

Camilo Montoya-Guevara

HERITAGE: CHAIN, HIERARCHIES AND CONFLICTS
AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE TIERRADENTRO
ARCHAEOLOGICAL PARK AND NASA INDIGENOUS
TERRITORY, COLOMBIA.

MA Thesis in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management.

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by

Camilo Montoya-Guevara

(Colombia, Canada)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy,
Management.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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I, the undersigned, **Camilo Montoya-Guevara**, candidate for the MA degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 29 May 2017

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Abstract

The World Heritage Chain is the series of relations and events that are created through the communication between UNESCO's international heritage framework, its interpretation and legislation at the State level, and the implementation and management of its activities at the local level. This three-tiered chain and its actors are to be discussed through its ethnography at the Tierradentro World Heritage and Archaeological Park in Colombia.

The Tierradentro Archaeological Park in Colombia is located within the Nasa indigenous reservation administered by its local governance at San Andrés de Pisimbalá. The pre-Columbian tombs and statues were declared World Heritage in 1995 and since then they form part of the UNESCO pantheon of shared World Heritage. However, this heritage structure has been a contributing factor to the intercultural conflict present at the site since 2006. The conflict escalated when the Colombian heritage management body, the Colombian Institute of Anthropology and History, did not consult the Nasa on the Management Plan document of the Park. This study maps these actors and follows their discourses to link the main sites and points of dispute at an indigenous territory and multicultural region turned World Heritage site.

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This research project about a site in Colombia carried out in Hungary would not be possible without the parallel feedback, thoughtful guidance, and support of my supervisor Alexandra Kowalski at the Central European University, Budapest and Cristóbal Gnecco at the Universidad del Cauca, Popayan. For this I thank them both.

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Lastly, I would not be able to wear my thinking cap so dedicatedly if not for the encouragement and patience of my parents, Lida and Rafael. They have moved me places and watch me move alone to others while always remaining there with me through the miracles of Skype and WhatsApp.

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Introduction

The primary aim of this investigation is to describe and follow the controversies that emerge when international heritage norms and national heritage governance structures interact with local indigenous self-governance. This research is carried out by focusing on the case study of the Tierradentro Archaeological Park in Colombia, a site that further nuances the previous concern by being the site of numerous conflicts. Tierradentro's location, actors and surrounding conflicts demonstrate the unequal balance of priorities and expected roles of the actors in the management of the World Heritage site. This is due to the gaps of communication and actions that emerge from the top-down heritage construction in place at the Tierradentro Archaeological Park and many other sites recognized as World Heritage within indigenous territories. As an ethnographic study, the presented research maps the conflicts and controversies emergent from the agency of actors and objects at the site to present and contrast their different points of view and reflect on the perceived shortcomings and ideals of heritage management at the Tierradentro Archaeological Park.



Figure 1: Map of Colombia, with the Tierradentro Archaeological Park.
Source: Google Maps.

Tucked high and in between the central spine of the Andes mountains in Colombia, and in traditional Nasa indigenous people's territory is South America's largest grouping of subterranean burial chambers, the hypogea of the Tierradentro Archaeological Park (Figure 1 and 2). The Park



Figure 2: Decorated walls inside a hypogeum, Alto de Segovia.
Source: Author, 2016.

consists of a series of underground burial chambers, known as hypogea, and sculptures constructed by indigenous peoples between 600 and 900 AD. It was made a National archaeological park in 1945 and was listed as a UNESCO World Heritage property in 1995 at the 19th session of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee Meeting in Berlin, Germany.¹



Figure 3: Inscribed property, town is North-west.
Source: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, “National Archeological Park of Tierradentro,” *UNESCO World Heritage Centre*, accessed May 28, 2017, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/743/>.

The Park was listed under UNESCO World Heritage criteria (iii) as a “unique testimony to the high level of artistic and social culture of the region over its long pre-Hispanic history” and it is one of eight inscriptions Colombia holds on the UNESCO list.² Moreover, the Outstanding Universal Value of the site is justified by highlighting the structural ingenuity of the underground tombs, their artistic complexity, and the relationship to their creators as mirror structures of their households.³

The Park is located within the town and indigenous reservation of San Andrés de Pisimbalá, in the municipality of Inza, department of Cauca, Colombia. The San Andrés de Pisimbalá Nasa reservation is populated by around 4000 Nasa (Figure 3). The Nasa, also known as the Paez,

¹UNESCO, “WH Committee: Report of 19th Session, Berlin 1995,” December 4, 1995, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/repcom95.htm>, 43.

² The listing presents nine documents, including requests for international assistance (1994, 1998, 1998), advisory body evaluations (1995), Expert Mission Report (1994), a map and clarification of property boundaries, and the inscription decision. Notably, from all these documents the Management Plan is still missing, yet it is an essential provision for having a site listed as World Heritage. UNESCO World Heritage Centre, “National Archeological Park of Tierradentro,” *UNESCO World Heritage Centre*, May 26, 2017, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/743/>.

³ UNESCO, “WH Committee: Report of 19th Session, Berlin 1995,” 43.

are an indigenous community mainly concentrated within the regions of Cauca and Huila, and by that also the Tierradentro Archaeological Park.⁴ Tierradentro itself is mainly located within the Cauca region, which is home to a population of approximately 10 600 indigenous individuals, making it one of the largest concentrations of indigenous people in the country (Figure



Figure 4: Location of Tierradentro in the Regional Reservation of Lame.

Source: Publicadas por Henry Adolfo Peralta Buritica, "CIUDADES RESILIENTES COLOMBIA," accessed May 28, 2017, http://ciudadesresilientescol.blogspot.com/2015_10_25_archive.html

4).⁵ Significantly, the Nasa of Tierradentro, in whose traditional territory the Archaeological Park is located, are the largest indigenous community out of the various groups spread out over the region.

Over the last eleven years, intercultural conflict has been rising in the town and indigenous reservation of San Andrés de Pisimbalá. Several clashes, some of them violent, have happened between the local Nasa and the non-Nasa population, and between the Nasa and the ICANH (Colombian Institute of Anthropology and History), these are further outlined in Chapter 1. Thus, the Park is a site of intersection for discourses of indigeneity, at the indigenous territory of the Nasa, and discourse of National Colombian Heritage under the States' management. Indigeneity is understood to be indicative of a self-recognized indigenous group with its own

⁴ Paez is a name given to the Nasa population from the time of the colonial expansion. It is based on their battle cry with the same sound. However, Nasa, which means "People" in the Nasa Yuwe language is what they refer to themselves as and thus it is the term that I will use in this study.

⁵ Ximena Pachón, "Los Nasa O La Gente Páez" (Instituto Colombiano de Cultura Hispanica, May 17, 2017), <http://www.banrepcultural.org/blaavirtual/geografia/geohum2/nasa1.htm>.

culture, language, set of traditions and unique rights.⁶ While, National Colombian Heritage is defined to be the sites and practices that are recognized by heritage professionals as those constructing Colombian National heritage. The conceptualization of heritage in Colombia is further explored in Chapter 2. These conceptualizations and governance processes are parts of the exchanges and links between actors in the World Heritage Chain.

The World Heritage Chain:⁷

The World Heritage Chain is a network of discourses and actors between the local, national, and international levels of heritage governance and management. This Chain is anchored by the UNESCO World Heritage bodies and instruments, such as the World Heritage Committee and the 1972 World Heritage Convention. These structures set the standards which is in turn interpreted and applied by the State, in this case Colombia, through its legislation and management of heritage. Lastly, the State's interpretation is applied at the local level and meets the local structures and governance bodies, the main instance where clashes in the understanding of heritage as a value and administration structure occur. These clashes and controversies are mapped in Chapter 3.

Following the structure of the World Heritage Chain, the 1991 Colombian Constitution defines any site of archaeological significance as property of the State and managed by the State body responsible for heritage management, in this case the ICANH. However, the San Andrés de Pisimbalá reservation is a territory whose border is nationally recognized as an indigenous territory and thus subject to indigenous self-governance. Tierradentro is not the only site in

⁶ UNICEF, "United Nations Declaration on the Rights of indigenous Peoples for indigenous Adolescents" (United Nations, 2007),

http://files.unicef.org/policyanalysis/rights/files/HRBAP_UN_Rights_Indig_Peoples.pdf.

⁷ The World Heritage Chain concept draws from the structure of the World Heritage Regime presented by Willem Willems and the construction of heritage through Authorized Heritage Discourse theorized by Laura Jane Smith. See, Laura Jane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (New York : Routledge, 2006); Willem J.H Willems, "The Future of World Heritage and the Emergence of Transnational Heritage Regimes," *Heritage & Society* 7, no. 2 (November 2014): 105–20.

Colombia with these conditions, the San Agustin Archaeological and World Heritage site neighbors the Yanacona reservation and the Ciudad Perdida site is connected to the Tayrona peoples. Thus, processes of interaction between indigenous cultures and governance systems with heritage frameworks can be observed throughout Colombia and internationally at other World Heritage sites and indigenous territories.

Methodology:

This investigation is framed around Bruno Latour's *Actor-Network Theory*, by linking and describing the controversies that emerge in discourses of heritage and sacredness applied to the site by different actors.⁸ The Park's hypogea and museums are treated as agents, the non-human elements that push other actors to act.⁹ Actors are then those or that which has agency and is made to act by others, they are also the targets of actions taken.¹⁰ Such actions include negotiation, conflict, and mediation, and representation. Thus, by tracing the micro-level contradictions that burst from the actions of actors at Tierradentro the study also reflects on the macro-level relations created by heritage at sites subject to indigenous self-governance. In this sense, the aim of this study and my aim as researcher is to describe the multiplicity of connections between actors by focusing on the controversies that emerge from their interactions. I do not present solutions to these controversies/ conflicts, but do reflect on ideals and other cases that can be related to the Tierradentro Archaeological Park.

Analysis will also be grounded on the concept of "controlled equivocation", where my own analysis recognizes the active role that I, as researcher during two field visits to Tierradentro, play in the unfolding and mapping of interactions between actors and their presentation in this

⁸ Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁹ Ibid., 50.

¹⁰ Ibid., 46.

study. As well an active recognition that through my research there is no "underlying and univocal" concepts of social interaction waiting to be expressed. Instead, this investigation is an instance to acknowledge differences, explore the controversies, and aim to give space in the text for communication between different ways of seeing the world.¹¹

The different views were consulted and here included through unstructured interviews and document analysis. The interviews included and contrasted were conducted with the Vice-Governor of the Nasa, a former Nasa Governor, the Administrator of the Park and an ICANH Representative during June, July, and August 2016; their contents translated by me. My notes on conversations with the Tierradentro Park Guards, visiting tourists and local business owners in San Andrés de Pisimbalá are also part of the resources consulted. The identities of interviewees are not disclosed due to the political nature of some of their discourse and the conflicts that have taken place at San Andrés de Pisimbalá. Moreover, legal and operational documents from UNESCO, Colombian heritage structures and Nasa governance were consulted for their rhetoric on culture, indigeneity, and heritage. These are informed by theories of the Authorized Heritage Discourse and the structure of the World Heritage Chain. Lastly, the case study is examined as the main example, but compared to other sites and processes of World Heritage and indigenous values internationally.

Academic and International Context of the Tierradentro Archaeological Park:

Internationally, the presence of heritage sites in indigenous territories can be observed with cases such as the Uluru sacred and World Heritage site in Australia, the Tikal National Park and World Heritage site in Guatemala, or the sacred Mijikenda Kaya Forests in Kenya. Due to this, the following study also discusses or points to processes of government and indigenous

¹¹ Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, "Perspectival Anthropology and the Method of Controlled Equivocation," *Tipiti: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America* 2, no. 1 (2004), 12.

relations at World Heritage sites to present the case of Tierradentro in its international context. In line with the previous point, at the Tierradentro Archaeological Park the challenge to heritage is centered on the management structure of the Park, taking as its main axis the role the Nasa should have in the Park's management. This has resulted in a document Management Plan for the Park that is not defined, concluded nor published¹²- the elements of this conflict and its main actors are defined in Chapter 1, while the construction of heritage and actors- The Nasa, the ICANH, the Tierradentro Archaeological Park's Management, and several others- involved in the process through the World Heritage Chain are discussed in Chapter 3.

Studies have been conducted on the dynamic of prioritizing heritage and tourism of archaeological sites in Colombia, the Tierradentro archaeological park being amongst these- Marie Guillard and Diana Ojeda's study of indigenous peoples at Colombian World Heritage sites of Ciudad Perdida, San Agustín and Tierradentro;¹³ or Cristóbal Gnecco's investigation of the challenge to heritage at Tierradentro or the process of heritage creation at the Qhapac Ñan World Heritage listing.¹⁴ Thus, they pivot their approach on the role of Indigenous populations within the State controlled process of heritage and tourism. There is also research concerning the more general construction of heritage- such as Laura Jane Smith's theories of the Authorized Heritage discourse, and Willem Willems' analysis of emerging World Heritage Regimes.¹⁵ There is then a fountain of resources exploring themes related to the questions asked by my own research but the ethnography of the actors and processes at one site with

¹² Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia, "Parque Arqueológico Tierradentro- Plan de Manejo" (Unpublished, 2016).

¹³ Marie-Laure Guillard and Diana Ojeda, "Indígenas 'auténticos' y campesinos 'verdes'. Los imperativos identitarios del turismo en Colombia," *Cahiers des Amériques latines*, no. 71 (August 31, 2013).

¹⁴ Cristóbal Gnecco and Carolina Hernández, "History and Its Discontents: Stone Statues, Native Histories, and Archaeologists," *Current Anthropology* 49, no. 3 (2008): 439–66, doi:10.1086/588497; Cristóbal Gnecco, "Obsesión Por Las Ruinas...y La Ruina Del Qhapac Ñan," *El Malpensante*, February 2017.

¹⁵ Laura Jane Smith, *Uses of Heritage*; Willems, "The Future of World Heritage and the Emergence of Transnational Heritage Regimes."

disputed heritage, mapping these conflicts through the specific sites of contention (the museums and the hypogea) is an innovative aspect of this investigation.

Moreover, numerous archaeological investigations have taken place at the site.¹⁶ During the time of early investigations, archaeologist proceeded with their excavation and investigation without the opposition, nor the consultation of the Nasa. Parallel but separate ethnographic studies of the Nasa have also been carried out.¹⁷ The Nasa are an indigenous group who have historically been framed as coming to Tierradentro in the 14th century, thus indigenous but not necessarily *native* to the territory. However, as Willian Jairo Mavisoy Muchavisoy and Juan Carlos Piñacue, both Nasa scholars, argue their culture is not one foreign to its territory. Seeing as Colombia defines itself as a Multicultural Nation in its Constitution, it is crucial to examine instances like the one at Tierradentro, where diverging cultural understandings and priorities are mobilized to examine how the State acts upon its rhetoric of Multiculturalism. As demonstrated with the aid of Charles Hale's theory of challenges to Multiculturalism and Marie-Laure Guillard and Diana Ojeda's analysis of authorized minority groups within the Colombian National structures, Multiculturalism in Colombia exists in a framework of coercive identity expression where indigenous communities must cooperate and prioritize National discourses to operate and benefit from any resources provided through heritage or

¹⁶ See, Alvaro Chaves Mendonza and Mauricio Puerta Restrepo, *Monumentos Arqueologicos de Tierradentro*, vol. 2 (Bogotá: Biblioteca Banco Popular, 1986); and Elias Sevilla Casas, "Arte En La Necropolis Prehispanica de Tierradentro," *Revista Colombiana de Antropologia* 45, no. 2 (December 2009): 369–97.

¹⁷ See, Cristóbal Gnecco and Juan Carlos Piñacue, "The (Il)licit, The Archaeological: An Ethnographic Story of Progenation," in *Challenging the Dichotomy: The Licit and the Illicit in Archaeological and Heritage Discourses*, ed. Les Field, Joe Watkins, and Cristóbal Gnecco (University of Arizona Press, 2016); Herinaldy Gomez and Carlos Ariel Ruiz, *Los Paeces: Gente Territorio, Metafora Que Perdura* (Colombia: FUNCOP Universidad del Cauca, 1997); Pachón, "Los Nasa O La Gente Páez," Joanne Rappaport, *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes*. (Cambridge, Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and Ximena Pachon, "Los Nasa O La Gente Paez," in *Geografia Humana de Colombia: Region Andina Central*, vol. 2, Coleccion Quinto Centenario 3 (Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Cultura Hispanica, 1996), 89–150.

tourism structures.¹⁸ The relationship and claims at play between the Nasa and the Colombian heritage authorities is further explored in Chapters 2 and 4.

Shifting the discussion to the site itself, the Park is composed of 80 hypogea, two museums, and surrounded by about seven guest pensions and two restaurants, a fifteen-minute walk from the town of San Andrés de Pisimbalá. The 80 excavated tombs are clustered around four sites which are open to the public: Loma de Segovia, Alto del Duende, Alto de San Andrés, Loma del Aguacate (Figure 5). The

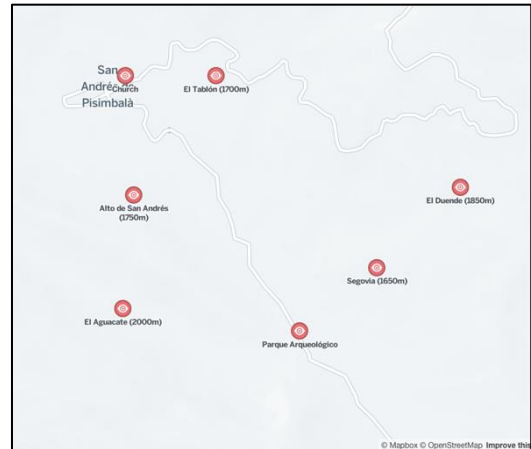


Figure 5: Location of Tierradentro Heritage sites, with main road leading to San Andrés de Pisimbalá. Source: Google Maps

Park also includes an Archaeological Museum, an Ethnographic Museum, and two open air sites showcasing sculptures: El Tablón and El Hato. Each of these tomb clusters differs in size from the other. However, the clusters are all along the plateaus of the mountains encasing San Andrés de Pisimbalá. The climb to each cluster of tombs differs, Alto de San Andrés is the closest to the town and most easily accessible, although all the paths are quite steep, while Loma del Aguacate is the furthest up in the mountains and access to it is sometimes restricted by rainfall and poor trekking conditions. The hypogea maintain the general characteristics of being circular or oval chambers carved into the bedrock and decorated by wall paintings. They are secondary group burial chambers in which urns and ceramic pots were placed; in these, the bones and cremated remains of community members were placed.

Upon entering the Tierradentro Archaeological Park the visitor receives a site “passport” that has information about the Park’s sites and the surrounding area. The introduction of the

¹⁸ See, Guiland and Ojeda, “Indígenas ‘auténticos’ y campesinos ‘verdes’. Los imperativos identitarios del turismo en Colombia.”; Charles R. Hale, “Does Multiculturalism Menace? Governance, Cultural Rights and the Politics of Identity in Guatemala,” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, no. 3 (2002): 485.

passport acknowledges the Nasa as part of the social context of the area. It also mentions the sanctity of the sites, a concept central to the significance of the hypogea for the Nasa. These acknowledgements of the Nasa as a living indigenous culture with territorial and spiritual links to the hypogea and territory of the Tierradentro Archaeological Park are a main concern of this research as they reflect the notion of multiculturalism by which Colombia defines itself as a Nation, further discussed in Chapter 3. Furthermore, the Nasa as a community and their on-site representation is examined in Chapter 4, while the inclusion of the Nasa's cosmology and the sacred role of the hypogea is analyzed in Chapter 5.

Therefore, this study demonstrates through the ethnography of the Tierradentro Archaeological Park the clashes of discourse and conflicts that are manifested in the management of heritage sites. These gaps exist between the different actors in what is here identified as the World Heritage Chain, a network of discourses and actors between the local, national, and international levels of the World Heritage governance. The study contributes to existing research by mapping the actors and analyzing the conflicts present at a heritage site within an indigenous territory, to stress that heritage is a constructed structure through the international and national bodies of governance, and when imposed without dialogue leads to disputes and potentially violent altercations.

Chapter 1: Clash to Conflict- Management of Heritage at Tierradentro

In 2010, a group of Nasa individuals embarked on a process of cultural reaffirmation demanding their right to have the Nasa Yuwe language and culture taught to the Nasa children at the local school, Instituto Microempresarial Agropecuario San Andrés. This came after the decision in February of the same year by the Ministry of Education to remove the school from its roster of institutions with educational autonomy for the indigenous population.¹⁹ The Nasa's position was not supported by the non-Nasa population, who saw the Nasa demands to have their culture and language continued to be taught in the school as the Nasa trying to impose their authority upon them.²⁰ The local school was taken-over by the Nasa on the 22nd of April, 2010 with suspension of activity at the school on May 28th. This was followed by the 2011 Ministry of Education's decision to segregate the school, sending local non-Nasa children to schools in the town of Inza while the Nasa children were educated within the reservation.

Intercultural conflict at San Andrés de Pisimbalá between the Nasa and the non-Nasa residents has over an eleven-year history. Part of this clash revolves around the Tierradentro Archaeological Park where the Nasa, the ICANH, the Archaeological Park administration, and the non-Nasa locals at Tierradentro are all invested in the management and presentation of the Park- disagreeing on structures and priorities.

Since the border between the Tierradentro Archaeological Park and the Nasa reservation is a tricky one, with the Archaeological Park being carved out of the indigenous reservation,

¹⁹ Semana, "Guerra Por Una Escuela," *Semana*, 2011, <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/guerra-escuela/236683-3>.

²⁰ Cynthia de Benito, "Campesinos Frente a Indígenas, El Otro Conflicto Colombiano," *El Espectador*, April 2, 2015, <http://www.elspectador.com/noticias/nacional/campesinos-frente-indigenas-el-otro-conflicto-colombiano-articulo-552931>.

matters of indigenous territorial governance and self-determination spill over into the management of the Park. The Cabildo is the political institution of each reservation, posts are rotated yearly and comprised of one Governor, a commissary, a mayor, with various posts beneath in a hierarchical order.²¹ Each member of the Cabildo carries a staff of office, symbol of their administrative and governance role. The Cabildo is recognized as the primary governing body of indigenous communities whose members derive their authority from community nomination and election, the traditional role within the community and the national legislation which legalizes its administration of indigenous territories.²² From 2006, a process of reassessment and reformulation of the Management Plan began with the co-initiative of the Nasa Cabildo and the ICANH. This marks an event and mediation between actors, and thus the issue of the Management Plan is a central controversy. Through it the views on the role of the Nasa population in managing the Park can be traced.

During the process of drafting the institution sanctioned Management Plan the Colombian heritage officials did not proceed with the required consultation of the Nasa on their vision and desired role in the future of the Tierradentro Park's management.²³ Instead, the ICANH sent the completed Management Plan as the document to be approved by, but not built with, the Cabildo Nasa of San Andrés de Pisimbalá. This action of limited consultation does not fulfil the right to consultation that the Nasa have as indigenous peoples under Colombian and international law. Consequently, the Nasa challenged the ICANH's management plan and role at the Archaeological Park and in their territory, ultimately rejecting the proposed management plan later that year.

²¹ Ximena Pachón, "Los Nasa O La Gente Páez" (Instituto Colombiano de Cultura Hispanica, May 17, 2017), <http://www.banrepcultural.org/blaavirtual/geografia/geohum2/nasal.htm>.

²² Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca, "Estructura Política Del CRIC," *Consejo Regional Indígena Del Cauca - CRIC*, accessed May 26, 2017, <http://www.cric-colombia.org/portal/consejeria/estructura-politica-del-cric/>.

²³ The legal provision at the National and International level are elaborated on in Chapter 2 of this study.

A timeline of the events and negotiations is seen below:

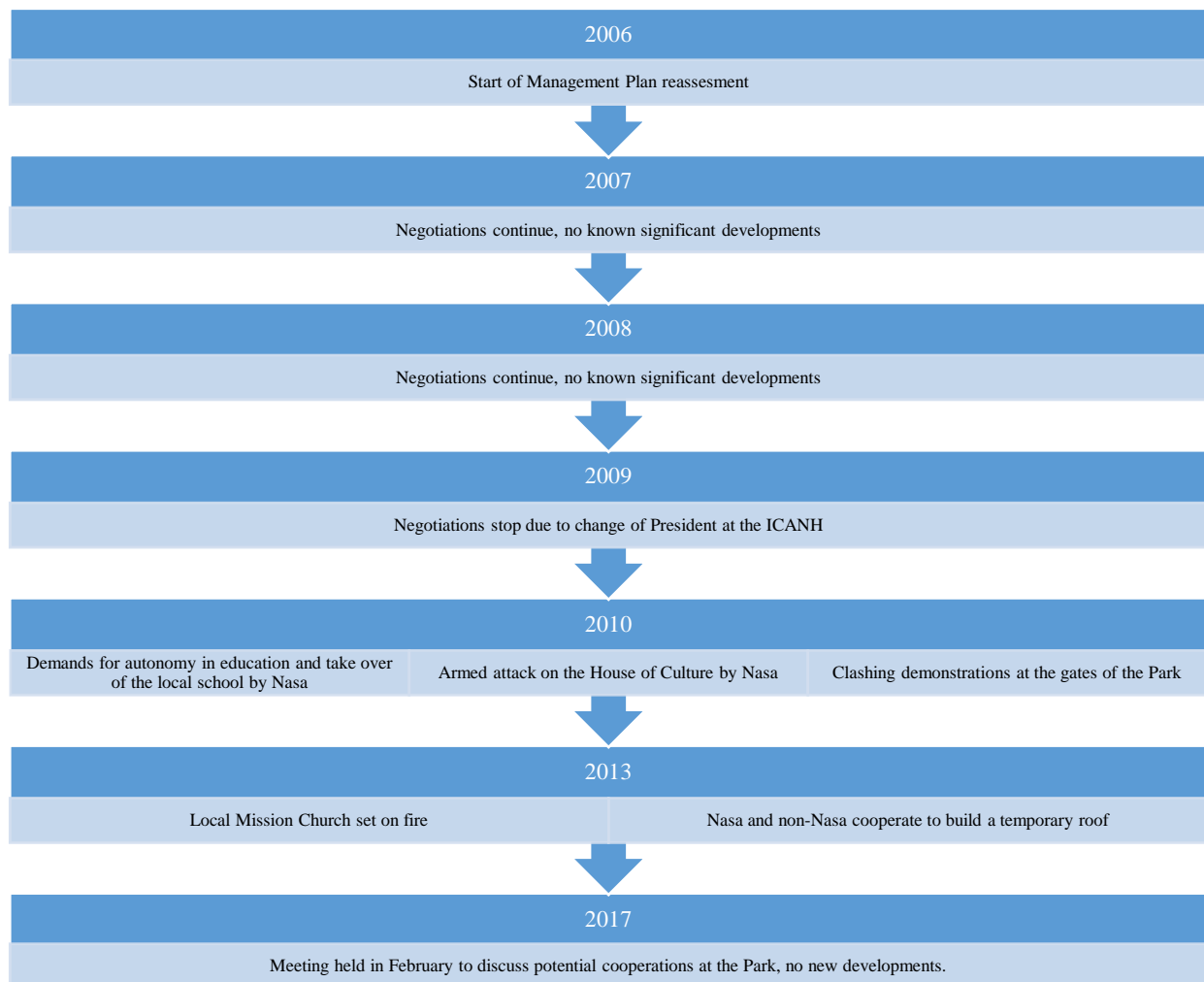


Figure 6: As seen in the timeline, the negotiations around the management of the Tierradentro Archaeological site proceeded parallel to escalating tensions between the Nasa and non-Nasa community members. The slow pace of negotiations is due to the difficulties in communication between ICANH headquarters in Bogotá and the Cabildo members in San Andrés de Pisimbalá. Moreover, the yearly turnover of Nasa Cabildo members as well as their numerous local responsibilities impact the pace and efficiency of communication.

Since 2006, negotiations between the Cabildo Nasa, the ICANH, and Park officials began with a series of proposals being exchanged by correspondence and consultation meetings scheduled. Unfortunately, these negotiations ceased in 2009; when, before reaching conclusive terms for the Park's management, both parties failed to produce a mutual management strategy as both the Governor of the Nasa Cabildo of San Andrés and the ICANH President were replaced by individuals who adopted new priorities for their respective organizations. Consequently, the Management Plan remains undetermined and unpublished, meaning that a main requirement

for World Heritage listing is not being fulfilled. The Park operates on a need to go basis, with a short-term management structure.²⁴ Currently a draft is being worked on by the ICANH, yet community consultation has not been pursued and the Park remains disputed between the different actors and their priorities.

This chain of events reflects the territorial and cultural clashes between Nasa and non-Nasa that have included a violent altercation at the Cultural House of San Andrés de Pisimbalá on New Year's Eve of 2010, and the burning of the local parish church in 2013 (Figure 7).²⁵ However, in



Figure 7: Mission Church of San Andrés de Pisimbalá, with repairs after it was set ablaze in 2013.

Source: Author, 2016

relation to the Archaeological Park the conflict culminated on May 31st of 2010 with an organized march from the town of San Andrés to the gates of the Archaeological Park. The march clashed with a group of other residents that had set up a barricade in front of the Park to prevent the rumored take-over of the Park by the demonstrators. Consequently, as part of the rise in Nasa resistance in the Tierradentro region the Archaeological Park has become a target of and pawn in political processes, vocalization of indigenous rights to self-governance, and indigenous cultural survival.

Presently, the gap in dialogues between the actors that perceive and shape the heritage at Tierradentro has made the Archaeological Park a site of contention between the local self-governing Nasa Cabildo and the ICANH.²⁶ Gaps of cultural priorities, self-governance, territorial jurisdiction, site management, and historical narratives are some of the themes that

²⁴ Administrator of the Tierradentro Archaeological Park, Interview with Tierradentro Head Administrator, June 28, 2016.

²⁵ It was after the burning of the church that the demonstrations of conflict ceased, but the tensions remain.

²⁶ For a detailed explanation of the Nasa administrative structure, please see “The Nasa Administrative Structure” in the Glossary.

emerge from the current dispute and opposition and they have impeded the creation of a cooperative Management Plan for the Tierradentro Archaeological Park. Thus, the Park is a site of controversy among actors surrounding the concept of heritage, from it the actions of actors will be described in the following chapters.

Chapter 2: Concepts of Heritage in Colombia

The main theories of heritage as a process of construction are discussed in this chapter. They are key to contextualizing the structure of the World Heritage Chain as they illustrate how heritage is not an intrinsic value, but a series of actions: identifying, selecting, and narrating that which goes into the transformation of a setting into heritage. Thus, through these actions actors relate to each other, express themselves, and form the controversies of heritage at the Tierradentro Archaeological Park.

The three main levels of heritage definitions are: first, the UNESCO definition, as expressed by its official Conventions and Declarations; this is closely tied to the second, Colombia's definition of heritage as expressed in its 1991 Constitution - Archaeological Heritage is specified by the Colombian Institute of Anthropology and History (ICANH). The third is the application of this heritage framework at the local context, among the indigenous Nasa and other residents of San Andrés de Pisimbalá, and the values they project as corresponding, but not quite being heritage. These different definitions of heritage constitute and are articulated throughout the multi-level World Heritage chain.²⁷ Thus, it is important to reiterate that heritage as a value and concept does not stem from the Nasa belief system, it is not a value traditional in the relationship of the Nasa to their past. This is not to say they do not understand or value it presently, but confronting the assumption of heritage's intrinsic-ness facilitates understanding why resistance to heritage as a structure and value begins.

²⁷ As Viveiros de Castro presents, groups often use the same term but think and refer to different notions through it. See, Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, "Perspectival Anthropology and the Method of Controlled Equivocation," *Tipiti: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America* 2, no. 1 (June 1, 2004): 4–5, <http://digitalcommons.trinity.edu/tipiti/vol2/iss1/1>.

2.1 UNESCO Heritage in Colombia

UNESCO connects different States, providing a forum for communication and cooperation through which the Organization sets norms and examples for the States to implement through their governmental and legislative frameworks. It is revealing to consider UNESCO's illustration of a global heritage, "World Heritage sites belong to all peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory they are located."²⁸ Following this definition, the UNESCO 1972 World Heritage Convention's key role is setting standards to be interpreted by States who have accepted the Convention, and the World Heritage Committee supports the implementation of the Convention and the communication of priorities between States. Under the UNESCO World Heritage label, the national definition of heritage is the one represented internationally when discussing a site as World Heritage. UNESCO defines heritage as, "our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations. Our cultural and natural heritage are both irreplaceable sources of life and inspiration."²⁹ Significantly, Colombia's definition of heritage has been informed by the international definition shaped by UNESCO and its instruments.³⁰

The UNESCO definition reflects the ideals of the "Authorized Heritage Discourse" (AHD) presented by heritage scholar, Laura Jane Smith.³¹ AHD operates by illustrating who is a legitimate spokesperson for the *past*. Heritage is constructed by assigning actors whose expertise and opinion legitimizes the control of the past. Smith discusses the importance of

²⁸ UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "World Heritage," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, accessed April 18, 2017, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/about/>.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Such as the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972), the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Properties in the event of Armed conflict (1964), and the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003). These Conventions are just some examples of the many instruments UNESCO generates through its multi-national structure. They demonstrate that heritage is a widely applicable category, to sites and practices identified by heritage professionals, academics and communities.

³¹ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 29.

initially approaching heritage through the term of “past” since it is a more abstract concept that disengages itself from the emotional implications of heritage.³² Heritage as a term does not just carry its historical luggage but the weight of being politically loaded, up for debate, and connected to a present community. Through AHD the “past” is understood as something intrinsic, something that is always there, while heritage is something that is constructed.³³ Therefore, UNESCO is part of this heritage construction process, being the foundation for processes of the AHD.

The Colombian Anthropologist Cristóbal Gnecco discusses the construction of heritage and the invention of authenticity in his article “Obsesión por las Ruinas” through his discussion of the Qhapac Ñan World Heritage ancient Inca road system.³⁴ According to Gnecco, ruins, like the Qhapac Ñan (or in this case the hypogea of Tierradentro), are points of contact for the corporal, present world with history.³⁵ Gnecco’s concept can be related to Smith’s theory that the “past” is processed and legitimized by individuals through discourses of heritage.³⁶ Thus, the ruins of Tierradentro are made “ruins”, the tombs are transformed into heritage through the meanings of heritage attributed to them by UNESCO/ Colombian representatives of the AHD. In other words, the recognition makes heritage, it is not an intrinsic quality and this recognition comes about through the agency of actors and the structures of AHD.

The presented theories of the past’s employment to build up heritage by actions such as drafting of Management Plan documents, or World Heritage site inscriptions and lists are directly connected to Willem Willems’ definition of heritage as “the use of the past in the present...deliberately created”.³⁷ Therefore, as Smith points out the “past” when digested and

³² Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 29–30.

³³ Ibid., 31.

³⁴ Gnecco, “Obsesión Por Las Ruinas...y La Ruina Del Qhapaq Ñan.”

³⁵ Ibid., 55.

³⁶ Ibid., 56.

³⁷ Willem J.H Willems, “The Future of World Heritage and the Emergence of Transnational Heritage Regimes,” *Heritage & Society* 7, no. 2 (November 2014): 107.

presented through the role and actions of “stewards of the past” who produce knowledge used by the State, is at the foundation of what becomes the heritage.³⁸ This is achieved by the State being the intermediary that has international recognition as well as UNESCO sanction over the governance of cultural and heritage processes within its borders. These stewards are archaeologists, historians, architects, anthropologists and ethnographers.³⁹ Their research and expertise about history, culture, and cultural processes informs the creation of identities, which are then accepted and filtered by the State to be adopted as national culture and presented internationally.⁴⁰ AHD and any form of heritage understanding as a bounded and manageable site is constructed by individuals and collectives, and it is used to emphasize and reveal links of inheritance and connection between communities and their past.

2.2 Archaeological Heritage in Colombia

Colombian Heritage is defined in its Constitution to be under the care of the State, shared by all citizens, it is that which makes up the Colombian identity and is owned by the Nation.⁴¹ The notion that heritage is something in which all citizens have a responsibility but whose care is solely under the State was discussed at the National Museum’s panel “De quien es el Patrimonio?” (translated to “To whom belongs Heritage”).⁴² This colloquium was organized by the Ministry of Culture through the National Museum and the ICANH in 2014, it explored entitlement and access-rights to heritage. A talk by heritage expert Maria Luisa Cerrillos gave a brief presentation about an individual’s inalienable rights to what societies have recognized

³⁸ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 30.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 31.

⁴¹ Republica de Colombia, “Constitucion Politica de Colombia 1991,” § 72 (1991), https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Colombia_2015?lang=en. (El patrimonio cultural de la Nación está bajo la protección del Estado. El patrimonio arqueológico y otros bienes culturales que conforman la identidad nacional, pertenecen a la Nación y son inalienables, inembargables e imprescriptibles. La ley establecerá los mecanismos para readquirirlos cuando se encuentren en manos de particulares y reglamentará los derechos especiales que pudieran tener los grupos étnicos asentados en territorios de riqueza arqueológica.)

⁴² Ministerio de Cultura, ¿De Quien Es El Patrimonio?, accessed April 18, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I5bHKhE7d2M&t=11171s>.

and labeled as World Heritage.⁴³ Her rationale reflects Colombia's national attitude toward heritage as a shared good/value between all its multi-cultural citizens. This conception was the topic of discussion under the circumstance in which the Yanacona peoples of San Agustín refused to let the national cultural authorities take twenty statues from their original site at the San Agustín Archaeological Park to the National Museum in Bogotá for an exhibition.⁴⁴

The regard of heritage as a shared value that belongs to everyone at the national and global scale is problematic for several reasons: it promotes the idea of a shared experience under the pretense of national history and identity, it negates certain experiences and memories in the national representation, it simplifies complex processes and histories for the purpose of explaining a particular tradition as "Colombian", and it disregards local-level understandings of ownership and territoriality of said heritage. I elaborate on each of these issues below.

During the colloquium, Maria Luisa Cerrillos illustrated how heritage is knowledge, and as per United Nations framework knowledge is a right. It is no one's property and thus, heritage being knowledge, is not one person's or group's, it is a right to which humans must have access to. She further discusses that heritage has no proprietors, but heralds.⁴⁵ The heralds of heritage do not own it, instead they have more obligations toward this heritage (preservation/ safe guarding) as they live and interact with it regularly. Is it then part of their obligations to ensure that everyone (in a global sense) have access to it?

As a National Archaeological and World Heritage site, the Tierradentro Park is protected under various national laws and managed by the ICANH. In the case of archaeological sites in indigenous territories the most prominent laws in Colombia are Law 1185 of 2008 and Law 21

⁴³ Ministerio de Cultura, ¿De Quien Es El Patrimonio?.

⁴⁴ "Cultural Politics in Colombia: Whose Statues? | The Economist," accessed May 28, 2017, <http://www.economist.com/news/americas/21591197-exhibition-mistrust-whose-statues>.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

of 1991. Law 1185 outlines the archaeological, intangible, and natural heritage guidelines in the country as well as their regulating bodies; while Law 21 of 1991 was drafted in response to ILO Treaty 169 of 1989.⁴⁶ Law 21 elaborates the relations of the government with indigenous peoples. More specifically Law 21's Article 6 establishes the necessary consultation of indigenous representative bodies by the State's bodies when taking legislative or administrative decisions that will affect them. Moreover, Article 7.1 outlines the legal right of indigenous peoples to decide their own priorities and participate in matters of development in territorial and cultural aspects that can affect them directly.⁴⁷ It is however, the National Constitution of 1991 that scaffolds the government-indigenous relations, and outlines the premises of National Heritage.

Article 72 of the Colombian 1991 Constitution defines Archaeological Heritage in the country as the remnants of past societies, which now belong to the Nation and stipulates the need to regulate the special rights that the Nasa, as an ethnic group, may enjoy in relation to the territory.⁴⁸ This means connecting the rhetoric of the Constitutions to Law 21 of 1991 in its outlining the legal necessity of indigenous consultation and participation in administrative and legislative decision that affect them.

Moreover, the Constitutional definition of heritage is reiterated in the institutional discourse of the National Museum of Colombia and by the ICANH which more explicitly presents archaeological heritage as:

... the vestiges of peoples who lived in past times. Pre-Hispanic objects, ancient inhabited areas, fields of cultivation, paths, cemeteries, animal and vegetable remains, rock art are all archaeological heritage as well. The remains of colonial

⁴⁶ Gobierno Nacional Republica de Colombia, "Ley 1185 de 2008 Que Modifica La Ley 397 de 1997," Pub. L. No. 1185 (2008), <http://www.icanh.gov.co/?idcategoria=2091>; Gobierno Nacional Republica de Colombia, "Ley 21 de 1991," (1991), <http://www.mininterior.gov.co/la-institucion/normatividad/ley-21-de-1991>.

⁴⁷ Gobierno Nacional Republica de Colombia, "Ley 21 de 1991," Pub. L. No. 21, § 6, 7.1, 1 (1991), <http://www.mininterior.gov.co/la-institucion/normatividad/ley-21-de-1991>.

⁴⁸ Republica de Colombia, Constitucion Politica de Colombia 1991, § 72.

and republican times, and even more recent times are also archaeological heritage [...] Colombian archaeological heritage belongs to the Nation: every single Colombian has rights and responsibilities towards it.⁴⁹

With these definitions shaping the narratives presented at any of the heritage sites of Colombia, the communities inhabiting the areas are not referred to in relation to archaeological heritage. This oversight is a testament to the limited consideration communities grounded in their territories and with deep connections to what is recognized as archaeological heritage. Within the National Constitution, indigenous peoples are presented as key groups in the multiculturalism of the country, with their own cultural, linguistic, and territorial rights.⁵⁰ There, the communities and their divergent cultures are named as part of the identity of the Nation. Nevertheless, in practice the legal guidelines have not been followed at Tierradentro and have thus led to the rightful challenging of the ICANH's approach to the management plan building without community input.

The dialogue between the UNESCO and Colombian State definitions of heritage is a balanced one. A form of trickle down understanding of definitions facilitated by the reality of State responsibility over the heritage within its bounded territory. Thus, whatever World Heritage exists within the National Territory is the responsibility of the State while belonging, in spirit, to all humanity. UNESCO illustrates this and Colombia legalizes it in its Constitution. However, gaps of representation and misconceptions occur at the local level through the imposed heritage structures. One such gap is the confusion over what the UNESCO World Heritage listing applies to, with people in the region promoting it as a listing of the Tierradentro region instead of just a recognition afforded to the hypogea and their related elements.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Museo del Oro, "Patrimonio Arqueológico Colombiano," Banco de La Republica, accessed April 18, 2017, <http://www.banrepcultural.org/museo-del-oro/patrimonio-arqueologico/patrimonio-arqueologico-colombiano>.

⁵⁰ Republica de Colombia, "Constitucion Politica de Colombia 1991," § 63, 72 (1991), <http://pdpa.georgetown.edu/Constitutions/Colombia/colombia91.pdf>; Gobierno Nacional Republica de Colombia, "Ley 21 de 1991," Pub. L. No. 21, § 7.1, 1 (1991), <http://www.mininterior.gov.co/la-institucion/normatividad/ley-21-de-1991>.

⁵¹ Ex-Nasa Governor, Interview with Ex-Nasa Governor, July 28, 2016.

When these misunderstandings are explored further, the key contradiction of heritage emerges. Culture and history, being the precursors to heritage and so closely linked to individual and group identities, are processes that do not lend themselves so abstractly to the UNESCO ideal of a common and shared World Heritage. Therefore, at the Colombian level diverging views of history should not be bypassed and unrepresented. Instead, their consultation and inclusion at heritage sites is demanded by local communities and could contribute to more participative processes that would ring truer if heritage structures are to be justified as “knowledge.”

2.3 Nasa Territory, History, and Ancestry

Heritage as a value does not originate from a Nasa system of values or beliefs. It is a foreign structure set in Nasa territory and constructed in part through elements of Nasa history and culture to build the narrative of Colombian National Heritage. One way in which this can be discussed is by comparing the UNESCO conception of time, into which heritage fits, and the Nasa conception of time. UNESCO defines heritage as elements or practices coming from a past conceptualized in a linear arrangement of time divided into past-present-future. This understanding of time is not a concept that originates from the Nasa’s own culture, belief and value systems. The Nasa concept of time is that occurrences follow a spiral pattern where the past seeps into the present and future.⁵² Moreover, the Nasa stress ancestry and territory as elements linking them to their history and shaping their culture. These are aspects of their cultural system that are conceptualized through the Nasa’s own understanding of time and hold strong spiritual connotations. Ancestry, territory, and the sacred are some of the key points of

⁵² Joanne Rappaport, *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes*. (Cambridge, Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 2.

contention by the Nasa Cabildo of San Andrés de Pisimbalá against the legalized (yet perhaps illegitimate) claiming of their territory that contains heritage by the Colombian State.⁵³

In Nasa cosmology things do not happen in an isolated sphere of ‘past’ or isolated from each other, but they meet and convolute, where one event is loaded with other events.⁵⁴ Importantly, Nasa conception of time and history is different from the UNESCO approach. Unlike the linear historical tradition and AHD approach, the Nasa history-telling tradition jumps through different events and connects different times without tying them to a specific “past.” Importantly, nowhere in their understanding of their culture, ancestors, and beliefs is a sense that these are global and belong to all peoples. Thus, when in 1995 part of their territory and sacred sites were included in the World Heritage list as the Tierradentro Archaeological Park through the agency of the Colombian State and brokerage of heritage experts, it caused a clash of understandings of cultural priorities. This has evolved into the Nasa challenge and opposition to the heritage management in their territory. Since heritage is prioritized, it has left very little room for the representation of the Nasa’s relationship to their territory and the significance of the sites in their cultural tradition in the space of the Archaeological Park.

Sharon McDonald touches on the issue of differing memory narratives, and thus conceptions of heritage, in her book *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today*. Although the book examines a European context, issues of diversity, group memory, and memory possession are equally applicable to the Colombian context. In it McDonald illustrates the “variations” of Memory from the street-level, local, national, continental. Her point can be extended to heritage, illuminating that heritage is not a one-formula system but that much like memory, it

⁵³ Cristóbal Gnecco, “Meeting with Students of the Original Languages Masters at the indigenous University” (Espacio de aprendizaje para cambios a nivel de la comunidad, Segovia, Cauca, June 27, 2016).

⁵⁴ Rappaport, *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes*, 2, 9, 11.

too has variations. Effectively, these variations must be recognized and represented.⁵⁵ McDonald States, “recognizing them [variations]- and finding better means of doing so- can also provide a basis for improved understanding of conflicts and misunderstandings.”⁵⁶ Thus, the recognition of and representation of varied heritages and constructed meanings is one with potential to yield fruitful dialogue, the type of “dialogic forms of encounter” that Stevenson calls for in the pursuit of multiculturalism. Both these approaches call for structures of understanding between the different actors and communities that construct heritages.

Heritage can be perceived to be “everyone’s” but then the different actors who have formed this heritage and safe-guarded it must be recognized, with their memory represented. In order for heritage to be mobilized as a right, like Cerrillos does in her approach at the ICANH’s colloquium, then variations of memory must be represented. Dialogues of memory can be created through representations that do not favor solely the Colombian narrative of a nation emergent from colonialism, but Colombia as a place where certain communities have been living as indigenous nations with strong cultural identities, that are different but now a part of the multi-cultural country Colombia recognizes itself to be. Here, finally discussion reaches the museums’ key role in how these narratives are portrayed and how national narratives are constructed while excluding processes of meaning relevant to indigenous minorities.

2.4 Closing remarks

There are several aspects of UNESCO’s definition and its implications that directly and indirectly shape the conditions for the formation of heritage in Colombia. Firstly, the understanding of heritage as remnants or practices from the past that we have today and must protect for the future is what leads to the implementation of UNESCO Convention Norms in

⁵⁵ Sharon McDonald, *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today* (London ; New York : Routledge, 2013., 2013), 3.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

the Colombian legal system and Constitution. Secondly, the notion that heritage belongs to all is adopted and propagated by the State and its subsidiary heritage institutions. The dynamic created is one where anything identified as heritage belongs to the Nation, whilst all citizens of Colombia have a responsibility, and through this, an understood ownership of the heritage.

Importantly, a clash of discourses emerges around the notion of heritage “irrespective of the territory” since this understanding of heritage deterritorializes a site.⁵⁷ The local attachments and claims are disentangled for the perceived benefit of a global belonging and celebration of the heritage. Nevertheless, this approach clashes with the Nasa understanding of their culture grounded in and dependent on the territory. The move to symbolically disconnect a site from territory through World Heritage disregards the importance of Territory and culture as recognized by indigenous peoples. Thus, the community and a site’s sense of place are important factors connected to indigenous territorial values and cultural priorities. As will be further discussed, UNESCO places emphasis on the community as the heralds of heritage but a gap in the UNESCO ideals and national heritage framework exists when considering the extent to which communities, in particular indigenous groups, are consulted and allowed participation in the design of heritage management and legislation.

When inquiring about UNESCO and World Heritage activities with the community, I was informed that no initial consultation or information sessions were conducted with the general community leading up to the UNESCO listing application.⁵⁸ This is problematic in that, if heritage is not approached as a dialogue or education opportunity the benefits for the population are minimal, and their value systems, historical narratives, and cultural priorities remain divorced from an imposed heritage system. Moreover, in the case of the Tierradentro

⁵⁷ UNESCO World Heritage Centre, “World Heritage,” *UNESCO World Heritage Centre*, accessed May 28, 2017, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/about/>.

⁵⁸ Administrator of the Tierradentro Archaeological Park, Interview with Tierradentro Head Administrator.

Archaeological Park, community consultation is key and a legal matter as the Nasa indigenous community have a right, both nationally and internationally to be consulted and engaged in processes that seep into their territorial governance.

Through the dynamic at Tierradentro, a crucial contradiction in heritage discourse emerges when answering the question: Who defines heritage? UNESCO's stance on the role of the community in heritage management and presentation is one of prioritizing the community.⁵⁹ At the World Heritage General Meeting of 2007 "Communities" were added as the fifth 'C' for the Strategic Objectives, along with 'credibility, conservation, capacity building, communication.'⁶⁰ The decision was taken in direct connection to efforts of increasing the involvement of "indigenous, traditional and local communities."⁶¹ However, solutions remain in the realm of policy recommendations without any clear and solid framework to implement and monitor community participation at heritage properties.

A conflict emerges as consequence of this internal contradiction.⁶² In practice, heritage can become a means towards territorial dispossession of the community. This is seen in the case of the Nasa reservation of Tierradentro, out of whose territory the Tierradentro Archaeological Park was claimed by the government to safeguard it through the structure of its legal and constitutional system. Considering, the UNESCO definition of heritage applies "irrespective of the territory" a schism of priorities emerges when a group such as the Nasa, for whom "Territory is Life" and whose culture, history, and tradition is grounded on the Territory, is told that part of their traditional territory is now heritage. The current UNESCO heritage structure is beneficial in that it outlines norms for protection and value of historical sites, but in its

⁵⁹ UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "UNESCO World Heritage Centre - Decision - 31 COM 13B," *UNESCO World Heritage Centre*, accessed May 18, 2017, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/decisions/5197>.

⁶⁰ Tumu te Heu Heu, Merata Kawharu, and R. Ariihau Tuheiava, "World Heritage and Indigeniety," *World Heritage*, February 2012, 10.

⁶¹ Ibid.

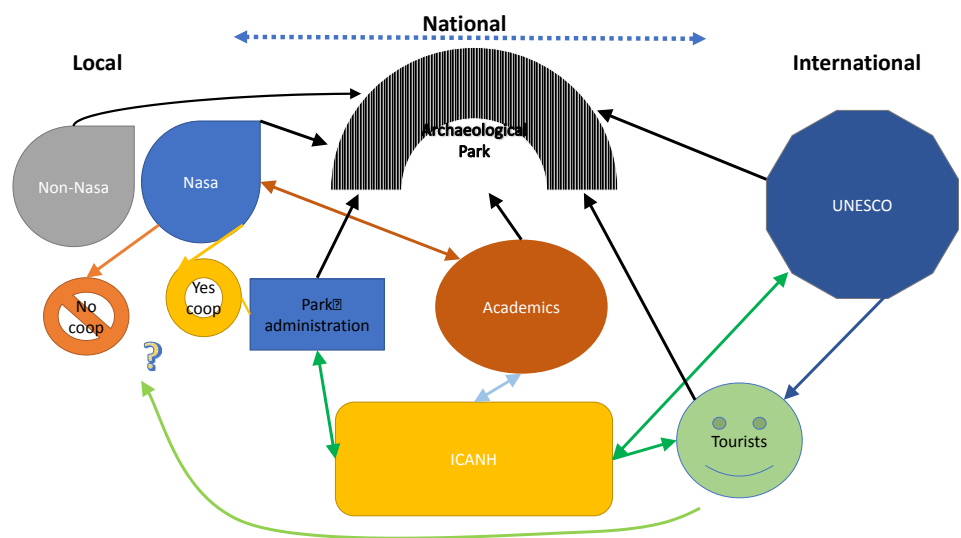
⁶² Ibid.

assignment of heritage irrespective of territory it clashes and alienates the Nasa links between the locality of their culture and inalienability of their territory. These structures are the foundations upon which the actions by the actors clash around the Tierradentro Archaeological Park and its constructed meanings.

Chapter 3: Controversies of the World Heritage Chain

The World Heritage Chain is made up of connections between international, national, and local actors created through the international heritage structure and the instruments that inform its governance. It is a chain that follows the UNESCO framework of World Heritage, where cultural aspects, structures or practices are recognized to give a definition to a certain community. Consequently, it is a series of connections and contradictions that allows the researcher to follow the actors, to learn from their formations and priorities, to compare their discourses, to see how they have managed their collectiveness and their definitions against others while being subject to internal contradictions as well.⁶³ Therefore, Actors and Actor clusters are created through performative actions to themselves and the others.⁶⁴ As a researcher following an Actor-Network approach to mapping and reassembling the connections mobilized by actors in the World Heritage Chain, I will not explain the boundaries through which the actors and objects relate or separate from each other. Instead, here I follow the controversies in the actors' mobilizations and interactions to explore how they relate to themselves, to each other, and to the Tierradentro Archaeological Park.

Figure 8: Map of the World Heritage Chain. The shown actors are some of the ones mentioned in the paragraphs below. The map shows the relationships formed between them, with the arrowheads showing the exchange or flow of actors and information from one cluster to the other. Notably, the Nasa are split in their outlook towards heritage structures, represented by the "No co-op" and "Yes co-op". The dotted line above the map illustrates the three levels of heritage governance that form the World Heritage Chain.



⁶³ Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, 12.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 34.

3.1 Controversy of World Heritage as a Shared Value

The UNESCO World Heritage Convention and its affiliated governance bodies follow a definition of World Heritage as shared by all peoples around the globe.⁶⁵ In turn, the State plays 'middle-man' holding much of the power and responsibility in the successful implementation of heritage norms and the management of sites within the State's territory identified as World Heritage. The State's consequent heritage legislation and management structures are embedded into local structures and a key point of interactions between local actors and national heritage management emerges in this process of maintaining the perceived Outstanding Universal Value of a site, such as the Tierradentro Archaeological Park. Consequently, actors at these three levels are mediators of heritage and the clashing values that interact with it.

The Tierradentro region and the ancient tombs within it are subject to a series of recognitions by different groups. Recognized as an inaccessible land by the Conquistadors and representatives of the early Colombian State in the 18th century, recognized as ancestral territory and sacred sites by the Nasa, recognized as archaeological sites by researchers and the contemporary Colombian State, and recognized as a World Heritage site by Colombia and the international community grouped in UNESCO's World Heritage Committee. Yet, this last recognition of World Heritage was not carried out with the consultation of the local community. As explained by the Park's administrator, the original listing did not include efforts of community consultation for the merit of World Heritage and the sharing of concerns and potential impacts the listing would have on the site.⁶⁶ Despite and due to this, 27 years after the Tierradentro Archaeological Park's World Heritage listing misconceptions still exist about what exactly the World Heritage value means and what it includes. Some people in the Park's

⁶⁵ UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "World Heritage," *UNESCO World Heritage Centre*, accessed May 28, 2017, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/about/>.

⁶⁶ Administrator of the Tierradentro Archaeological Park, Interview with Tierradentro Head Administrator, June 28, 2016.

surrounding towns interpret it to be a recognition of the region as World Heritage, not understanding that the listing is limited to the Park itself, more specifically to the hypogea and statues of the Park.⁶⁷

Thus, through the ICANH's decision to propose the Tierradentro Archaeological Park for inscription in the UNESCO World Heritage list, and the listing's interaction with the pre-existing values of the site as sacred and territory of the Nasa, new understandings of the area's importance have emerged and clashed with each other. The Nasa have adopted the heritage value, while holding on to their perceptions of the sacred at the tombs. Through this, concerns for managing the heritage and maintaining the sacred are vocalized by the Nasa. Some Nasa see the benefit of cooperating with State structures of heritage management like the ICANH or the Park administration. Meanwhile others are exasperated of a communication that does not fully accept their demands to manage the Park and do not wish to pursue discussions of co-management with the risk of following more drastic actions. Such risks are seen in the organized march in 2010 by certain Nasa to the gates of the Park where they clashed with others from the town who wanted to prevent any conflict at the Park.

The values of territory and sacredness held by the land and hypogea in Nasa cosmology are engrained in the land and held to be exclusive to the Nasa. Thus, when the overarching value of World Heritage is projected unto the site, the hypogea become actors of controversy containing the local and the global, values which do not correspond with each other in each group's effort to define itself and the hypogea as Nasa, or Colombian, or World Heritage. Through this performance of designation, the controversy of World Heritage as a shared value is evident at the Tierradentro Park where the Nasa are split in their outlook towards heritage

⁶⁷ Ex-Nasa Governor, Interview with Ex-Nasa Governor, July 28, 2016.

management structures, the State adopts local aspects as National image and presents them to the World Heritage Committee for inclusion in the pantheon of global heritage.

3.2 Controversy of the Nasa and the Colombian

Colombia's diversity in multiculturalism is key to its national identity and is a primary focus of its touristic appeal. The 1991 Colombian Constitution defines the country as a Multicultural State, and illustrates ways in which multiculturalism is provided for under Colombian law.⁶⁸ The fact of acknowledging national multiculturalism is beneficial in that it discredits the notion of a sole and primordial culture, it opens citizenship to a diverse range of communities and individuals. Thus, the Nasa are Colombian by being and despite being an indigenous community. From the Nasa point of view Colombian-ness is an identifier that has been held from the late 19th century as Manuel Quintin Lame, the Nasa thinker and activist talks about when he describes himself and his people as Nasa and as Colombian.⁶⁹ The existence of a separate Nasa culture within a Colombian Multicultural structure leads to a contradiction of sectioned off identities and the subsequent controversies that have clashed the Nasa and the non-Nasa identities at San Andrés de Pisimbalá. As Bruno Latour theorizes, group boundaries are uncertain⁷⁰ - however, the Nasa as an indigenous community group themselves, recognizing their history and presence in their territory. Through this grouping a differentiation against the rest of Colombians is pronounced.

Meanwhile, parts of their history and culture are represented as Colombian. This can be seen at the National Gold Museum in Bogotá, where archaeological finds from all around the country and originating from indigenous groups are displayed as the greatest treasures of the

⁶⁸ Republica de Colombia, "Constitucion Political de Colombia 1991," § 72 (1991), https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Colombia_2015?lang=en.

⁶⁹ See Appendices, Manuel Quintin Lame.

⁷⁰ Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, 11.

Nation and identifiers of Colombian heritage. The indigenous origins of the pieces are explained at the museum by referencing the territories where the pieces came from, and the indigenous peoples that crafted them. However, there are instances where the indigenous group that links itself to a region and consequently to an artefact found in that region is not identified. Such is the topic of Juan Carlos Piñacue's reflection on his experience as a Nasa person at the Gold Museum, where indigenous creations are displayed as Colombian and the indigenous groups that still live within their territories are denied their own space within the National representation.⁷¹

A second performance in which contradictions between Nasa and Colombian are mobilized is the presence of Nasa guards in the Tierradentro Archaeological Park. The Tierradentro Archaeological Park is managed by an administrative manager, the Park's surveillance and activities are supported by around 8 guards who are all members of the Nasa reservation of San Andrés. This employment strategy has been in place for over 20 years as a means to engage community members and provide work for the locals. The Nasa Park guards rotate among the different sections of the Park and they are invested in the Park's maintenance and safeguarding of the hypogea and statuary. However, the guards themselves are part of the Nasa community that is divided in their relationship to a Colombian heritage structure. They are complicit in the State's actions within their territories, a point of challenge by the Nasa Cabildo that seeks to manage the area as part of their self-governance structures. Thus, the Nasa employed as guards are in-between these group affiliations, part of the Nasa but part of those Nasa who have reshaped the conceptions of the region to fit the heritage structure at Tierradentro. This is the controversy of a Nasa identity and the Colombian one.

⁷¹ Les Field and Cristóbal Gnecco, "Museo Del Oro: Vinetas," *Revista Colombiana de Antropología* 49, no. 2 (December 2013): 185–93.

3.3 Controversy of Multiculturalism in Colombia

Related to the previous controversy of clashing Nasa and Colombian identities, the discourses around multiculturalism in Colombia involve academic actors, the State structures that define and provide for multiculturalism, and the relevancy of such an understanding at the local level. Academics and researchers are key in the World Heritage Chain since they serve as actors that link the different levels of heritage understanding. Academics explore, produce, and challenge knowledge through their work. Consequently, they are key links in the network of heritage formation as they inform actors of the priorities and conceptions of others through academic interpretation.

The fact that any knowledge of minority and indigenous communities is available to a broader audience is directly tied to the role ethnographers have in providing narratives to explain these communities. Consequently, in explaining cultural traits they influence the State in shaping national identity by rendering a community understandable and digestible. Key members of the academic actors for this discussion are the Nasa and other indigenous academics and researchers who investigate indigenous processes with an insider's perspective. They not only influence other actors through their observations and explanations, but they also use their unique position to voice indigenous community perspectives and priorities. By illustrating the customs, culture, traditions of the communities that make up the Nation, ethnographers, anthropologists, archaeologists, Nasa academics among others are key players in indoctrinating different community identities into a multicultural Colombian identity.⁷²

Multiculturalism as a concept is not without critique. Charles Hale discusses the process of creating the Multi-Cultural State in his article "Does Multi-Culturalism Menace?".⁷³ Hale

⁷² For more on the multicultural State please see Chapter 3.

⁷³ Hale, "Does Multiculturalism Menace?" 485.

tackles the wave of re-indigenization and nationalization of Latin American Countries in the 1990s through the case study of re-indigenization in Guatemala.⁷⁴ He illustrates the way that the State recognized communities and indigenous culture, how it “actively re-constitute[d] them into its own image” is part of a neoliberal cultural project. The notion of multi-culturalism includes indigenous groups in a sanctioned national narrative and provides a “substantive” but limited version of indigenous cultural rights.⁷⁵ David Napier takes this further in his discussion of the challenge of human rights as a globalizing means that necessitates the suppression of human difference. In the context of indigenous rights and the recognition and remuneration of their dispossession he asks, “who can say what others perceive to be a just remuneration [?]... how do we remunerate those who have different value systems [?]”.⁷⁶ Napier’s questions touch on the process by which one dominant group sanctions another. The dominant group imposes narratives and structures which the others must accommodate to and operate within. Such structures are now necessary for the operation of the State through its governmental levels but they interact and can clash with the structures employed among the minority collectives. Thus, the sanctioned indigenous identity is a process through which the State encourages State-subject-formation at a local level. Individuals engage with their local indigenous governance councils, which act as mediators of the State and ideally allow for hyphen indigenous-national identities to be formed.⁷⁷

Furthermore, the sanctioning and induction of indigenous identities into the Colombian image is a necessity that compliments the growth of tourism as a key economic resource in Colombia. Researchers Marie-Laude Guillard and Diana Ojeda explore this in their article “Indígenas

⁷⁴ Hale, “Does Multiculturalism Menace?”, 485-486.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 493.

⁷⁶ A. David Napier, *Making Things Better : A Workbook on Ritual, Cultural Values, and Environmental Behavior* (New York : Oxford University Press, 2013., 2013), 10.

⁷⁷ Hale, “Does Multiculturalism Menace?” 496.

‘auténticos’ y Campesinos ‘verdes’: Los imperativos identitarios del turismo en Colombia”.⁷⁸

Through the consideration of Tierradentro as a site both part of the Nasa reservation but under care and administration of the nation they touch on the point that the indigenous communities and their surroundings are in fact resources that cannot be ignored in the turistification of the area. Then, the multiculturalism of the region is a resource that must be simplified, presented and exploited for tourism. For this to take place, a complacent and “permitted” indigenous peoples are needed.⁷⁹ Consequently, Nasa people and culture, a cultural “other” are accepted and adopted as part of the national identity if when processed and presented they are cooperative with structures for tourism and cultural consumption. Their challenge and resistance impedes this process, and it has created an internal split within the Nasa community with those who see cooperating with the heritage administration as beneficial and those who see it as an exhausted option.

Due to the focus of the research on the local, national, and international relations around Tierradentro the tourists’ role and experience has been consulted through discussions with visitors to the site as they move through the Nasa reservation and the Park. In their movement tourists interact with the locals, leave traces at the Archaeological Park, and carry the knowledge of their experience outside of the region and country’s borders. Thus, they have the potential to influence others to visit the Park and are a priority that shape the management of the Archaeological Park and the businesses that operate in San Andrés de Pisimbalá. In a larger scale, regional tourism strategy has been growing through projects such as the One Village One

⁷⁸ This is dealt with in the context of Colombia’s indigenous individuals and communities who must become complicit to the State’s structures and tourism priorities by commodifying themselves to benefit from any development or resources brought by tourism. and the tourism interests of the country. Guillard and Ojeda, “Indígenas ‘auténticos’ y campesinos ‘verdes’. Los imperativos identitarios del turismo en Colombia.”

⁷⁹ Ibid., 134.

Product initiative started in 2015 that seeks to connect the benefits of the World Heritage listing with the other assets of the region to provide for local producers.⁸⁰

Being a National Archaeological Park, and bearing the UNESCO World Heritage label, Tierradentro is featured on numerous tourist travel guides. Importantly, the location of the Park in a remote and hard to reach location limits the flow of visitors, with peak seasons being January, April, and August.⁸¹ However, the construction of the Via Bolivariana, a highway that will connect Bogotá to Popayán will ease the flow of movement between the country's capital and the south-western part of Colombia. Consequently, tourists at the site will increase, so will their impact on the territory and the demand for tourism amenities. This is a reality that all actors interested in the management and preservation of the site must have as a priority when designing any future strategies for the Park and surrounding area.

In the context of creating identity narratives, such as those employed for Colombian tourism, Nick Stevenson discusses Stuart Hall's theories on identities as being increasingly fragmented, and constructed through language and culture as mediated by institutions.⁸² This is related to Bruno Latour's conception of uncertain group boundaries,⁸³ no single border can be traced between the different actors of the World Heritage Chain. To this Stevenson adds the need for "dialogic forms of encounter", which reply to the demands of others instead of providing the infrastructure that allows limited access and rights, for a successful multiculturalism. Needed for this is the acknowledgement of different systems of making meaning in the plurality of a multicultural context.⁸⁴ For this, Nasa historical narratives must be presented in the history of the region at sites like the museums or visual resources to engage with the local value systems

⁸⁰ Alcaldía de Páez - Cauca, *OVOP TIERRADENTRO CAUCA*, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6VpcTG6EKII>.

⁸¹ Administrator of the Tierradentro Archaeological Park, Interview with Tierradentro Head Administrator.

⁸² Nick Stevenson, *Cultural Citizenship : Cosmopolitan Questions*, Issues in Cultural and Media Studies (Maidenhead, Berkshire : Open University Press, 2003), 25.

⁸³ Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, 11.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 50.

and move past multiculturalism and heritage as imposed abstract norms of globalization but as tools for dialogic encounters at the site.⁸⁵

Thus, the multiculturalism is a forum for construction of a Colombian identity, and part of what is presented to tourists as the diversity and appeal of Colombia. The controversy exists in the extent to which specific cultural groups can express their identities and mobilize their priorities before clashing and leading to conflict with the State's system and turistification of multiculturalism, or as Hale terms it the sanctioned extents of multiculturalism.⁸⁶

3.4 Closing Remarks

The World Heritage Chain links are not direct nor one-directional, strictly top-down or vice-versa. The links are made of several processes, actors and relationships that move back and forth between the different links of the chain. The chain is further morphed when the political, cultural and territorial sovereignty afforded to recognized indigenous peoples is considered parallel to the State, adding processes and actors to the World Heritage Chain. The situation at the Tierradentro Archaeological Park is one involving numerous actors across legislative, operational, and political lines. Their priorities and narratives interact and clash on the topic of the Park's management and presentation. The UNESCO 1972 World Heritage Convention and Committee, the Colombian Institute of Anthropology and History (ICANH) as the national heritage management body, the Nasa Cabildo and community, and the Park's administrators are the main actors communicating and clashing around the conflict.

For this investigation, I want to mention the historical discourse that informs indigenous thinking and resistance today.⁸⁷ It is a history that has interacted with several other factors,

⁸⁵ Ibid., 54.

⁸⁶ Hale, "Does Multiculturalism Menace?," 496.

⁸⁷ See Appendix: Indigenous thinking in the region.

such as the armed guerrilla group violence and the drug trade, to affect the Nasa community's safety, priorities, and influence their relationship with the State; yet, a history that remains largely unrepresented in the Colombian heritage framework.

In this regard, their different discourses and priorities can be observed at the Park's Ethnographic Museum, the Archaeological Museum, and the hypogea. At these highlighted sites, various historical narratives are presented or neglected in the sphere of Colombian heritage. Thus, forming instances of interaction or socialization that lead to the clashes in discourse and cultural priorities; here described and connected by what different actors across the levels of the World Heritage Chain had to say.

Chapter 4: The Nasa at the Museums

As primary sites of contention, and at the focus of this chapter are the Archaeological and Ethnographic Museums of the Tierradentro Archaeological Park. The conception and representation of heritage(s) has a key role in the clash of differing narratives and priorities for community representation within these two museums. Since the museum is an institution of knowledge that frames the value of heritage it has the potential to be a site of inclusion and representation, or the opposite. Complimenting this aspect of heritage formation are the multitude of definitions, priorities and ideals fabricated and expressed by different groups or “communities”. This chapter maps the conflicts of priorities, historical narratives, and representation of the contemporary Nasa in their territory at the Archaeological and Ethnographic Museums of Tierradentro. Thus, bringing the discussion back to the extent of consultation and inclusion of minority cultures at World Heritage sites.

Moreover, *community* is a term central to the construction and mobilization of heritage and a term central to this research. The following chapter attempts to define what constitutes a community and presents the dialogues that influence the discourses around heritage and its representation in the Tierradentro Ethnographic and Archaeological Museums. The chapter considers points of view articulated by Nasa leaders, Nasa scholars, academics, non-scholarly actors, national heritage managers, and museum specialists dealing with the formation and presentation of heritage; tracing the clashes in dialogues around the museum’s walls.

It is necessary to define the term ‘Community’ since any meaning of heritage is based on, filtered by, and mediated by communities. They/we are the licit mediators of a shared World Heritage as per UNESCO. Yet, can the role of communities be simplified as such? For my study, I present Gerard Delanty’s definition of community discussed in Elizabeth Crooke’s “Museums and Community”:

Communities have been based on ethnicity, religion, class or politics; they may be large or small; ‘thin’ or ‘thick’ attachments may underlie them; they may be locally based and globally organized; affirmative or subversive in their relation to the established order; they may be traditional, modern or even postmodern; reactionary and progressive.⁸⁸

This definition highlights the broadness of the term community and its intrinsic political nature. Intrinsic because communities are constituted by different qualifiers such as ethnicity, class, religion, etc. Nonetheless, the self-recognition of members as a “community” does not mean legitimization of said community at the State-level, particularly for indigenous groups whose legitimate indigenous status is dependent on State recognition and legalization. Thus, these factors allow consideration of the political activity and intercultural conflicts at Tierradentro, directly related to the implications for community cohesiveness.

Elizabeth Crooke elaborates that a community is just as much about coming together and unity as it is about division and exclusion.⁸⁹ When this is considered alongside UNESCO’s conviction that through World Heritage, humanity is shaped into a global *community*- then who is included in this community, and who is excluded? UNESCO is ambiguous when defining community as a group that nurtures and maintains cultural practices and transmits their knowledge generationally.⁹⁰ Within its documents UNESCO does not provide a one clear-cut definition of “community”.⁹¹ Thus, this broad definition, or lack thereof, is a way for UNESCO to minimize the realities of exclusion that come when establishing a community.

UNESCO’s broadness in definition can be problematic though, because it assumes that a global recognition of heritage and its significance will act as a form of ‘thin attachment’ that shapes a

⁸⁸ Gerard Delanty in Elizabeth Crooke, “Museums and Community,” in *Companion to Museum Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 172.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 173.

⁹⁰ Diana Baird N’Diaye, “Community in the Context of UNESCO’s Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage” (Asia-Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO, 2006), https://www.accu.or.jp/ich/en/pdf/c2006Expert_NDIAYE.pdf.

⁹¹ I can only speculate that this is due to the multiplicity of actors the organization deals with and the multi-national political processes it must be attuned to.

worldwide community. In fact, UNESCO's broad definition corresponds with Delanty's in acknowledging the diversity of communities, based on geographic, religious, age and other affiliations. Still, it is problematic in its generalization of the 'thin attachment' of heritage that defines community which pushes an already abstract term to new levels of abstraction. As previously discussed, the assumption of heritage as a common shared value native to different cultures and societies does not hold true and is subject to questioning and reconsideration.

Community is formed by self-identifying members as well as individuals who have more than one community affiliation. Thus, just like the actors within the World Heritage Chain, community members are fluid in their position and they react to each other, forming unstable boundaries through mobilization culture and heritage as markers of difference or cohesiveness.

Internationally, indigenous communities have created their own networks of collaboration and support through recognition criteria defined by them. This model is spread from local, regional, national, and international organizations. In Colombia, it can be observed in the structure of the local Cabildo, the network of reservations, and the regional CRIC (Consejo Regional Indigena del Cauca).⁹² Such indigenous networks are present internationally in the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, in numerous non-governmental bodies, and it was even considered at the UNESCO World Heritage Committee level with the short-lived reality of the World Heritage indigenous Peoples Council of Experts (WHIPCOE).⁹³ The national organizations work in dialogue with each other and with the government, and in other occasions with international organizations. Their collective action and grouping of priorities

⁹² For definitions please see the Glossary.

⁹³ Lynn Meskell, "UNESCO and the Fate of the World Heritage Indigenous Peoples Council of Experts (WHIPCOE)," *International Journal of Cultural Property* 20, no. 2 (May 2013): 155.

asserts the representation of indigenous peoples within the national apparatus, an important role in a nation that identifies its multi-culturalism under the umbrella label of “Colombian.”⁹⁴

Article 246 of the Colombian Constitution grants indigenous groups and their leaders’ jurisdictional functions within their territory in accordance with Colombian laws and constitution.⁹⁵ The question of territory is one that necessitates national recognition and definition, and one of interest in an indigenous territory containing archaeological heritage which is understood to be national property. How then are Nasa community self-understandings, histories, and values presented at the museums of Tierradentro?

At Tierradentro, two museums currently greet visitors and tell stories about the archaeological history and culture of the Park. The Archaeological Museum and Ethnographic Museum of Tierradentro are two separate institutions that represent local and regional artefacts, ultimately

placing them as pieces of the larger Colombian context.

The Archaeological Museum is housed in a hacienda style building opposite the entrance of the Park. There, some of the finds from the hypogea and excavations in the area are exhibited. By the entrance of



*Figure 9: Aerial view of the Archaeological Museum (right), and the entrance to the Park and Ethnographic Museum (left).
Source: Author, 2016.*

⁹⁴ See Glossary: Indigenous Life Plan for more.

⁹⁵ Republica de Colombia, “Constitucion Politica de Colombia 1991,” § 246 (1991), https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Colombia_2015?lang=en.

the Park, the Ethnographic Museum is located, it presents the Nasa and their culture to visitors (Figure 9).

Importantly, this ethnographic exhibition is mobilized as one of the ways in which the Nasa are included in the structure and meaning-making of the Park.⁹⁶ Both museums complement the representation of the archaeological significance and cultural importance of the tombs. However, the two exist separately from each other, both physically and in terms of their narrative.

Given the relationship between communities, heritage, and museums there is an identified dilemma when it is acknowledged that museums have responsibilities to their constituent communities.⁹⁷ As Ivan Karp introduces in *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, the following questions must be kept in mind regarding the role of communities in heritage representation and the museum:

- “What happens when one community makes a request that will inevitable oppress another community?”
- “Who actually speaks for a community?”
- “Are all [community] demands equally valid? If not, what procedure should be set in place to adjudicate among them?”⁹⁸

Keeping these questions in mind I add my own:

- What are the community-museum relations that define heritage in Tierradentro?
- How are these local community-museum relations projected to the national level?

My presented research does not answer all of these questions, I present them because they are important when critically approaching the structure and operations of the museums in a multi-cultural setting. In addition to the responsibility of public museums to communities Michael M. Ames States that museums “may express and authenticate the established or official values

⁹⁶ Administrator of the Tierradentro Archaeological Park, Interview with Tierradentro Head Administrator.

⁹⁷ Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven Lavine, *Museums and Communities : The Politics of Public Culture* (Washington : Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 10.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

and images of a society in several ways, *directly*, by promoting and affirming the dominant values, and *indirectly*, by subordinating or rejecting alternate values.”⁹⁹ Karp and Ames’ two strands of the responsibilities and roles of the museum are useful to assess how the museums at Tierradentro respond to community demands, and authenticates or not Nasa culture and history in the territory.

4.1 The Nasa and the Archaeological Museum of Tierradentro

The Archaeological Museum exhibits the material finds from areas in and around the tombs.

The exhibition showcases ceramic vases, there are also reconstructions of primary burials (individual) with human remains, and secondary tombs (the communal hypogea where remains were transferred) (Figures 10 and 11).¹⁰⁰

However, it is also important to focus on the textual narrative rather than just the objects being showcased. The main take-away in the representation and text of the museum is that the archaeological remains at Tierradentro are those of a long-lost culture, “vestiges of human-groups that had settled in the region” but since disappeared.¹⁰¹ This is in line with the definition of archaeological heritage at the national level in



Figure 10: Miniature model of a secondary burial in the Archaeological Museum. Image by Author, 2016.



Figure 11: Displays inside the Archaeological Museum. Image by Author, 2016.

⁹⁹ Michael M. Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes : The Anthropology of Museums* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992), 22.

¹⁰⁰ The exhibition contents are composed of pottery, archaeological findings, and reconstruction. Thus, no human remains are the subject of display.

¹⁰¹ Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia, “Parque Arqueológico Tierradentro,” *ICANH*, April 18, 2017, <http://www.icanh.gov.co/?idcategoria=1234>.

Colombia: archaeology as remnants from a pre-Hispanic past.¹⁰² The remnants are effectively repurposed in the museum to establish the archaeological inheritance of Colombia, and the roots from which part of contemporary Colombian culture derives.

Furthermore, the narrative at the museum reflects the accepted narrative that the Nasa were once occupiers of the region without nuancing what the historical position entails. The notion that the Nasa arrived to the region during the time of the Conquista is rejected by Juan Carlos Piñacue, an anthropologist of Nasa origin, in his position toward the Museo del Oro.¹⁰³ The Museo del Oro is Colombia's most celebrated museum, it presents the gold treasures from around the country presenting them to visitors, domestic and international as centerpieces of Colombian past and heritage. Piñacue confronts this museum as a site that has "given death to the hereditary subjects of the artefacts and reduced the objects to symbolic market fetishes", as well as a site that "misinforms and confuses" in the way it presents the Nasa as 'foreign' to their territory.¹⁰⁴ He stresses that the pieces at the museum, despite having been adopted as symbols of national identity belonging to all and available to all, remain the inheritance of those indigenous peoples who are now part of Colombia. Piñacue traces his experience in this national museum as a Nasa, one of the indigenous individuals whose peoples are the creators of the heritage but not the determiners of its presentation on the stage of the nation.¹⁰⁵ His pointing to the exclusionary narratives and modes of presentation at the Museo del Oro are applicable to the narrative frame constructed at the Archaeological Museum of Tierradentro. In an institution so local, the local Nasa are not connected to the artefacts displayed, even if

¹⁰² Museo del Oro, "Patrimonio Arqueológico Colombiano," Banco de La Republica, accessed April 18, 2017, <http://www.banrepcultural.org/museo-del-oro/patrimonio-arqueologico/patrimonio-arqueologico-colombiano>.

¹⁰³ Field and Gnecco, "Museo Del Oro: Vinetas," 188.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 185, 188.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 186.

these artefacts are considered by the Nasa part of their cultural inheritance from indigenous ancestors.

The focus on the pre-Hispanic is demonstrated in the Archaeological Museum through textual panels that stress the *past*- the no longer extant culture that created the hypogea, the ceramic artefacts, the paintings in the tombs. Thus, the version presented is that a former people's traditions shaped the fabric of Tierradentro's archeological heritage.

Evidently, the national categorization and narrative of the archaeological artefacts in the museums stress the existence of the creators of this heritage in the past-tense. This meaning is shaped through the actions of the academics and professionals that operate within an Authorized Heritage Discourse in Colombia. The presentation of the past and its meanings is monopolized by State actors in order to frame things into the Colombian narrative. These authorized stewards of heritage authorize and legitimize the understanding of the object's symbolic distance from the present while claiming its instrumental role in shaping Colombian identity. Meanwhile, as Piñacue observes, the Nasa (and other indigenous communities) remain at the periphery of presentation. In addition, the content's frame created in the museum is relevant to Karp's second question "Who actually speaks for a community?" since the textual panels speak for the history of the site, but leave Nasa positionality in the territory out of what is said about their territory.¹⁰⁶

Amongst all of this, the Nasa are a pre-Hispanic culture that continues to grow in their ancestral territory and the tombs continue to be sacred in Nasa present-day tradition. Despite this, the way in which they are displayed at the museum and the narrative around them limits public and tourist understanding of the ceramic pots, burial remains, and other burial artefacts as just

¹⁰⁶ Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven Lavine, *Museums and Communities : The Politics of Public Culture* (Washington : Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 10.

archaeological remains. Consequently, the national definition of heritage takes precedence and creates a schism between the cultural practices of today's Nasa population and the Colombian national narrative. In effect, Colombian-Culture as represented by the national cultural and heritage administrative bodies takes precedence, leading to the omission of the Nasa history and relationship to their territory unillustrated at the museum and ignoring their demands for representation in their local context.

4.2 The Nasa and the Ethnographic Museum of Tierradentro

The portrayal of the Nasa of Tierradentro is done at the Ethnographic Museum. The Nasa culture and traditions are the focus of the display and in this regard the Nasa are perceived to have an illustrative position in the narrative of the Park. The Ethnographic Museum is one long room with internal division in which the musical customs, dietary practices, family and household structure, and what generally constitutes the culture of the Nasa is outlined for the visitor (Figure 12).



Figure 12: Example of display at the Ethnographic Museum, Tierradentro.
Source: Cauca Travel, "Inzá," *Cauca Travel*, accessed May 28, 2017,
<http://74.208.185.148:8000/en/lugares/inza/>.

In conversations with the Park's administrator, and with a former Nasa governor during the research visits in the summer of 2016 both commented positively on the representation of the Nasa in the museum.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, they discussed the divisive effect Nasa representation in the museum has on the community. There exists a problematic contrast in the Nasa being in the museum as representatives of their territory and being the museum as an indigenous/ancient culture. Some of the reasons presented for not being portrayed as objects of/in the museum mirror those critiques of the museum as a repository of objects made dead through their divorce with their everyday purpose. Ames discusses this in his "Anthropology of Museums":

Museums place history, nature, and traditional societies under glass, in artificially constructed dioramas and tableaux, thus sanitizing, insulating, plasticizing, and preserving them as attractions and simple lesson aids; by virtue of their location, they are implicitly compared with and subordinated to contemporary established values and definitions of social reality. When we 'museumify' other cultures and our own past, we exercise a conceptual control over them...¹⁰⁸

Therefore, Ames' point about the exertion of conceptual control is important in understanding why the Nasa have demanded co-management of the site and proposed their own forms of representation (as traditional dance and song performances organized by them). Some Nasa and scholars question why they are showcased as a museum-object, why their social reality is "museumified" as an attraction when they are very much a living culture.

Contrastingly, the fact of being in the Ethnographic Museum is articulated as an instance of inclusion for the Nasa as part of the site, a view expressed by the Park Administrator and some of the Nasa guards at the site.¹⁰⁹ Here, I return to the original dilemma presented by Karp - the

¹⁰⁷ Administrator of the Tierradentro Archaeological Park, Interview with Tierradentro Head Administrator; Ex-Nasa Governor, Interview with Ex-Nasa Governor.

¹⁰⁸ Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes*, 23.

¹⁰⁹ Administrator of the Tierradentro Archaeological Park, Interview with Tierradentro Head Administrator.

museum has a social responsibility to local communities, especially if this community is the subject/object of representation.¹¹⁰ How can this contradiction be addressed?

One proposed approach to the previous question is through engagement, consultation, and collaboration with the Nasa community in exhibition and museum development.¹¹¹ Such an approach is also expressed by Ames in his discussion about the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology in Canada. Ames asserts that, “[t]here are many voices, many stories. They do not add up to one consistent view, nor should they, because they represent different people with different interests and experiences. We nevertheless need to listen.”¹¹² Ames continues to warn however, that a museum should not aim to represent the “Native point of view” because it could never do it properly. A museum should focus in presenting its own point of view, recognizing the limitations that its role as a professional institution brings while working in partnership with the museums and cultural organizations of the indigenous peoples.¹¹³

Consequently, the process of consultation and engagement is extremely important if the Nasa are to be showcased in the museum- more so if an equitable multiculturalism is to be practiced in regard to culture and heritage in Colombia. In this view, the ICANH should re-establish communication with the Nasa Cabildo and strengthen relations with Nasa cultural organizations such as the Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca (CRIC). Moreover, the Park’s administration should revisit the Ethnographic Museum’s display in order to nuance the content by expressing some of the limitations of what cannot be properly shown in a museum and

¹¹⁰ Karp, Kreamer, and Lavine, *Museums and Communities*, 10.

¹¹¹ Crooke, “Museums and Community,” 183.

¹¹² Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes*, 57.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 57-58.

expand it by consulting with Nasa professionals and academics about the content of the museum.

4.3 Closing Remarks

The two museums at the Tierradentro Archaeological Park are institutions that echo the national narrative and relationship regarding indigenous peoples in present Colombian territory. Although representative of a narrative of the indigenous as contributors to Colombian heritage and multiculturalism, the museums are also sites with potential for more equal representation and validation of Nasa historical experience, relationship to their territory, important historical figures, and self-conception of their culture.

As discussed, a similar process of one-sided representation and management of Nasa culture under the premise of heritage at the national level has been pointed out by Nasa scholar and anthropologist Juan Carlos Piñacue Achicue in his reflection on the employment of indigenous artefacts, history and culture as foundations of Colombianess in the Museo del Oro of Bogotá. The museum has been criticized for not critically engaging nor addressing the violence of colonial expansion and national establishment that has brought these gold and archaeological remains to be part of the displays of the Nation. Moreover, much like in the ethnographic and Archaeological Museums of Tierradentro, indigenous peoples are an object of nation-hood rather than active shapers of the narrative presented at the Museo del Oro. Piñacue identifies this *creator* but not *consultant* role played by indigenous peoples in the country as stemming from the perception that they have nothing to contribute, or nothing to say on the matter or cultural portrayal because they are not experts of archaeology or museology.¹¹⁴ Clearly, a recurrent problem in the formation and administration of heritage at the local and national

¹¹⁴ Field and Gnecco, “Museo Del Oro: Vinetas,” 188.

levels in Colombia is the lack of consultation with the communities that are recognized as making up the multi-cultural State of Colombia.

Unfortunately, lack of consultation is part of what has defined the AHD processes at the Tierradentro Archaeological Park. This history stems from the lack of community consultation when the site was included on Colombia's Tentative World Heritage list at UNESCO, and then in 1995 when the Archaeological Park was officially listed as World Heritage. There were no attempts to inform the local population of what World Heritage meant.¹¹⁵ This is not to say that means of community inclusion have not been pursued by the Park's administration. So far, methods of community participation include the employment of Nasa individuals as Park rangers and guards, the coordination with Nasa Th'Walas (traditional doctors) to perform their cleansing rituals at the site, and the consultation of them when new shelters were being built for the hypogea on the *Alto del Aguacate*.¹¹⁶ The Ethnographic Museum has also benefited from some community member recommendations for what to display and it features the story of Juan Tama, the Nasa Cacique, for visitors to learn about this part of Nasa history.¹¹⁷ Effectively, these initiatives come from the action and cooperation of the Park's administration and Nasa community members. They are initial steps toward strengthening the cooperation between the two and expanding the narratives presented at the museums.

However, these efforts only touch briefly on the portrayal and representation of the Nasa's history and values at the museums. Even though the UNESCO notion of World Heritage presents it as shared no matter the territoriality of the highlighted site or practice, territoriality is important for groups who have had to face and fight the territorial dispossession of a colonial expansion and the subsequent national indoctrination of lands. If heritage is to have any

¹¹⁵ Administrator of the Tierradentro Archaeological Park, Interview with Tierradentro Head Administrator.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., The Th'Walas helped determine which hypogea merited rain-shelter protection based on the sacred importance of the site. They also performed a cleansing ritual before the construction of the shelter began.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.; Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia, "Parque Arqueológico Tierradentro."

relevancy and weight among the Nasa of Tierradentro its formation must address and dialogue with the Nasa position in the territory and their ancestral links to the sites and the artefacts at the museum.

The diverging understanding of the culture, history and heritage and their values are rarely put to dialogue. This could be achieved through consultation with the Nasa and other residents, their engagement in museum design, and representation of their history and cosmology. Thus far the level of facilitated community participation has been kept to a minimum, perhaps due to lack of monetary and people resources or due to lack of interest from the community itself. Mutual understandings should not be a pre-condition for heritage recognition but I believe that the processes of heritage formation must be informative and engage in dialogue with differing cultural values. Particularly in a site where there is a long-standing indigenous community with special governance recognition as outlined in the Colombian constitution and recognized by international instruments such as the International Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

To conclude, this chapter discussed the Archaeological and Ethnographic Museums of Tierradentro as sites of conflict and contention when the differing definitions and self-understandings of the Nasa, the Colombian State and their projections toward an international community are considered. The local discourse and understanding of culture among the Nasa of Tierradentro does not perfectly correspond to the national and internationally sanctioned versions of heritage.

Chapter 5: Sacred, Heritage, and Tourism at the Hypogea

The following chapter presents the discourses around the concept of “sanctity” at the tombs, indigenous territory, Archaeological Park and World Heritage site of Tierradentro in San Andrés de Pisimbalá. This chapter tackles the topic of ‘sacredness’ at the site in the Nasa discourse, contrasted with the archaeological significance attributed to the site in the Colombian heritage discourse. Therefore, the main actors in this chapter are the Nasa administrators, the Park administrators and staff and Colombian heritage administration bodies. Their perceptions and testimonies were collected through in-person interviews, and it is through these that the chapter takes form, creating a map between their discourses.

To frame the discourses that circulate around the notions of the sacred and heritage, a closer discussion on the sacred in the context of Tierradentro and the Nasa is required. Here, I draw on the distinction between the *sacred* and *profane* presented by Emile Durkheim in his “Elementary Forms of Religious Life”.¹¹⁸ Since the purpose of this study is to explore the discourses around the sacred and not to define what the sacred is for the Nasa, I will draw from the theory and apply it to the case study, explaining elements of Nasa belief as necessary.

Emile Durkheim theorizes that all known religious beliefs display the common feature of classifying things or ideals into two classes, the *profane* and the *sacred*. Thus, through religious beliefs the world is divided into these two domains. The sacred is represented by the “[b]eliefs, myths, dogmas and legends” that express the virtues and powers attributed to sacred things.¹¹⁹ Moreover, Durkheim points out that the sacred can be attributed to anything, if this object, rite,

¹¹⁸ Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Karen E. Fields (New York: The Free Press, 1995).

¹¹⁹ Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 34.

personage is regarded as “superior in dignity and power”.¹²⁰ Importantly, the sacred is defined in contrast to the profane. Thus, the profane is the regular, the everyday- that which is not designated and recognized as sacred. A parallel between the sacred and heritage can be drawn in the recognition process that is essential to both. Much like the veneration and designation that sacredness necessitates, heritage too must be recognized and validated. The value of a site or practice as heritage must first be recognized by its national society and second it must be validated by the international grouping that determines the World Heritage Regime.

The hypogea were built as tombs, and this role continues to be venerated among the Nasa cosmology (Figure13). Interestingly, the Nasa belief system is repeatedly referred to as a “cosmology” however, considering the conditions illustrated by Durkheim it can rightly be referred to as a religion. Durkheim outlines that a religion is “... a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden- beliefs and



Figure 13: Inside one of the hypogea, structural damage is seen here. In others, graffiti damage is present.
Source: Author, 2016.

¹²⁰ Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 35.

practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them”.¹²¹ Therefore, the sacred objects and sites, the beliefs held and rites practiced, the division of the world into sacred and profane can be observed in the Nasa belief system and practice. The Nasa draw upon their connection as indigenous peoples to the spirituality of those who constructed the hypogea as a system for community burial. Effectively, the Nasa carry this role in maintaining and cultivating the spirituality of the tombs and statues, adopting them as one of the sacred sites in their territory (Figures 14, 15, and 16).¹²²



*Figure 14: Statue at El Tablon.
Source: Author, 2016.*



Figure 15: Collapsed hypogeum at Alto de San Andres. Source: Author, 2016.



Figure 16: The only hypogeum that was left undisturbed with its pottery burial inside. Source: Author, 2016.

¹²¹ Ibid., 44.

¹²² Administrator of the Tierradentro Archaeological Park, Interview with Tierradentro Head Administrator; Ex-Nasa Governor, Interview with Ex-Nasa Governor.

Another distinction that is useful in the consideration of the sacred at the Tierradentro hypogea is the one drawn between *religion* and *magic*. This is important considering the terms that have been assigned to indigenous societies by certain anthropologists in trying to explain their “primitive” practices. Seeing as magic is also composed of beliefs and rites, and has its own “ceremonies, sacrifices, purifications, prayers, songs and dances” the religious beliefs and systems of indigenous groups are often labeled a magic or shamanistic.¹²³ This is problematic since it falls into a hierarchy of belief systems, with some seen as more sophisticated and advanced than others. This exact attitude can be observed in the description of Edward Tylor’s research as “studying the religion of lower races”.¹²⁴ Thus, for the purpose of this research and an equitable treatment of Nasa beliefs and structures with the official stance of the country, their cosmological beliefs will be considered as religious beliefs.

“The gods also need man; without offerings and sacrifices, they would die”.¹²⁵ When this is considered, a clash between Nasa religious belief and heritage management emerges. Since for the Nasa it is crucial to have access to the sacred hypogea through the mediation of the Th’Walas, the Park administration coordinates with them so that can carry out their cleansing ceremonies. However, as observed in Chapter 1 the Nasa request for further access to the site so as to perform a wider range of religious and cultural activities such as the Cabildo meetings, and traditional dance and song. Therefore, a carryover between sacred and heritage must be facilitated in the Nasa use of the archaeological space. Plans to bridge these two conceptions had been put forth during the 2006 negotiations, with the plan to create an alternative tour of the Park for tourists focusing on the sacred sites of the Nasa. This tour would have been led by a Nasa guard and a trained tour guide, thus combining the personnel of both bodies. Due to the seizing of cooperation the plan never came to fruition and Nasa religious conceptions remain

¹²³ Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 39-41.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 27.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 36.

divorced from the value presented at the Park. Since, as Durkheim points out, religious upkeep is important for the sacredness of the sites and religious belief is a central system of the Nasa's culture and relationship to their territory, communication between the Nasa Cabildo and the Park administration should continue to allow the valued access to the site for Nasa rituals.

Ideally, discussions between the Nasa Cabildo and ICANH should be restarted with willingness from both sides and a particular effort by the ICANH to reach out to the Nasa community. This proves to be a challenge due to the distance of the ICANH from the Tierradentro territory and the accessibility challenges once at Tierradentro. Since most of the Nasa live in the mountains surrounding the town, consultation with them is complicated. Consequently, the Cabildo has a key role to play in bridging communication and facilitating cooperation.

5.1 The Sacred and the Archaeological Value of the Hypogea

*"... sacred sites have been turned into sites for economic profit"*¹²⁶

The words above, of a straight-forward and non-apologetic Nasa official, reflect the aspects of conflict from the multiplicity of significance given to the Tierradentro Archaeological Park's main attraction, the hypogea. Regarded as important archaeological sites, the tombs are now a focus for the region's tourism. It is from here that the allegation that the sites are being used for economic profit comes from. Although tourism to the Park has been relatively low, due to the difficulties in accessibility to the Park, and the danger in the region during the Colombian armed conflict, tourism will start to increase now that a highway connecting Bogotá and Popayán will pass close to it and the Peace Process is underway. Effectively, the name of "Archaeological Park" demonstrates perfectly the significance given to the site in the national and international narrative, to be interpreted by visitors. A visitor knows that there is an

¹²⁶ Nasa Vice-Governor, Interview with Nasa Vice-Governor, June 27, 2016.

archaeological value before they find out that these tombs retain their significance as burial places for the Nasa.

A tool employed by the Nasa to illustrate and outline the sacred in their territory is the Indigenous Life Plan. It is a strategic development document in line with their cosmology and cultural priorities. In it the primary sacred spaces for the region are identified as the lagoons or natural deposits of water on the moors of the Andes.¹²⁷ Importantly then, the sacredness of sites and the concept of cultural heritage surface together in the CRIC's indigenous Life Plans. The CRIC recommends that the lagoons, moors and water streams should be "sacred sites declared cultural heritage of humanity."¹²⁸ Thus, the concept of heritage is briefly paired with the sacredness of sites in the context of environmental concerns and protection. However, this connection between sacred and heritage remains invisible at the Park. As gathered from interviews and interactions with Nasa community members it is clear that the hypogea, already declared World Heritage, are part of the sacred sites of Nasa territory.

The hypogea were created as communal burial sites and are thus a part of the sacred and spiritual connection the Nasa hold to their ancestry and indigenous past. Piñacue reiterates this in his own writing in connection to the Nasa's sense of place and importance of Tierradentro as their original territory.¹²⁹ Moreover, the former Nasa governor interviewed drew a connection between the social structure represented by the tombs, with more elaborate hypogea for higher ranking members, to the current social structure of *cacicage* of the Nasa.¹³⁰ As expressed by these two members of the Nasa community, the hypogea are not just archaeological tombs or ancient burial chambers. They are spaces recognized and designated as sacred with roles and rituals in their religious system.

¹²⁷ Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca, "Plan de Vida Regional de los Pueblos Indígenas del Cauca," 106.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 103.

¹²⁹ Field and Gnecco, "Museo Del Oro: Vinetas," 188.

¹³⁰ See Glossary: the Nasa administrative structure.

To identify the position of the sacred in the Nasa cultural priorities, I approached the *Casa del Cabildo* (Cabildo House) in the center of the San Andrés de Pisimbalá and spoke to the Vice-Governor at the time. He was cooperative after I illustrated that my interest and research were purely academic- work for my master's thesis. San Andrés de Pisimbalá is one of several places in Colombia where being affiliated with the government or a governmental institution is not a VIP pass but instead a red flag. He spoke of how the community's priority is to focus on the teaching and instituting of their language, Nasa Yuwe, to conserve Nasa identity and culture among younger Nasa.¹³¹ He was familiar with the Park and its administration because he used to work as one of the Park guards. Consequently, the issues of management and community cooperation are themes that interest him. However, he was strong in pointing out that the current relationship between the Cabildo and the State-level heritage administration, the ICANH is one where the Nasa have been very passive while the State bodies walked over them and their sacred sites. His view is that the ICANH has discriminated against them and their patience has run out.¹³² The primary role as sacred sites of the hypogea for the Nasa lead to the main clash between community/ Cabildo interests and Park administration/ ICANH interests. When asked, he pointed out that there is no intent nor plans to re-establish communication with the ICANH, a point that is highly problematic for the management interests of the ICANH if they are to consult the community in the operations of the Park. A necessary step that respects the Nasa's right and legal claim to territorial sovereignty.

Therefore, the relationship between the Nasa Cabildo and the ICANH does not stand on friendly ground. This was confirmed in a meeting with an ICANH official who shared that currently, ICANH employees from Bogotá cannot go to the site to attempt negotiations due to

¹³¹ Nasa Vice-Governor, Interview with Nasa Vice-Governor.

¹³² Ibid.

the delicate situation.¹³³ This is highly problematic as efforts for communication must be pursued from both parties. Proposals should follow each other sequentially but this is now a real challenge due to the failed negotiations from 2006-2009 as well as the quick turnover of Nasa representatives and the physical distance from the ICANH and the Nasa representatives in Tierradentro.

5.2 The Sacred and its role in Heritage Management

As explored above, the sacred value and heritage value assigned to the site by different communities cross and clash as their cultural priorities are vocalized. However, ideological uniformity amongst the Nasa cannot be applied for the sake of simplicity. When discussing with a former Nasa Governor, she was much more of the mind that the community needed to cooperate with State bodies to prevent further dispossession and assert their determination at the sites.¹³⁴ The former Governor spoke of the hypogea as symbols of respect, as spaces of harmonization of work, of culture, whose archaeological value had not been of interest to the indigenous community but which should also be highlighted as part of their value to the community.¹³⁵ They must be maintained as sacred, this requires work with the community as she illustrated, "when the discovery by archaeologist of the hypogea came... for some [Nasa] it was something normal, for others it was as if they (the archaeologists) had entered their home and sacked it."¹³⁶ She continued to emphasize the work that has taken place with the ICANH in regards to the role that the different meanings of the site have, and how these meanings affect management and presentation. During our conversation, she identified a key issue in the public access to the tombs, for the Nasa they are places of extreme significance, "It is a burial. When

¹³³ Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia Representative, Consultation with ICANH Representative in Charge of Archaeological Park management plans, August 11, 2016.

¹³⁴ Ex-Nasa Governor, Interview with Ex-Nasa Governor.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

you go to the tomb of a loved one, of someone important, you do it with much respect. When declared World Heritage a lot of people come that will not see it with respect, only with a bit or no interest."¹³⁷ As she continued to acknowledge the human element of the tombs as places where people's remains were buried but are now open and exhibited, she asserted that exhibition and access must be done with respect.

Visitor access into the hypogea varies in restrictions and in the extent of interacting with the space. Visitors are largely unsupervised, particularly when they climb down and can walk into the hypogea. At Alto del Aguacate, I observed a young man preparing to carve his name unto the painted surface of the tomb's wall. This attempt of vandalism would have happened if he had been alone in the tomb, and it has happened as it is not an isolated incident. In most of the hypogea that allow the visitors to walk into the space, there is graffiti vandalism on the faded paint of the walls. Stronger guidelines around visitor interaction with the space should be enforced, and education about the sacred role that the hypogea have for the Nasa should be actively represented. Currently, the archaeological value is communicated on plaques without clarification of the sacred value. I only observed one plaque for mindfulness of the Nasa's territory on the walk from the town toward the Alto de San Andrés.

The case of the hypogea of Tierradentro is peculiar, as the sites signaled as archaeologically significant lie spread around the bounded territory of the indigenous reservation. The claim that the Park should be managed or co-managed by the Nasa was presented to the ICANH by the Nasa Cabildo of San Andrés on September 27, 2006.¹³⁸ In an exchange of correspondence, each party presented its point of view but the exchanges did not come to any results. Yet, the rhetoric of the current Nasa administration still centers around their right to have managerial

¹³⁷ Ex-Nasa Governor, Interview with Ex-Nasa Governor.

¹³⁸ Roberto Tunubala et al., "Letter from the indigenous Governors of the Inza Municipality" (Governors of the Inza Municipality, July 24, 2009).

consultation.¹³⁹ The Vice-Governor voiced this desire, asserting that the sites should be under the control of the Nasa.¹⁴⁰ The desire is voiced but a clear strategy is lacking. Thus, Juan Carlos Piñacue observed that any notion of Nasa management should progress with the cooperation of the State and the ICANH because the Nasa do not have the resources necessary for the upkeep of the ancient and fragile hypogea.¹⁴¹ Significantly, both Nasa officials interviewed agreed on the fact that these sites are sacred to them, and in that the current Park administration has a responsibility to keep the community involved. Moreover, the Nasa community has a responsibility as care-takers of the hypogea. Thus, linking with the notion of responsibility held by the heralds of the heritage, the AHD actors also have a responsibility to open the official discourse to differing priorities and values of the hypogea.

Regarding inclusivity, the sacredness of the hypogea is acknowledged by the Park's administrator. In our interview, she illustrated how the management strategy of the hypogea has been involving Nasa community members for more than 25 years by hiring them as the guards of the Park. According to the administrator, "the Park [staff], in 99% has indigenous workers, they are the majority of the personnel and are very engaged in the activities that [the] Park realizes with the ICANH."¹⁴² In fact, all of the guards whom I met during my visits were members of the Nasa community. They patrol the sites, open the hypogea for visitor access and offer some information about the history. Another important way in which administration involves the community is by consulting the Nasa's religious leaders, the Th'Wala, when considering renovation or infrastructure activities around the tombs. One such example is the

¹³⁹ Tunubala et al., "Letter from the indigenous Governors of the Inza Municipality," and Rappaport, *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes*; and Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca, "Plan de Vida Regional de los Pueblos Indígenas del Cauca." This is also related to their way of managing reservation land as communal land, not just one entity's property but communal effort at up keeping and bettering.

¹⁴⁰ Nasa Vice-Governor, Interview with Nasa Vice-Governor.

¹⁴¹ Juan Carlos Piñacue Achicue, "Algunos Aportes Y Apreciaciones a Proposito Del Plan de Manejo Integral Del Parque Arqueologico de Tierradentro," August 4, 2009.

¹⁴² Administrator of the Tierradentro Archaeological Park, Interview with Tierradentro Head Administrator.

recent construction of roof-shelters over certain hypogea on the Alto del Aguacate. Prone to flooding due to their elevation, the Park built roofs over certain tombs. The selection process of these tombs was done in consultation with the Th'Wala to find out which tombs should be prioritized in protection. Furthermore, before construction begun, a cleansing ceremony led by a community Th'Wala took place on site, Nasa community members, Park staff and the university professor Cristóbal Gnecco, their academic liaison, took part in the all-night ritual.

Despite this cooperation, the current stance of the Park administration on the management is very clear. They involve the community, but due to the State's heritage administration's structure will not move toward co-management of the Park. Considering these appeals, what are some alternative solutions?

Another case of indigenous territoriality in an area designated as World Heritage provides insight into adapted management structures and consultation strategies. The Uluru site in Australia, also known as Ayer's Rock, is good example of the clash between sacred and heritage values. The Anangu Peoples have petitioned and advocate that visitors do not climb the large rock. On Uluru's surface are sacred paths, still revered and respected by the Anangu community. Much like Tierradentro, the area was made a National Park in 1950. Since then, national and international tourists have flocked to claim that they climbed the mass rock formation. However, numbers have been decreasing, as many more visitors choose to respect the requests of the Anangu not to scale their sacred site. Others continue to claim that climbing or not climbing should remain a choice of the visitor. Thus, despite a plan to close the hiking trails on the rock when climber numbers dropped below 20%, which has already happened, the Anangu's spiritual site remains open for visitors to explore. The Anangu's claim to limiting access and thus direct influence on the management of the site has strong parallels to the Nasa's position. Considering the spiritual importance of Tierradentro's hypogea to the Nasa, access to

the tombs is a serious question, as some Nasa believe it disrespectful to have the tombs open for display, a use which negates their original purpose as burial places for a community.

Indigenous thinkers and academics have been making contribution to the ways of thinking in Colombian Academia. This means more resources from indigenous points of view and cultural understandings.¹⁴³ Consequently, it is necessary to explore options to further empower and include the Nasa, not just in the operational and maintenance tasks of the Park but also in the design and decisions of the Park's presentation, allowing them to vocalize and represent the tombs' spirituality in the life of their culture. Moreover, it is important to acknowledge that a division exists between the Nasa. On the one hand, there are those involved with ICANH activity and those who like the former Governor believe that "as a governmental entity the ICANH has collaborated a lot in... the indigenous sector."¹⁴⁴ On the other, there are those, who like the Vice-Governor, after many years of disillusioned cooperation have no interest in working or re-establishing cooperation with the ICANH.

The position the ICANH is in is one complicated by physical and symbolic distance. The institute's headquarters in Bogotá, as central operating body to Colombia's Archaeological Parks and heritage sites, the interaction of ICANH officials with the Park administration is one of phone calls, while the relationship with the community, Nasa and farmer, is virtually non-existent. During an interview with the ICANH employee in charge of the Park's Management Plan, a former archaeologist, she expressed the reality limiting any progress and speculation about further community involvement as the institute is overloaded with work.¹⁴⁵ She has been

¹⁴³ See, Cristóbal Gnecco and Juan Carlos Piñacue, "The (Il)licit, The Archaeological: An Ethnographic Story of Progenation.," in *Challenging the Dichotomy: The Licit and the Illicit in Archaeological and Heritage Discourses*, ed. Les Field, Joe Watkins, and Cristóbal Gnecco (University of Arizona Press, 2016); Juan Carlos Piñacue Achucue, "Pensamiento Indígena, Tensiones Y Academia," *Tabula Rasa*, no. 20 (June 2014): 161–92, and Les Field and Cristóbal Gnecco, "Museo Del Oro: Vinetas," *Revista Colombiana de Antropología* 49, no. 2 (December 2013): 165–206.

¹⁴⁴ Ex-Nasa Governor, Interview with Ex-Nasa Governor.

¹⁴⁵ Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia Representative, Consultation with ICANH Representative in Charge of Archaeological Park management plans.

assigned to re-draft Tierradentro Archaeological Park's management plan, a process which had started in 2009 but resulted in the opposition of the management plan by the Nasa community. The opposition resulted from the government's failure to consult with them prior to drafting the plan, a right given to them as a recognized indigenous group with self-determination in governance and territory. Despite these difficulties, a process of cooperation was started after the 2009 refusal of the proposed plan when, "the ICANH stopped presuming it knew what heritage was and was ready to listen to the community."¹⁴⁶ This dialogue came to a stop in 2010 when the Cabildo and ICANH leaderships changed and so too, their strategies and priorities. Unfortunately, the lack of consultation has been, and continues to be a practice since the very start of the sites' life as an Archaeological Park and later as UNESCO World Heritage Site.

A proposed solution is to list or transform an already listed site as a Cultural Landscape.¹⁴⁷ However, the Cultural Landscape structure is not applicable to all sites which currently straddle indigenous territories, such as the Tierradentro Archaeological Park because it focuses on the interplay between built heritage by the community and the nature they inhabit. At Tierradentro, it is debated whether the Nasa built the hypogea and so the culture in landscape approach is further complicated.

Since the hypogea are tangible and immovable heritage structures, as per the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention, the Colombian State was able to propose them for inscription without consultation with the Nasa Peoples. The Nasa regard them not as valuable material constructions but spiritual sites. However, the State and UNESCO narratives around the sites isolate their archaeological importance as the sole point of value. No dialogue or parallel presentation of the sacred in the territory is incorporated into the construction of Tierradentro's

¹⁴⁶ Gnecco, "Meeting with Students of the Originary Languages Masters at the Indigenous University."

¹⁴⁷ te Heu Heu, Kawharu, and Tuheiava, "World Heritage and Indigeneity," 13.

heritage value. When I inquired with the Park Administrator about the efforts of the ICANH or UNESCO to host educational programs about the role of heritage, the impacts, and the processes involved she was unable to confirm whether this had taken place as the site was nominated before she took the position of administrator. However, based on the amount of involvement in the site by ICANH and UNESCO during her tenure, she was highly speculative that this would have even been a concern.¹⁴⁸ This process is not an irregularity in heritage identification and listing, and it is conducive to the controversies between heritage value and sacred value observed at the hypogea of Tierradentro.

5.3 Closing Remarks

The Nasa see the hypogea as sites that connect their present culture to that of indigenous ancestors. Through time the Nasa, as individuals and community, have come to regard the hypogea as heritage parallel to their sacred significance in their system of belief. During my conversations with Nasa individuals, from government officials to the Park guards one thing is clear, the hypogea are "symbols of respect...they give and take as spaces of harmonization of work, of culture".¹⁴⁹ Thus, they are spaces for community existence and solidarity through respect with the indigenous community that may have come before the Nasa and constructed the tombs. In this, there exists an aspect of alive cultural practice for the Nasa of today see themselves responsible for the spiritual maintenance of the hypogea and their area. A responsibility that is filtered by the mandate of the Colombian State as the manager of space and access to the Park, and the hypogea specifically, as well as Colombian culture as the prime owner of Tierradentro's archaeological remains.

¹⁴⁸ Administrator of the Tierradentro Archaeological Park, Interview with Tierradentro Head Administrator.

¹⁴⁹ Ex-Nasa Governor, Interview with Ex-Nasa Governor.

As demonstrated, the clash between sacred and heritage attraction is not unique to the case of Tierradentro. The Uluru site of the Anangu Peoples in Australia demonstrates a similar process of community claims to limit tourist access to their sacred sites. Through placard indications, expanded tourist education strategy, and closing the hiking trails when visitor numbers dropped by 20% adopted by the site's management and supported by the Australian government the access and attitude of tourists toward the Uluru have been changing, with progression in the respect for the Anangu's sacred sites.¹⁵⁰ Another example of clashes of the sacred with heritage is seen at the Tikal National Park and World Heritage site in Guatemala. There, the local Maya challenge the management of the site, seeking control of the sacred areas' management.¹⁵¹ Looking back to the Tierradentro Archaeological Park and the differing discourses that present meaning of the sacred and the archaeological, the site is ultimately presented as an Archaeological Park to tourists. The visitors are invited to interact with the space without reflecting upon the continued and living spiritual value that the hypogea have for the Nasa community. Thus, although recognized as a culture, their cultural values are not part of the narrative directly represented at the site. In turn, this influences the Nasa Cabildo's bid for management control, seeking a direct role in development of the site much like the Maya at Tikal National Park in Guatemala or the Anangu at Uluru in Australia.

¹⁵⁰ "Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park - New World Encyclopedia," *New World Encyclopedia*, January 2016, http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Uluru-Kata_Tjuta_National_Park#Tourism_and_facilities.

¹⁵¹ ICOMOS Norway, "World Heritage and Rights-Based Approaches" (ICOMOS Norway, May 24, 2014), http://cmsdata.iucn.org/downloads/world_heritage_and_rights_based_approaches_2014_oslo_report.pdf, 6.

Conclusion

This study demonstrated, through the ethnography of the World Heritage Chain at the Tierradentro Archaeological Park, the clashes of priorities and controversies that are present in the management of a heritage site within an indigenous territory. It is by looking at the micro level of indigenous priorities and heritage management at Tierradentro that this investigation reflects on the larger context of World Heritage management at sites of indigenous self-governance, showing that gaps of discourse and conflicting priorities exist between the different actors in the World Heritage Chain. Therefore, this research followed the links and actors in the World Heritage Chain, presenting and connecting their discourses to trace the controversies around World Heritage norms, as interpreted by the Colombian State and applied at the Tierradentro Archaeological Park in the town of San Andrés de Pisimbalá and Nasa reservation of the same name.

The intercultural conflict at San Andrés de Pisimbalá is now going into its 11th year of intercultural clashes, with some of the Nasa Cabildo self-governing administration vying for a direct role in the Park's management while increasing their efforts for cultural strengthening through education and language empowerment. Their demands to be directly involved in the Park's management have been deemed by the ICANH, the Colombian heritage body, as incompatible with the current operating structures of heritage in Colombia. Thus, after a cooperative effort to design a Management Plan document together in 2006, the communications ceased in 2010 and the Management Plan remains unfinished and unpublished.¹⁵² The lack of a published and comprehensive Management Plan does not meet the UNESCO 1972 World Heritage Convention requirement for a World Heritage listing. However, as UNESCO is primarily a norm setting body with little punitive capacities, no

¹⁵² Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia, "Parque Arqueológico Tierradentro- Plan de Manejo."

actions have been directly taken that threaten the Park's status on the World Heritage list. Despite violent conflicts between the Nasa and the non-Nasa at San Andrés de Pisimbalá, of which the Park has been a cause of friction, dialogues of cooperation in heritage management have not been picked up again by either side.

The context of heritage value recognized and expressed at sites of indigenous territoriality has been a contributing factor toward clashes and conflicts between the Nasa and the non-Nasa locals and Colombian heritage administration at San Andrés de Pisimbalá. As an indigenous community, the Nasa have special rights to territory that recognize their self-governance, both at the national Colombian level and at the international level. Thus, while simultaneously an indigenous territory and a World Heritage site the Tierradentro Archaeological Park is a space of expression for various heritage forming actors and a place of clashing discourses and values prioritized at the different levels of the World Heritage Chain.

Heritage takes its foundation from processes of culture and narratives of history, both aspects are linked to communities and thus political in nature. State-actors in heritage management in Colombia operate within structures of the Authorized Heritage Discourse, a concept drawn from the research of heritage scholar, Laura Jane Smith.¹⁵³ Consequently, archaeologist, anthropologists, ethnographers, and the Park managers contribute to a narrative of Colombian heritage which fits the international model of heritage created by UNESCO through its 1972 World Heritage Convention and governance bodies. These processes clash with local structures and narratives when heritage is introduced as a prioritized value, ignoring local narratives and histories. Thus, in this process heritage results being a term that speaks of provided community engagement and opportunity, but without proper interaction with and acknowledgment of local history, political structures, and identities heritage is an abstract term that remains foreign to

¹⁵³ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*.

the local context it is applied to. Such is the case at San Andrés de Pisimbalá, where Nasa historical figures, historical narratives, and values of the territory remain marginalized in the representation of heritage at the Tierradentro Archaeological Park.

More specifically, the research set the spaces of the Archaeological Museum, the Ethnographic Museum and the hypogea (underground tombs) as the main settings where controversies of representation and differing values to heritage emerge at the Park. Thus, the places from where the differing discourses of the local Nasa and non-Nasa, heritage managers, and researchers among other actors can be traced and connected. Significantly, the study's goal to present and link these discourses drew from Bruno Latour's *Actor-Network Theory* and Eduardo Viveiro's *Controlled Equivocation*. By using these two theories to frame the research, I as researcher aimed to present the agency of actors and sites at Tierradentro, connect their discourses, map their conflicts, and acknowledge my place and agency within the spinning together of these social ties.

In the investigation, the lack of consultation of the Nasa in the management of the Park and construction of the heritage narratives presented is identified to be a key source to the Nasa's discontent with and challenge to the agency of the ICANH. Heritage is not the only value present at the Tierradentro Archaeological Park, sacred conceptions of value of the Tierradentro hypogea are held by the Nasa community, indigenous value systems and histories which are scarcely represented in the structures of Colombian heritage and National institutions. I say *scarcely* and *marginalized* because the Nasa and the sacred are mentioned in the structures of the Tierradentro Archaeological Park Passport and the Ethnographic Museum. However, the representation in these spaces is limited and has not formed the dialogue to contribute to a comprehensive and cooperative Management Plan for the Park. In a country such as Colombia, that defines itself a multicultural, it is important to evaluate and question

the extent to which multiculturalism serves as simple rhetoric versus to what extent it is a developed structure and an identifier of participation and plural representation. Inclusion of alternate narratives and historical experiences is one such instance for evaluation. Through this approach, the hierarchies emergent from a National identity are evident in the prioritization of Colombian heritage construction over the inclusion and equal representation of indigenous Nasa conceptions.

I cannot provide a solution or solutions to the continuing processes of heritage negotiation at the site. It would be imprudent to assume that one study can sufficiently link these conflicts and map its actors to point to all of the origins of the controversies; that has never been the aim of this research. If you find yourself disappointed or deflated dear reader, I can only end this investigation with an ideal for the relations at the site. Any construction of heritage should be approached as a local process, a unique narrative created by the individuals grounded in their territory. This means the inclusion of community specific historical narratives and figures, cultural expressions, and the active representation of these in the structures developed around heritage, whether it be the management plans, the museum, or the audio visual materials presented. Thus, heritage is a potential cooperative construction, not just a framework for superficial consultations whose ignorance leads to confrontations.

This is particularly important in Colombia, a country where the current political processes of Peace building, when implemented and advanced will have a significant impact on the accessibility to the country, and rise in both domestic mobility and international tourism. Tierradentro will be affected by this in its own opening up as a region to tourism. Specially, when the highway Via Bolivariana from Bogotá to Popayán is finished. This highway will pass through Tierradentro and bringing priorities, discourses and understanding from outside faster and closer to the remote innards of land “adentro” or as it is called in Spanish Tierra-adentro.

Appendices

A. Indigenous History and Political History in the Tierradentro Region

The events of resistance at Tierradentro and friction between the Nasa community and Colombian State are influenced by the processes of indigenous thinking and resistance that took place in Colombia from the start of the Spanish colonial expansion to today. Being a contemporary indigenous community implies that the Nasa have been subject to interaction, subjugation, and partial assimilation with the old colonial and present Colombian structures of governance. However, as Willian Jairo Mavisoy Muchavisoy argues, identity is not forgotten by changing spaces or times, nor is it forgotten through interactions with others.¹⁵⁴ Thus, The Nasa as an indigenous group ground their priorities in their territory, hold strong to their culture and identity and are part of an international movement of indigenous recognition.

Nasa history is anchored on figures from their indigenous ethnicity and past. They stress their history of resistance first, through the figure of La Gaitana, an ancient cacique whose fame stems from her fight against the Spanish conquistadors. She is held as an example that legitimizes defense through war to ensure the life and survival of indigenous groups in Colombia.¹⁵⁵ Another key figure in the Nasa and regional indigenous history is Juan Tama, a cacique whose legacy is the reservation structure under which indigenous land title has been legalized nationally today. His example illustrates how negotiation with the State is a means to ensure the defense of indigenous priorities and rights.¹⁵⁶ The figure of Juan Tama is represented

¹⁵⁴ Willian Jairo Mavisoy Muchavisoy, "Etnografía Sobre El Quehacer Antropológico Y Las Manifestaciones de Un Antropólogo Por Su Origen.," *Tabula Rasa* 20 (June 2014): 199.

¹⁵⁵ Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca, "Plan de Vida Regional de los Pueblos Indígenas del Cauca" (CRIC, 2007), <http://observatorioetnicocecoin.org.co/cecoin/files/Plan%20de%20vida%20del%20Cric.pdf>, 13.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

in the Ethnographic Museum, presented as an important figure for the Nasa and the historical position in the country. Despite the instance of representation and the importance of these figures in the Nasa historical narrative, such figures remain unacknowledged in the larger regional history. They are limited to indigenous audiences, in the peripheries of the Colombian historical narrative.

More recently, during the 20th century political resistance from indigenous communities was strengthened due to a rise in collective reorganization and the spread of indigenous thought through the leader Manuel Quintin Lame.¹⁵⁷ Quintin Lame's writing has been influential in framing the indigenous cause in Colombia. Furthermore, the events of his life, his political activity, organization and mobilization of indigenous communities took place in and around the Cauca region, where Tierradentro is located. As a result, he remains an illustrative and influential figure of indigenous thinking and political mobilization in the region. Therefore, by considering the rhetoric and focus of Quintin Lame's political writings, a window into the priorities and history of indigenous resistance at Tierradentro today is accessed.

B. Manuel Quintin Lame

Manuel Quintin Lame was born in a Nasa family, his family worked for their living on the land of one of the land-owners, he did not attend formal school, he pursued a self-education through Nature and community's traditional values.¹⁵⁸ He is renowned for his familiarization and maneuvering to the Colombian legal system to defend himself and the indigenous cause.

Through his writing *En Defensa de mi Raza*, Quintin Lame informs contemporary indigenous thinking by identifying key issues in the position of indigenous people in

¹⁵⁷ For a more detailed description of Manuel Quintin Lame's achievements please see Appendix.

¹⁵⁸ Manuel Quintin Lame, "Introduccion," in *En Defensa de Mi Raza* (Bogota: Editextos Ltda, 1971), xiv.

Colombian society and the relations between white Colombians and indigenous Colombians.¹⁵⁹ He presents these as relations of enslavement through violence, relations of permanent struggle, those of racial and social discrimination, relations poisoned by jealousy and egoism in a rhetoric that is direct and unapologetic.¹⁶⁰ Quintin Lame's stance is reflected in the formulation of Nasa-Government relations such as, "The Nasa have been very passive and the State and its bodies have walked over their sacred sites."¹⁶¹ Evidently, despite some progress the dynamics are still not perceived nor are they ones of equality and full dialogue. Quintin Lame touches on the strong polarity between white and indigenous (majority/ minority) which pervades in today's interactions and conflicts.

Although this perceived racial/cultural division still holds strong when it is projected unto the relations of the indigenous communities and the State, Quintin Lame presents it within a mindset of strong Colombian nationalism. This is reflective of Stuart Hall's theories on cultural identities as being "increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiple across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions".¹⁶² Thus, as Stevenson then elaborates, such identity construction of fragmenting one cultural identity by placing another one within it (Nasa within Colombia) is part of a political strategy to subvert and question society's dominant codes in order to resist cultural domination.¹⁶³ This is important in understanding how a Colombian-Nasa identity is perceived today. Unique in each individual case, the overall sentiment is one that presents the indigenous, in this case the Nasa, as a discriminated *Colombian* population, rather than a separate Nasa population.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Manuel Quintin Lame, "Introduccion," in *En Defensa de Mi Raza* (Bogota: Editextos Ltda, 1971), xxxiii.

¹⁶¹ Nasa Vice-Governor, Interview with Nasa Vice-Governor.

¹⁶² Stevenson, *Cultural Citizenship*, 25.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 25-26.

¹⁶⁴ Quintin Lame, "Introduccion," xl.

Manuel Quintin Lame was a key figure in strategically using colonial structures and legislation for the advantage of the indigenous communities. From 1910 until 1960 he fought for indigenous rights in Colombia, particularly tackling the issue of near slave-labor of indigenous people in the farms of Colombian landowners.¹⁶⁵ Throughout his struggle, he encouraged the development of the reservation system.¹⁶⁶ Moreover, Quintin Lame used Law 89 from 1890 to advance indigenous legitimacy and representation at the regional and national level. He is held by the Nasa as a leader and defender of indigenous interests in Colombia and he presents himself as indigenous, a Nasa-Colombian, paralleling himself to a Bolivar-like liberator of the indigenous race in Colombia.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., xiv, xix.

¹⁶⁶ The reservation system is the governance structure that exists at San Andrés de Pisimbalá and other Nasa communities, see Glossary: Reservation for more information.

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Glossary

The Nasa: An indigenous population, the Nasa account for the most numerous indigenous community in the Cauca and Huila regions of Colombia. According to the DANE (National Administrative Department of Statistics) census of 2005, the last large census of the area, there are around 186, 178 people that self-identify as Nasa in the country. They represent 13.4% of the indigenous population within the territory of Colombia. Amongst them, 41.9% speak the indigenous language Nasa Yuwe, which is currently undergoing a major revival within their educational priorities.¹⁶⁷ The Nasa hold their own historical narratives, cultural priorities, spiritual values, and political processes that are projected onto the site, which in turn play a key role in the demands for inclusion and consultation in the governance of heritage at Tierradentro.

Although their origins are debated, the Nasa are a living culture in their current territory.¹⁶⁸ Some scholars affirm that they arrived in the area during the time of the Spanish colonial expansion from areas further south in the Amazon.¹⁶⁹ Others, such as Nasa academic Juan Carlos Piñacue refute the theory that paints the Nasa as foreign invaders in the area, instead they reaffirm their origins in Tierradentro.¹⁷⁰ Other theories present the current Nasa culture

¹⁶⁷ Ministerio de Cultura, “Nasa (Paez), La Gente Agua” (Republica de Colombia, 2010), <http://www.mincultura.gov.co/areas/poblaciones/noticias/Documents/Caracterizaci%C3%B3n%20del%20pueblo%20Nasa.pdf>. 1-3. Although useful in illustrating the size of the population, I approach these figures with reservation as the results of the census are not completely accurate and access to parts of this mountainous region are quite limited.

¹⁶⁸ Consejo Regional Indigena del Cauca, “Plan de Vida Regional de los Pueblos Indigenas del Cauca” (CRIC, 2007), <http://observatorioetnicocecoin.org.co/cecoin/files/Plan%20de%20vida%20del%20Cric.pdf>, 39. The Nasa define their culture as one characterized by maintaining “a history of reflexivity, battle and resistance.” A resistance first, against incoming invasion and influences through the initial process of colonization, then centuries later when the Colombian-Nation was being constructed. More recently, the displacement of indigenous peoples due to the last 50 years of Colombian armed conflict has been an active threat in the life and practice of indigenous cultures in their territory. Furthermore, the influx of popular and foreign cultures through expanding communications and the recent increase in tourism have proven new threats to the integrity of traditional practices and modes of life.

¹⁶⁹ Alvaro Chaves Mendonza and Mauricio Puerta Restrepo, *Monumentos Arqueologicos de Tierradentro*, vol. 2 (Bogotá: Biblioteca Banco Popular, 1986), 25.

¹⁷⁰ Les Field and Cristóbal Gnecco, “Museo Del Oro: Vinetas,” *Revista Colombiana de Antropologia* 49, no. 2 (December 2013): 185.

as a result of intercultural assimilation in the area between different indigenous groups, a result of the regional diversity.¹⁷¹ Despite the dispute over Nasa origins, the reality is that today the Nasa recognize themselves as a unified indigenous culture, they share a cross-community solidarity and are recognized by the Colombian State as an indigenous community. Consequently, Tierradentro is regarded as their indigenous territory around which the Nasa reservations are situated and subject Nasa governance.

Nasa Administrative Structure: The Nasa are administratively arranged into different organizations at the national, regional and local levels. At the San Andrés Reservation, the local administration is the Cabildo Nasa. The Cabildo is the main structure of indigenous governance at the local level, it is made up of five members of the community who are democratically elected each year by the reservation members. The Cabildo is led by the Governor and the Vice Governor.

Part of the Cabildo's activities include liaising with other Nasa Cabildos to continuously upkeep the Cabildo network. This network is overseen by the *Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca* (CRIC). Moreover, the Cabildo members uphold their political and administrative responsibilities on top of their everyday livelihoods.¹⁷² Thus, they must be active political players of community interests at the local level, within the regional network and when required at the State level.¹⁷³

Indigenous Reservation: The reservation is the initial political organization of a community defined by the territory it traditionally occupied, a Cabildo governs the reservation. Lands

¹⁷¹ Herinaldy Gomez and Carlos Ariel Ruiz, *Los Paeces: Gente Territorio, Metafora Que Perdura* (Colombia: FUNCOP Universidad del Cauca, 1997), 49.

¹⁷² They do not perform the position as a full-time job with regular "office hours" but have designated community consultation days. The Cabildo members circulate through the Cabildo House, the administrative headquarters, on a rolling basis for daily administrative tasks and social activities.

¹⁷³ Instituto Colombiano de cultura hispánica, "2. Los Nasa O La Gente Páez Ximena Pachón C | Banrepcultural.org," accessed May 17, 2016, <http://www.banrepcultural.org/blaavirtual/geografia/geohum2/nasa1.htm>.

within a reservation are communal property and the members of the reservation community have a series of obligations to the community, such as communal work (mingas) or holding office if elected unto the cabildo. The Tierradentro Archaeological Park exists within but separate to the San Andrés de Pisimabala Nasa Reservation, this is an important distinction that affects the management of the Park.

Consejo Regional Indigena del Cauca (Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca)- CRIC:

The Cauca Regional Indigenous Council (CRIC) is an inter-indigenous governance body founded in 1971. It is composed of ten distinct indigenous groups compiling a total of 84 resguardos, and 115 cabildos. The CRIC's aim in its activities is the defense of indigenous territories, languages and cultures- a life project for the indigenous peoples of the Cauca region of Colombia.¹⁷⁴ The CRIC is a governance and operative body which pools together the priorities and experiences of the ten indigenous communities it represents. indigenous traditional law is a key aspect of its decision making process. As an inter-group policy making body, it is also the initiator and manager of several community projects around the areas of: land-territory, the environment, community production, education, and health. The CRIC was the collective body that published and disseminated the indigenous Life Plans (Plan de Vida) in 2007, among which the Life Plan of the Tierradentro Nasa is included.

Indigenous Life Plan: The Indigenous Life Plan, in this case the CRIC regional plan and Nasa Juan Tama Association Life Plan, is a document that acts as a policy proposal, consultation tool for indigenous groups at the national level, and means of indigenous priority socialization.¹⁷⁵ The CRIC describes their Life Plan as a “collective exercise” that permits the design and construction of a future by using and featuring memory, cultural capacities, diversity, and capacity for resistance which have made indigenous people who they are today.

¹⁷⁴ Consejo Regional Indigena del Cauca, “Plan de Vida Regional de los Pueblos Indigenas del Cauca,” 8.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 6.

Thus, its aim is to collect experience and priorities, voice them to the communities, while mobilizing their political messages at a national level to ensure the persistent survival and improvement of living conditions for indigenous people in Colombia.¹⁷⁶ Although not a point of discussion in the Life Plan, heritage and its management must be addressed in the policy positions of indigenous peoples. Likewise, Life Plan objectives must be in dialogue with heritage management plans, policy and legislation where indigenous territories are identified as World Heritage. A clear parallel between the aims of heritage and those of the Life Plan are seen in the following section, “The objective of the life plan is to reconstruct the past to reaffirm the present and to give life to the future.”¹⁷⁷ Evidently, Life Plan and Heritage have the common aims of asserting a constructed and affirmed past to contextualize the present. Thus, histories are identified as significant for the future due to their connection to identities, and community forming processes.

Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia (Colombian Institute of Anthropology and History) ICANH: Founded in 1952 by merging the National Archaeological Service (est. 1938) and the Ethnographic Institute (est. 1941), the National Colombian Institute of Anthropology and History (ICANH) is the body responsible for cultural and Heritage management and research at the national level. It is composed of researchers, anthropologists, archaeologists, managers, policy makers, and administrative staff. Effectively, it is the body responsible for drafting and publishing of the management plans and for liaising with UNESCO. Its offices are in Bogotá from where it communicates with the managers at the different Heritage sites around the country, such as the Park administrators at the Tierradentro Archaeological Park.

¹⁷⁶ Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca, “Plan de Vida Regional de los Pueblos Indígenas del Cauca,” 8.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.