

# Restitution of Human Remains and Landscape Resignification

The Case of Chapal-có Hill (La Pampa, Argentina)  
and the Rankülche Nation

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*Abstract* The restitution of human remains is a process wherein diverse agencies and meanings emerge. In Argentina there has been a significant increase of these processes, as well as claims of human bodies, during the early twenty-first century, allowing the appearance of new actors, the reconfiguration of public policies, and varied academic approaches. This article deals with a seldom-studied phenomenon—resignification of the territory as a consequence of a restitution—focusing on a recent example that involved the Rankülche Nation, an Indigenous nation in central Argentina, and its relationship with the government of the La Pampa province, with scientists, and with members of the local community.

*Keywords* Rankülche, restitution of remains, landscape, Argentina, Indigenous

The restitution of human remains is a process wherein diverse agencies and meanings emerge. There has been a significant increase of these processes, as well as claims of human bodies, during the early twenty-first century, allowing the appearance of new actors, the reconfiguration of public policies, and varied academic approaches.<sup>1</sup>

This article deals with a seldom-studied phenomenon—resignification of the landscape as a consequence of a restitution—focusing on a recent example that involved the Rankülche Nation, the government of the La Pampa province, scientists, and members of the local community. In 2004 remains of at least six individuals were exposed during the archaeological rescue excavation of a local road in the Chapal-có Valley. The job was done in consultation with representatives of the Rankülche Nation, who considered that the remains were from their ancestors, as they were in a territory they regarded as their own. After a long process of negotiation and some superficial scientific studies (also negotiated), the remains were reburied where they had been discovered. In this context, we explore three dimen-

## ENGLISH LANGUAGE NOTES

58:1, April 2020 DOI 10.1215/00138282-8237410

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sions that we view as complementary: (1) the Rankülches, their worldview, and the relationship between sacred spaces and landscape; (2) the changes in the state policies in relationship with the Indigenous nations in general and the restitutions in particular; and (3) the specific reburial that is the object of this study.

### **The Rankülches, Their Cosmology, and the Relationship between Sacred Spaces and Landscape**

The ancestral territory and ethnic origins of the Rankülches is a topic of debate.<sup>2</sup> The historical literature gives various references to an origin in the eighteenth century, emerging from an extended process of mixing and replacement between Indigenous groups local to the Chapal-có Valley and others coming from the western side of the Andes.<sup>3</sup> This theory is not supported by the contemporary Rankülche community<sup>4</sup> and is also contradicted by some travel narratives. For example, in his travelogue of 1806 Luis de la Cruz transcribes a response from the *cacique* (chief) Manquel on the occupation of Mamül Mapu: “En estas tierras habitan indios desde tiempos inmemoriales, que así lo oyó á sus antepasados” (Indians have inhabited these lands since time immemorial, that is what he heard from his ancestors).<sup>5</sup> The reported extent of their territorial distribution has changed over time,<sup>6</sup> and contemporary communities claim different areas across La Pampa province. Furthermore, various communities in Buenos Aires, Córdoba, San Luis, and Mendoza provinces, all in central Argentina (fig. 1), self-identify as belonging to the Rankülche Nation.

Whereas the ethnic origins and ancestral territories of the Rankülche appear potentially rather diverse, their cosmology presents greater uniformity. In particular, their creation myth shares many aspects with other Indigenous nations in the Walmapu<sup>7</sup> and is largely centered on the story of a flood caused by a pair of warring brothers: Kai-kai-filú (the snake who ruled the waters in the underworld) and Treng-Tréng (the snake who ruled the land). Kai-kai-filú tries to drown all living beings, moving his tail to raise the waters. To stop this, Treng-Tréng crushes his brother with a boulder that falls from the mountain where humans have taken refuge.<sup>8</sup> This creation tale permeates all the religious beliefs of Mamül Mapu. From it arises the dialectic between good and evil and the importance of water in the Rankülches’ sacred world.

The main entities in that dialectic are Chachao, the deity of good, and Gualicho, the deity of evil. As Lucio Victorio Mansilla describes it, “Mientras el uno no piensa en hacerle mal a nadie, el otro anda siempre pensando en el mal del prójimo” (When one of them never thinks about doing evil, the other one is always thinking about doing evil to others).<sup>9</sup> The same duality and the strong relationship with water are expressed by other beings. As an example, Arrüncó, a representation of the toad (*Bufo arenarum*), owns the waterholes and is the protector of the creeks. He is everywhere, from springs and ponds to the homemade *jagüeles* (watering holes for cattle).<sup>10</sup> His presence is a symbol of joy, because it implies rain and life-supporting water.<sup>11</sup> However, if humans offend him, he goes away, drying all sources of water until the offender is punished.<sup>12</sup>

The Rankülches’ sacred traditions related to death and burial were described with great detail by Santiago Avendaño in his book *Usos y costumbres de los indios de la pampa (Mores and Customs of the La Pampa Indians)*.<sup>13</sup> From his descriptions it can be said that both the grave goods (vessels, food, the favorite horse of the deceased,

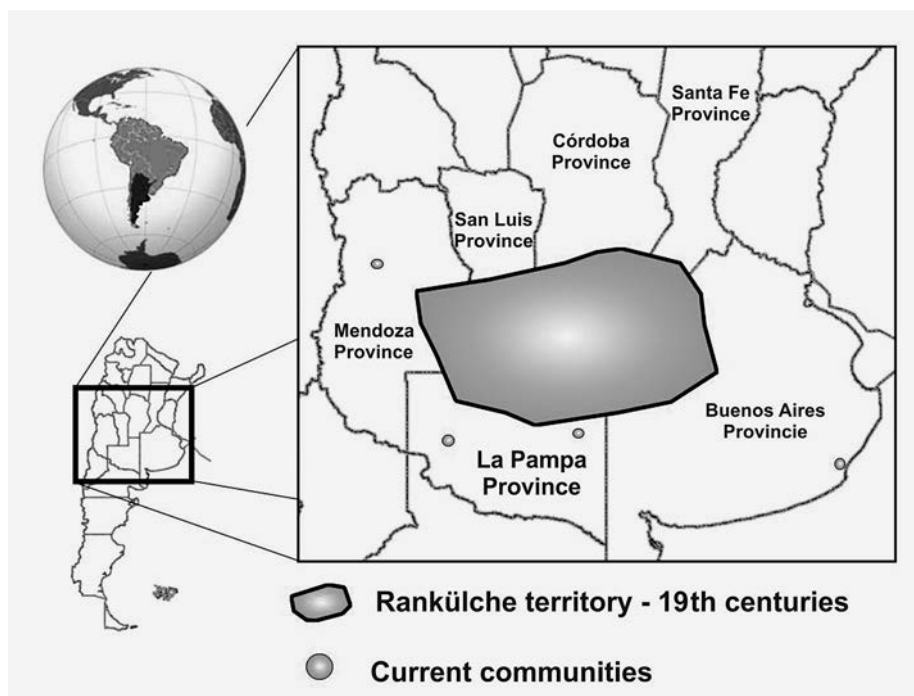


Figure 1. Map: Historical territory of the Rankülche nation, and current communities.

etc.) and the position of the corpse correspond with the idea of a resurrection in the Alhué Mapumú. In this sense, a central point for this article is the place in which the burial takes place.<sup>14</sup> Avendaño mentions that the corpse of the Indian Güichal was buried in a place called Gaudá, a big, tall hill with a flat top, where there were many other burials. In the same location, according to Avendaño, the festivities of the devil's witches take place.<sup>15</sup> Mansilla also mentions the importance of the burial site, where the body must rest: "Una sepultura es lo más sagrado. No hay herejía comparable al hecho de desenterrar un cadáver" (A tomb is a most sacred place. There is no heresy comparable to unearthing a corpse).<sup>16</sup>

The selection of elevated sites for burials grants a reflection on prominent sites in the landscape, as they are separated from everyday activities and/or offer good visibility.<sup>17</sup> Darwin made similar observations during the first half of the nineteenth century: "Shortly after passing the first spring we came in sight of a famous tree, which the Indians reverence as the altar of Wallectü. It is situated on a high part of the plain; and hence is a landmark visible at a great distance. As soon as a tribe of Indians come in sight of it, they offer their adorations by loud shouts."<sup>18</sup> Another activity that takes place in remote and elevated sites was the consultations with Wüekufu, the devil. Regarding that, Avendaño explains that "los lugares destinados para esta consulta, es siempre el lugar más alto, como ser las grandes lomadas y los médanos" (the places devoted to this consultation is always the highest place, such as big hills and dunes).<sup>19</sup>

Finally, the selection of places remote from the main dwellings for the performance of religious practices or not suitable for the whole population is also

mentioned by De la Cruz: “A la noche oí un griterío, cantos y tambor a las inmediaciones de nuestro alojamiento; y averiguada la causa, era un machitún que estaban haciendo con una enferma en un toldo que distará como cosa de dos cuabras de este sitio” (At night I heard voices, songs, and a drum close to our dwelling, and when we learned the reason, it was a machitún they were doing for a sick woman, in a tent about two hundred meters from here).<sup>20</sup>

### The Argentinian State and Its Policies on Indigenous Nations and Restitutions

Through history the Argentinian state has had changing, even contradictory, policies regarding Indigenous nations. In 1878 and 1879, in a genocidal military campaign, it occupied the territories in the center of present-day Argentina.<sup>21</sup> The genocide was supported by two national laws, 215/1867 and 947/1878. Although controversial, these laws allowed for the displacement of whole populations, the expropriation of new territories, and the consolidation of an economic model aimed at producing agricultural exports.<sup>22</sup> During the so-called Campaña del Desierto, the Campaign of the Desert, more than 8 million hectares, previously occupied by Indigenous nations, were seized by the state. It can be said that this period featured the first group of Indigenous policies at the nation-state level, arising from the consolidation of the model territory/nation/state.<sup>23</sup>

This was the context of Mansilla’s military expedition to Leuvucó.<sup>24</sup> Even today Mansilla’s literary work, *Una excursión a los indios ranqueles*, contributes to the agencies of different actors of the Rankülche Nation, local inhabitants, provincial government, and educational institutions.

In the twentieth century, especially before the return to democracy in 1983, regulations on Indigenous nations were erratic and asystematic.<sup>25</sup> During the first half of the century there were no significant changes from the nineteenth century, but the notion of historical reparation and the issue of race were incorporated into public and political discourse.<sup>26</sup> As Diana Lenton explains, a significant change took place in 1946, when Juan Domingo Perón became president. His government created the Dirección de Protección del Aborigen and the Instituto Étnico Nacional and ratified Agreement 169 of the International Labor Organization.<sup>27</sup> Some Indigenous communities received lands and deeds from the government, and some leaders were incorporated into the public administration, but without specific ethnic recognition.<sup>28</sup> One of the main consequences of this process was the promulgation in 1957 of Law 14932, abolishing forced work, and the First National Indigenous Census in 1965.<sup>29</sup> During that period there was a strong emergence of Indigenous social and political militancy.<sup>30</sup> With the return to democracy in 1983, Law 23.302, Política Indígena y Apoyo a las Comunidades Aborígenes (Indigenous Policies and Support to Indigenous Communities), was approved in 1985 and took effect in 1989. According to Lenton, this law still governs the policies of treatment of Indigenous nations, regulated by the Instituto Nacional de Asuntos Indígenas.<sup>31</sup> Even with the constitutional reform of 1994 and the adoption of International Labor Organization convention 169, the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, in 1989, integrationism and subordination of the Indigenous nations still prevail, in contrast with the proclamation of interculturality.

1 As this brief historical overview shows, the claims for restitution of human  
2 remains did not play a role in the agenda of Indigenous nations. This is noteworthy  
3 if we remark that the first movements in this direction, as well as the request of no  
4 excavation of tombs, took place in the United States and Australia in the 1960s.<sup>32</sup>  
5 The Vermillion Accord on Human Remains, adopted in 1989 at the World Archae-  
6 logical Congress Inter-Congress in Vermillion, South Dakota, marked an inflection  
7 point in the scientific world. It establishes “the express recognition that the con-  
8 cerns of various ethnic groups, as well as those of science are legitimate and to be  
9 respected, will permit acceptable agreements to be reached and honored.”<sup>33</sup> Years  
10 later the International Council of Museums modified its code of ethics to include  
11 clauses on research, conservation, and exhibition of sensitive cultural materials.<sup>34</sup>  
12 The code establishes that “research on human remains and materials of sacred sig-  
13 nificance must be accomplished in a manner consistent with professional stan-  
14 dards and take into account the interests and beliefs of the community, ethnic or  
15 religious groups from whom the objects originated, where these are known.”<sup>35</sup>

16 In Argentina the first claim took place in 1973 and was made informally by  
17 a historian from Buenos Aires province. The request was made to the Museo de  
18 Ciencias Naturales de La Plata, and its authorities did not consider the request offi-  
19 cially. In the claim this historian requested the “custody,” not the restitution, of the  
20 *caciques* Calfucurá, Manuel Guerra, Gherenal, Indio Brujo, and Chipitruz.<sup>36</sup> The  
21 first claims were rejected because it was contended that the remains were part of  
22 archaeological collections that were state property, or because of the impossibility  
23 of legally proving relationships of consanguinity.<sup>37</sup> The first successful restitutions  
24 were treated on a case-by-case basis, usually claiming the remains of chiefs with a  
25 renowned trajectory. The restitution of *cacique* Inakayal, a Tehuelche chief, whose  
26 remains had been in the Museo de la Plata since the beginning of the twentieth cen-  
27 tury, was ordered under Law 23.940/1991. His remains were finally returned to  
28 Tecka, Chubut province, in 1994.<sup>38</sup> The second restitution, by Law 25.276/2001,  
29 was the devolution of *cacique* Panghitruz Güor (Mariano Rosas) to the Rankülche  
30 Nation, and he was buried the same year in Leuvucó, La Pampa province.<sup>39</sup>

31 Law 25517 from 2001 introduced a change in the policies regarding restitution  
32 of human remains, but its implementation was delayed. This law establishes that  
33 museums must put human remains from their collections at the disposition of  
34 Indigenous nations.<sup>40</sup> The implementation of the law was achieved thanks to the  
35 pressure and mobilization of the Indigenous communities, and the Instituto Nacional  
36 de Asuntos Indígenas was designated as the body in charge of following up.<sup>41</sup> Between  
37 the approval and the implementation of Law 25517, law 25743 was approved for the  
38 “protection of archaeological and paleontological patrimony.” This law created a con-  
39 troversy at the political and academic level and among the Indigenous communities  
40 because it does not consider the Indigenous communities as subjects of rights.<sup>42</sup>

41 Along the way, the Indigenous communities became subjects of law, launching  
42 broad and specific claims related mostly to their ethnic preexistence. The fundamen-  
43 tal claim in this sense was the right to their territories as a constitutive part of their  
44 identity and culture.<sup>43</sup> To this basic claim they added the request of political autonomy  
45 inside the state, having control on the decision processes and the election of represen-  
tatives on vital issues (economy, health, housing, culture, cultural patrimony).<sup>44</sup>

1 Since 2010 the relationship between archaeologists and the Indigenous communities has gone through different stages, always with new and complex challenges. Most restitutions were done under different circumstances and constraints, including the time frame of the claim, the importance and experience of the institution in which the remains were located, the relationship between the claimant and the researchers, the possibility of conducting research on the remains, and the instrumentation of the previous, free, and informed consent. These circumstances create uncertainty among some members of the scientific community, and it is a topic of debates in academic conferences at both the national and the regional level and at the Talleres de Discusión sobre Restitución de Restos Humanos de Interés Arqueológico y Bioantropológico (Workshops of Discussion on the Restitution of Human Remains of Archaeological and Bioanthropological Interest) that have taken place every two years since 2011, with the specific goal of addressing these topics.<sup>45</sup>

### Chapal-có Hill

2 An archaeological site was identified on the shores of the Chapal-có lake, during excavation in the homonymous valley. Dated to the late Holocene, the place was characterized as a site of specific activities.<sup>46</sup> Its location in the valley's relief is shared by most of the archaeological sites in the region. The research indicates a use of space toward the occupation of lowlands, followed by the low slopes and then the medium slopes. In the highest features of the landscape (plateaus and flat tops of the dunes), there were no archaeological remains in the surface.<sup>47</sup> In this context, the identification of human skeletal remains in Chapal-có Hill, located two kilometers from the site above, was an unexpected event. The extraction of rocks next to a local road generated by a widening of the accesses and the removal of a great volume of soil uncovered the burial. A local inhabitant reported this fact to the authorities of La Pampa province in 2004. Given the conditions of the findings and the fact that the human remains were exposed, a rescue was immediately planned. For that, the findings were communicated to representatives of the Willi Kalkin Rankülche community in Toay (La Pampa province). The Rankülche community organized a visit to the Chapal-có Hill, where two main issues were discussed: the characterization of the place in the landscape and what to do with the human remains. The community decided to carry out analyses to determine, in the first place, the antiquity of the human remains, to be returned afterward for disposition.<sup>48</sup> After the findings were reported, the local press started to speculate that the remains could belong to missing prisoners from the last military dictatorship (1976–83). Given this situation, the Toay Rankülche community proposed to do research to date the remains and therefore clarify the issue. The results of the dating were  $3090 \pm 70$  BP, placing the remains in the late Holocene.

3 It is important to mention that the initial agreement of the 2004 devolution of remains predates the Regulatory Decree 701 of National Law 25.517 from 2010, which regulates the restitution of Indigenous remains that are part of museums and/or public or private collections. Furthermore, this was not a case of restitution, strictly speaking, in the sense of returning something to a previous owner, but an agreed-on devolution that established the reburial of the remains. Another dif-

ference with previous restitutions, or at least with the majority of them, is that the human remains in Chapal-có Hill were not part of a museum collection, nor were they the discovery of a planned archaeological excavation. On the contrary, the remains were found by chance, in conditions that significantly damaged the integrity of the burial and made exposed bone fragments vulnerable to the elements. Therefore there was an urgent rescue with the agreement of the Toay Rankülche community.

### Restitutions in La Pampa Province and Resignification of the Landscape

Since the end of the twentieth century there have been several initiatives of “historical reparations” related to state policies in the Rankülche ancestral territories. Monuments and commemorative markers were erected as homage and recognition in different places in La Pampa, usually to mark ancestral places.<sup>49</sup> However, the result of those initiatives is a static and patrimonialist view of Rankülche culture that does not take into account their histories, worldview, and contemporary claims.<sup>50</sup> In this context, two of the most significant events in the relationship between the state and the Rankülches involved human remains. The most important one for all involved agents, with important national coverage, was the restitution of *cacique* Panguitruz Güor’s (Mariano Rosas’s) remains in June 2001. As mentioned above, it was the result of a specific law (25.276/2001). The second one, in August 2006, was the claim and reburial of the remains of *capitanejo* Gregorio Yancamil.<sup>51</sup> In both cases, the final resting place of the remains does not coincide with the original burial. Panguitruz Güor’s tomb was looted at the end of the nineteenth century, and its original place is not known. His remains were taken to the Museo de la Plata and returned to the shores of Lake Leuvucó. There the Rankülche communities celebrate their Wetripantru in the place where the *cacique* rests.<sup>52</sup> Gregorio Yancamil’s remains lie in the central square of the town of Victorica (La Pampa province). Previously he was buried in the municipal cemetery. This reburial was a consequence of a process that involved, seventy years later, the displacement of all the participants in the battle of Cochicó.<sup>53</sup>

The reburial of the remains in Chapal-có Hill represents a new mode of devotion in several aspects. From the beginning the Rankülche Nation was involved in the process and proposed the study of the remains. Afterward it decided on the place for the reburial as well as the date. That decision was taken in a special event, the Vuta Travún.<sup>54</sup> In November 2014, in a meeting attended by one of the authors of this article, there was general consensus on doing the reburial in the same hill where the remains were found, and also on the sacred nature of the place. This last point is crucial, because it gives a new conception of the definition of reburial spaces. Panguitruz Güor and Gregorio Yancamil were reburied in spaces that were significant for many agents (not only the Rankülches) but not in their original burial places. In contraposition, Chapal-có Hill becomes a significant space for the community as a reemergence of an ancestral landscape, because high places were considered sacred.

For the Indigenous communities, the claims go beyond the claimed object or body and the implied action. They are part of the ethnopolitical strategies done in

the context of their worldview and own rights.<sup>55</sup> As Daniel Huircapán, Ángela Jaramillo, and Félix Acuto have written, their ancestors and the burial goods “no pertenecen a cajas en depósitos de museos sino a los procesos activos de autoidentificación y lucha por derechos que los pueblos originarios de la Argentina conducen en la actualidad” (do not belong in boxes in museums but to the current processes of self-recognition and the fight for the rights of the Indigenous nations in Argentina).<sup>56</sup>

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#### Acknowledgments

To the memory of the *lonkos* (leaders) German Canuhé and Fermín Acuña. This work was possible thanks to the trust of and interactions with the members of the Rankülche Nation through the years. We are grateful to the government of La Pampa province and to Martin Doppelt for editorial assistance.

#### Notes

- 1 See, among others, Ametrano, “Historia de una restitución”; Cosmai, Folguera, and Outomuro, “Restitución, repatriación y normativa ética y legal”; Stella, “Arranqué con esto de transitar, de caminar por este camino . . .”; and Curtoni and Chaparro, “Políticas de reparación.”
- 2 See, among others, Asociación Pampeana de Escritores, *Pampas del Sud*; Depetris, *Gente de la tierra*; Fernández, *Historia de los indios ranqueles*; Lazzari, “¡Vivan los indios argentinos!”; Lazzari and Lenton, “Etnología y nación”; Poduje, Garay, and Crochetti, *Narrativa ranquel*; and Salomón Tarquini, “Indígenas y paisanos en La Pampa.”
- 3 See, for example, Canals Frau, “Expansion of the Araucanians in Argentina”; Hux, *Caciques pampa-ranqueles*; Mandrini, *Los araucanos de las pampas en el siglo XIX*; and Tapia, “Fusión y fisión de tolderías ranquelinas.”

- 4 Canuhé, “Historia Rankül (Ranquel)”; Canuhé, “Reseña histórica de la nación Mamülche.”
- 5 Mamül-Mapu (*mamül*: “wood”; *mapu*: “land”), or Land of Forests, is the denomination used by the Rankülches for their ancestral territory. All the translations from Spanish are ours.
- 6 See, among others, Salomón Tarquini, “Estrategias de acceso y conservación”; and Tapia, “Fusión y fisión de tolderías ranquelinas.”
- 7 Wal-mapu has been defined as a very large territory in present-day central Argentina and Chile, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean, in which there was a permanent movement of populations, goods, and culture, from pre-Hispanic times to the present (see, among others, Bandieri, *Cruzando la cordillera*; Nicoletti and Núñez, “Introducción”; and Berón et al., “Enclaves y espacios internodales”).
- 8 For more details, see Magrassi, *Los aborígenes de la Argentina*; and Canuhé, “Reseña histórica de la nación Mamülche.”
- 9 Mansilla, *Una excursión a los indios ranqueles*, 106. Lucio Victorio Mansilla (Buenos Aires 1831–Paris 1913) was a famous writer, politician, military officer, and socialite. In 1869 he was sent to command a post in southern Córdoba, the northern frontier of Rankülche territory at that time, and in 1870 he led a short trip to visit the Rankülche communities. *Una excursión a*



- 1 los indios ranqueles, the book he wrote from that  
2 experience, became canonical in Argentine  
3 literature, and his views on this ethnic group  
4 still loom large in Argentinian culture.
- 10 Conejeros, "Divinidades en el arte textil del  
11 Puel Mapu."
- 12 Curtoni, "Mapu-kó."
- 13 Pampas del Sud, *Recopilación de textos*.
- 14 Avendaño, *Usos y costumbres de los indios de la  
15 pampa*. Santiago Avendaño was a captive of the  
16 Rankülches for almost nine years, starting in  
17 1842, when he was only seven years old.
- 18 For theoretical approaches to landscape  
19 signification, see Hirsch and O'Hanlon,  
20 *Anthropology of Landscape*; Hirsch, "Landscape,  
21 Myth, and Time"; Liebmann, "From  
22 Landscapes of Meaning to Landscapes of  
23 Signification"; and Tilley and Cameron-Daum,  
24 *Anthropology of Landscape*.
- 25 Avendaño, *Usos y costumbres de los indios de la  
26 pampa*, 72.
- 27 Mansilla, *Una excursión a los indios ranqueles*,  
28 106.
- 29 See, among others, Casamiquela, *Estudio del  
30 Ngillaturu*; Di Liscia, "Medicina, religión y  
31 género"; Llamazares, "Arte chamánico"; and  
32 Curtoni, "Mapu-kó."
- 33 Darwin, *Countries Visited during the Voyage of  
34 H.M.S. Beagle*, 68.
- 35 Avendaño, *Usos y costumbres de los indios de la  
36 pampa*, 33.
- 37 De la Cruz, *Viaje a su costa del alcalde provincial*,  
38 178. A machitún is a ceremony performed by  
39 the *machi*, the shaman.
- 40 See, among many others, Dos Santos  
41 Montagne, "Ni los historiadores"; and  
42 Canuhé, "Reseña histórica de la nación  
43 Mamülche."
- 44 See Lenton, "Política indigenista argentina."
- 45 See, among others, Delrio, *Memorias de  
expropiación*; and Lenton, "Política indigenista  
argentina."
- Leuvucó (*leuvú*: "stream"; *có*: "water," "spring  
that runs") is the name of a lake on Ruta  
Provincial 105, twenty-five kilometers north of  
Victorica, La Pampa province, Argentina. It was  
the center of the Rankülche Nation, at least  
during the nineteenth century.
- See, among many others, Lazzari,  
"Antropología en el estado"; and Lenton,  
"Política indigenista argentina."
- Lenton, "Política indigenista argentina."
- See, among others, Endere and Ayala,  
"Normativa legal, recaudos éticos y práctica  
arqueológica"; Lenton, "Política indigenista  
argentina"; and Slavsky, "Los indígenas y la  
sociedad nacional."
- Lenton, "Política indigenista argentina."
- Endere and Ayala, "Normativa legal, recaudos  
éticos y práctica arqueológica."
- Lenton, "Política indigenista argentina."
- See, among others, (Deloria, *Custer Died for  
Your Sins*; Deloria, *Red Earth, White Lies*; Echo-  
Hawk and Echo-Hawk, *Battlefields and Burial  
Grounds*; Fay and James, *Rights and Wrongs of  
Land Restitution*; and West-Newman, "Anger in  
Legacies of Empire."
- World Archaeological Congress, "Vermillion  
Accord on Human Remains."
- Endere, "Derechos y reclamos de los pueblos  
indígenas."
- International Council of Museums, "Code of  
Ethics for Museums," 20.
- Podgorny and Politis, "¿Qué sucedió en la  
historia?"; Podgorny and Miotti, "El pasado  
como campo de batalla"; Ametrano, "Los  
procesos de restitución"; Pepe, Suárez, and  
Harrison, *Antropología del genocidio*. In 2016 the  
Museo de La Plata returned to the Indigenous  
community Cacique Pincén in Trenque  
Lauquen (Buenos Aires province) the Mapuche-  
Tehuelche skulls of Manuel Guerra, Gherenal,  
Indio Brujo, and Gervasio Chipitruz. In a  
posterior Indigenous parliament it was decided  
that Guerra and Chipitruz should be buried in  
Tapalqué (Buenos Aires province) and that  
Indio Brujo and Gherenal would be returned to  
Rankülche territory in La Pampa province,  
since they belonged to that ethnic community.
- See Endere, "Patrimonios en disputa"; Endere,  
"Reburial Issue in Argentina"; and Endere and  
Ayala, "Normativa legal, recaudos éticos y  
práctica arqueológica."
- Ametrano, "Los procesos de restitución";  
Endere and Ayala, "Normativa legal, recaudos  
éticos y práctica arqueológica"; Huircapán,  
Jaramillo, and Acuto, "Reflexiones  
interculturales."
- See, among others, Endere and Curtoni, "Entre  
lonkos y 'ólogos"; Lazzari, "La restitución de  
los restos de Mariano Rosas"; and Lazzari,  
"Reclamos, restituciones y repatriaciones de  
restos humanos indígenas."
- See, among others, Cosmai, Folguera, and  
Outomuro, "Restitución, repatriación y  
normativa ética y legal"; Endere and Ayala,  
"Normativa legal, recaudos éticos y práctica  
arqueológica"; and Ametrano, "Los procesos de  
restitución."
- Endere and Ayala, "Normativa legal, recaudos  
éticos y práctica arqueológica"; Ametrano, "Los  
procesos de restitución."
- See, among others, Briones, "Políticas  
indigenistas en Argentina"; and Endere and  
Ayala, "Normativa legal, recaudos éticos y  
práctica arqueológica."
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- 49 See, among others, Curtoni, Lazzari, and Lazzari, "Middle of Nowhere"; Curtoni, "La dimensión política de la arqueología"; Lazzari, "Ya no más cuerpos muertos"; and Curtoni and Chaparro, "Políticas de reparación."
- 50 Curtoni and Chaparro, "Políticas de reparación."
- 51 Curtoni and Chaparro, "El re-entierro del cacique José Gregorio Yancamil"; Curtoni and Chaparro, "Políticas de reparación."
- 52 Wetripantu, June 23, is the celebration of the new year for the Rankülche Nation during the winter solstice in the Southern Hemisphere.
- 53 Curtoni and Chaparro, "Políticas de reparación." The battle of Cochicó occurred in the homonymous place on August 19, 1882. It is considered the last battle between military troops and the Rankülche resistance in La Pampa province (Hux. *Caciques pampa-ranqueles*).
- 54 The Rankülche Vuta Travún (big meeting) is an annual event with the goal of promoting social, cultural, and political activities of the Indigenous nations. During these two days representatives from different Indigenous nations of the country exchange ideas.
- 55 Curtoni and Chaparro, "Políticas de reparación."
- 56 Huiricapán, Jaramillo, and Acuto, "Reflexiones interculturales."

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