservation conflict in this new system, there is as yet no way to tell if this will work out. In an ideal world, the introduction of at least partially

autonomous management of archaeological sites might mean that locals, the people best acquainted with the needs of a particular site, make appropriate local decisions. Indeed, if this turns out to be the case, the transferring of archaeological sites to local care may prove to be a sound move for other developing countries. However, in the worst case, the autonomous management of archaeological remains may lead to a significant drop in preservation standards and a lack of expert oversight of management decisions, perhaps even the destruction of unwanted archaeological remains. While this is certainly an extreme, it is not unprecedented globally and it is as yet unclear how the autonomies and the government will define their respective authority spheres.

Another significant issue to watch is the restructuring of the state archaeological apparatus and the continuing scandals at Tiwanaku. These two issues are related and provide a clear entryway into the study of politicised site management. Tiwanaku rests at the intersection of local, Indigenous, national, and international ideas of preservation and it is no surprise that it is the locus of much preservation debate. That the debate is so very public and has caused such monumental changes in who is administering archaeological work in Bolivia seems to indicate a strong potential for further study.

Finally, I believe that further investigation is required into the concept of Indigenous archaeology in Bolivia. As I concluded previously, a home-grown, independent and empowered Indigenous archaeology does not yet exist in Bolivia. To a certain degree, this is counterintuitive: one could argue that if such a practice were to ever exist, it should exist now when the political climate clearly fosters Indigenous interpretation of the past. Should not a government that requires an Indigenous interpretation of the past promote Indigenous investigation of the past? While I could propose several possible answers to that question, I do not think any of them would be conclusive. It is entirely possible that an Indigenous archaeology is being conceived of or even practiced in Bolivia and we merely lack the tools to identify it. It might be that interpretation, not investigation, is all that the current government requires. It might be that the archaeological mainstream in Bolivia is just too strong a force. We cannot know without further research and more time.

In the Aymara worldview a major driving force of the universe is the *pachakuti*, a small or large cataclysm, a time when all things are reversed or transformed. The pachakuti is both an upheaval and a righting of the world: it is tied to an almost cyclic view of time and space. The past is directly connected to the present and the present

will right itself into the past. As this study has shown, modern Bolivia is intimately connected to its past through a complex web of social, political and archaeological strings. It is an exciting place for archaeology, for politics and for heritage preservation. I think I speak for all people who work in that country in saying that the past few years in Bolivia have felt like the cusp of something new. It has been a time of major socio-political change in the country and people have been increasingly looking to the past to interpret this change. I believe that it is at times of great change that we learn the most about human identity and that it is through the study of the salient during times of change that we can see how culture is constructed and maintained.

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Appendix A: Index of Bolivian Archaeological Laws

A.1 Laws Referenced in Text

Year	Identifying Information	Description
1906	Regimen Legal de las Ruinas de Tiahuanaco, de las Existentes en las Islas del Lago Titicaca y de todas las de la Epoca Incasica y Anterior	Declares the site of Tiwanaku, sites on the islands of Titicaca and all Inka sites to be property of the nation
1909	Decreto Supremo del 11/11/1909	Specifies prosecution of antiquities smugglers and mandates submission of archaeological reports
1919	Ley de 6/1/1919: Palacio Tiwanaku	Creates the national archaeology museum
1927	Ley del Monumento Nacional	Establishes the National Monument scheme
1930	Decreto Supremo del 15/4/1930	Further establishes the National Monument scheme
1931	Decreto Ley de 25/2/1931	Created the Tourism Promotion Service
1938	Constitución Politica del Estado	Prevents the exportation of archaeological objects; ensures that the state will protect sites of historic value
1939	Ley de 24/11/1939	Standards for the General Directorate of Tourism including providing propaganda about archaeological objects and discourage antiquities removal
1945	Ley de 8/1/1945	Declares Tiwanaku to be a National Monument
1948	Ley de 30/12/1948	Lifts ban on excavation at Tiwanaku and mandates construction of a site museum
1958	Resolución del Ministerio de Educación y Bellas Artes del 6/1/1958	Establishes standards for all aspects of archaeological investigations
1961a	Constitución Politica del Estado	Adds that archaeological monuments and objects are property of the state
1961b	Decreto Supremo No. 05918	Further establishes that archaeological monuments and objects are property of the state
1961c	Normas Sobre Catalogacion y Resguardo del Tesoro Artistico de la Nacion	Standards for the registration of cultural patrimony

1965	Decreto Ley No. 07234	Mandatory registration of cultural treasures of the nation
1967	Constitución Politica del Estado	The state must keep a registry of archaeological objects and provide for their care
1975a	Decreto Supremo No. 12302	Charged the Institutio Nacional de Arqueología (INAR) with investigating the past
1975b	Decreto Supremo No. 12638	Charged INAR with managing the registration of archaeological objects
1978	Decreto-Ley No. 15900	Neglected or unregistered cultural treasure held privately could be seized by the state
1986a	Ley No. 778	Established an archaeology museum in el Beni
1986b	Ley No. 889	Expropriated the site of Yumani
1988	Ley No. 1009	Incallajta declared a National Monument
1989a	Decreto Supremo No. 22338	Tiwanaku declared to be an Imperial Millenarian City
1989b	Ley No. 1106	Calls for the preservation of El Fuerte near Samaipata
1990	Decreto Supremo No. 22546	Seized Coroma textiles to be returned to place of origin
1994a	Ley No. 1533	Pledged national support for the Palaeontology and Archaeology Museum of Tarija
1994b	Ley No. 1585	Constitution amended to call Bolivia multiethnic and pluricultural
1995	Decreto Supremo No. 24117	Bennett Stela returned to Tiwanaku from La Paz
1997	Resolución Ministerial No. 082/97	Regulations for archaeological investigations in Bolivia
1997	Decreto Supremo No. 24749	Loan of cultural objects to a museum in New York City
1998	Decreto Supremo No. 25263	Creates the National Commission of Protection, Conservation and Management of Tiwanaku
1999	Decreto Supremo No. 25511	Jackakala is declared a national monument
2000a	Decreto Supremo No. 25647	Creates a protected buffer zone around Tiwanaku
2000b	Ley No. 2054	Management of Tiwanaku transferred to local community
2001	Decreto Supremo No. 26274	Calls for archaeological and mallku representatives on the Tiwanaku management committee
2003a	Ley No. 2527	Tourism development in Cono Sur, Cochabamba
2003b	Ley No. 2533	Incachaca declared Cultural Patrimony of Bolivia
2003c	Ley No. 2561	Cultured of Mojos and Camellones declared national monuments
2003d	Ley No. 2580	Tourism in Pando declared a national priority
2003e	Ley No. 2610	Sites in el Beni declared tourism patrimony of the nation
2004a	Ley No. 2651	Inka and Amazonian sites in eastern Pando declared cultural patrimony
2004b	Decreto Supremo 27607	Laqaya declared a national archaeological monument

2004c	Ley No. 2639	Created a national day of promotion of Bolivian culture
2004d	Ley No. 2650	Added "participative" to the constitutional description of the Bolivian government
2004e	Ley No. 2804	5 year plan for economic development in Sucre
2004f	Ley No. 2924	Chichas Valley declared cultural patrimony of the nation
2005a	Ley No. 2950	Tourism development at Ravelo declared a national priority
2005b	Ley No. 2966	Tourism development in Chuquisaca declared a national priority
2005c	Ley No. 2980	Investment in archaeological tourist routes in Oruro declared a national priority
2005d	Ley No. 2989	Chullpas declared cultural patrimony of Bolivia
2005e	Ley No. 3004	Inca Pinta declare cultural patrimony of the province
2005f	Ley No. 3018	Aymara New Year at Tiwanaku declared cultural patrimony of the nation
2005g	Ley No. 3082	Yotala declared cultural patrimony of the nation
2005h	Ley No. 3102	Katari and Sisa declared national Aymara hero and heroine
2005i	Ley No. 3194	Serrania de Cota declared national patrimony
2006a	Ley No. 3362	Called for tourism development at Pampa Agualla, Oruro
2006b	Ley No. 3440	Created a tourist circuit near Titicaca through Tiwanaku and created several museums
2006c	Ley No. 3479	Sites of Cotapachi Central, Kharalus Pampa, Jahuintiri, Kenamari and Incarracay declared national archaeological monuments
2006d	Ley No. 3487	Santa Cruz la Vieja declared a national archaeological park
2006e	Ley No. 3597	Wayllani-Kuntur Amaya declared a national monument
2007a	Ley No. 3610	The Chipaya culture declared cultural patrimony of Bolivia
2007b	Decreto Supremo No 29222	Authorized the purchase of a vehicle to access areas of archaeological tourism
2007d	Ley No. 3775	Roadwork to safeguard pre-Conquest route to encourage tourism
2008a	Ley No. 3833	Inka Murata declared a national historical monument
2008b	Ley No. 3874	Apu Mallku ceremonial garb declared cultural patrimony of the Bolivian nation
2008c	Ley No. 3880	Alcaya declared historic and cultural patrimony of the nation
2009a	Constitución Política del Estado	Re-founded Bolivia as the Plurinational State of Bolivia
2009c	Ley No. 4114	Investment in ecotourism in Tarija is exempt from municipal tax for 10 years
2010e	Ley No. 031	Framework for the creation of autonomies

A.2 Legislation Not Referenced in Text

1985	Ley de 21/2/1985	Ratified the Convention on the Protection of Archaeological Heritage, History and the Art of the American Nations, also known as The Convention of San Salvador
1992	Decreto Supremo No. 23364	Copacabana and the Islands of the Sun and Moon on the national monument list
2000c	Ley No. 2122	Declared the Piraí river basin in Santa Cruz to be Historic and National Patrimonio; mentions archaeological resources preservation among other things.
2002	Ley No. 2364	Following the ratification of the Convention of San Salvador in 1985, this is the official state approval of the convention
2004	Ley No. 2727	Declared Serranía del Iñao to be a national park
2007c	Decreto Supremo No. 29261	Loan of a number of archaeological objects for an exhibit in Monterrey
2009b	Decreto Supremo No. 0229	Loan of textiles for an exhibit in Brazil; includes a list of the textiles, recording type, condition, material, place of origin, and valuation.]
2009d	Decreto Supremo No. 341	Loan of Pariti ceramics to an exhibit in Buenos Aires
2010a	Ley No. 004	To investigate and punish wealth generating; One must provide all information requested by the Financial Intelligence Unit about the purchase and sale of firearms, vehicles, metals, art, postage stamps, and "archaeological objects"
2010b	Decreto Supremo No. 478	Loan of objects for a display on Potosí to be held in Madrid and Berlin
2010c	Decreto Supremo No. 506	Loan of cultural objects for UNESCO exhibition entitled "Semana de la Diversidad Cultural en UNESCO"; Lists a catalogue number, value in USD, description of object, etc
2010d	Decreto Supremo No. 571.	Loan of masks and costumes for an exhibit in Sao Paulo
2010f	Decreto Supremo No. 607	Loan of 24 objects for display in Santiago; index with valuation.
2010g	Decreto Supremo No. 676	Amends Supreme Decree 29130 of 2007 to say that areas demarcated for hydrocarbon extraction by the national hydrocarbon company that are found in protected areas must use appropriate technologies to mitigate environmental and socio-cultural impact

Appendix B: Texts Used in the Word Frequency Analysis

Year	Filename	Lang	Author	Source	Title
1978	1978CorderoMirandaBOL.txt	Spanish	Cordero Miranda, G.	Instituto Nacional de Arqueologia de Bolivia	informe preliminar acerca de las excavaciones en pumapunku
1980	1980RiveraCusicanquiBOL.txt	Spanish	Rivera Cusicanqui, S.	America Indigena	la antropologla y arqueologla en bolivia: limites y perspectivas
1980	1980BerberianEtAl.txt	Spanish	Berberian	Revista Do Museu Paulista	
1980	1980Ponce.txt	Spanish	Ponce Sangines, C.	Panorama de la Arqueologia Boliviana	panorama de la arqueologia boliviana
1981	1981ArellanoBOL.txt	Spanish	Arellano L., J.	Bulletin de l'Institut Francais de Etudes Andines	mallku: el señorio post- tiwanaku del altiplano sur de bolivia
1981	1981Hurtado.txt	Spanish	Hurtado S., Oscar G.	Historia Boliviana	sobre el estado actual de las investigaciones arqueologicas en el beni
1981	1981Ponce.txt	Spanish	Ponce Sangines, C.	Tiwanaku: Espacio, Tempura, Cultura	tiwanaku: espacio, tempura, cultura
1982	1982ArellanoBOL.txt	Spanish	Arellano L., J.	Bulletin de l'Institut Fr.	algunos aportes al conocimiento de la metalurgia prehispanica en bolivia
1982	1982Arellano2.pdf	Spanish	Arellano L., J.	Bulletin de l'Institut Fr.	la industrias litica y osea de iskanwaya
1982	1982Arellano2.txt	Spanish	Arellano L., J.	Bulletin de l'Institut Fr.	las industrias litica y osea de iskanwaya
1984	1984deCaballeroBOL.txt	Spanish	de Caballero, G.B.	Arqueología Boliviana	el tiwanaku en cochabamaba
1984	1982ArellanoLopez.txt	Spanish	Arellano L., J.	Arqueología Boliviana	apuntas para una nueva arqueologia boliviana
1984	1984CorderoMiranda.txt	Spanish	Cordero Miranda, G.	Arqueología Boliviana	reconocimiento arqueologico en las margenes del rio beni
1984	1984Faldin.txt	Spanish	Faldín A., J.D.	Arqueología Boliviana	la arqueologia beniana y su panorama interpretativo
1984	1984PortugalOrtiz.txt	Spanish	Portugal Ortíz, M	Arqueología Boliviana	testimonios arqueologicos para la historia de la expansion cultural sobre los valles y costas del pacifico
1984	1984RiveraSundt.txt	Spanish	Rivera Sundt, O.	Arqueología Boliviana	la horca del inka
1984	1984RiveraSundt2.txt	Spanish	Rivera Sundt, O.	Arqueología Boliviana	pilkokaina e iñakuyu: hacia la spervivencia de dos monumentos arqueologicos nacionales
1984	1984TapiaPineda.txt	Spanish	Tapia Pineda, F.	Arqueología Boliviana	informe preliminar sobre las excavaciones arqueologicas en camata, provincia omasuyos departamento de la paz
1984	1984TapiaPineda2.txt	Spanish	Tapia Pineda, F.	Arqueología Boliviana	excavaciones arqueologicas en el sector habitacional de el fuerte de samaipata, santa cruz
1984	1984CondarcoMorales.tx	Spanish	Condarco Morales, R.	Historia Boliviana	panorama de la aqueologia boliviana de carlos ponce sangines

1984	1984Pereira.txt	Spanish	Pereira Herrera, D.M.	Historia Boliviana	introduccion a la arqueologia de la cuenca del rio cotacajes
1985	1985ArellanoLopez.txt	Spanish	Arellano L., J.	Arqueología Boliviana	sintesis cultural prehispanico de la zona circumlacustre norte de bolivia
1985	1985EstevezCastillo.txt	Spanish	Estevez Castillo, J.	Arqueología Boliviana	prospeccion y catalogacion de asentamientos prehispanicos del norte del departamento de la paz
1985	1985Faldin.txt	Spanish	Faldín A., J.D.	Arqueología Boliviana	la arqueologia de la provincias de larecaja y muñecas y su sistema precolombino
1985	1985PortugalOrtiz.txt	Spanish	Portugal Ortíz, M	Arqueología Boliviana	informe de la prospeccion arqueologica efectuada en la provincia camacho del departamento de la paz (primera parte)
1985	1985PortugalOrtiz2.txt	Spanish	Portugal Ortíz, M	Arqueología Boliviana	informe de la prospeccion arqueologica efectuada en la provincia camacho del departamento de la paz (segunda parte)
1985	1985PortugalOrtiz3.txt	Spanish	Portugal Ortíz, M	Arqueología Boliviana	informe de la prospeccion arqueologica efectuada en la provincia camacho del departamento de la paz (tercera parte)
1986	1986AreallnoLopezEtAl.txt	Spanish	Arellano L., J. et al.	Prehistoricas	antecedentes preliminares de las investigaciones arqueologicas en la zona circumtitikaka de bolivia sector (occidental sur)
1986	1986ArellanoLopez.txt	Spanish	Arellano L., J.	Prehistoricas	ñuapua un asentamiento paleoindigena en bolivia
1986	1986DeCaballero.txt	Spanish	de Caballero, G.B.	Prehistoricas	los bronces pre-colombinos en los valles de cochabamba
1986	1986OrellanaRodriguez.txt	Spanish	Orellana Rodríguez, M.	Prehistoricas	la cultura de san pedro de atacama y sus relaciones con la civilizacion de tiwanaku
1987	1987Querejazu.txt	Spanish	Querejazu L., R.	SIARB	arte parietal y ofrendas en jatun potrero
1989	1989RiveraCasanovas.txt	Spanish	Rivera Casanovas, C.	Textos Antropológicos	las torres funerarias de viscachani
1989	1989PortugalOrtiz.txt	Spanish	Portugal Ortíz, M	Textos Antropológicos	estilo escultorico chiripa en la peninsula de santiago de huata
1989	1989PortugalLoayza.txt	Spanish	Portugal Loayza, J.	Textos Antropológicos	ubicacion del sitio arqueologico kasa achuta campos agricolas elevados o suka kollus
1989	1989HeridaZavala.txt	Spanish	Heredia Zavala, M.	Textos Antropológicos	arqueologia para culli culli
1990	1990ManzanillaBOL.txt	Spanish	Manzanilla, L. et al.	Latin American Antiquity	restos humanos asociados a la piramide de akapana (tiwanaku, bolivia)
1990	1990AlbarracinJordan.txt	Spanish	Albarracin-Jordan, J.	Asentamentos Prehispanicos	asentamientos prehispanicos del valle de tiwanaku
1991	1991AlbaracinJordan.txt	Spanish	Albarracin-Jordan, J.	SIARB	petroglifos en el valle bajo de tiwanaku, depto. de la paz, bolivia
1991	1991ArellanoEDR.pdf	English	Arellano L., J.	Huari Administrative Structure	the new cultural contexts of tiahuanaco
1991	1991SorucoSaenz.txt	Spanish	Soruco Sáenz, E.	Textos Antropológicos	informe de la prospeccion arqueologica en villa anta, provincia pacajes
1991	1991PortugalOrtiz.txt	Spanish	Portugal Ortíz, M	Textos Antropológicos	aspectos de la cultura chiripa
1991	1991HerediaZavala.txt	Spanish	Heredia Zavala, M.	Textos Antropológicos	arqueologia para culli culli (ii)
1992	1992PortugalOrtiz.txt	Spanish	Portugal Ortíz, M	Textos Antropológicos	trabajos arqueologicos de tiwanaku
1993	1993PortugalOrtizETAL.	Spanish	Portugal Ortíz, M, et	Textos Antropológicos	excavaciones en titimani (temporada ii)

	txt		al.		
1993	1993PantojaAndrade.txt	Spanish	Pantoja Andrade, W.	Nuevos Aportes	kochamarca: centro ceremonial de altura
1994	1994PortugalOrtiz.txt	Spanish	Portugal Ortíz, M	Textos Antropológicos	excavaciones en tiwanaku (part ii)
1996	1996AlbarracinJordanEDR.pdf	English	Albarracin-Jordan, J.	Latin American Antiquity	tiwanaku settlement system: the integration of nested hierarchies in the lower tiwanaku valley
1996	1996ArgolloEtAl.txt	Spanish	Argollo, J. et al.	Tiwanaku and its Hinterland I	geology, geomorphology, and soils of the tiwanaku and catari river basins
1997	1997AvilesLoayza.txt	Spanish	Avilés Loayza, S.V.	Textos Antropológicos	arqeología y sociedad en bolivia: apuntes para un análisis
1998	1998FernandezBOL.pdf	Spanish	Fernanzed, M.V. et al.	ANTI	tiwanaku del titikaka
1998	1998ArellanoLopez.txt	Spanish	Arellano L., J.	Textos Antropológicos	provincias ceramicas prehispanicas en relacion al medio geografico y al uso de antiplastico en las tierras altas de bolivia
1998	1998PortugalLoayza.txt	Spanish	Portugal Loayza, J.	Textos Antropológicos	los mitos de tanupa y las estelas pa ajanu
1998	1998PortugalOrtiz.txt	Spanish	Portugal Ortíz, M	Textos Antropológicos	cultura chiripa: proto-estado del altiplano
1999	1999CaprilesBOL.txt	Spanish	Capriles Flores, J.M., et al.	Funcacion Cultural Banco Central de Bolivia	representación iconográfica de flora y fauna en keros incas
1999	1999MontanoAragon.txt	English	Montano Aragon, M.	Early Settlement at Chiripa	a toponymic study of the chiripa locality
1999	1999PazSoria.txt	English	Paz Soria, J.	Early Settlement at Chiripa	excavations in the llusco area
2000	2000BuenoBOL.txt	Spanish	Bueno M., A.	Investigaciones Sociales	tiwanaku y el impacto sobre las naciones regionales tempranas de los andes centrales
2000	2000Cordero.txt	Spanish	Cordero, R. et al.	SIARB	los petroglifos de piso firme en el oriente boliviano
2000	2000AngeloZelada.pdf	Spanish	Angelo, D. et al	Complutum	la importancia de las plantas psicotropicas para la economia de intercambio y relaciones de interaccion en el altiplano sur andino
2000	2000PereiraHerrera.txt	Spanish	Pereira Herrera, D.M.	Investigaciones Arqueologicas en las Tierras Tropicales del Departmento de Cochabamba-Bolivia	investigaciones arqueologicas en yuraj molino cochabmaba bolivia -- 1994
2000	2000SanzetenaRoca.txt	Spanish	Sanzetenea Rocha, R.	Investigaciones Arqueologicas en las Tierras	informe preliminar sobre el sitio orouta, chapare cochabamba
2001	2001LemuzAguirre.txt	Spanish	Lémuz Aguirre, C., et al.	Textos Antropológicos	nuevas consideraciones acerca del periodo formativo en kallamarka
2001	2001PereiraHerrera.txt	Spanish	Pereira Herrera, D.M., et al.	Textos Antropológicos	investicaciones del proyecto arqueologico formativo en cochabamba, bolivia
2001	2001RiveraCassanovas.txt	Spanish	Rivera Casanovas, C., et al.	El Período Formativo en Bolivia: Regiones y Sociedades	el periodo formativo en bolivia: investigaciones recientes
2002	2002CaprilesBOL.txt	Spanish	Capriles Flores, J.M.	Estudios Atacameños	intercambio y uso ritual de fauna por tiwanaku: analisis de pelos y

					fibras de los conjuntos arqueologicos de amaguaya, bolivia
2002	2002Capriles2BOL.txt	English	Capriles Flores, J.M., et al.	Ecotropica	the economic, symbollc, ano social importance of the "keñua" (polylepis spp.) ouring prehispanic times in the anoean h.ighlanos of bolivia
2002	2002Escalante.txt	Spanish	Escalante, J.	Tiwanaku: Ciudad Eterna	arquitectura en tiwanaku
2002	2002RiveraSundt.txt	Spanish	Rivera Sundt, O.	Tiwanaku: Ciudad Eterna	tiwanaku y su estatuaria
2002	2002Ponce.txt	Spanish	Ponce Sangines, C.	Tiwanaku: Ciudad Eterna	recuperacion de la importancia de la cultura tiwanacota
2003	2003CaprilesBOL.txt	Spanish	Capriles Flores, J.M.	Chungara	arqueología e identidad étnica: el caso de bolivia
2003	2003EscalanteEDR.pdf	English	Escalante, J.	Tiwanaku and its Hinterland	residential architecture in la k'arana
2003	2003FernandezBOL.txt	Spanish	Fernández Murillo, M.S.	Chungara	comunidades locales y la enseñanza de la arqueología en bolivia
2003	2003LimaBOL.txt	Spanish	Lima Tórrez, M.	Chungara	participación comunitaria, desarrollo sostenible y arqueología: el caso de quila quila (chuquisaca, bolivia)
2003	2003CasanovasBOL.txt	Spanish	Rivera Casanovas, C.	La Mitad Verde del Mundo Andino	identidades comparticas en el sur de bolivia: interacciones entre las poblaciones prehispanicas del valle de cinti y las tierras bajas del este
2003	2003AlbarracinJordan.txt	Spanish	Albarracin-Jordan, J.	Tiwanaku and its Hinterland II	tiwanaku: a pre-inka, segmentary state in the andes
2003	2003RiveraCassanovas.t	Spanish	Rivera Casanovas, C.	Tiwanaku and its...	ch'iji jawira
2003	2003AlconiniEtAl.txt	Spanish	Alconini, S.	La Mitad Verde del Mundo	la tracicion ceramica 'estampada e incisa de bordes doblados...
2004	2004PerezBOL.pdf	Spanish	Perez, A.E.	UMSA Thesis	autonomia y dinamica social en los andes proceso y desarrollo socioeconomico en irohito, bolivia
2004	2004SagarnagaBOL.pdf	Spanish	Sagarnaga, J.		investigaciones arqueológicas en pariti
2004	2004RiveraCasanovas.pdf	English	Rivera Casanovas, C.	University of Pittsburg Doctoral Thesis	regional settlement patters and political complexity in the cinti valley, bolivia
2004	2004CusicanquiOlaneta.txt	Spanish	Cusicanqui Olaneta, V	Tiwanaku: Embrion Geopolitico de los Andes	tiwanaku: embrion geooloitico de los andes
2005	2005AngeloBOL.txt	Spanish	Angelo, D.	Arqueología Suramericana / Arqueologia Sul-americana	la arqueología en bolivia. reflexiones sobre la disciplina a inicios del siglo xxi
2005	2005Capriles2BOL.txt	Spanish	Capriles Flores, J.M.	Textos Antropológicos	etnicidad en la arqueología boliviana? una revisión crítica
2005	2005Capriles3BOL.txt	Spanish	Capriles Flores, J.M.	Nuevos Aportes	estudio preliminar de restos arquefaunisticos en los sitios huaylla tambo y pisakeri tambo, bolivia
2005	2005FernandezBOL.txt	Spanish	Fernández Murillo, M.S.	Nuevos Aportes	la occupacion inka en el valle de cohoni, la paz
2005	2005GutierrezBOL.txt	Spanish	Gutierrez Osinaga, D.J.	Nuevos Aportes	avances en la arqueologia de caminos precolombinos en bolivia tramo: paris-tapacarí

2005	2005LemuzAguirre.pdf	Spanish	Lémuz Aguirre, C.	Nuevos Aportes	carlos ponce sanjinés (1925-2005)
2005	2005LemuzAguirre2BOL.pdf	Spanish	Lémuz Aguirre, C.	XIX Reunión Annual de Etnología	nuevas consideraciones sobre el tamano y la poblacion del asentamiento civico, ceremonial y residencial de tiwanaku
2005	2005LemuzBOL.pdf	Spanish	Lémuz Aguirre, C.	Khonko Informe	datos preliminares de prospeccion
2005	2005LopezBOL.txt	Spanish	Lopez B., P. et al.	PAPA Informe	informe de analisis ceramico akapana 2005
2005	2005MichelLopez.txt	Spanish	Michel López, M.R.	Pacarina	los chichas preinkaicos del sur de bolivia y noroeste de la argentina
2005	2005NuevosAportes.txt	Spanish	Neuvos Aportes	Nuevos Aportes	editorial
2005	2005Paz2BOL.pdf	Spanish	Paz S., J	Khonko Informe	diagnostico con perforador y pozos d sondeo en los sectores 5 y 8
2005	2005PazBOL.pdf	Spanish	Paz, J.L. et al.	Nuevos Aportes	reporte de las excavaciones en pk-23
2005	2005Perez3BOL.pdf	Spanish	Perez A., M.	UMSA Thesis	características de la economía de subsistencia en contextos de los períodos formativo y tiwanaku en el sitio de irohito - bolivia
2005	2005PerezBOL.pdf	Spanish	Perez, A.E.	Nuevos Aportes	del arcaico a las aldes wankarani
2005	2005Perez2BOL.pdf	Spanish	Perez, A.E.	Nuevos Aportes	la organización residencial en el formative temprano, modelos y evidencias en al monticulo de la barca, bolivia
2005	2005ProyectoAkBOL.pdf	Spanish	Proyecto Akapana	DINAR	segunda fase de las excavaciones arqueológicas en la pirámide akapana
2005	2005CasanovasBOL.txt	Spanish	Rivera Casanovas, C.	Nuevos Aportes	sociedades prehispanicas tardías en los valles interandinos del suroeste de chuquisaca, bolivia
2005	2005RodasBOL.pdf	Spanish	Rodas, D. et al.	Khonko Informe	residencia y produccion especializada en khonkho wankane
2006	2006CaprilesBOL.txt	Spanish	Capriles Flores, J.M., et al.	Chungara	ocupación inka en la región kallawaya: oralidad, etnohistoria y arqueología de camata, bolivia
2006	2006LemuzBOL.txt	Spanish	Lémuz Aguirre, C.	Khonko Informe	patrones de asentamiento arqueológico en el área de influencia del sitio de khonkho wankane
2006	2006LemuzBOL2.txt	Spanish	Lémuz Aguirre, C.	Khonko Informe	investigaciones arqueologicas en la region de sullkatiti titiri, sullkatiti lahuakhollu y yauriri
2006	2006Perez2BOL.txt	Spanish	Perez A., M.	Khonko Informe	excavaciones en el sector 12 norte, compuesto k3, y alrededor del monolito tatakala (mt)
2006	2006Perez3BOL.pdf	Spanish	Perez A., M.	Khonko Informe	análisis comparativo de la cerámica de irohito 2006
2006	2006Perez4BOL.txt	Spanish	Perez A., M.	Khonko Informe	excavaciones en el sector 1: 2004 y 2005
2006	2006PerezBOL.pdf	Spanish	Perez, A.E.	Informe	proyecto arqueológico jacha machaca informe de excavación y análisis de la cerámica de iruhito
2006	2006Perez5BOL.txt	Spanish	Perez, A.E.	Khonko Informe	excavacion e analisis de la ceramica de irohito
2006	2006PlazaBOL.txt	Spanish	Plaza M., V.W.	Khonko Informe	excavaciones en el sector 6, compuesto kl
2006	2006SaenzBOL.pdf	Spanish	Saenz, V.	Uppsala University	symbolic and material boundaries an archaeological genealogy of the urus of lake poopo, bolivia
2006	2006VillanuevaBOL.pdf	Spanish	Villanueva C., J.E.		iconografia de escudillas de pariti: una primera interpretacion

2006	2006Angelo.txt	Spanish	Angelo, D.	Historia Andina	lineas de tiemo y circulos de consumo
2006	2006LemuzAguirre.txt	Spanish	Lémuz Aguirre, C.	Historia Andina	reconfiguracion sociopolitica y reded de trafico e intercambio durante el periodo formativo en la cuenca del lago titicaca
2006	2006RiveraCasanovas.txt	Spanish	Rivera Casanovas, C.	Historia Andina	complejidad social y esferad de interaccion durante el horizon medio...
2007	2007AriasBOL.pdf	English	Pérez Arias, M.	Nuevos Aportes	utilización de la fauna en la economía doméstica de irohito: (contextos formativo y tiwanaku)
2007	2007PlazaBOL.txt	Spanish	Plaza M., V.W.	Nuevos Aportes	arqueología del formativo en la isla qiwaya ribera sureste del lago titicaca, bolivia
2007	2007Sagarnaga.txt	Spanish	Sagarnaga, J.	Chachapuma	en mascaras y culto de tiwanaku
2007	2007Sagarnaga2.txt	Spanish	Sagarnaga, J.	Chachapuma	ceramica vidriada en partiti
2007	2007SagarnagaEtAl.txt	Spanish	Sagarnaga, J., et al.	Chachapuma	hallazgos en la isla de pariti echan nuevas luces sobre los "chachapumas" tiwanakotas
2007	2007VillanuevaCriales.tx	Spanish	Villanueva C., J.E.	Chachapuma	las escudillas del rasgo 1 en la isla de partit
2007	2007Sanchez.pdf	English	Sanchez Candedo, W.	Cocha-Banner	colomi-inkachaca
2008	2008AlconiniBOL.txt	English	Alconini, S.	Journal of Anthropological Archaeology	dis-embedded centers and architecture of power in the fringes of the inka empire: new perspectives on territorial and hegemonic strategies of domination
2008	2008CaprilesBOL.txt	English	Capriles Flores, J.M., et al.	Quaternary International	fish remains from the formative period (1000 bc-ad 400) of lake titicaca, bolivia: zooarchaeology and taphonomy
2008	2008LozaBOL.txt	Spanish	Loza, C.B.	Estudios Atacameños	una "fiera de piedra" tiwanaku, fallido símol de la nación boliviana
2008	2008MenciasBOL.pdf	English	Mencinas, J. et al.		avances de investigación del proyecto arqueológico pumiri representaciones rupestres y arquitectura funeraria en la investigacion arqueologica
2008	2008PerezBOL.txt	Spanish	Perez A., M.	Khonko Informe	excavaciones en unidades 7.1, 7.2, 7w.14, 12.79 y 12.153
2008	2008ScarboroughBOL.pd	English	Scarborough, I.	Handbook of S. A. Archaeology	the bennett monolith: archaeological patrimony and cultural restitution in bolivia
2009	2009QuirogaEtAl.pdf	Spanish	Quiroga Taborga, M., et al.	Online: Sabares Bolivianos	reconocimiento arqueológico en el sitio jinac chanes
2009	2009Michel.pdf	Spanish	Michel López, M.R.	La Bolivia del Siglo XXI	retrospectiva de la arqueologia en bolivia
2010	2010SanchezCanedo.pdf	Spanish	Sanchez Candedo, W.	Online: Sabares Bolivianos	senderos del poder
2011	2011Lemuz.pdf	Spanish	Lémuz Aguirre, C.	Nuevos Aportes	patrones de asentamiento arqueológioco en el área de influencia del sitio de khonkho wankane
2011	2011NuevosAportes.pdf	Spanish	Neuvos Aportes	Nuevos Aportes	síntesis de la investigación arqueológica en bolivia

Appendix B. Word Frequency Analysis Program Code

Tony Garnock-Jones of Northeastern University developed this program specifically for this project in consultation with Donna Yates.

C.1 Main Program

```python
#!/usr/bin/python2.5
from __future__ import with_statement

import sys
import csv
import os
import hashlib
import unicodedata
import re

import thinking

# TODO
#
# - Cross-check against both PDF *and* hand-edited text

############################################################################
## Cross-checking of previously-generated output against intermediate
## steps.

def check_next_row(reader, filename, key, value, problems):
    try:
        row = reader.next()
    except StopIteration:
        problems.append("%s is too short: expected to see a header %s with value %s" \
                        % (filename, repr(key), repr(value)))
        return

    if row[0] != key:
        problems.append("Invalid key (expected %s) in %s's output header row: %s" \
                        % (repr(key), filename, row))
        return

    if row[1] != value:
        problems.append("Invalid value (expected %s) in %s's output header row: %s" \
                        % (repr(value), filename, row))
        return

def check_existing_for_problems(existingoutput, csvpath, data_filename, data_title, checksums):
    r = csv.reader(existingoutput)
    problems = []
    check_next_row(r, csvpath, "Filename", data_filename, problems)
    check_next_row(r, csvpath, "Title", data_title, problems)
    for (description, checksum) in checksums:
        check_next_row(r, csvpath, description + " SHA-1 Checksum", checksum, problems)
    return problems

############################################################################
## Generation of plaintext from index-mentioned file

def generate_plaintext(sourcepath, targetpath):
    sys.stdout.flush()
    if sourcepath.endswith('.pdf'):
        with os.popen3('tools\\pdftotext.exe -enc UTF-8 "%s" -' % (sourcepath,))[1] as textpipe:
            text = textpipe.read()
        if not text:
            with os.popen('pdftotext -enc UTF-8 "%s" -' % (sourcepath,)) as textpipe:
                text = textpipe.read()
        if not text:
            print '  - No identifiable output produced by pdftotext!'
            return
        with open(targetpath, "wt") as targethandle:
            targethandle.write(text)
    elif sourcepath.endswith('.txt'):
        with open(sourcepath, "rtU") as sourcefile:
            sourcedata = sourcefile.read()
            if sourcedata[0:2] in ('\xff\xfe', '\xfe\xff'):
```

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```
                        sourcedata = sourcedata.decode('UTF-16').encode('UTF-8')
                    with open(targetpath, "wt") as targetfile:
                        targetfile.write(sourcedata)
            else:
                raise "Unsupported source path extension: %s" % (sourcepath,)

#######################################################################
## Digestion of plaintext to word-based summary

def massage_word(s):
    firstnonpunct = 0
    while firstnonpunct < len(s):
        if s[firstnonpunct].isalnum():
            break
        firstnonpunct = firstnonpunct + 1
    lastnonpunct = len(s) - 1
    while lastnonpunct >= 0:
        if s[lastnonpunct].isalnum():
            break
        lastnonpunct = lastnonpunct - 1
    return s[firstnonpunct:lastnonpunct + 1]

def percentage(num, den):
    return "%03.2f%%" % (100.0 * num / den,)

def percentage_or_blank(num, den):
    if num > 0:
        return "%03.2f%%" % (100.0 * num / den,)
    else:
        return ""

def check_stop(w, ws):
    if w in ws: return True
    if len(w) <= 2: return True
    if not [x for x in w if not x.isdigit()]: return True
    return False

def macroman(s):
    return s.encode('MacRoman', 'xmlcharrefreplace')

def write_word_row(w, word, count, totalcount, extra):
    w.writerow(['"' + macroman(word) + '"', count, percentage(count, totalcount), ''] +
[macroman(x) for x in extra])

def decode_utf8_and_normalize(s):
    return unicodedata.normalize('NFKC', s.decode('utf-8'))

def synset_map(word, synsets, cache):
    if word in cache:
        return cache[word]
    candidates = []
    for (k, v) in synsets.iteritems():
        for rx in v:
            if rx.match(word):
                candidates.append(k)
                break
    cache[word] = candidates
    return candidates

prev_synsets = None
synset_cache = {}
def produce_output(filepath, stopwords, synsets, w, \
                        data_filename, data_title, checksums, global_counts):
    global prev_synsets, synset_cache
    if prev_synsets is not synsets:
        synset_cache = {}
        prev_synsets = synsets

    w.writerow(["Filename", data_filename])
    w.writerow(["Title", data_title])
    for (description, checksum) in checksums:
        w.writerow([description + " SHA-1 Checksum", checksum])
    w.writerow([])

    with open(filepath, "rt") as handle:
        text = decode_utf8_and_normalize(handle.read())

    totalcount = 0
    totalstopped = 0

    stopcounts = {}
    counts = {}
    syncounts = {}
    synonyms = {}
    words = text.lower().split()
```

```python
    for unmassaged_word in words:
        word = massage_word(unmassaged_word)
        if not word:
            pass
        elif check_stop(word, stopwords):
            stopcounts[word] = stopcounts.get(word, 0) + 1
            totalstopped = totalstopped + 1
        else:
            for synword in synset_map(word, synsets, synset_cache):
                syncounts[synword] = syncounts.get(synword, 0) + 1
                if not synonyms.has_key(synword):
                    synonyms[synword] = set([])
                synonyms[synword].add(word)
            counts[word] = counts.get(word, 0) + 1
            global_counts[word] = global_counts.get(word, 0) + 1
            totalcount = totalcount + 1

    distinctwords = len(counts.keys())
    distinctstopped = len(stopcounts.keys())

    w.writerow(["Total distinct non-stopped words identified",
                distinctwords,
                percentage(distinctwords, distinctwords + distinctstopped)])
    w.writerow(["Total distinct stopped words identified",
                distinctstopped,
                percentage(distinctstopped, distinctwords + distinctstopped)])
    w.writerow(["Total non-stopped word count",
                totalcount,
                percentage(totalcount, totalcount + totalstopped)])
    w.writerow(["Total stopped word count",
                totalstopped,
                percentage(totalstopped, totalcount + totalstopped)])
    w.writerow([])

    synpairs = syncounts.items()
    synpairs.sort(key = lambda p: p[1], reverse = True)
    w.writerow(["Syngroup", "Count", "Percentage", "(Sorted by count descending)"])
    for (word, count) in synpairs:
        write_word_row(w, word, count, totalcount, synonyms[word])

    w.writerow([])

    finalpairs = counts.items()
    finalpairs.sort(key = lambda p: p[1], reverse = True)
    w.writerow(["Word", "Count", "Percentage", "(Sorted by count descending)"])
    for (word, count) in finalpairs:
        write_word_row(w, word, count, totalcount, [])

    w.writerow([])

    finalwords = counts.keys()
    finalwords.sort()
    w.writerow(["Word", "Count", "Percentage", "(Sorted by word ascending)"])
    for word in finalwords:
        write_word_row(w, word, counts[word], totalcount, [])

    return (distinctwords, totalcount)

###########################################################################
## Entry point

def normal_files_in(dirname):
    return set([f for f in os.listdir(dirname) if f[:1] != '.'])

def summarise_fileset(description, s):
    print '%s:' % (description,)
    for f in sorted(s): print ' -', f

def checksum_file(path):
    with open(path, "rb") as f:
        s = hashlib.sha1()
        s.update(f.read())
        return s.hexdigest()

class Translation(object):
    def __init__(self):
        self.data_dir = "data"
        self.rawtext_dir = "data_rawtext"
        self.finaltext_dir = "data_hand_edited"
        self.output_dir = "output"

        self.shortfile_limit = 100

        self.unused_data_files = normal_files_in(self.data_dir)
        self.missing_data_files = set()
```

```python
        self.doubly_mentioned_data_files = set()
        self.unconvertible_data_files = set()

        self.unused_rawtext_files = normal_files_in(self.rawtext_dir)

        self.unused_finaltext_files = normal_files_in(self.finaltext_dir)
        self.finaltext_files_needing_editing = set()

        self.short_output_files = set()
        self.output_files_with_problems = dict()

    def run(self):
        with open("stopwords.txt") as f:
            stopwords = set([word.strip() for word in
decode_utf8_and_normalize(f.read()).split()])
        stopped_syns = False
        with open("syns.txt") as f:
            synsets = {}
            for ss in decode_utf8_and_normalize(f.read()).split('\n\n'):
                ss = [p.strip() for p in ss.split()]
                for p in ss:
                    if check_stop(p, stopwords):
                        print 'ERROR: "%s", a member of syngroup "%s", is in stopwords.txt' % \
                            (p, ss[0])
                        stopped_syns = True
                if ss:
                    synsets[ss[0]] = [re.compile('^%s$' % (re.escape(p).replace('\\*', '.*'),))
for p in ss]
        if stopped_syns:
            print 'Stopping because stopped synonyms are a fatal error.'
            return

        indexfile = open("index.csv", "rU")
        indexreader = csv.DictReader(indexfile)
        global_counts = {}
        for indexrow in indexreader:
            self.process_indexrow(indexrow, stopwords, synsets, global_counts)
            print
            sys.stdout.flush()
        indexfile.close()
        self.write_global_wordlist(global_counts)
        self.corpus_analyses(synsets)
        self.summarise()

    def write_global_wordlist(self, global_counts):
        print 'Writing global wordlists...'
        wordlist_path = os.path.join(self.output_dir, 'Summary-wordlist.txt')
        wordtable_path = os.path.join(self.output_dir, 'Summary-wordtable.csv')

        if os.path.exists(wordlist_path):
            # Truncate them and leave them there. It's better than
            # filling them with misleading junk: we are only
            # guaranteed a correct wordlist if we're generating the
            # information from complete scratch, with no existing
            # output files at all. We use the existence of the summary
            # files as a rough proxy indicator that we're on an
            # incremental run.
            warning_text = \
                'Word list truncated on incremental run.\n' + \
                'Delete all output and rerun to produce complete wordlist.\n'
            with open(wordlist_path, "wb") as wordlist_file:
                wordlist_file.write(warning_text)
            with open(wordtable_path, "wb") as wordtable_file:
                wordtable_file.write(warning_text)
            self.partial_wordlist_detected = True
        else:
            self.partial_wordlist_detected = False

            allwords = sorted(global_counts.keys())
            with open(wordlist_path, "wb") as wordlist_file:
                for word in allwords:
                    wordlist_file.write(word.encode('utf-8'))
                    wordlist_file.write('\n')
            with open(wordtable_path, "wb") as wordtable_file:
                writer = csv.writer(wordtable_file)
                writer.writerow(['Word', 'Count across all input documents'])
                for word in allwords:
                    writer.writerow([macroman(word), global_counts[word]])

        print

    def corpus_analyses(self, synsets):
        if self.missing_data_files:
            print 'Not performing corpus analyses because some data files were missing!'
            return
```

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```python
        if self.finaltext_files_needing_editing:
            print 'Not performing corpus analyses because some data files need hand-editing.'
            return

        corpus = thinking.FullCorpus()
        self.summary_spreadsheet(corpus, synsets)
        self.synonym_summaries(corpus, synsets)
        self.grouped_top_words(corpus)

    def summary_spreadsheet(self, corpus, synsets):
        print 'Writing summary spreadsheet...'
        sys.stdout.flush()
        summary_path = os.path.join(self.output_dir, 'Summary.csv')

        try:
            os.unlink(summary_path)
        except:
            pass

        with open(summary_path + '.tmp', "wb") as summary_file:
            writer = csv.writer(summary_file)
            writer.writerow(['Summary of synonyms'])
            syngroups = sorted(synsets.keys())
            writer.writerow(['Syngroup', 'Year'] + [macroman(w) for w in syngroups])

            for article in sorted(corpus, key = lambda a: a.key):
                ### Icky hack, pulling year from the filename/key
                writer.writerow([article.key, article.key[:4]] +
[percentage_or_blank(article.word_count(w, attr='synonyms'), article.total_nonstopped) for w in
syngroups])
        os.rename(summary_path + '.tmp', summary_path)
        print

    def synonym_summaries(self, corpus, synsets):
        print 'Writing synonym summaries...'
        for syngroup in synsets.keys():
            with open(os.path.join(self.output_dir,
                                   'Summary_byyear_%s.csv' % (syngroup,)), "wb") as f:
                writer = csv.writer(f)
                writer.writerow(['Year', 'Articles mentioning', 'Total articles', 'Percentage'])
                lastyear = None
                for (year, (yescount, totalcount)) in \
                        corpus.group_by_year().synonym_counts(syngroup) \
                        .sorted():
                    if lastyear is not None:
                        while lastyear + 1 < year:
                            lastyear = lastyear + 1
                            writer.writerow([lastyear, 0, 0, ''])
                    writer.writerow([year, yescount, totalcount, percentage_or_blank(yescount,
totalcount)])
                    lastyear = year
        print

    def grouped_top_words(self, corpus):
        print 'Writing grouped top-words counts...'

        def g(grouping, selectionname, bins):
            n = 15
            result = bins.map(lambda x: x.top_n_words3(n)).sorted()
            fullfilename = 'Summary_%s_%s_topwords_%d.csv' % (selectionname, grouping, n)
            print ' -', fullfilename
            with open(os.path.join(self.output_dir, fullfilename), "wb") as f:
                writer = csv.writer(f)
                writer.writerow(['Grouping', 'Number of articles'])
                for (grouping, words_and_percentages) in result:
                    if type(grouping) == tuple:
                        # Convert [half open) interval into [fully closed] interval
                        label = '%d-%d' % (grouping[0], grouping[1] - 1)
                    else:
                        label = grouping
                    row = [label, len(bins.bins[grouping])]
                    for (word, frequency) in words_and_percentages:
                        row.append(word.encode('MacRoman', 'xmlcharrefreplace'))
                        row.append(percentage(frequency, 1))
                    writer.writerow(row)

        def h(selectionname, c):
            g('ungrouped', selectionname, c.group_by(lambda a: 'All articles'))
            g('byepoch', selectionname, c.epochs())

        h('all', corpus)

        h('S', corpus.select(lambda c: c.lang == 's'))
        h('E', corpus.select(lambda c: c.lang == 'e'))
```

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```
        print

    def summarise(self):
        summarise_fileset('Unused input files', self.unused_data_files)
        summarise_fileset('Missing input files', self.missing_data_files)
        summarise_fileset('Doubly-mentioned input files', self.doubly_mentioned_data_files)
        summarise_fileset('Unconvertible input files', self.unconvertible_data_files)
        summarise_fileset('Unused rawtext files', self.unused_rawtext_files)
        summarise_fileset('Unused finaltext files', self.unused_finaltext_files)
        summarise_fileset('Finaltext files needing editing',
 self.finaltext_files_needing_editing)
        summarise_fileset('Files with fewer than %d distinct words (absent OCR?):' \
                             % (self.shortfile_limit,),
                          self.short_output_files)

        if self.partial_wordlist_detected:
            print 'Global wordlist NOT generated because this was an incremental run.'
        else:
            print 'Global wordlist was generated.'

        print 'Output files with problems:'
        for (f, problems) in self.output_files_with_problems.items():
            print ' -', f
            for p in problems:
                print '     -', p

    def process_indexrow(self, indexrow, stopwords, synsets, global_counts):
        data_filename = indexrow['Filename'] ## case sensitive - "filename" is not acceptable
        data_title = indexrow['Title']
        data_path = os.path.join(self.data_dir, data_filename)
        data_basename = os.path.splitext(data_filename)[0]

        print 'Checking %s...' % (data_path,)

        if not os.path.exists(data_path):
            self.missing_data_files.add(data_filename)
            print '  - Source file is missing!'
            return

        if data_filename in self.unused_data_files:
            self.unused_data_files.remove(data_filename)
        else:
            self.doubly_mentioned_data_files.add(data_filename)

        data_checksum = checksum_file(data_path)
        print '  - input digest %s' % (data_checksum,)

        rawtext_filename = data_checksum + ".txt"
        rawtext_path = os.path.join(self.rawtext_dir, rawtext_filename)
        self.unused_rawtext_files.discard(rawtext_filename)

        if not os.path.exists(rawtext_path):
            print '  - Generating rawtext %s' % (rawtext_path,)
            generate_plaintext(data_path, rawtext_path)
            if not os.path.exists(rawtext_path):
                self.unconvertible_data_files.add(data_filename)
                print '  - Problem converting to text. Skipping.'
                return
        else:
            print '  - Rawtext already generated.'

        finaltext_filename = data_checksum + ".txt"
        finaltext_path = os.path.join(self.finaltext_dir, finaltext_filename)
        self.unused_finaltext_files.discard(finaltext_filename)

        if not os.path.exists(finaltext_path):
            os.system("cp '%s' '%s'" % (rawtext_path, finaltext_path))
            self.finaltext_files_needing_editing.add(finaltext_path)
            print '  - Input needs hand editing. Skipping.'
            return

        rawtext_checksum = checksum_file(rawtext_path)
        finaltext_checksum = checksum_file(finaltext_path)

        if rawtext_checksum == finaltext_checksum:
            self.finaltext_files_needing_editing.add(finaltext_path)
            print '  - Hmm, hand editing still needed it seems.'
            return

        print '  - Hand editing has been performed. Using edited version.'

        output_path = os.path.join(self.output_dir, data_basename + ".csv")
        try:
            existingoutput = open(output_path, "rb")
        except IOError:
```

```
            existingoutput = None

        all_checksums = [("Input file", data_checksum),
                         ("Raw extracted text", rawtext_checksum),
                         ("Final hand-processed text", finaltext_checksum)]

        if existingoutput:
            print '  - Output file %s exists, checking contents.' % (output_path,)
            problems = \
                check_existing_for_problems(existingoutput, output_path, data_filename,
                                            data_title, all_checksums)
            existingoutput.close()
            if problems:
                print '  - Problems detected with the existing output. Skipping.'
                self.output_files_with_problems[output_path] = problems
                return
            print '  - Contents check passed. Existing output should be fine.'
        else:
            print '  - No output file, processing and generating %s.' % (output_path,)

            with open(output_path, "wb") as newoutput:
                writer = csv.writer(newoutput)
                (distinctwords, totalcount) = \
                    produce_output(finaltext_path, stopwords, synsets, writer,
                                   data_filename, data_title, all_checksums, global_counts)
                print '  - %d distinct words identified; %d words total.' % \
                    (distinctwords, totalcount)
                if distinctwords < self.shortfile_limit:
                    self.short_output_files.add(data_filename)

if __name__ == "__main__":
    try:
        Translation().run()
    except:
        import traceback
        traceback.print_exc()
    finally:
        sys.stdout.flush()
        ## raw_input("Press ENTER to exit.")
```

C.2 thinking.py: Supplementary Routines

```
#!/usr/bin/python2.5
from __future__ import with_statement

import sys
import csv
import os
import hashlib
import math

def filename_to_key(filename):
    return os.path.splitext(filename)[0]

def sorted_by(iterable, key, reverse = False):
    return sorted(iterable, key = lambda v: v[key], reverse = reverse)

class Article(object):
    field_map = {"Filename": ("filename", None),
                 "Total distinct non-stopped words identified": ("distinct_nonstopped", int),
                 "Total distinct stopped words identified": ("distinct_stopped", int),
                 "Total non-stopped word count": ("total_nonstopped", int),
                 "Total stopped word count": ("total_stopped", int)}

    def __init__(self, filename):
        self.key = filename_to_key(filename)
        self.words = {}
        self.synonyms = {}
        self.synonym_details = {}
        self.row_handler = self.load_header_row
        with open(os.path.join("output", filename)) as f:
            r = csv.reader(f)
            while self.row_handler:
                row = r.next()
                self.row_handler(row)
        del self.row_handler

    def load_header_row(self, row):
        if not row:
            return
        if row[0] == 'Syngroup':
            self.row_handler = self.load_syngroup_row
            return
        if row[0] == 'Word':
```

```
            self.row_handler = self.load_data_row
            return
        (fieldname, mapper) = self.field_map.get(row[0], (None, None))
        if mapper:
            value = mapper(row[1])
        else:
            value = row[1]
        if fieldname:
            setattr(self, fieldname, value)

    def load_syngroup_row(self, row):
        if not row:
            self.row_handler = self.load_header_row
            return
        word = row[0].strip('"').decode('MacRoman')
        count = int(row[1])
        self.synonyms[word] = count
        self.synonym_details[word] = set(row[4:])

    def load_data_row(self, row):
        if not row:
            self.row_handler = None
            return
        word = row[0].strip('"').decode('MacRoman')
        count = int(row[1])
        self.words[word] = count

    def word_count(self, word, attr = 'words'):
        return getattr(self, attr).get(word, 0)

    def word_freq(self, word, attr = 'words'):
        return self.word_count(word, attr) / float(self.total_nonstopped)

    def top_n_words(self, n, attr = 'words'):
        r = getattr(self, attr).items()
        r.sort(key = lambda p: p[1], reverse = True)
        return r[:n]

class Bins(object):
    def __init__(self, bins):
        self.bins = bins

    def __iter__(self):
        return self.bins.iteritems()

    def __len__(self):
        return len(self.bins)

    def map(self, f):
        return Bins(dict((k, f(v)) for (k, v) in self))

    def sorted(self, cmp = None, key = None, reverse = False):
        return sorted(self, cmp = cmp, key = key, reverse = reverse)

    def synonym_counts(self, syn):
        def m(c):
            return (len([a for a in c if a.word_count(syn, attr='synonyms')]),
                    len(list(c)))
        return self.map(m)

def to_csv(iterable, filename, transformer = None, encoding = None):
    with open(filename, "w") as f:
        w = csv.writer(f)
        for (k, v) in iterable:
            if transformer:
                row = transformer(v)
            else:
                row = [v]
            if encoding:
                k = k.encode(encoding, 'xmlcharrefreplace')
                row = [cell.encode(encoding, 'xmlcharrefreplace') \
                            if type(cell) in [str, unicode] else cell
                        for cell in row]
            w.writerow([k] + row)

class Corpus(object):
    def __init__(self, articles):
        self.articles = articles
        self._words = None
        self._synonyms = None

    def __iter__(self):
        return self.articles.itervalues()

    def __len__(self):
```

```
        return len(self.articles)

    def words(self, attr = 'words'):
        cacheattr = '_' + attr
        if getattr(self, cacheattr) is None:
            d = {}
            setattr(self, cacheattr, d)
            for a in self:
                for (w,c) in getattr(a, attr).iteritems():
                    d[w] = d.get(w, 0) + c
        return getattr(self, cacheattr)

    def article(self, key):
        return self.articles[key]

    def word_count(self, word, attr = 'words'):
        return sum(a.word_count(word, attr) for a in self)

    def word_freq(self, word, attr = 'words'):
        return self.word_count(word, attr) / float(sum(a.total_nonstopped for a in self))

    def group_by(self, binmap):
        bins = {}
        for a in self.articles.itervalues():
            bin = binmap(a)
            if bin is not None:
                if not bins.has_key(bin):
                    bins[bin] = set([])
                bins[bin].add(a)
        return Bins(dict((b, Corpus(dict((a.key, a) for a in aa))) for (b, aa) in
bins.iteritems()))

    def select(self, pred):
        return Corpus(dict((a.key, a) for a in self if pred(a)))

    def group_by_year(self):
        return self.group_by(lambda a: a.year or None)

    def group_by_periods(self, boundaries):
        def mapper(a):
            if not a.year:
                return None
            for i in range(1, len(boundaries)):
                if a.year < boundaries[i]:
                    return (boundaries[i-1], boundaries[i])
            return None
        return self.group_by(mapper)

    def decades(self):
        return self.group_by_periods(range(1880, 2020,10))

    def epochs(self):
        return self.group_by_periods([0, 1978, 1988, 2002, 2006, 9999])

    def top_n_words(self, n, attr = 'words'):
        result = {}
        for a in self:
            for (word, count) in a.top_n_words(n, attr):
                result[word] = result.get(word, 0) + 1
        return sorted_by(result.items(), 1, reverse = True)

    def top_n_words2(self, n, attr = 'words'):
        result = set([])
        for a in self:
            for (word, count) in a.top_n_words(n, attr):
                result.add(word)
        return sorted(result)

    def top_n_words3(self, n):
        result = {}
        for a in self:
            for (word, count) in a.words.iteritems():
                result[word] = result.get(word, 0) + (count / float(a.total_nonstopped))
        for word in result:
            result[word] = result[word] / len(self)
        return sorted_by(result.iteritems(), 1, reverse = True)[:n]

    def freq_table(self, words, attr = 'words'):
        result = {}
        for a in self:
            result[a.key] = [a.word_freq(w, attr) for w in words]
        return result

def rowdist(r1, r2):
    result = 0
```

```python
        for i in range(len(r1)):
            result = result + (r1[i] - r2[i]) ** 2
        return math.sqrt(result)

def dist(m):
    result = []
    for a in range(1, len(m)):
        for b in range(0, a):
            result.append(rowdist(m[a], m[b]))
    return result

def dumpdist(data, targetfilename, cutn, method="complete"):
    items = data.items()
    items.sort()
    (labels, m) = zip(*items)
    d = dist(m)
    print 'zz <- c(' + ','.join(str(x) for x in d) + ')'
    print 'attr(zz, "Size") <-', len(m)
    print 'attr(zz, "Labels") <- c(' + ','.join(repr(l) for l in labels) + ')'
    print 'attr(zz, "Diag") <- FALSE'
    print 'attr(zz, "Upper") <- FALSE'
    print 'class(zz) <- "dist"'
    print 'write.csv(cutree(hclust(zz, method="%s"), %d), file="%s.csv")' % \
        (method, cutn, targetfilename)

def load_all_articles():
    articles = {}
    for filename in os.listdir("output"):
        if filename.endswith('.csv') and not filename.startswith('Summary'):
            a = Article(filename)
            articles[a.key] = a
    with open("index.csv", "rU") as f:
        for row in csv.DictReader(f):
            a = articles[filename_to_key(row['Filename'])]

            lang = row['Lang']
            if lang not in ['e', 's']:
                print 'WARNING: lang not in e or s for', row['Filename']

            if row.has_key('Bolivian'):
                is_bolivian = row['Bolivian']
                if is_bolivian == 'Bolivian':
                    is_bolivian = True
                elif is_bolivian == '':
                    is_bolivian = False
                else:
                    raise Exception("The 'Bolivian' column contains an invalid value", a.key)
            else:
                is_bolivian = None

            a.lang = lang
            a.is_bolivian = is_bolivian
            a.author = row['Author']
            a.year = int(row['Date'])
            if a.year != int(a.key[:4]):
                print 'Warning: year does not match filename for', a.key
    return articles

class FullCorpus(Corpus):
    def __init__(self):
        Corpus.__init__(self, load_all_articles())
```

Appendix D: Essay-based Questionnaire

D.1 Cuestionario para arqueólogos bolivianos (Spanish)

Me llamo Donna Yates y soy una postgraduada de la Universidad de Cambridge, Inglaterra. Estudio la historia y la política de la arqueología boliviana y creo que no hay mejor fuente de información que los propios arqueólogos bolivianos. Agradecería su tiempo y esfuerzo.

Puede responder a tantas preguntas como desee. Sus respuestas pueden ser tan largas como quiera. Su identidad es confidencial y su información personal no será publicada. Le agradecería sipudiese reenviar esta encuesta a sus amigos y colegas: cualquier persona que trabaja en la arqueología boliviana o museos, incluídos estudiantes. Si usted sabe de una forma de contacto para otros arqueólogos bolivianos (listas de correos electrónicos, foros de internet, grupos del facebook, etc) le agradecería si me lo hiciese saber.

An English version of this survey is available. Estaré encantada de contestar cualquier pregunta que tenga sobre esta encuesta o mi investigación así que no dude en ponerse en contacto conmigo. Muchas gracias por su tiempo.

Información Básica

¿Edad?

¿Sexo?

¿Qué idiomas habla usted?
por ejemplo, español: lengua materna; aymara: con soltura; inglés: dos años

¿De dónde es usted?
nombre de pueblo o ciudad y prefectura

¿Etnicidad?

¿Profesión?

¿Tiene alguna experiencia en arqueología?
titulaciones, calificaciones, yacimientos, etc

Arqueología Boliviana

Carlos Ponce utilizó la frase Arqueología Nacionalista. ¿En su opinión qué significa Arqueología Nacionalista?

La arqueología ha cambiado mucho desde de los años 50. En su opinión, ¿cual ha sido el cambio más significativo?

Muchas personas han mencionado la Arqueología Indígena. ¿En su opinión qué significa Arqueología Indígena?

¿Cuál es el papel del Estado en la arqueología?

En su opinión, ¿está la arqueología de Bolivia politizada?

Arqueología y la Opinión Pública

¿Qué piensa un boliviano medio sobre el pasado?

¿Qué símbolos antiguos o arqueológicos se utilizan en Bolivia?

¿Es la arqueología importante para Bolivia? ¿Por qué o por qué no?

El Futuro de la Arqueología Boliviana

¿Con qué obstáculos se enfrenta la arqueología boliviana?

¿Qué controversias existen en la arqueología de Bolivia?
¿Cuál es el futuro de la arqueología boliviana?

Otros Comentarios

Si lo desea puede utilizar este espacio para otros comentarios sobre arqueología boliviana y las funciones de la arqueología para la historia, etnicidad, nacionalismo, y política de Bolivia. Incluya su nombre y dirección de correo electrónico si lo desea.

D.2 Survey of Bolivian Archaeologists (English)

My name is Donna Yates and I am a PhD student at the University of Cambridge. I am studying the history and politics of Bolivian archaeology and I think there is no better source of information on these topics than archaeologists themselves.

Please respond to whichever of these questions that you like with as long or as short answers as you like. Your identity is confidential and your personal information will not be published. When you have completed this survey please send the link to it on to friends and colleagues who conduct archaeological work in Bolivia. A Spanish version of this survey is available. I am happy to answer any question you might have about this survey or my research so feel free to contact me. Thank you very much for your time

Basic Information

Age?

Sex?

Languages spoken and fluency level

Where are you from?

Do you consider yourself to be Indigenous?

Profession?

What is your archaeological experience?
degrees, qualifications, time at which sites?

Bolivian Archaeology

Carlos Ponce used the phrase "Nationalistic Archaeology". In your opinion, what does Nationalistic Archaeology mean?

Archaeology in Bolivia has changed in the past 50 year. What do you think is the most significant change?

Some say President Morales is calling for "Indigenous Archaeology". In your opinion, what does Indigenous Archaeology mean?

What is the role of the Bolivian State in archaeology?

In your opinion, is Bolivian archaeology political?

Archaeology and Public Opinion

What does the average Bolivian think about the past?

What ancient or archaeological symbols are used in Bolivia?

Is archaeology important in Bolivia? Why or why not?

What obstacles does Bolivian archaeology face?

What controversies exist in Bolivian archaeology?

What is the future of Bolivian Archaeology?

Other Comments

If you wish you can use this space for other comments about Bolivian archaeology and the function of archaeology in the history, nationalism, ethnicity and politics of Bolivia. Also, you can include your name and email address if you would like a response. Thank you again for your time!