Summary of Project as Stated for Funding:

I plan to research in Santa Cruz, Bolivia from June 10th until August 10th, 2012. This project intends to investigate the little-studied nation-building process in the eastern department of Santa Cruz, with specific focus on the Battle of Kuruyuki in 1892, in which the Bolivian army supposedly defeated the Guaraní ethnic group after two centuries of on-going warfare. The Guaraní are one of the symbolically and numerically most significant indigenous groups in eastern Bolivia. These communities united in 1892 to fight the Bolivian army, as they had previously fought the Incas, the Spaniards, and the Santa Cruz settlers. 1892 marked not only the defeat of the Guaraní, but their extermination, thereby eliminating the “Indian question” from the nation-building process in Santa Cruz. The Guaraní’s goals, motives, and actions in 1892 remain unstudied; scholars have focused instead on the elimination of the fierce Guaraní, rather than on locating the Guaraní’s mobilization within broader political conflicts and processes in the late nineteenth century. Initial investigations into the case of Kuruyuki suggest that the 1892 battle merits further investigation. I propose to work in the archives at the History Museum of Santa Cruz. I will also work extensively in the Archbishop’s Archives in Santa Cruz, as they have important information on Kuruyuki, due to the priest Romualdo Dambroggi, who, in 1892, took interest in Apiaguaiqui Tumpa and sent his scribe, Juan Ayemoti, to interview him several times. I commenced research at the Santa Cruz History Museum in June of 2011, and have established very good research working relationships with the director and the staff.

Budget:

I received $17,175.16 from the Humanities Grant Program for summer research. Approximately $5,000 went towards food and lodging, $9000 towards faculty salary and fringe benefit expenses, $1000 towards airfare, and $2000 towards in-country travel and archival fees to use the materials. These estimated costs resulted rather accurate, and the money was used for the expenses outlined in the budget.

External Funding Applications and Additional Opportunities that Resulted as a Result of the 2012 Humanities Grant:

External funding— I have applied for a Fulbright CIES Fellowship (turned in August 1, 2013), entitled “The Role of Ethnic Identity in the Nation-Building Process: A Comparative Study of Bolivia and Paraguay,” to continue the research the 2012 Humanities Grant funds allowed me to commence. I will also apply for a Ryskamp Fellowship, due in January 2014.
**Internal funding:** I am applying for a Humanities Grant (2013) to develop a portion of the project in Paraguay that has to do with the origin myth of the Guaraní indigenous population, who claim Paraguay as their natal home rather than Bolivia. The project is entitled “Nation Building and the Role of Ethnic Identity: The Significance of the Paraguayan Guaraní Indians.”

**Presentations and Publications:** The 2012 research funded by a Humanities Grant resulted in important presentations and publications as well. I presented a portion of the research, entitled “‘But Our Indians are Different’: Regional Difference, Constructions of Race, and the Comparative Nation-Building Processes in Eastern and Western Bolivia,” at the most prestigious conference for the field of history, the American Historical Association Conference (January, 2013). In addition, I was invited to present in the largest conference on eastern lowland history in Bolivia, El Congreso de Tierras Bajas, in October of 2013. I presented an argument that emerged directly from data gathered in 2012. I delivered the talk in Spanish to an academic audience. Not only was it well received, the conference organizers, among them the director of the History Museum where I carry out research, selected my presentation for publication in Bolivia. In short, the Humanities Grant advanced my career significantly in terms of publications and professional contacts, as the additional information below also indicates.

**Scholarly Activities As a Result of the Humanities Grant Funding:**

I am finishing an article on the role of the Guaraní in the nation-building process in early twentieth-century Bolivia in Santa Cruz that is a direct result of the research collected during the summer of 2012, funded by a Humanities Grant. The article is nearly finished, and will be submitted to the top-tier *Journal of Latin American Studies* during January of 2014. Please find a summary of the article below:

*Indigenismo in Santa Cruz: The Centrality of a Guaraní Identity in Regional Projects of Nation Building*

In a recent article, entitled “Cuando resucitan los indios inexistentes: invención e investigación en el oriente boliviano,” the French anthropologist and Santa Cruz resident Isabelle Combes criticized investigators and lowland intellectuals alike, claiming that the historical neglect of or silence regarding the indigenous population in Santa Cruz had given way in the 2000 to the reinvention and promotion of ethnic politics that centers on a Guarani past for the Santa Cruz department. Combes and other scholars recognize that the apparent recent development of lowland indigenous identity among lowland urban intellectuals is a response to Evo Morales’s “authentic” highland definitions of official culture that privileged highland Aymara indigenous culture, including imposing the Aymara New Year on the national calendar and obligating all banks and government institutions to close in recognition of the Aymara new year.1 Scholars assert that Santa Cruz’s development of an oppositional indigenous identity is merely a contemporary discourse and
means of articulating difference and disagreement between highland and lowland Bolivia, a latent theme in Bolivian history.

Are the 2000s the first time the Santa Cruz Creole elite have deployed an Indian-centered argument for the Santa Cruz region? The lowland intellectuals’ championing of a Guarani lowland indigenous identity is in part a response to Evo Morales’s highland-centered political discourse. As anthropologist Kathleen Lowery states: “‘Camba’ [a term for lowland residents that, in the second half of the twentieth century, identified a person with the Santa Cruz region regardless of their ethnic affiliation or racial composition] have mastered the rhetoric of historical disadvantage, ethnic difference, and cultural self-determination.” The contemporary political context certainly shapes discourses of regional identity, but are the current representations of lowland Indian culture solely a response to external pressures emanating from highland Bolivia? What makes the lowland elite’s adoption of a discourse that incorporates aspects of Santa Cruz’s Indian past legitimate and viable within the region today? I suggest that Indians, and in particular the Guarani indigenous group, have held a place historically in lowland intellectual discourse. Although there were important distinctions within Santa Cruz between Indian and Creole, the Guarani (referred to in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries using the encompassing ethnic marker of “Chiriguano”) language and culture permeated even exclusive definitions of regional cruceño identity.

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ii Lowery, “Bolivia multiético,” 64.