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Anne P. Underhill
Lucy C. Salazar *Editors*

# Finding Solutions for Protecting and Sharing Archaeological Heritage Resources

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Editors

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*Editors*
Anne P. Underhill
Department of Anthropology
Yale University
New Haven
Connecticut
USA

Lucy C. Salazar
Department of Anthropology
Yale University
New Haven
Connecticut
USA

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*To the memory of Willem J.H. Willems, and all the dedicated people throughout the world who work to protect, preserve, and share cultural heritage*

# Foreword

This book is the result of our 2013 symposium at the 78th Annual Meeting at the Society for American Archaeology in Honolulu, HI. The major goal is to provide information about successful strategies employed in diverse world areas for the protection of archaeological heritage resources. Rather than focusing on the loss of cultural heritage, the authors provide informative accounts of useful methods to protect sites and ancient remains in different cultural contexts. Another important goal is to highlight efforts at cultural heritage protection in areas of the world rarely discussed in English language publications.

We are grateful for the opportunity to share these efforts at protection of archaeological heritage in ICAHM's series, *Multidisciplinary Perspectives in Archaeological Heritage Management*. After the Society for American Archaeology meeting in Honolulu, it became possible to include two more chapters about other important areas (Chap. 3 on Thailand and Chap. 10 on Honduras).

Archaeological heritage management is an ongoing effort, with new challenges arising every year. We hope this book will lead to more discussions about creative solutions and more understanding of relevant issues in different cultural contexts. A single book can only introduce some of the priorities in cultural heritage management in each world area. It also cannot cover every world area worthy of discussion. We look forward to learning about successful strategies for the protection and sharing of archaeological resources from future volumes in this series.

Anne P. Underhill
Lucy C. Salazar

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# Contributors

**Chiharu Abe** Jomon World Heritage Promotion Office, Hokkaido Government, Sapporo, Hokkaido, Japan

**Cristián Arévalo Pakarati** Santa Monica, CA, USA

**Mónica Bahamondez Prieto** Centro Nacional de Conservacion y Restauracion, Claustro de la Recoleta Dominica, Santiago de Chile, Chile

**Richard L. Burger** Department of Anthropology, Yale University, New Haven, CT, USA

**Lawrence S. Coben** Sustainable Preservation Initiative (SPI), University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, PA, USA

**Hui Fang** Department of Archaeology, School of History and Culture, Shandong University, Jinan, Shandong, People's Republic of China

**Barbara W. Fash** Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA

**William L. Fash** Department of Anthropology, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA

**Christian Fischer** Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, USA

**Jian Li** Department of Archaeology, School of History and Culture, Shandong University, Jinan, Shandong, People's Republic of China

**Roderick J. McIntosh** Department of Anthropology, Yale University, New Haven, CT, USA

**Jorge Ramos** Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia, Copán, Honduras

**Lucy C. Salazar** Department of Anthropology, Yale University, New Haven, CT, USA

**Yuji Seki** National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan

**Helaine Silverman** Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, IL, USA

**Santiago Uceda** Universidad Nacional de Trujillo, Trujillo, Perú

**Anne P. Underhill** Department of Anthropology, Yale University, New Haven, CT, USA

**Jo Anne Van Tilburg** Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, USA

# About the Editors

**Anne P. Underhill** is a professor of anthropology at Yale University and a curator at the Yale Peabody Museum. Her research interests include the development of complex societies in China, the archaeology of East Asia, craft specialization, ceramic ethnoarchaeology, settlement organization, analysis of mortuary ritual, and the roles of museums. Her field research has focused on settlement survey, excavation, and analysis of ceramics from late prehistoric and early Bronze Age sites in the Rizhao area of Shandong province, China. She is the author of *Craft Production and Social Change in Northern China* (2002) and editor of *A Companion to Chinese Archaeology* (2013).

**Lucy C. Salazar** is a research associate in the Department of Anthropology at Yale University and a curatorial affiliate at the Yale Peabody Museum. She is an authority on Inca archaeology and the early prehistory of Peru. She has over three decades of experience in archaeological fieldwork and museum research, and has codirected numerous excavations in Peru. She has written extensively on daily life at Machu Picchu, has several chapters in books, and has received grant support for her work on the Incas from the NEH, NSF, and the Josef Albers Fund. She coauthored the book *Machu Picchu: Unveiling the Mystery of the Incas* (2004). She has served at the Board of the Center for the Study of Machu Picchu and the Inca Culture at the National University, San Antonio de Abad, Cuzco (2012). She is involved in the study, research, and conservation of the Bingham Collections and has installed the very successful traveling exhibit *Machu Picchu: Unveiling the Mystery of the Incas*.

# Chapter 1
# The History of Perception and Protection of Cultural Heritage in China

**Jian Li, Hui Fang and Anne P. Underhill**

## Introduction

As a country with a long history, China has a very rich tangible and intangible cultural heritage. This chapter describes the perceptions of tangible cultural heritage in different periods of Chinese history. For further information about the protection of China's intangible cultural heritage, such as folklore, traditional music, opera, and dance, see Kang (2011) and Wu (2010). In the first section of this chapter, we discuss the attitudes in the early historic era about cultural objects and cultural heritage. In the second section, we explain why the actions of foreigners during the late 1800s with respect to China's cultural property are important to relate. In some respects, the worst damage to cultural heritage occurred during the early modern era in China. The third section outlines major changes in attitudes and practices with respect to cultural heritage protection during the past several years. We discuss improvements in cultural heritage protection that have been made as well as current challenges.

J. Li (✉) · H. Fang
Department of Archaeology, School of History and Culture, Shandong University,
27 Shan Da Nan Lu, Jinan, Shandong 250100, People's Republic of China
e-mail: lijian-225@163.com

H. Fang
e-mail: fangh@sdu.edu.cn

A. P. Underhill
Department of Anthropology, Yale University, 10 Sachem Street, New Haven, CT 06511, USA
e-mail: Anne.Underhill@Yale.edu



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## Attitudes Regarding Cultural Heritage During the Early Historic Era

Beliefs about cultural heritage in ancient China differed from those of the modern era in several ways. During the early Bronze Age, pre-Qin era (Xia, Shang, and Zhou periods, ca. 2000−221 BC), owning bronze objects such as *ding* tripods (Fig. 1.1) was a privilege of the rulers and other elites. During the early dynastic periods, "cultural heritage" mainly meant bronze objects, especially certain forms of highly valued bronze tripods. As other studies have shown, these bronze objects were symbols of wealth, power, and special relations with the gods and ancestors during the Xia, Shang, and Zhou eras. Many scholars conclude that the ruling class monopolized the production technology (Wei 1984, p. 26; Chang 1980, 1983, 1996; Liu and Chen 2000). Historical documents provide more information for the Zhou era, stating that the government awarded bronzes to meritorious men (Wei 1984, p. 27; Chen 2006; Li 2010, p. 14). These highly valued bronze objects were also the objects of contention. During the early Bronze Age, people in the Central Plains area of the Yellow River valley believed that the person who owned the bronze objects, especially a set of *ding* tripods, had the right to rule. During the Warring States period, all vassal states wanted to obtain the set of tripods that were owned by the Zhou emperor (Yang and Zhang 2008).

From the Qin and Han empires to medieval times (second century BC–tenth century AD), surviving objects from previous eras were considered as auspicious. The belief persisted that access to bronze tripods symbolized wealth and power. The rulers of the Han dynasty, emperor Hanwu (116 BC), and Tang dynasty emperor Xuanzong, even changed their reign titles after obtaining ancient bronze tripods (Wei 1984, pp. 35, 43). During all of these early periods, knowledge of cultural

**Fig. 1.1** *Simuwu ding* vessel, found at the late Shang site of Yinxu (Anyang; http://baike.baidu.com/albums/4171359/4171359/0/0.html#3643339$)

**Fig. 1.2** *Du* tiger symbol ca. 337−325 BC discovered in Xi'an (http://baike.baidu.com/view/251119.htm)

heritage was limited to social elites in the ruling class and intellectuals, neither of whom had much contact with common people. Common people knew little about historical remains, and therefore it was not unusual to see such objects destroyed.

During the Song dynasty (960–1127), antiquities became academic research objects (Xia 1982; von Falkenhausen 1994, p. 40). The emergence of epigraphy meant antiquities became the objects of academic research for scholars, rather than simply the symbols of power or objects of pleasure for the privileged. From that time onward, antiquities were endowed with academic value. People valued and collected a wide range of ancient objects including stone inscriptions, jade objects, musical instruments, and military symbols. Valued military symbols were often in the shape of animals, especially tigers. These "tiger symbols" were made of bronze or gold, and divided into left and right parts, with the right part kept by the central court and the left kept by a general (Fig. 1.2). They were used from the Warring States period until the Han dynasty (from 475 BC to AD 220). In an effort to find material evidence for information provided in the Five Confucian Classics, *(the Book of Songs (Shige* 诗歌*), the Book of History (Shangshu* 尚书*), the Book of Rites (Liji* 礼记*), the Book of Changes (Yijing* 易经*),* the *Spring and Autumn Annals (Chunqiu* 春秋*),* written before the Qin dynasty (221−207 BC)) and supplemental historical records, intellectuals of the Song dynasty began to collect and study such objects. They therefore played a role in the preservation and protection of antiquities. Although epigraphy provided less scientific information than archaeology, it laid the foundation for the emergence of modern archaeology in China (Xia 1982).

As previously there was a lack of awareness in many households about cultural heritage. Destruction of historic remains and objects was a common occurrence. For example, the walls of ancient cities or buildings were often demolished, and soil from rich cultural layers at archaeological sites was transported to fields to serve as fertilizer (Wang 2004, p. 473). Until the beginning of the twentieth century, people took cattle bone and tortoise shells for medicine that had been used by people during the late Shang dynasty (ca. 1300−1050 BC) as "oracle-bone inscriptions" (Dong 1974, p. 18−19; von Falkenhausen 1994; Liu and Chen 2012).

## The Rise of Awareness About the Protection of Cultural Heritage

Serious loss of cultural property during the late 1800s and early 1900s led to the rise of awareness about cultural heritage protection in China. In comparison to earlier eras, the damage during this time was unprecedented in scale and involved more deliberate acts of destruction as well as the removal of cultural remains. At the same time, people also began to recognize the importance of cultural heritage, and consciousness about protection arose.

In the early modern era when the Qing dynasty government (1840–1911) gradually lost sovereignty, provisions about cultural heritage protection were disregarded. One problem in China was looting of individual objects by foreign soldiers. Perhaps the most famous example of deliberate destruction is the attack on the Summer Palace (*Yuanmingyuan,* built in 1707), in what is now modern Beijing. The Summer Palace was not only an imperial garden; it was also like a museum, containing large quantities of invaluable ancient objects (cultural relics) and books collected by the emperors. In 1860, the Anglo–French allied forces looted all the antiquities that could be removed and then they set fire to the entire Sumer Palace (Fang 1995, p. 220; Figs. 1.3 and 1.4).

Another unfortunate episode of destruction occurred in the Forbidden City during the *Min Guo* (Republic of China) period (1912–1949). There were innumerable relics in the Forbidden City, and no one knew the exact number. Some eunuchs stole cultural relics of the Forbidden City and sold them. Reginald Fleming Johnston, the last emperor, Pu Yi's English teacher, suggested that he should make an account of the number of all the cultural objects. But after the work of accounting had just begun, some fearful eunuchs started a fire, resulting in the destruction of many precious cultural remains. Actually, in order to raise money, Pu Yi mortgaged many cultural objects to banks or sold them to foreigners. The loss of cultural relics from the Forbidden

**Fig. 1.3** Estimated appearance of the Summer Palace during use (http://scitech.people.com.cn/GB/25509/4473367.html)

**Fig. 1.4** The Summer Palace destroyed (http://lnsszxh.blog.sohu.com/214448822.html)

City led to the arousal of strong opposition from intellectuals, people in the *Min Guo* government, and others. As a result, Pu Yi was expelled from the Forbidden City, and the new government officially established the Forbidden City as a museum in 1925.

Another problem was the removal of sets of cultural objects from China by foreigners. A tragic example is the famous, well-preserved documents about ancient Buddhism from the site of Dunhuang in northern Gansu province. During the 1880s and 1920s, many of these documents were taken illegally by foreigners to several countries such as England, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, and the USA. Chen Yinque, a famous Chinese historian, pointed out: "Dunhuang is a sad history of China's academy. The most important findings were taken abroad or secretly hidden by individuals…. The essence of Dunhuang has gone, and we are left in vain with the dregs" (Chen 1979, p. 1379). Due to the lack of available materials in China, especially before the 1970s, the study of Dunhuang in China was less developed than in Japan and other European countries. As a result, the Japanese scholar Teng Zhehuang (ふじえだあきら), famous for his research on Dunhuang, once remarked that although the site of Dunhuang is located in China, the focus of research about Dunhuang is in Japan (Sha 2009, p. 100). This is a situation scholars within China have been working hard to rectify since the 1980s. Ji Xianlin, a famous, formally recognized "Master of Chinese Traditional Culture *(*国学大师 *guoxuedashi)*" said it well in 1988 during a Dunhuang seminar in Beijing: "The site of Dunhuang is located in China, and the research of Dunhuang belongs to the world" (Sha 2009, p. 102).

During the late 1800s and early 1900s, several foreign travelers and missionaries collected cultural relics in China. During this time, many people in China also lacked awareness about cultural property and cultural heritage protection. Therefore, many objects important for Chinese cultural heritage were lost to collections abroad.

Consciousness about cultural heritage protection gradually increased during the twentieth century. The issue of cultural sovereignty was more of a concern to people in China after the *May* Fourth Movement in 1919. With more exposure to western

thought about the rights of sovereign nations, people began to fight against the plunder of cultural objects by foreigners (Xia 1979). Greater numbers of traditional intellectuals began to protect Chinese cultural objects.

Intellectuals also began to realize the academic and scientific value of cultural objects. As a result, the discipline of archaeology developed in China. Excavations by Chinese scholars at several key early Bronze Age and prehistoric sites began during this time, including Yangshao (仰韶, 1926), Zhoukoudian (周口店, 1929), Anyang (Yinxu, 殷墟 1929), and Chengziya (城子崖, 1931; Wei 1984, pp. 122–126; Chen 2007, pp. 69–75; Liu 2010 , pp. 2, 3). People were aware of the urgency and necessity of cultural heritage preservation during the challenging times from the 1920s to 1940s. It was not only the educated class that realized the importance of cultural heritage protection, but many people also tried to make the public understand the value of antiquities. For example, bronze vessels excavated in 1930 from the late Shang dynasty burial of Subutun were exhibited in the public education center of Yidu county, Shandong province (Qi 1947).

During this time, the government started taking a series of measures to protect cultural heritage. After the foundation of the Republic of China in 1911, there was more progress in the protection of cultural heritage. In June 1914, the government promulgated the Presidential Decree to ban the export of antiquities to other countries. In 1916, it also formulated what was called "Interim Measures for the Preservation of Antiquities" (China's Second Historical Archives Library 1991, pp. 185, 188), which classified the objects of cultural heritage into five categories and set measures for the protection of objects in each category. Another ruling in 1928 involved the protection of places of historic interest and places with scenic beauty. It ordered each province to investigate and record locations of remains significant for cultural heritage. Most important, in 1930 the national government issued the first cultural heritage protection law in Chinese history, called the "Antiquity Preservation Law" (Zhang 2007, pp. 323−325.). This law was more detailed than all the previous regulations. For the first time, it clearly defined the scope of cultural relics. It also defined appropriate measures for the exchange of ownership of antiquities. An additional section outlined detailed regulations about archaeology with respect to both domestic institutes and the involvement of foreigners. Afterward, a series of related laws were passed and a legal system of cultural heritage protection was gradually established. Although the social upheaval of the era prevented the legal measures from being fully carried out, these laws represent the beginning of the modern Chinese legal system for cultural heritage protection. These laws prevented further loss of cultural heritage and laid a solid foundation for the construction of a legal system in China for cultural heritage protection.

## Steps Taken to Protect Cultural Heritage in China After 1949

Many domestic and foreign archaeologists have regarded Chinese archaeology in the 30 years (1949–1979) after the founding of new China as a golden age (Xia 1979). Archaeological materials became increasingly important for Chinese

scholars in researching the origins and development of the nation. Also, archaeological remains became important for patriotic education, inspiring exhibitions displaying cultural remains from various excavations. These exhibitions were accessible to a wide range of people, from university students to general citizens. The government paid great attention to cultural heritage protection during this period too.

After the foundation of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, the government made the protection of cultural heritage a national priority. Experiencing a century of loss of cultural remains inspired the government to promulgate a series of laws about cultural heritage protection. The government immediately issued "Interim Measures for Banning All Exports of Rare and Precious Cultural Relics and Books" to prevent the export of cultural heritage to other countries. Another new law concerned "Local Measures for the Protection and Management of Local Cultural Relics and Sites", which was passed in 1951. This demanded the regions of China rich in cultural heritage to set up "cultural relic management committees" for the investigation, protection, and management of local ancient buildings, ancient cultural sites, and remains from the revolutionary war period. In 1961, the State Council issued the "Provisional Regulations on the Protection and Management of Cultural Relics" to serve as a foundation for further laws about cultural heritage protection. A revision in 1982 was called "Cultural Relics Protection Law of the People's Republic of China"; this law was further revised in 1991 and 2002 (State Administration of Cultural Heritage 2009).

During the 60 years following the founding of new China (1949–2009), the government issued more than 220 laws and documents about cultural heritage protection (State Administration of Cultural Heritage 2009). It passed a complete set of cultural heritage protection laws, providing a legal foundation for all types of cultural remains from Chinese prehistory and history.

Second, the government provided great support to expand the disciplines of archaeology and history. The National Institute of Archaeology was established in 1950 within the Chinese Academy of Institute of Sciences. At the same time, degree programs in archaeology were established at several universities, beginning with Peking University in 1952. In order to increase the number of people qualified to work in archaeological research and preservation, formal training programs (lasting about 3 months) for archaeology, conservation, and museum studies were established by 1952 at Peking University and the Institute of Archaeology. From the 1950 to 1987, 341 people graduated from such training programs, becoming founding leaders in archaeological research (Cai 2005, pp. 104–107; Murowchick 2013).

Third, at the beginning of the establishment of the PRC, the central government quickly established special agencies at the national, provincial, and local levels for the protection of cultural heritage. The first to be established was the National Cultural Relics Bureau *(Guojia Wenwu Ju)*. Then, most of the provinces, autonomous regions, and special municipalities (such as Shanghai and Beijing) rich in cultural heritage set up cultural heritage management committees (1951 regulation "Provisional Organization Rules on Local Cultural Relics Management Committees"). This system still provides the framework for the protection of cultural heritage. Later, cultural relics bureaus were established in every city, responsible for investigating, protecting, and managing local cultural heritage following the regulations of the State Cultural Relics Bureau.

Cultural relics bureaus *(Wenwu Ju)* are located in every province, city, and county of China. Each is a component of the broader, local Cultural Department *(Wenhua Ju)* that is responsible for education, sports, publications, cultural relics, radio, film, television, and other cultural events. The cultural relics bureau in each area only undertakes the work about cultural heritage. The local cultural relics bureaus not only carry out the policies that are set by the affiliated Cultural Departments but they also follow the leadership of the cultural relics bureaus at the higher levels.

One important activity of the National Cultural Relics Bureau has been to undertake a census of cultural heritage remains throughout the country. The first census of this type was completed in 1956 and the second, in 1981. The results provided an important basis for further plans in protecting cultural heritage. The census workers recorded detailed information such as the types of objects or features, eras represented, locations, dimensions, preservation status, educational value, and appearance. The written reports included drawings and photographs. As a result, a large number of unknown objects and features of great value for cultural heritage were verified and registered. Many cultural objects that were on the verge of destruction were saved. More than 400,000 cultural objects and features were registered in the first and second census periods (State Administration of Cultural Heritage 2009, p. 584).

In recent years, due to the rapid development of the economy, including accelerated urbanization, many remains from the past and scenic natural environments have been threatened. In view of this situation, the National Cultural Relics Bureau initiated the third national cultural relics census in 2006. After 5 years of painstaking investigation, nearly 770,000 immovable remains of cultural heritage classified as archaeological sites, tombs, ancient architecture, grottos and stone inscriptions, and important modern historic sites were registered. More than 550,000 of these remains represent new discoveries (You 2011). Since then, more than one level of the government has worked to protect these newly recognized cultural resources.

Another important activity of the National Cultural Relics Bureau has been to apply for World Cultural Heritage status for selected sites. In 1985, China became a signatory to the Convention on Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Therefore, cultural heritage protection in China entered a new era. Today, there are 33 sites judged by the international committee as worthy of world historical and cultural heritage (Fig. 1.5), and 4 judged as invaluable for world cultural and natural heritage. International collaboration has proven to be another effective method for the protection of cultural heritage in China.

## Recent Problems and Efforts in Cultural Heritage Protection

During the past 30 years, the speed of economic development has been very rapid in China. With the acceleration of urbanization, competing interests remain between economic development and the protection of cultural heritage. As a result,

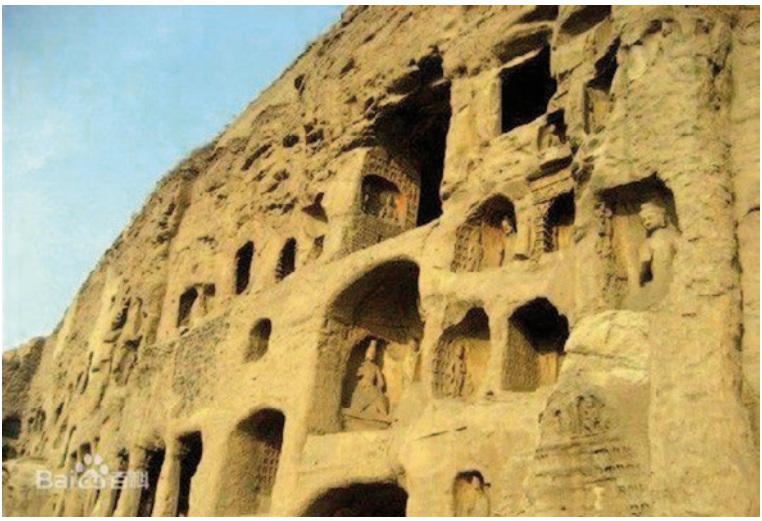

**Fig. 1.5** Mogao Grotto, also called Thousand-Buddha Cave, in Gansu province, established between ca. the fifth century AD and the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368; http://baike.baidu.com/picview/15125/15125/0/9dc3cf58631389c3810a1854.html#albumindex=5&picindex=2)

many aspects of cultural heritage have suffered. In rural areas with ethnic minority communities, intangible cultural heritage particularly has been affected. Increasing numbers of individuals knowledgeable about traditional crafts, ceremonies, architecture, and the arts (music, dance, etc.) prefer modern lifestyles. At the same time, the government took a series of measures to protect cultural heritage according to the situations.

There is no doubt that cultural heritage tourism can produce many benefits for governments and local people. But notably, it is vital for the planners and government officials in the process of cultural heritage park construction to understand the importance of cultural heritage integrality and authenticity, as each element is an indispensible component of cultural heritage. Planners will ruin the integrity of cultural heritage and value if they only aim to beautify sites and attract more tourists, especially in ethnic minority regions. As modernization and globalization has proceeded in China, many impoverished minority regions with their own unique cultures and traditional lifestyles attract tourists who live in large urban areas such as Shanghai and Shenzhen. In an effort to obtain state funding, some local governments have provided their own versions of ethnic culture and history. In such situations, most senior and middle-aged local residents have felt conflicted about embracing state-promoted ethnic tourism under the flag of authentic and traditional culture (Liu 2013, p. 177).

The activity that should be noted is the effort by the government to protect cultural heritage representing ethnic minorities. With the current development of globalization and the subsequent disappearance of local cultural traditions, the diversity of cultures has attracted considerable attention. The government has set up

**Fig. 1.6** Potala Palace in Lhasa, Tibet, built in 7 AD and identified as a world cultural heritage site in 1994 (http://baike.baidu.com/view/1663.htm)

specific organizations and budgets to protect the cultural heritage of ethnic minorities. As an example, the government invested 55 million yuan (about $ 9 million) and 1000 kg of gold materials to repair the Potala Palace between 1989 and 1994. Since 2001, the government allocated a special fund of 330 million yuan (about $ 50 million) for the second project to repair the Potala Palace (Fig. 1.6). People also recognize the positive relationship between the protection of ethnic cultural heritage and tourism (Ma 2010). A related effort is the establishment of more museums devoted to ethnic cultural heritage, numbering 163 by 2007. About 1 million objects were reported in such museums in 2007 (Tang 2007).

In recent years, one of the most significant projects, the Three Gorges Dam, was undertaken in China. Designed to produce hydroelectric power, improve river navigation, and prevent disastrous floods along the region of the central and lower Yangzi River, this dam would submerge some 635 $km^2$ with a reservoir level roughly 110 m higher than the original river level. The government and academic institutions tried their best to save cultural remains that were located in the affected area. More than 30 organizations, including the National Institute of Archaeology, various museums and universities, under the leadership of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage, participated in archaeological surveys from 1993 to 1996 before the project started (Wang and Liu 2001). When the construction project was underway, numerous teams conducted rescue excavations in the area. During a period of over 10 years, the government invested some 1 billion yuan (about $ 150 million) to save 1087 cultural heritage sites (of which 723 sites required excavation). This was the largest project for cultural property protection after the establishment of the PRC (Wu 2005). However, in spite of these considerable efforts, many archaeological sites, both known and not yet discovered, now lie under water (Childs-Johnson and Sullivan 1996; Doar 2005; Zhao 2009).

In fact, economic interests can also become an incentive to promote the protection of cultural heritage (Murowchick 2013). With the development of tourism, sites of archaeological heritage have become important tourism resources that attract numerous visitors from both home and abroad. The relatively new concept of the archaeological site park aims to offer a good combination of cultural heritage protection and tourism development. In 1983, the government identified the Summer Palace as the first archaeological site park in China.

In 2005, the central government invested 250 million yuan (about US$ 40 million) to protect large archaeological sites, and the funds rose to 380 million yuan per year by 2006. Archaeological site parks were clearly included in the 2006 document "Overall Planning of Large Archaeological Sites Protection During the 11th Five-Year Plan." The first group of large archaeological sites, 100 in total, were ranked "National Important Special Projects of Large Archaeological Sites Protection" (Shang 2010; Cong 2012). The concept of the archaeological site park is regarded by the government as a good solution to deal with the contradiction between economic development and archaeological property protection (Cong 2012). Taking the late Shang dynasty (c. 1300−1050 BC) site of Yinxu (Anyang) as an example, several different remains (the locations of the palaces, temples, royal tombs, and sacrificial pits) are well protected and managed as a park. At the same time, the Yinxu Site Park has been a boon for local tourism, attracting more than 2 million visitors during a single month in 2006 (from July 16 to August 15; Du 2007).

Another problem to note is that the collection of antiquities has become especially common, although it is difficult to ascertain the numbers of people involved. According to the latest statistics by the China Association of Collectors, there were about 50–60 million formal collectors by 2006 (Wang 2006). We can also recognize the popularity of collecting antiquities by current TV programs. As Murowchick (2013) explains, more than 50 Chinese television programs, the first of which appeared in 2001, provide expert authentication, valuation, and trade of antiquities (Murowchick 2013, p. 27), such as "Find Treasure" and "Treasure Appraisal" (on CCTV), "collection show" (on Beijing TV), and The Payer of Art (on Hunan TV).

The Cultural Relics Protection Law of the PRC in 2002 stipulated state ownership of "all cultural relics remaining underground or in the inland water or territorial sea within the boundaries of the PRC belonging to the nation" (State Administration of Cultural Heritage 2009, p. 455). In China, individuals must report or turn over to the authorities any cultural relics found when they use the land near their houses. All ancient cultural sites, ancient tombs, grottoes, and temples are owned only by the national government. At the same time, the law allows citizens and specific organizations to collect cultural relics through the following channels: (1) lawfully inheriting or accepting as gifts, (2) purchasing from approved cultural relics stores, (3) purchasing from enterprises engaged in auction of cultural relics, (4) mutually exchanging or transferring in accordance with law the cultural relics lawfully owned by individual citizens, or (5) other lawful channels prescribed by the state.

According to "Auction Law of the People's Republic of China", antiquities that are allowed to be auctioned must be the objects that can be handled by the peoples who legally own the antiquities. Cultural relics must be legally authenticated and permitted by the departments of the Administration of Cultural Relics before being auctioned. Several kinds of cultural relics, however, are prohibited from being sold by individuals in auctions: (1) cultural relics that were excavated from earth or water, (2) cultural relics that are the components of immovable cultural heritage, (3) precious cultural relics administered by state-owned institutes without legal authority to sell antiquities, (4) cultural relics whose sale would damage national honor

and national interests, (5) cultural relics that had been stolen, illegally excavated, smuggled or plundered, and (6) cultural relics that relate to national security and interests (Li 2011).

Auction houses must obtain "cultural relics auction permits" from the State Administration of Cultural Heritage if they want to auction antiquities. By 2008, 261 auction houses distributed throughout the country had obtained such cultural relics auction permits (http://www.sach.gov.cn/art/2008/11/13/art_59_123510.html). Auction houses, whether first established in China or in other countries, will not receive cultural relics auction permits if they have been convicted of damaging or infringing upon China's sovereignty of its culture relics. At one time, Christie's Auction House was severely censored in China, since it insisted on auctioning significant bronze mouse and rabbit heads that had been looted by foreigners in 1860 from the Summer Palace, although the Chinese government strongly opposed this auction in 2009. Four years later, in June 2013, Francois-Henri Pinault, a major shareholder of Christie's in France, donated the two bronze heads to China, and they were returned and displayed in the Chinese National Museum in Beijing. Christies then obtained cultural relics auction permits for the Chinese mainland and held the first auction in Shanghai in autumn 2013 (http://collection.sina.com.cn/auction/pcdt/20130409/1743109947.shtml, accessed 20 March 2014).

Raising the consciousness of cultural heritage, protection is essential for conservation of cultural heritage. Francisco Lopez Morales (2004), Director of the Bureau of Anthropology and History, stressed the importance on public participation. He even said "No one nation can only rely on the power of government to solve the heritage protection that is a complex and arduous task" in the 28th World Heritage Committee meeting held in China in 2004 (http://news.sina.com.cn/w/2004-07-08/00403019475s.shtml). Cultural heritage is precious for humans everywhere. Everyone has the right to enjoy it, and everyone also has an obligation to protect it. So, education about cultural heritage remains a key priority for the Chinese government.

In China, there are two types of cultural heritage education: Education in schools and public education. Teachers work to promote cultural heritage education for children, cultivating a love for cultural remains, and a desire to protect cultural heritage. In 2005, the State Council issued the " Notice on the Strengthening of Cultural Heritage Protection." It requires educators to include outstanding cultural content and information about cultural heritage protection into teaching programs, including improving teaching materials and organizing study visits. Most recently, many universities have set up specialties that allow students to focus on cultural heritage protection, incorporating other relevant subjects such as archaeology, museology, and architectural preservation. Currently, more than 30 universities have set up undergraduate and postgraduate programs for cultural heritage management. Some of them, such as Shandong University, allow every student to take elective courses in these subjects.

Public education on cultural heritage protection is carried out by various organizations which strive to encourage the public to actively participate in the protection

of cultural heritage. This kind of public education in China has continued without interruption since the 1920s and 1930s (see Qi 1947). During the past two decades, there has been a dramatic rise in the number of museums of all kinds, important places for the public to receive cultural heritage education. There were some 3589 museums by 2011; 2473 of which are owned by the state and administrated by the Department of Cultural Heritage (see http://www.sach.gov.cn/art/2012/11/20/art_59_122782.html). After May 1st, 2004, admission to all kinds of museums in China such as memorial halls, art galleries, and archaeological museums, was free for young children, and students could visit at half price (2004 "Notice on Public Cultural Facilities are Free to Juveniles and Other Groups"). Then in 2008, the government declared that all museums would be free to the public ("Opinions on the objects in museums free to the public"; State Administration of Cultural Heritage 2009, p. 640). This has made it even more possible for visitors to learn about China's rich culture and history, as well as the value of protecting cultural heritage. Finally, since 2006, every second Saturday of June has been designated as China's "Cultural Heritage Day", which contributes to further strengthening the protection of cultural heritage in China.

Identifying cultural heritage protection units is another good method to strengthen conservation of cultural heritage. Different levels of cultural heritage protection units have been identified, classified according to the national, provincial, municipal, and county levels. Each level of cultural relics protection unit has a specific level of government funding for the protection and management of cultural remains. In 1961, after the 1956 first census of national cultural relics, 180 national key cultural relics protection units were established by the State Council for the protection of cultural sites, artifacts, and monuments. In the same year, the "Provisional Regulations on Protection of Cultural Relics" was issued (State Administration of Cultural Heritage 2009, p. 30). This law provides detailed rules for management plans for the cultural relics protection units. For example, it requires local governments to delimit the scope of cultural heritage protection and to publicize by signs, etc. where construction projects threatening cultural remains are prohibited. The cultural protection agencies should be included in the planning of construction projects. They also must be involved in the repair and maintenance of structures important for cultural heritage. During 7 separate years (1961, 1982, 1988, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2013), 2822 national key cultural relics protection units were identified (State Administration of Cultural Heritage website, http://www.sach.gov.cn/col/col1613/index.html).

Government officials have stressed the protection of cultural heritage from many different eras. More than 1000 archaeological sites were identified by national key cultural relics protection units. Among them, 500 are prehistoric sites and 250 date to the Ming and Qing dynasties (AD 1368–1909). However, all of the ancient architectural remains that were identified by the national key cultural relics protection units were built during the historic era. Around 1100 of these (less than 40 %) were built after the Ming dynasty. There is no evidence indicating that the government pays much more attention to the cultural heritage of any particular era. The number of national key cultural relics protection units relevant to a specific era depends on

the total quantity of remains that exist. According to the Cultural Relics Protection Law of the PRC, remains of cultural heritage are identified by different levels of cultural heritage protection units on the basis of their historic, artistic, and scientific value. Antiquities with significant historic, artistic, or scientific value are identified as first class.

In order to protect those places with rich cultural heritage, 99 cities, 252 towns, and 276 villages were identified as communities of historical and cultural significance. The "Historical and Cultural Cities, Towns and Villages Protection Ordinance" of 2008 stipulates that selected areas should be protected as a whole, maintaining the traditional pattern, historic character, and spatial scale without changing the interdependent natural landscape and the environment (State Administration of Cultural Heritage 2009, p. 665). In addition, the training of professionals plays an important role in protecting cultural heritage. Now, many universities such as Shandong University have established programs about the protection and management of cultural heritage. Along with history and archaeology, students also learn about economics and business management.

## Conclusions

In Chinese history, people's attitudes about the function and value of cultural heritage changed considerably over time. With the introduction of modern enlightenment thought, awareness of national sovereignty, and especially the dissemination of modern archaeology as an academic discipline, consciousness about cultural heritage gradually developed.

During the modern era, people began to realize that ancient objects have cultural, historical, and scientific value. However, there is not yet a consensus about how to improve the protection of cultural heritage. Many people recognize that cultural heritage has become an important element of local identity. At the same time, it has economic value. People have also become more aware that cultural heritage resources are nonrenewable resources. During recent years, there has been unprecedented attention by the government to the protection of cultural heritage. Nevertheless, with the acceleration of urbanization, competing interests remain between economic development and the protection of cultural heritage. We have more work ahead to further raise public awareness about cultural heritage protection.

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# Chapter 2
# Strategies of Cultural Heritage Management in Hokkaido, Northern Japan from the Perspective of Public Archaeology

**Chiharu Abe**

## Introduction

The Minamikayabe area of southern Hokkaido in northern Japan consists of a small fishing town within the Hakodate city district (Fig. 2.1). Minamikayabe town was integrated into Hakodate city in 2004 and is now part of Hakodate. This area is rich in Jomon culture sites dated from ca. 10,000 to 2300 BP (Fig. 2.2). During the Jomon period, the subsistence economy was centered on hunting, fishing, and gathering. The 91 sites in the area include the Middle Jomon settlement site of Ofune and the Initial to Late Jomon settlement site of Kakinoshima. The striking, huge earthwork mound at Kakinoshima is the largest monument in existence from the entire Jomon period in Japan. Both sites have been designated National Historic Sites in Japan. Also, a beautiful, hollow clay *dogu* figurine found at the Chobonaino site in 1975 (Fig. 2.3) was declared a National Treasure, the one and only National Treasure from Hokkaido.

Our excavations in the Minamikayabe area over four decades have provided new information about Jomon subsistence practices and spirituality. Our efforts have been equally focused on developing a new business model for the protection of sites, proper excavation, and development of both indoor and outdoor museums. Our business model to achieve effective management of archaeological resources involves cooperation among members of government, universities, private companies, and citizens. During the last several years in Japan, there has been considerable discussion about "public archaeology," or the relationship between modern society and archaeology. This relationship involves the protection and utilization of cultural heritage resources (Matsuda and Okamura 2012). From the viewpoint

C. Abe (✉)
Jomon World Heritage Promotion Office, Hokkaido Government, N3-W6,
Sapporo, Hokkaido 060-8588, Japan
e-mail: c_abe3kara@jade.plala.or.jp



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**Fig. 2.1** The Minamikayabe area of southern Hokkaido

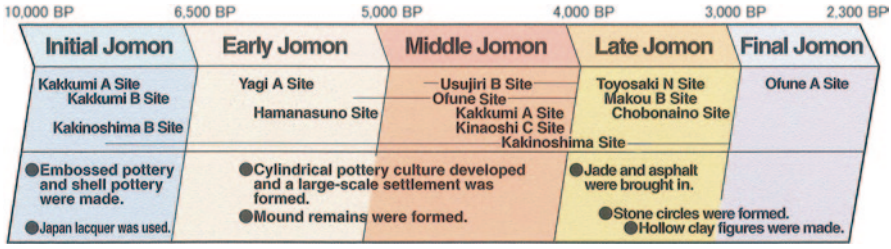


**Fig. 2.2** Chronology and major cultural developments during the Jomon period in the Minamikayabe area

of public archaeology, this essay introduces the archaeological heritage of the Minamikayabe area and our ongoing efforts to protect it.

## The Minamikayabe Area: Environmental Features and History of Human Occupation

The Minamikayabe area of Hakodate city is located on the Pacific Ocean coast of the Kameda Peninsula forming the southeastern part of Oshima peninsula in southern Hokkaido. The island of Hokkaido has a severe cold season, but this area has

**Fig. 2.3** Hollow clay *dogu* figurine from the Chobonaino Jomon site

relatively mild weather. The sea is calm throughout the year because it is located at the entrance area of a bay called "Volcanic Bay." Fishing has been an important part of the economy for approximately 350 years because kelp (*konbu* in the local dialect) flourishes in the foreshore areas. At the same time, the offshore areas are known for migratory routes of sea animals such as whales, dolphins, tuna, and salmon. The *konbu* of Minamikayabe is famous for being of particularly high quality. Currently, at least 70 % of the population (6500 in total) is engaged in the *konbu* industry (Fig. 2.4).

The area of the region as a whole is 159.56 $km^2$, which extends approximately 35 km in length along the rocky shoreline and from 3 to 10 km wide. The terrain includes mountains, piedmont gentle slopes, coastal terraces, river terraces, and low-lying alluvial areas. The greatest proportion of area, however, includes mountains rising beyond the coastal terrace zone. The coastal terraces have an elevation of 30–50 m above sea level towards the seashore. In addition, 44 small streams flow into the Pacific Ocean. A distinctive feature of the geography of the area is separate, relatively small districts including diverse natural environments with features such as mountains, rivers, and the sea.

**Fig. 2.4** Modern kelp industry in the Minamikayabe area

With respect to remains from the prehistoric period, 91 areas have been identified on the coastal terraces, with 87 of these sites belonging to the Jomon culture. Among these, 13% date to the Early Jomon period, 8% can be assigned to the first half of the Jomon period, 26% date to the Middle Jomon period, 34% to the Late Jomon period, 5% to the Terminal Jomon period, and for 14% of Jomon sites the sub-phase is not known. Because of the overwhelming discoveries of Jomon remains in the Minamikayabe area compared to other regions, the area became well known and has been referred to as the "Town of Jomon" in Japan.

The importance of prehistoric cultures around Hakodate was recognized at an early date. As early as 1880, the well-known British archaeologist and seismologist Dr. John Milne reported stone implements from Hakodate (Milne 1880). In 1963, archaeological investigations were conducted for the very first time in Hokkaido. Exploration of the Kurowashi site was undertaken by the archaeology team of the Hakodate Central High School. An excavation of the remains at Yagi was performed by this high school in the following year. It has been confirmed that these remains represent the trace of a village from the late Early Jomon period.

Researchers from overseas participated in the excavations at Yagi. The archaeological research called "The Yagi Project" was a collaborative project headed by Dr. Yoshizaki Masakazu of Hokkaido University, the University of Toronto, and the University of Nebraska from 1977 to 1980, thanks to a grant from the National Geographic Society of the USA (Bleed et al. 1979; Crawford 1983, p. ix).

The excavation was important not only for the first collaboration with foreign archaeologists in Hokkaido but also for its impact on methods used in excavations in the region, given the different approaches of "new archeology" that were advocated mainly in the USA at the time. The aim of the collaboration especially was to encourage research on the ancient environment and how ancient people obtained their resources. The team also considered relevant information from cultural anthropological data and employed new techniques such as development of digital terrain models and ground-penetrating radar. After that research, until the late 1980s, urgent archaeological investigations in the area took place in response to new construction for housing and rapid economic development. Excavations took place at the Hamanasu site dating to the Early Jomon period and the Usujiri B site from the Middle Jomon.

Later, the government made plans to further develop the area, including construction of a new highway on the elevated land including a dense concentration of Jomon sites. During the spring of 1989, Minamikayabe town was assigned the task of conducting urgent archaeological investigations in response to the development project. I was honored that the town entrusted me with this important responsibility. Since then, the promotion of Jomon culture has been a priority, including efforts to protect and properly excavate important sites. In the following, the main results of excavation and preservation activities for the Ofune and Kakinoshima sites are introduced.

## Excavation of the Ofune Site

The Ofune site is located on a coastal terrace with an elevation about 40–45 m above sea level on the left bank of the Ofune River. The excavation was carried out in 1996, revealing more than 100 house pits from the Middle Jomon period, flask-shaped pits, and a midden area containing many remains (Abe and Tsuboi 1997). More excavations of the site were carried out from 1997 to 2001 in order to understand the scope and content of the ancient remains (Abe 2010).

It appears that the period of occupation of the village was from the final phase of the Early Jomon period to the final phase of the Middle Jomon period. Most of the remains date to the Middle Jomon period on Hokkaido Island. The most characteristic feature of the site is the large size of the pit dwellings. Some are more than 2 m in depth and more than 10 m in length. One cannot reach the current ground surface if one stands inside and stretches out a hand (Fig. 2.5). The earth fill formed a gentle slope at 42–44 m above sea level. The scale of the prehistoric midden area is approximately 80 m in length by 15 m in width and 0.8 m in height. The midden areas where ancient people dumped their garbage included utensils such as earthenware vessels and stone implements.

There are very few pits which were recognized as graves. Probably a cemetery existed somewhere around the village. Several graves for children within aban-

**Fig. 2.5** Large pit house from the Ofune Jomon site

doned houses were found. The Jomon people also dug deeper pits within their deserted pit houses in order to bury their dead, especially their children.

The most common type of artifact at the Ofune site is pottery, comprising about one half of the total remains. The stone implements have been identified as flint arrowheads, knives, scrapers, pebble tools, grinding stones, and stone rods. With respect to ecofacts, or the natural remains which were considered as food at the time, bones of deer were recovered but bones of marine mammals such as whales, fur seals, tuna, and cod were more abundant given the location of the site in the rich Minamikayabe area. With respect to plant remains, specialists identified the presence of silver vine, Amur cork, sumac, wild grape, and walnut. In addition, there was a single grain of Japanese millet, which could represent incipient cultivation (for more information on the possible role of cultigens at Jomon sites see Habu 2004, pp. 59–60). In 1999, we also found a lot of carbonized chestnut.

In August 2001, the Ofune site was declared as an important historical site in Japan with an area of 72,000 $m^2$. Public ownership of the site was implemented in 2003. Then, the development phase of the Ofune site started in 2005, when Minamikayabe town merged with Hakodate city with respect to tasks such as restoration of the forest, restoration of Jomon pit dwellings, and protection of ancient sites. Hakodate city fulfilled the restoration of the dwellings through government subsidies. Restoration of the Jomon forest based on research and excavations was carried out by citizen volunteers. Furthermore, the volunteers helped spread the word about the importance of the area for Jomon archaeology and the charming character of Jomon villages. Large numbers of people visited the Ofune site (Fig. 2.6).

**Fig. 2.6** Visitors at the Ofune site with restructured houses

Through the activities to preserve and utilize the Ofune site, public interest in site preservation in the Hakodate area significantly increased. The private sector also has been increasingly engaged in activities to promote greater understanding of the ancient Jomon culture.

## Excavation of the Kakinoshima Site

Human activities at the Kakinoshima site have been confirmed from the beginning of the Initial Jomon period to the end of the Late Jomon, from approximately 9000 to 3000 BP. The remains at the site are spread out over an area roughly 90,000 $m^2$ in size based on a tongue-shaped plateau, 33–50 m above sea level between the Kakinoshima River and an unnamed stream.

During the course of several excavations, the whole site gradually became more clear. Urgent excavations for construction of a new highway from the year 2000 to 2003 confirmed village remains dating to the Late Jomon and a burial area from the Initial Jomon period in the transect area for the new national road.

During that phase of excavation, we found remarkable clay tablets with the impressions of feet (Fig. 2.7) in grave pits dating to the second half of the Initial Jomon. Because of these findings, the government and local people realized the site was very important (Abe and Tsuboi 2004). Then, excavations from 2004 to

**Fig. 2.7** Clay tablet with feet impressions

2009 were conducted with the ultimate goal of preservation in mind. At that time, a large-scale, U-shaped earthwork mound (Fig. 2.8) was identified, which dates to the beginning of the Late Jomon period. We concluded that the ancient village of Kakinoshima was occupied from the first half of the Early Jomon to the second half of the Late Jomon period.

We now understand that the occupation sequence of the Kakinoshima village was as follows. Sometime during the first half of the Initial Jomon period, people began to live at the site. They established the village around the flat part of the center of a plateau about 40 m above sea level. But we need to learn more about the earliest periods in which people used the area since we know there was a large eruption of Mount Komagatake sometime during the period c. 6500–6300 years ago. This eruption took place sometime between the end of the Initial Jomon period and the beginning of the Early Jomon period. Therefore, it would have been impossible to live at Kakinoshima for a while after the volcano erupted.

During the second half of the Early Jomon period, the occupied zones spread from the plateau slope to the tip of the flat area, thus partitioning the residential and cemetery areas. From the second half of the Early Jomon period to the first half of the Middle Jomon, the main structure of the village was transferred to the tip of the flat part on the central plateau.

The dwelling area on the flat portion is about 32–40 m in elevation and has a gentle slope with an altitude of about 50 m for the entire settlement. The artifacts from the upper levels of the cultural remains within the horseshoe-shaped embank-

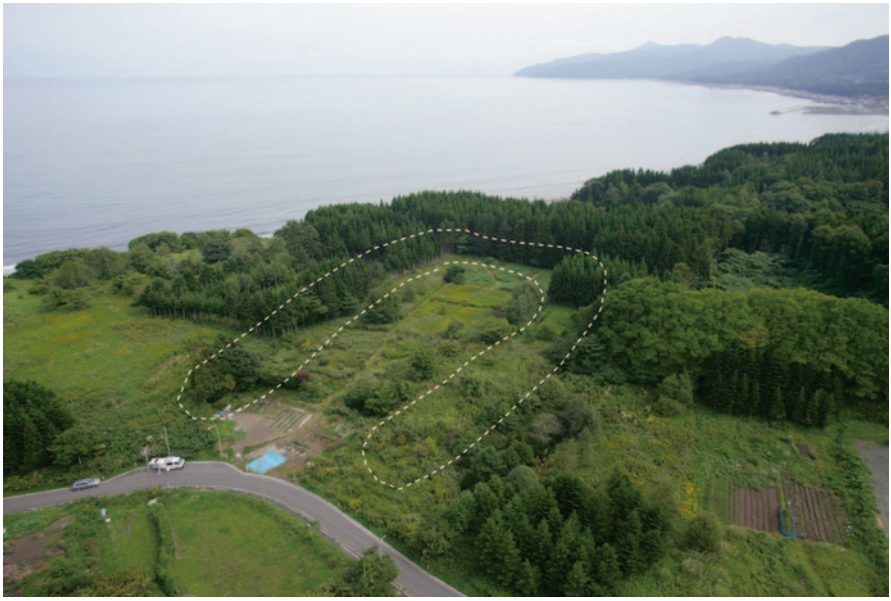

**Fig. 2.8** U-shaped earthwork mound at the Kakinoshima Jomon site

ment date to the beginning of the Late Jomon period. For the second half of the Late Jomon period, a distinct pattern in the way people utilized space on the plateau can be recognized because people formed villages on the gentle slopes facing the Kakinoshima River.

The expansion and reduction of these settlement areas over time illustrate the relationship between environmental change and changes in social life. Kakinoshima is a rare site since it reveals how people chose certain locations to live during more than one time period. The remains from the site are very valuable because they show how the characteristics of remains from living areas and cemetery areas changed during the second half of the Early Jomon period. One can also see how the forms of pit dwellings changed during the second half of the Late Jomon period. In addition, the site has the largest and best-preserved U-shaped earthwork mound for the Jomon period of Japan approximately 160 m in length by 120 m in width and 2 m in height. A huge amount of pottery and stone implements was piled up in this bank, and a large number of dwelling pits, storage pits, and grave pits were confirmed to be present within the U-shaped embankment. Remains from the site indicate the structure of village life and spirituality of the Jomon people. We have been successful thus far in preserving archaeological remains in the Minamikayabe area, limiting the development of land and protecting the environment in honor of the local community whose subsistence and cultural traditions are based upon fishing.

For all of these reasons, the importance of the cultural remains at Kakinoshima was recognized in 2011, and it was formerly designated as a National Historic Site in Japan. Starting in 2013, Hakodate city began a policy involving the municipal

ownership of land from all historic sites, including Kakinoshima, where archaeological research is continuing.

## The National Treasure "Hollow Clay Figure" and the Jomon Culture Center

The "hollow clay figure" (*chuku-dogu*) which is Hokkaido's only formally recognized National Treasure in Japan is a remarkable object of the Jomon culture from the Minamikayabe area. Such clay figurines are artifacts which reflect the spiritual culture at the time, discovered in sites throughout the entire Japanese archipelago from the beginning of the Jomon era through the Late Jomon (see Habu 2004, pp. 142–151).

Apparently, during the summer of 1975, when a woman who lived in Osatsube town in the Minamikayabe area was hoeing the soil in order to harvest potatoes, the hollow clay doll emerged. Thinking at first that she had harvested more potatoes, the woman began to grab the object, and when she removed the wet soil from its surface, there appeared two eyes and a nose.

The clay figurine the woman discovered has been characterized as part of the group of Jomon objects known as "hollow clay figurines," as mentioned above. For such objects, the legs are connected by a perforated tubular decoration. The hollow clay figurine is Japan's largest, measuring 41.5 cm in height, 20.1 cm in width, and 1745 g in weight. It is considered to be a product of the second half of the Late Jomon period. The surface is finely detailed with narrow, unusual patterns. It appears that black lacquer was applied at the time of the production, traces of which appear on part of the inside of the thigh and in the hollows at the holes of the chin and ears. Since the figurine is so well preserved and is nearly complete, it was designated as an Important Cultural Property by the Government of Japan in 1979. Then it became famous and was exhibited in museums overseas, such as the British Museum.

Even though this clay figurine was discovered by chance during cultivation, it was necessary to academically assess its importance. Therefore, in 2006 an excavation at the Chobonaino site with a total area of 400 $m^2$ was conducted. The archaeological excavation there revealed a large number of graves and a stone circle dating to the second half of the Late Jomon period. Also, lacquer debris and one jade ornament were excavated from one of the pit graves. Furthermore**,** the hollow clay figure was unearthed from a grave pit dating to the second half of the Late Jomon period at this site, providing more solid chronological information for such clay figures (Abe 2007). The excavations were limited in order to preserve the Jomon remains. Therefore, the cultural deposits were covered with soil for protection of the site after the end of the investigation.

After excavation of the Chobonaino site, this large figurine was designated as a National Treasure in June 2007. In addition to the citizens of Hakodate city, many people in Hokkaido as a whole have expressed great interest in the figurine. It is now on display for the public at the Hakodate Jomon Culture Center (Fig. 2.9) that


**Fig. 2.9** The Hakodate Jomon Culture Center

was built in 2011 on a land adjacent to the Jomon site of Kakinoshima. The public response to the designation of the clay figurine as a National Treasure has been considerable, causing momentum for citizens to protect Jomon sites and promote Jomon culture. The citizens and government are united in holding various forums for Jomon culture and activities to that end.

## Contemporary Significance of the Jomon Culture and Measures of Preservation

As the fundamental culture revealing core Japanese values, the Jomon culture had a significant impact not only on craft technologies such as jade and lacquer production but also on the mentality of the Japanese people. This can be seen, for example, from the modern words to say before meals indicating "thanks for the food" (*itadakimas*). The meaning is to receive the life of animals or plants as food, which seems to have been derived from beliefs about animism during the Jomon period.

My colleagues and I aim to convey the importance of the ancient Jomon culture not only in Japan but also to people overseas. By creating more awareness, we wish to encourage more people to visit Jomon sites. This is the best way to protect and preserve the archaeological and cultural heritage of the region. Therefore, it is necessary to expand our dissemination activities such as public forums and educa-

tional lectures for citizens at the Hakodate Jomon Culture Center. We held an international symposium devoted to understanding the Jomon period and the Eurasian Neolithic as a public commemoration of the founding of the museum in cooperation with the German Archaeological Institute. Many local citizens and researchers from overseas participated in the symposium which focused on world prehistory in relation to global climate change. Simultaneous interpretation made it possible for very productive discussions. After this successful event, local interest in the prehistory of the Hakodate area increased even more. Despite the small size of our museum, about 100,000 people have come to participate in such activities during the last two years.

In addition, people from city areas on northern Honshu Island to the south of Hokkaido including prefectures such as Aomori, Akita, and Iwate have worked with us in Hokkaido to push forward a joint project (involving 12 city areas in total) to register the region comprising 18 Jomon sites as a World Heritage Site (Fig. 2.10). The assets of the region have been already put on a UNESCO World Heritage provisional list, and we hope the registration will be completed soon.

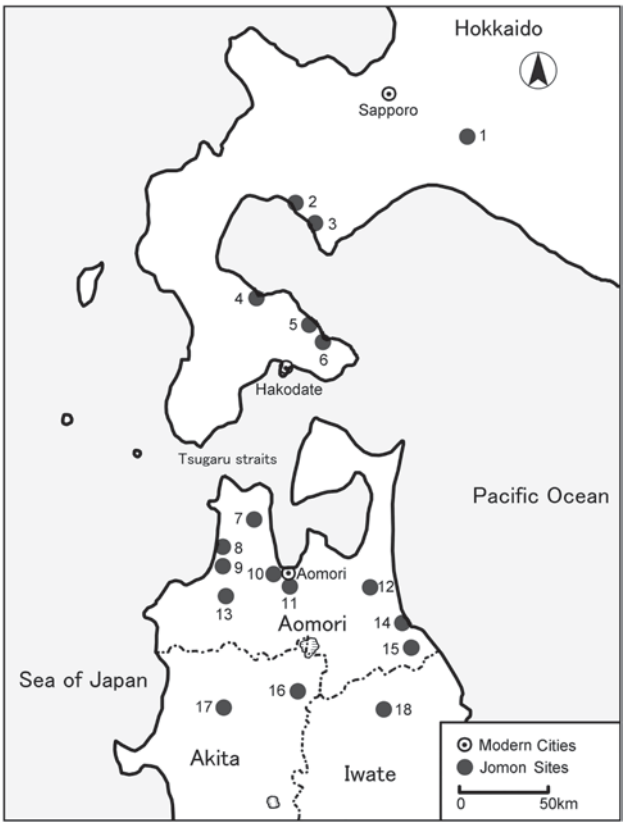


**Fig. 2.10** Region with 18 Jomon sites nominated for World Heritage Site status

Such a project will not be able to materialize without understanding the administrative planning and cooperation of citizens, the business community, and universities. The current atmosphere is a favorable one for site preservation and understanding of the Jomon culture. But the early 1990s were a challenging time in Minamikayabe, when many people wanted to give priority to economic development through activities such as highway construction.

The former Mayor of Minamikayabe, Mr. Iida Mitsuru, asked me once, "Mr. Abe, isn't there a way to build the road we need without involving archaeological excavation?". This question I had predicted, and showing him a graph I said: "Mr. Mayor, please look at this graph. Out of $ 1,000,000 yearly expenses for excavation, 65 % is for wages. With these wages we can pay 50 persons to work. The fees will be paid entirely by the Ministry of Land and Infrastructure. This is your best hiring policy." He seemed persuaded. So I closed, "Mr. Mayor, each and every one of these workers votes, and so do their families, sir." His eyes glittered, and he nodded silently. In the next phase of his political career, Mr. Iida initiated his first campaign in a Jomon excavation site in front of a crowd of excavation workers, and in his speech he said: "This Jomon site is the pride of our city." He won the election. And, though at first out of questionable motives, Mr. Iida became a true fan of the Jomon culture. Although he has now retired from politics, he is still a powerful supporter (Fig. 2.11).

From this experience, I began to see something that would seem obvious, but initially difficult to truly understand: that people from different sectors of society such as the government, universities, business, and ordinary neighborhoods have different objectives. Not everyone thinks that cultural heritage is the most important priority. But there is one common objective, and it is that everyone wants to improve their homeland.

Given that challenge, my colleagues and I encouraged the government and businesses to try to act by our slogan: "utilizing Jomon culture, improving local charm, and promoting regional sustainable development." The business model we promoted (Fig. 2.12) was designed to fulfill the aim of each group and its identity during each activity. The "government," whether this refers to the whole country or just a single city, performs preservation and the maintenance of ancient remains. Then, "the citizen's group" handles activities such as guides of sites and experience-based lectures. At the same time, small businesses and private enterprises such as hotels or tourist agencies can plan tours of Jomon sites. We are pleased that many individuals and groups became interested in the preservation and utilization of Jomon culture. We believe there are two aspects to the utilization of Jomon sites. The educational aspect teaches people about local history and the economic aspect involves activities which increase tourism. However, the most important thing is capacity building which focuses on a growing consciousness and a sense of power by average people to participate in community development through promoting Jomon culture as a local treasure. This results in local administrations with dedication and determination to take action which truly promotes the interests of local communities and protects local cultural heritage. This should be the most important theme among efforts in protecting cultural heritage. Our view is that archaeology can be an action-based

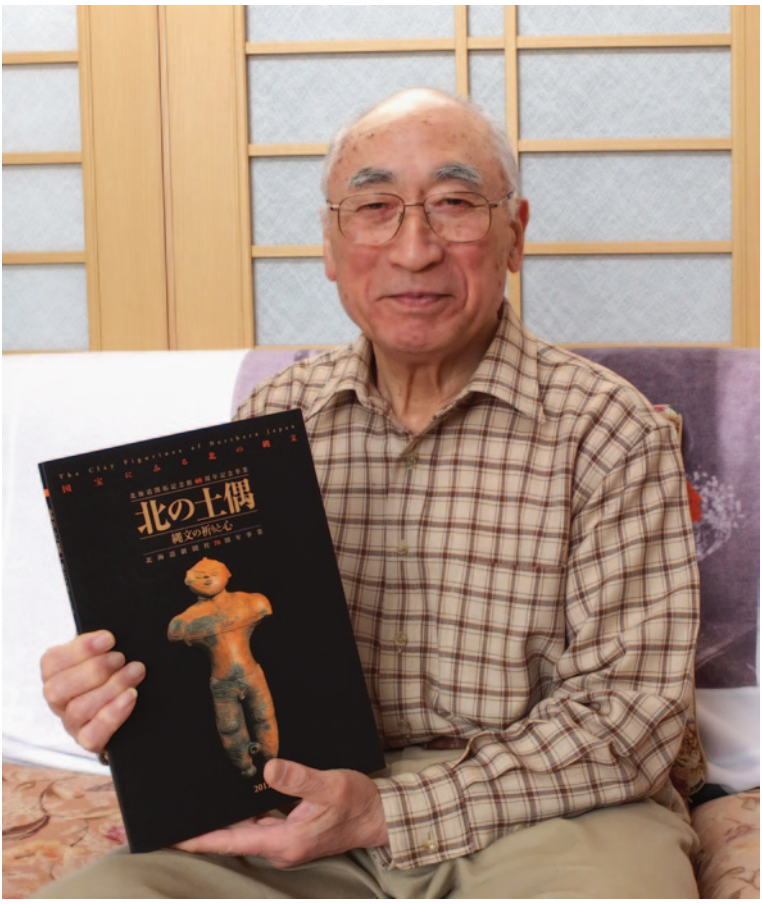


**Fig. 2.11** Former Mayor of Minamikayabe, Mr. Iida Mitsuru

discipline, and we feel optimistic about a wide range of new possibilities for working with the public in cultural heritage management.

## Conclusions

Archaeology is a discipline which includes a great advantage—an ability to work with local inhabitants. In my experience, every person who manages cultural heritage must first consider a business model which inspires local people to be active in promoting preservation of archaeological sites and realizing the value of understanding different ancient cultures. This is a strategy which became successful in the Hakodate area of Hokkaido, and I believe it will be useful in other areas.

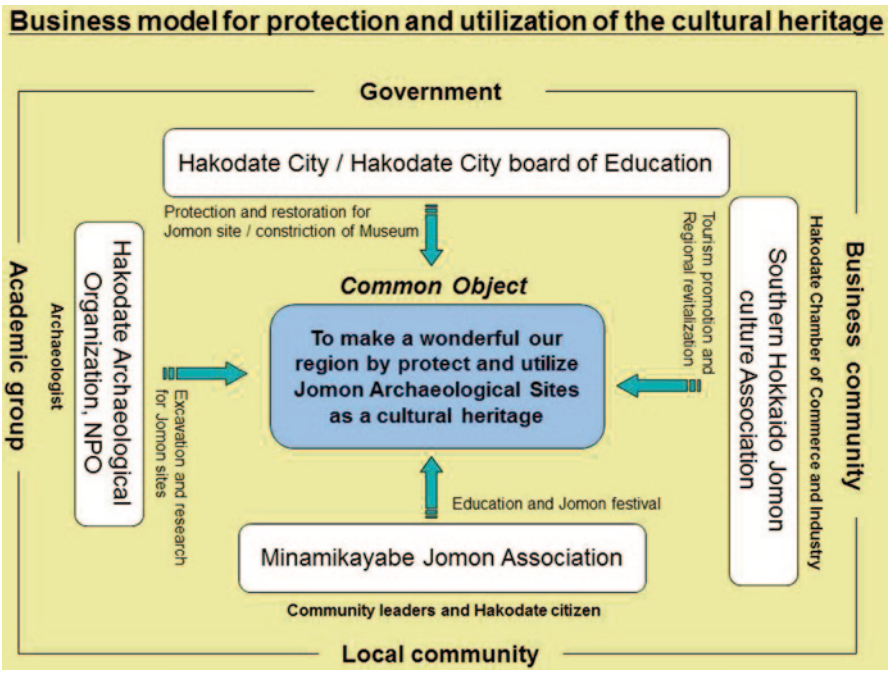


**Fig. 2.12** Business model for protection and utilization of cultural heritage in the Hakodate area

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# Chapter 3
# The Ruinscape: UNESCO, the State, and the Construction of Identity and Heritage in Phimai, Thailand

**Helaine Silverman**

## Introduction

Globalization has affected every corner of the planet (a platitude but true), but the interaction between the global and local is enacted differently around the world ("glocalization", see Robertson 1995) because, as anthropologist Anna Tsing explains, the global and local intersection is refracted through national policies and also within "the sticky materiality of practical encounters" (2005, p. 1). The nation shapes the possibilities of response at the local level and rather than being unidirectional, the local may, in turn, inform and contest the global. Applying Tsing's work to cultural heritage, World Heritage is an aspiration for global connection, a postcolonial and, in effect, a neocolonial universalist dream and scheme (2005, p. 1). Governments interested in it are not immune from criticism and are well aware of the multi-scaled political contexts within which heritage is embedded. Government policy may be responsive to ground-up pressure or, if not, heritage may engender conflict.

In summer 2011, I undertook ethnographic fieldwork in Thailand to explore local, national, and universal (UNESCO) interactions in the domain of cultural heritage, focusing on Tsing's sticky, practical encounters. My study was based in Phimai, an ordinary, bustling town in Nakhon Ratchasima Province (Fig. 3.1). I chose Phimai because in its center is Prasat Hin Phimai, a great ancient Khmer temple *(prasat)* and, indeed, the largest Khmer monument among many in Thailand. It, along with its sister sites of Phnom Rung and Muang Tam, has been an ensemble on Thailand's Tentative List since 2004, awaiting nomination to UNESCO's World Heritage List (Fig. 3.2).

Phimai was an ideal research venue in which to explore how the national and universal heritage values ascribed to Prasat Hin Phimai intersect local values and local constructions of heritage. Today, approximately 13,000 residents live within

H. Silverman (✉)
Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 109 Davenport Hall, 607 S. Mathews Avenue, Urbana, IL 61801, USA
e-mail: helaine@illinois.edu



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DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-20255-6_3


**Fig. 3.1** The Khorat Plateau and key places of the region, including Nakhon Ratchasima, Phimai, Buriram, Surin, and Si Sa Ket

the 1000-year-old city walls that defined the ancient settlement of Vimayapura surrounding Prasat Hin Phimai. Vimayapura's moats and large water reservoirs are still visible on Phimai's contemporary urban landscape. Thus, the town is horizontally and vertically stratified—a palimpsest through which one transits in the course of everyday life in the eponymous town. I was especially interested in the relationship between the town and the Phimai Historical Park, which is managed by the local branch of the Fine Arts Department (FAD), the national heritage agency that oversees tangible and intangible cultural heritage in the country. I also studied the role that tourism currently plays in social and economic life. I was keen to know what changes residents anticipate when Prasat Hin Phimai is inscribed on the World Heritage List and how they might feel about them. I sought to understand how

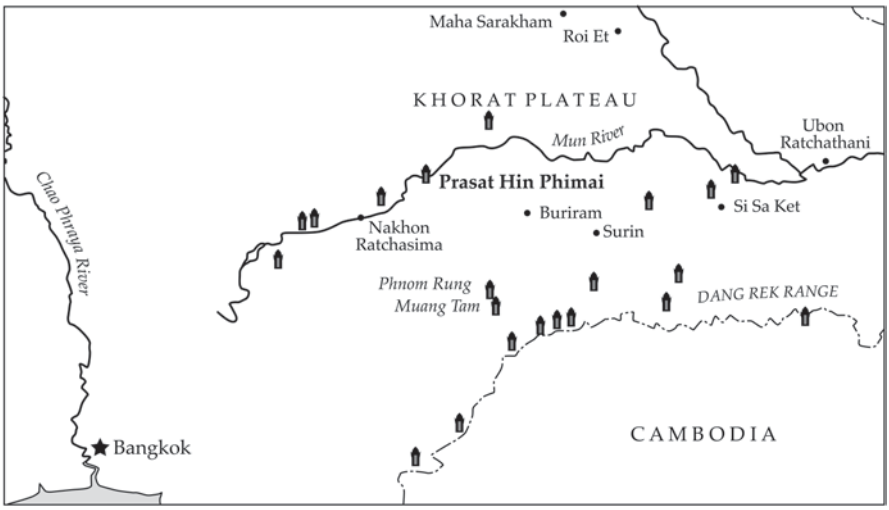


**Fig. 3.2** Map showing the location of major Khmer sites in southern Isan. Prasat Hin Phimai and its two sister sites of Phnom Rung and Muang Tam are labeled. Together they constitute the Tentative List nomination

Phimai residents think about themselves and their town today and how they conceive of and interact with the magnificent ancient temple in their midst. My ultimate goal was to create a baseline for understanding the future configuration of Phimai, when the *prasat* becomes a World Heritage site and the town is engulfed by the expansion of the official heritage. Summed up, Phimai manifested many of the key issues studied by heritage scholars: contestation and negotiation of cultural heritage; production of local, regional, and national identities; problems of site management; social, cultural, and environmental sustainability; and the relationship of cultural heritage to tourism and economic development.

In this chapter, I consider the tensions I observed between Phimai's ordinary yet rich everyday life—its unofficial heritage—and the town's uncertain future as a potentially heavily scripted venue for the increased archaeological tourism that will follow the inevitable World Heritage designation.

## Prasat Hin Phimai and the State

Prasat Hin Phimai is located on the Khorat Plateau in the southern part of northeast Thailand, a region known as Isan that was territorially and culturally part of the Angkor Empire of Cambodia in the ninth through fifteenth centuries. This resulted in a stunning array of ancient Khmer temples (Fig. 3.2) as well as a large ethnically Khmer population in Isan's southern provinces of Buriram, Surin, and Si Sa Ket (Fig. 3.3; the Khmer of Isan also include immigrants who fled the genocidal Pol Pot regime in the late 1970s and their descendants).


**Fig. 3.3** Map of Thailand showing the location of Isan and its constituent provinces, including Nakhon Ratchasima where Phimai is located and the other southern provinces of Isan

Prasat Hin Phimai (Fig. 3.4) was constructed mainly in the late eleventh through twelfth centuries by a succession of Khmer kings including the great Suryavarman II who built Angkor Wat and Jayavarman VII who built Angkor Thom and the Bayon temple. Indeed, Prasat Hin Phimai appears to be the prototype of Angkor Wat (Coe 2003, p. 116).

After the collapse of the Khmer Empire in the early 1400s, time took its proverbial toll on Prasat Hin Phimai and the surrounding town, then known as Vimayapura. Vimayapura became a hinterland to expanding Siamese settlements to the south and west and the *prasat* declined in importance except as a focus for local ceremonies. The temple was a ruin for centuries.

As modern Phimai came into existence, the decayed temple and its grounds became an active part of the local urban landscape. A police station, fresh market, some houses, and a bus depot were located within the temple grounds. Families lived here, people shopped at the market and used the bus stop, children played amid the ancient stones, and Phimai residents crisscrossed the site to get from one side of town to the other. Phimai's main street, Chomsudasadet, running north from the ancient southern gate (known as Victory Gate), entered the temple complex and bifurcated in front of the temple (Fig. 3.5).[1]

[1] Victory Gate was the south gate controlling access into the ancient town of Vimayapura from the royal road to Angkor, 225 km away (Coe 2003; Fig. 72).

**Fig. 3.4** Prasat Him Phimai (partial view)

Throughout the twentieth century and into the present day, the Thai government has been interested in the ancient Khmer monuments of Isan, seeking to incorporate them into a unified narrative of Thainess and nationhood. Indeed, Thailand fought a protracted diplomatic and border war with Cambodia over possession of one of these temples (Silverman 2011). For Thailand, the Khmer temples serve various functions: promotion of national integration, economic development through tourism, and enhancement of the country's international prestige. The incorporation of Khmer architecture as part of Thailand's cultural heritage locates Khmer heritage "within the nation's boundaries" (Denes 2012, p. 176; see also Peleggi 2007, p. 182), and the restoration and development of some of the ancient temples as historical parks (such as the Prasat Hin Phimai–Phnom Rung-Muang Tam ensemble) is a manifestation of a "politically charged, nationalist narrative of Thailand's claims of entitlement to Khmer heritage" (Denes 2012, p. 169).

Prasat Hin Phimai became a national monument in 1936.[2] In the 1950s, the FAD began excavation and clearing of the site as part of the Ministry of Culture's promotion of nationalism under then Prime Minister Phibun (Field Marshall Plack Phibunsongkhram; Peleggi 2002, p. 19). King Bhumibol and Queen Sirikit visited the temple during their 1955 tour of Isan (Handley 2006, pp. 127–128), which was

[2] *Government Gazette,* volume 53, section 34, dated 27 September 1936.

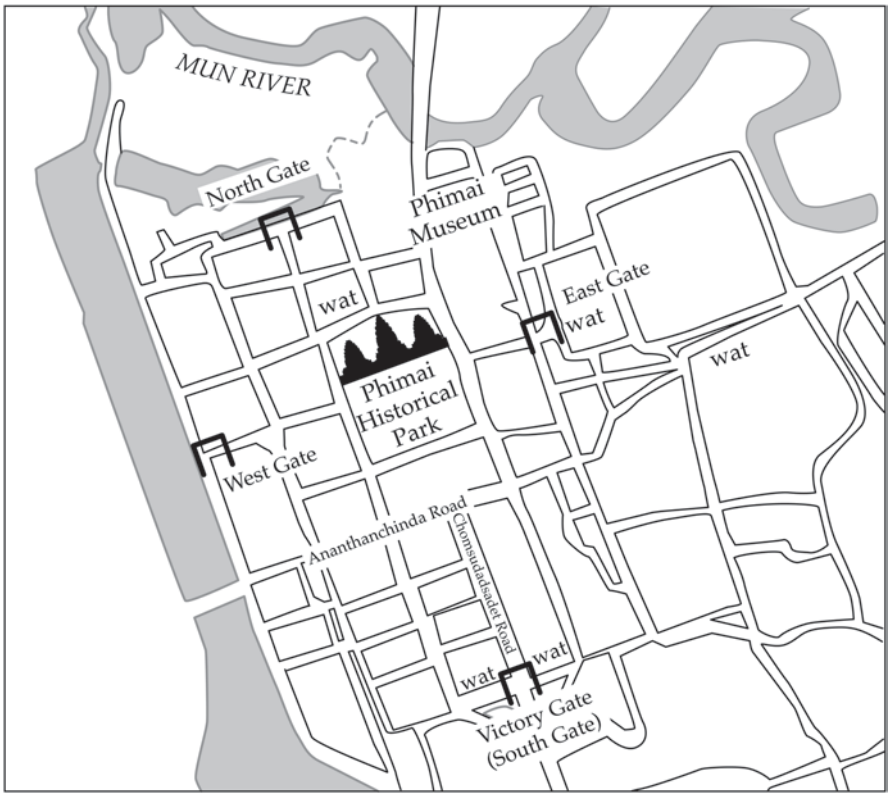


**Fig. 3.5** Simplified plan of the town of Phimai within the old city walls of Vimayapura. Note the location of Ananthachinda Street in front of the entrance to the prasat, and Chomsudasadet Street running north to the temple entrance from Victory Gate in the south

intended to assert royal power in an environment of extreme competition with the military-dominated government in this era of Cold War politics.

Following the FAD project, two French UNESCO experts collaborated with Thailand under the direction of Prince Yachai Chitrabongse to carry out a restoration of the *prasat* (1964–1969), bringing it back to magnificence (Freeman 1998, p. 12; Peleggi 2002, p. 48). Then, in 1976 or 1977—local informants could not remember precisely, and I have been unable to ascertain—Princess Sirindhorn, daughter of the King and Queen, visited Phimai. She was a university student at the time, deeply interested in Thai history and culture. But the purpose of her visit was not academic, it was royal diplomacy. In anticipation of Prasat Hin Phimai's conversion to a historical park, she had been sent by the palace to ask the people occupying the temple grounds to leave. Through her moral authority and prestige, she was able to persuade them of the need for relocation, for which the government would give compensation[3].

[3] I was told by informants that some of the compensation for vacating the temple grounds was received as stands/kiosks for selling souvenirs and other items, located on the east side of the site. I also was told that the eviction happened over 5 years, not all at once.

Sirindhorn's visit took place against the backdrop of significant political discord in Thailand—a military coup in 1976 with severe repression against real and perceived communism. In this context, the government undertook a "pervasive ideological campaign centered on the notion of national identity" (Peleggi 2002, p. 21). This is reflected in the Fourth National Economic and Social Development Plan for 1977–1981, which was part of an "official call to 'cultivate the love for Thai traditional art and culture' through the preservation of the country's cultural heritage [that] partook of a wider policy designed to reinforce state-endorsed definitions of culture and identity as an ideological barrier against radicalism" (Peleggi 2007, pp. 177–178). The plan gave unprecedented emphasis to the conservation of antiquities (Peleggi 2007, p. 177) as one response to an economic slowdown and the communist insurgency. The first section of the plan addressed tourism development. Two years later the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) was created (Peleggi 1996, p. 435), and by the mid-1980s tourism was the greatest source of foreign exchange (Peleggi 2007, p. 54). "Cultural heritage"—*moradok*—entered the popular vocabulary through government-sponsored events, and the TAT was financed to promote Thailand as a cultural tourism destination (Peleggi 1996, p. 435).

The Fifth Development Plan (1982–1986) specifically targeted Prasat Hin Phimai (along with four other historic sites[4]) to be reconfigured into a historical park by the FAD (Peleggi 2002, p. 22), and Sirindhorn returned to Phimai in 1989 for its inauguration. Her presence was even more significant than before, for now she was a royal patron of Thailand's cultural heritage and a legitimately recognized scholar in that area. Her visit enveloped this Khmer site in the heritage of the Thai kingdom and nation (see Sirindhorn 1997). Moreover, FAD's attention to Phimai and other Khmer temples was "intended to boost Isan's appeal as a tourist destination at a time when Angkor was still off-limits because of the activity of the Khmer Rouge guerillas" (Peleggi 2007, p. 182). Thus, Phnom Rung (in 1988) and Prasat Hin Phimai (in 1989) became historical parks at a time of competitive opportunity for Thailand.

The ancient and contemporary Khmer occupation of southern Isan reverberates problematically in contemporary Thailand's national heritage ideology and politics (see Denes 2006, 2012; Pasuk and Baker 2008; Silverman 2011 inter alia). As the Thai state was reviving Khmer *monumental* heritage, a major ethnic revival of *intangible* cultural heritage was underway in southern Isan through a "localism movement" (Denes 2006, 2012). Localism "began from the [1980s] reaction against top-down, urban-biased development politics in favor of *phumpanya thongthin,* local wisdom, and *watthanatham chumchon,* community culture" (Baker and Pasuk 2009, p. 255). Development, it was argued, "should respect local cultures and history in order to rebuild the community's identity" (Sriprapha 2005, p. 14). Localism became enshrined in the 1997 constitution, which recognized the rights of communities and empowered them as a group and as individuals. We see the same

[4] The other sites were Si Satchalalai, Khamphaeng Phet, Si Thep, and Phra Nakhon Khiri. The previous plan had targeted Sukhothai and Ayutthaya—the great Central Thai capitals—and, in Isan, Prasat Phanom Rung and Prasat Muang Singh.

localist principles enunciated in the Eighth (1997–2001), Ninth (2002–2006), Tenth (2007–2011), and Eleventh (2012–2016) National Economic and Social Development Plans. These ideas are reiterated in the 2007 constitution (Chap. III, Part 12, Section 66), which emphasizes the rights of persons to assemble as a traditional local community with "the right to conserve or restore their customs, local wisdom, arts or good culture of their community and of the nation and participate in the management, maintenance and exploitation of natural resources, the environment and biological diversity in a balanced and sustainable fashion" (http://www.asianlii.org/th/legis/const/2007/1.html#C03P12). The question that has arisen recently, however, is whether or not participation in management, maintenance, and exploitation extends to cultural resources.[5]

Unlike the situation elsewhere on the southern Khorat Plateau where the large, ethnically Khmer population is related to that which the state has defined as heritage, Phimai residents are not ethnically connected to the great *prasat* in their midst. They are predominantly Lao and Thai; there also is a Chinese Thai minority who are the economic movers and shakers in town as well as a small, ethnically Kui population in the southeast sector. Phimai residents, as a whole, do not regard the ancient Khmer monument of Prasat Hin Phimai as ancestral, although most regard it as holy[6], because it was a Buddhist shrine in its time and they are Buddhists.[7] A small number of residents occasionally pray at the Buddhist images in the *prasat* and make offerings to them (Fig. 3.6). But these sporadic acts of devotion are controlled by the historical park's management office. Furthermore, the park creates a buffer zone between the site and population center. Town folk must identify themselves as such at the ticket booth so as to pass through. Nevertheless, the obvious focus of daily and religious life in Phimai is not the ancient *prasat,* which the FAD identifies as heritage, but rather the five flourishing Buddhist *wats* (temple-monasteries) in town. Here we have a clear example of Byrne's (2014) recently defined "counter-heritage," where popular religion is local heritage in contrast to the official heritage valued by the state and its agents.

The younger generation, especially, is not attached to Prasat Hin Phimai in the experiential sense of older people who remember it as part of daily life. Rather, the feelings that the youth have about the *prasat* are produced through new activities imparted to them top-down through the school curriculum, by taking part in performances about the Khmer era at the temple itself (sound-and-light shows) and other cultural activities held at the site. A select few have trained as temple youth guides at the high school.

[5] Thus, a struggle has emerged between the FAD and the Khmer population around the great ancient temple of Phnom Rung. The Khmer seek unfettered access to and participation in the management of their heritage sites (Denes 2006, 2012; Denes and Sirisrisak 2013).

[6] In Thailand, a sacred place is often the center of a town, whether a functioning temple with ceremonies or a shrine for paying respect.

[7] Most of the ancient Khmer kings followed variants of the Hindu religion, and their temples are Hindu temples. The greatest of these is Angkor Wat itself, built by Suryavarman II (ruled 1113–1150). Although Prasat Hin Phimai appears to be a prototype for Angkor Wat, Prasat Hin Phimai is a Mahayana Buddhist temple, largely constructed by Jayavarman VI (ruled 1080–1107).

**Fig. 3.6** Contemporary offerings to a Buddha image within one of the precincts of Prasat Hin Phimai

## Stakeholder Rights

I observed significant tension between the municipal office of Phimai and the town residents toward the FAD, manifesting the problem of stakeholder rights and participatory management in culture that have come to the forefront in the heritage field in recent years (see Silverman and Ruggles 2007; Denes and Sirisrisak 2013; Ekern et al. 2013; Barry 2013 inter alia). Whether or not a "ruin" is perceived locally as "heritage," the privileging of the past by a national agency of archaeological heritage management can have significant consequences for these sites' most immediate stakeholders: the communities that live among and around the "ruins." My concept of *ruinscape* (Silverman 2012) refers to the administrative perception of inert monuments and the associated policy of privileging "ruins" on a landscape even though their space is simultaneously occupied by a living population. The local branch of the FAD conceives of the town of Phimai as a *ruinscape* because the old town is contained within the ancient walls of Vimayapura. Thus, the FAD assumes authority to intervene. However, Phimai is a vibrant *living* landscape among its population.

According to what I was told in summer 2011, the FAD had had little engagement with town residents in the previous few years. Specifically regarding the temple's UNESCO nomination, there had been just a few perfunctory and poorly advertised town hall meetings at which residents were spoken to rather than dialogued with. Rumors were rife about expansion of the grounds of the historical park and concomitant expropriation of homes and businesses. Those rumors were borne out in the 2009 master plan for site management, discussed below. Also, a majority of the population—according to my interviews—did not embrace the potential increase in tourism that appears to be a major goal of the quest for World Heritage status and a likely outcome of it. Thus, there was no widespread interest in the achievement of the UNESCO designation at the time of my fieldwork.

These are important matters. The dossier of a World Heritage List nomination is supposed to indicate local stakeholder participation (UNESCO 2005, Paragraphs 111 and 123). This point was emphasized by UNESCO Director-General Irina Bokova who said in her address on November 7, 2011 to the General Assembly: "Local communities are an integral part of the life of a World Heritage Site. They are essential for their preservation. There can be no sustainable management without the support and engagement of local authorities. There can be no preservation without the knowledge and expertise of indigenous peoples. All of these local actors must be at the heart of our action for World Heritage in the 21st century and at the heart of our vision of sustainable development." Nevertheless, too often those people living near a site—including those living in a historic center—are only minimally consulted by the national cultural heritage agency in charge. But local consultation and stakeholder participation are necessary because if the nomination of a site to the World Heritage List is successful, increased tourism will likely follow, and that has practical implications for community sustainability in multiple senses of the term. Let us consider this issue in Phimai.

## Site Management of Prasat Hin Phimai

The 1936 ministerial decree making Prasat Hin Phimai a national monument did not specify a protected area surrounding the monument. The *Ancient Monuments, Ancient Objects, Art Objects, and National Museum Act* of 1961 states—among other provisions—that any archaeological/historic objects buried or on the surface on public land belong to the nation. The FAD represents the nation in this regard. As amended in 1985, the FAD is specifically charged with "conservation…the act of keeping and maintaining a monument in order to retain its values. This comprises protection, maintenance, preservation, restoration and repair" (cited in Peleggi 2002, p. 28). The fact that contemporary Phimai has grown up within the old city walls and over an ancient settlement means that the FAD has a kind of jurisdiction over the whole urban area, rather than the municipality or other levels of local government.[8]

[8] Thailand has a complex overlapping system of administration for towns, cities, and provinces. There is a provincial administration organization (PAO) for provinces such as Nakhon Ratcha-

However, Article 46 of the 1997 Constitution was a mandate for decentralization that "expressly recognized and guaranteed communities' rights to 'participate in the management, maintenance, preservation and exploitation of natural resources and the environment'" (Wong 2007, p. 2), which opens the path for community involvement with the whole environment, including the built environment. Indeed, the implementation plan for achieving decentralization specifically identified art, culture, custom, tradition, and local wisdom as an area of decentralization (Wong 2007, pp. 3–5).

Therefore, the lines of patrimonial authority between the FAD and the municipality/local authority are ambiguous, exacerbated by the national government's interest in the UNESCO designation. The registration of Prasat Hin Phimai as a national monument serves to further diminish the local voice in site management and, arguably, its local significance. Community involvement is further complicated by Thailand's tradition of patron–client relationships and social hierarchies, which make it difficult for the unempowered or less empowered to challenge authority. Balancing this, however, are "non-legal perceptions of justice and local claims grounded in unofficial law—the law of custom and tradition in rural communities [that] can contest state power" (Munger 2006–2007, p. 13).

The Thai term (translated), "historical park," used to describe and manage Prasat Hin Phimai and other sites, informs us of the management philosophy of the FAD: Archaeological sites are conceived as places (parks) of leisure; history is to be enjoyed through visits. Contestation and controversy do not sit well with enjoyment so the past is reconstructed as unproblematical. The historical conditions that went into the production of the park are ignored and obfuscated in the script.

During my fieldwork, I heard statements of apprehension among many Phimai residents because of insufficient outreach to them by the FAD concerning its plans to develop the *prasat*. A common concern was that the town and, consequently, their lives will be disrupted by property expropriation and urban renewal for mass tourism that would be undertaken within the framework of the master plan for the nomination dossier of Prasat Hin Phimai for the World Heritage List. The concerns of these Phimai residents are well founded because the FAD template for management of historical parks, evident at the great sites of Sukhothai and Ayutthaya in central Thailand, is clearance (removal of the population), landscaping, and infrastructural development (see Peleggi 1996, p. 438).

The management plan to which residents referred, and about which they had little information and no input, was prepared in 2009 by a multidisciplinary team from Maha Sarakham University[9]. It reflects the FAD's philosophy to a lesser and greater extent in the form of three options. Bear in mind that this is a preliminary document, not the final version that will be submitted to the World Heritage Committee. I am not aware of that definitive document having been produced.

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sima. Municipalities exist at three levels within the PAO: subdistrict *(tambon),* district *(muang),* and cities. There also is a subdistrict administration organization, which functions at the local or *tambon* level. These administrative organizations have administrative/executive and legislative divisions. For a full discussion see Fumio et al. (2008).

[9] The master plan was commissioned by the FAD. It involved three departments at Maha Sarakham University: Architecture, City Planning, and Fine and Applied Arts.


**Fig. 3.7** **a** Shop clutter along the north end of Chomsudasadet Street spills onto the sidewalk and into the street. **b** Standing at the south end of Chomsudasadet Street and looking north toward the *prasat,* whose principal tower is just visible in the photo

Option 1 in the 2009 plan is the least intrusive. It proposes to use Phimai's historic sites and the archaeological park as public space and to make these resources fit for leisure use and tourism through removal of obstructing vegetation on and off site, burying electric lines, leveling the ground for walking paths, and mitigating advertising panels of Chomsudasadet's streetscape so as to have a neater appearance leading to the temple entry (Fig. 3.7). Interestingly, I observed that when standing in the middle of Chomsudasadet the greatest visual obstruction to the stunning south façade of Prasat Hin Phimai is not the messy streetscape but, rather, trees on the temple grounds and large panels bearing the image of the king located at the entrance to the site (Fig. 3.8). The stated idea behind option 1 is to keep the current physical space and give importance to Phimai (not just the temple) in terms of the lifestyle of the local residents and the fact that Phimai is an ancient town. It proposes to develop the physical element of the old town that is visible today and to showcase how the community uses it.

Option 2 of the 2009 master plan expands option 1 so as to emphasize the physical elements of the old town and make them more visible through restoration of all historic sites within the old town boundaries. These include the ancient gates, moats, and reservoirs as well as other archaeological remains. It seeks to make connections among the historic sites and make effective use of the area. Option 2 also calls for valorization of community tradition, culture, and lifestyle through collaboration between residents, the local administrative agency (municipality), local schools, the FAD, and so forth. The goal is to make the image of Phimai more obvious at the local, regional, and national level, which, the document argues, will generate shared pride. Option 2 also calls for expropriation of 48 properties along the south side of the historical park (where the entrance is) and moving around its southwest and southeast corners so as to open up the area immediately around the temple. Building façades would be mitigated to make them look more harmonious

**Fig. 3.8** The front view of the beautiful façade of Prasat Hin Phimai is obstructed by trees on site and the large-scale photograph of King Bhumibol in front of the temple entrance

with each other. It also would reorganize traffic and create adequate parking for tourists. More trees would be planted at certain locations in town. Actions to be taken within the archaeological site are quite standard, such as leveling the ground, creating paths with materials that harmonize with the ancient environment, and restoring the ancient gates in town—underway when I was in Phimai. A tourist information center would be built south of Victory Gate (i.e., immediately outside town) along with a shopping venue to sell local products.

Option 3 called for the removal of the entire population living within the city walls of Phimai. The fact that this option appears in the 2009 document speaks to a lack of local consultation, notwithstanding the master plan's contention that it is the result of collaboration among four groups of stakeholders: the government, the local agency (municipality), the private sector, and residents. The justification given for mass expropriation is that clearance would enable study, survey, excavation, and restoration of the old town in every aspect of its historic elements. This would show the long and continuous evolution of Phimai and enable it to be recognized and acknowledged at the international level. This option also would facilitate and stimulate tourism. Option 3 incongruously states that all stakeholders will determine how to use Prasat Hin Phimai and that there will be coexistence between the community and the historic site. Option 3 claims it will enable pride in the Phimai community as owners of this area, which has historical significance internationally.

Of course, the Phimai community that lived in the old town would now be living in the new town across the river if they chose to stay in the area at all. This option would eliminate the living community. I would call this *ruination*. Option 3 is not politically viable in Thailand today.

## The Role of Tourism

Phimai is located only 40 min from the provincial capital of Nakhon Ratchasima (also called by the abbreviation, Khorat), a city with a full complement of tourism services including fine hotels. Thus, it is unnecessary to stay in Phimai to visit the temple—a visit that takes 90 min at most for ordinary tourists. Even an added excursion to the nearby Sai Ngam Park with its renowned banyan tree and delicious food stands would add only another couple of hours (if that much). In summer 2011, Phimai's three small guesthouses and two hotels (mostly for businessmen) were adequate for those rare tourists wishing to spend more time in town and using Phimai as a base from which to explore the surrounding area.

I observed among most Thai and foreign visitors a notable lack of curiosity about the town beyond the temple—surely because Phimai lacks visual appeal and significant points of interest in comparison to Thailand's major tourism destinations. Of course, that was what made Phimai so interesting to me—a town unscripted for tourism with its vibrant daily life, attention to the modest *wats* and their monks, the daily morning and night markets for local use that had not become picturesque for tourists, and so forth. Dare I characterize Phimai as "authentic" in this regard?

But the embodied present has little place in the FAD tableau of Prasat Hin Phimai. The goal of the FAD is to enhance the monumental experience of pastness (as defined by them) for visitors. It is therefore quite interesting that Thai scholar Rungsima Kullapat (2014) has documented the survival of a centuries-old legend that operates outside the official heritage discourse of the FAD. The legend is known as *Pachit Oraphim,* and it links Prasat Hin Phimai to some 30 other places on the Khorat Plateau. The FAD refuses to acknowledge this intangible heritage (see Bryne 2014 for a larger discussion of official dismissal of vernacular heritage) whereas Dr. Kullapat argues that this legend could become the basis of a domestic, sustainable, cultural routes tourism.

With its focus on the tangible, it is no wonder that the FAD is concerned with the appearance of Phimai and particularly Chomsudasadet, the main access road to the great *prasat*. Chomsudasadet is unaesthetic by Western standards (Fig. 3.7). Domestic goods spill onto the sidewalk, making pedestrians move into the street, where vehicular traffic is chaotic. Tattered awnings hang dangerously low inviting head injuries. Glaring signage of all kinds projects into the streetscape which, furthermore, is marred by a network of electrical wires. However, this street, as it is, is a familiar Thai landscape, and if its appearance bothered business owners and residents along the street or were there pressure from the municipality, changes would have been made. But Chomsudasadet is targeted for renovation in all three

options of the draft site management plan because Phimai's messy urban landscape is not the image of a national monument desired by the FAD, which seeks to create park-like environments with green grass and expansive spaces providing unimpeded views of historic buildings (notwithstanding the FAD's penchant for trees). It behooves us to question the right of an outside agency to alter the street, and who would pay, who would be displaced, and what effect on business and social life would this tourism-prompted gentrification have? Will the FAD and TAT seek to renovate Phimai to the point that it becomes a replica of the "authentic Thailand" in tourism brochures and the tourist imaginary, with the new becoming heritage and erasing the genuinely old (see Byrne 2014, p. 208)?

Soon after the historical park was established, the TAT created an annual Phimai Festival—modeled after Sukhothai's (Peleggi 2002, pp. 66–67)—to bring in significant numbers of domestic tourists (Peleggi 2002, p. 67).[10] The Phimai Festival has been operating since 1992. Peleggi has acerbically noted, "TAT's strategy of staging festivals at heritage sites in order to increase their appeal rather than making the most of their historic and artistic value." He complains that the TAT's focus is not on knowledge production but rather on having *sanuk* (fun) with ruins merely furnishing a scenic background (1996, p. 439). However, Leedom Lefferts, another expert in Thailand, cautions that when not working, Thais do, in fact, focus on *sanuk* as a cultural characteristic (personal communication, 12 February 2014).

As the festival evolved, it became multisited and varied with attractions ranging from traditional to the banal.[11] After several years, a former mayor of Phimai and proud bearer of a town-referencing surname, Mr. Phongphimai (1997–2008), asked the TAT to let the municipality organize the Phimai Festival with the TAT serving only as the sponsor (financial backer). Since then and from time to time, the TAT acts as a consultant; sometimes the TAT staff helps the local people organize the event; businesses compete to provide the promotional brochures. The annual festival is not an invented tradition in the sense of a newly created practice adopted into the local culture. It is, simply, a scheduled event whose tangible benefits are fleeting and not distributed throughout the population.

The Phimai Wittaya High School became involved with the sound-and-light event at the temple, creating a "mini sound-and-light performance" as a spin-off of the Phimai Festival. Their performance is staged on the last Saturday night of December, January, February, and March. Both the major and smaller performances

[10] When I interviewed Mayor Kannika in January 2011, she suggested that 500,000–600,000 tourists visit Phimai annually. This figure reflects the draw (among Thais) of the Phimai Festival, not entries to Prasat Hin Phimai exclusively.

[11] The brochure from the 2010 festival indicates these activities: a photographic exhibition of 1000 years of Phimai, Sound and Light at Prasat Hin Phimai, Parade of the Offering to the Buddha on land, Parade of the Royal Trophy by river barge, traditional Khon performance by dancers of the FAD, a contest of Thai traditional dance, Thai boxing competition, traditional boat racing, a Khorat cat competition (they are a breed of the classic Siamese cat), an Isan folk dance contest, Khorat food contest, Thai folk song contest, a market, and on the less traditional side, a youth music bands contest, a Phimai supermodel contest, a concert starring famous young pop singers, and a hula hoop competition (!).

at the *prasat* present myths and liberally interpret history through music, dance, and drama.

In 2005 Prasat Hin Phimai received 178,134 visitors (Maneenetr 2007, p. 128 citing TAT statistics). I do not have more recent official figures, but I was told at the entry booth that there can be up to a 1000 visitors a day, which would yield well over 300,000 visitors annually. Most visitors to Prasat Hin Phimai are Thai because most of the foreign tourists follow the primary tourism route through the north–south corridor of the country, running from Bangkok to Chiang Mai, rather than heading into the northeast. There is no doubt that domestic tourism to Phimai will increase if Prasat Hin Phimai is inscribed on the World Heritage List. The number of foreign tourists (independent or on specialized cultural tours) may increase somewhat. But—and this is very important—it is unlikely that temple tourism will spill over into the town as a whole, so what benefit would accrue to Phimai from official intervention in unofficial urban life?

In summer 2011, town folk were apathetic about the rare tourists who wandered briefly through town or stayed overnight. They were not bothered by the few guesthouses that earn a modest income from tourism, and they were willing to share their social and physical space in restaurants with the unusual tourists who might stop to eat. Importantly, the majority of local people with whom I spoke said they do not require tourism because Phimai has a booming local economy and is a "central place" in the regional economy, providing agricultural and construction supplies and retail goods. There also is employment in nearby factories, such as a shoe factory and a salt factory. Clearly, in summer 2011, Phimai's vision of its own economic development differed from that of the state and the regional heritage and tourism agencies.

## The Future of Phimai

Unlike other cases where a local population is culturally related to an ancient site or invents a tradition to assert a heritage claim to a site that has become important in a national program or that has immediate positive repercussions for them, the majority of Phimai residents are focused on creating meaningful and productive lives through their own religious and cultural traditions that constitute their cultural heritage. The five flourishing Buddhist *wats* in town are particularly important in daily and ceremonial life. Cohesive social networks are also part of the intangible glue of the community. None of these is predicated upon tourism, but all can be impacted by it. In summer 2011, Phimai residents had not yet been given evidence that inscription of the ancient monument on the World Heritage List and an increase in tourism will benefit them.

My interviews revealed a widespread, explicit expression of contentment in town, which I found extraordinary. The majority of Phimai residents are happy with their lives, sincerely professing love for their town, with which they have a keen sense of identification. Residents manifest a deeply felt sense of identity. They speak with pride of "being Phimai" and of having their own dialect and noodles.

One very talented high school senior told me that she intends to return to Phimai after completing her university studies to lead her adult life there. She said many of her friends feel the same way. Thus, the development of Prasat Hin Phimai as a World Heritage Site cannot be divorced from a concern with Phimai's social sustainability.

Sense of place and construction of identity in Phimai are based more on the embodied actions taking place in the socially produced world than the appearance and layout of the architectural frame of the town, although memory and social networks are mapped onto it. I noticed a significant amount of vernacular wood architecture, but observed that it is rapidly being lost to fire or decay or is being replaced by generic cement construction. Whereas I was very excited by this traditional architecture, with few exceptions I observed little interest in its preservation among residents nor do most of them have the necessary resources with which to preserve that built environment. Were tourists interested in the traditional homes and if residents were financially enabled, this architecture might be saved, perhaps by conversion or adaptive reuse as B&Bs or tourist shops. But various scholars expert in Southeast Asia have noted that the Western preference for historic preservation contravenes traditional cultural practices in this area (Byrne 1995, 2014; Karlstrom 2005). And might not a modern house have more amenities than an old one?

Phimai residents do inscribe particular landmarks on the townscape with meaning in the physically built context of the social world, as revealed in the research of my colleague, Dr. Rungsima Kullapat, whom I mentioned above. In addition to the expectable places (such as the *wats*), individuals and groups (family, age-cohort, and business) create their own meanings on the tangible landscape that support social life.

In Phimai, we see a *critical localism:* Residents create and perceive a peaceful environment, but one that does not accord with the themed environment sought by the FAD. This is not to say that some theming has not already occurred. When he was mayor, Mr. Phongphimai commissioned new street posts on one avenue, Ratchonanni Lela (Fig. 3.9), and new signage throughout much of the town, the design of which incorporated the imagery of Prasat Hin Phimai (Fig. 3.10). His intent was to improve the appearance of the streets, and he was comparatively successful with the avenue. But what would happen if a pervasive and multiple theming of Phimai were imposed so as to intensify the tourist experience? Although I cannot predict how real change in the townscape will affect the Phimai community, I would think that there would be significant repercussions for the construction of social space because the tangible and intangible interweave to express and embody Phimai's cultural heritage and residents' personal and local identities.

Nevertheless, change is inevitable and some change is needed. Stress on Anan-thachinda, the east-west running street that fronts the historical park entrance, must be mitigated because it suffers from regular town traffic exacerbated by tour buses that disgorge tourists at the entrance to Prasat Hin Phimai for their brief visits. Parking at the historical park is insufficient and causes chaos. Heavy, distance traffic (buses, trucks) passing through town along the east side of the *prasat* comes precariously close to the ancient structure. These problems can be fixed with only modest

**Fig. 3.9** The lamp posts on Ratchonanni Lela Avenue were installed by Mayor Phongphimai as a modest street intervention


**Fig. 3.10** Mayor Phongphimai replaced earlier street signs *(below)* with new street signs *(above)* that directly reference Prasat Hin Phimai

impact on Phimai, such as creating a parking lot on the north side of the historical park where space is available (and opening a second ticket booth there) and creating another parking lot outside Victory Gate to the south. With enough investment by the state, a peripheral road could be created outside town to divert nonlocal traffic away from the fragile environment.

The Chomsudasadet streetscape may be the most controversial issue. Should its appearance be controlled? Should resident parking along this business hub be prohibited? Could there be a single-lane trolley or tram running up and down Chomsudasadet both for tourists and residents? Will property owners be willing to implement or permit the implementation of the physical alterations suggested in options 1 and 2 of the current master plan if there is proper compensation and provision of necessary expertise (see also Jamieson and Sunalai 2002; Sunalai 2006)? Would these modifications to the urban fabric suffice to accommodate a predicted and state-desired increase in tourism once Prasat Hin Phimai is inscribed on the World Heritage List without drastically altering the social and economic life that occurs there?

## Conclusions

Phimai is a complicated interface between local actors, national interests, and international forces. It has proven to be a fascinating place in which to observe the interaction between the UNESCO/FAD system of official cultural heritage validation (e.g., Byrne 1991, 2014; Peleggi 2002; Smith 2006) and locally defined vernacular worth. What I have documented in Phimai is part of a larger pattern throughout Asia that Denis Byrne (2014) has recently labeled "counterheritage," in reference to the local beliefs and practices that constitute a schema for relating to the past that differs from the "high ground" that has been captured by the state in the process of nation-building and by UNESCO's global cultural governance. Byrne recognizes counterheritage as "a more democratic heritage practice, one that respects the existence of other ways of relating to old things" (Byrne 2014, pp. 2–3). In fact, his counterheritage can be observed in communities all over the world that enact their own material practices of meaning-making with reference to the past. Moreover, the value of Byrne's concept does not reside solely in its past focus. Other, more present acts of popular culture generate social life around new heritage (see, Robinson and Silverman 2015). And that heritage may be highly political; carnivals are exemplary of this in their conquest of otherwise restricted space.

Just as official heritage is constructed as a self-interested, subjective value by those empowered to deploy it, so, too, counterheritage must implicate politics. For instance, given that "heritage discourse construes antiquities as being part of the cultural capital of the nation," which encourages or even requires their public display (Byrne 2014, pp. 8–9), and considering that this discourse may be backed by national law, which itself has access to physical force to effect compliance, then counterheritage necessarily invokes a contested landscape of legal rights and cultural rights (see Ekern et al. 2013; Barry 2013). Some of those rights may be enacted by citizens in the form of acts of resistance against the hegemonic systems

of heritage management of national and global cultural governance and of the international tourism regime.

As the preparation of Thailand's World Heritage List dossier proceeds, the interplay between national and local interests as well as intra-local interests and the global and national tourism industries will bear watching. Indeed, popular mobilization to achieve that exalted status may begin. I recognize that with sufficient inducements from the FAD, TAT, and Thai state, Phimai residents could turn on a dime to embrace the nomination, including the urban modifications the eventual master plan will bring and the social and economic changes that will result from tourism development. Such a shift in general public opinion from that which I observed in summer 2011 would be an important matter to pursue through future fieldwork. But in my understanding Phimai residents want and will want to develop and claim the future on their own terms, not in accordance with externally imposed criteria, such as those that will govern Prasat Hin Phimai as a World Heritage site and spill over into the town. Ultimately, the issue is whether town folk will be able to influence the management and promotion of the ancient temple in their midst so that the existing patterns of daily life they cherish are not impaired and change is orchestrated in the manner they wish and to their equitable benefit, however they define that.

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**Notes** Figures 3.4, 3.6, 3.7, 3.8, 3.9 and 3.10; photos taken by Helaine Silverman

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# Chapter 4
# A Success Too Sweet: Who Sheds Tears when Looting Ends?

**Roderick J. McIntosh**

## Introduction

Perhaps the lesson of the episode to follow should be "All's Well that Ends Well." For, in the end, the US–Mali Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on the imposition of restrictions on the import into the United States of archaeological (and certain classes of historical) materials was extended for an additional 5 years as of September 2012 (http://eca.state.gov/files/bureau/mali_tias_2012.pdf). Rather, let us call the lesson to be drawn from the invited testimony before the US State Department's Cultural Property Advisory Committee (hereafter, CPAC) "eternal vigilance."

Eternal vigilance should be the watch call for all archaeologists and, indeed, all concerned with the preservation and protection of humanity's cultural heritage. The story of testimony by representatives of art/antiquities dealers and museums before the April 2012 CPAC meeting concerning the Mali MOU illustrates graphically (some might say, nauseatingly) why we must not let down our guard in the face of misrepresentations—disinformation, of not outright lies—by those who wish to roll back the virtual avalanche of request by antiquities "source" countries for import restrictions by art and antiquities "market" counties. The 2012 Mali case should be understood in its larger context. Mali, with this fourth restriction since 1993, is just one of many countries demonstrating that it has made massive progress in protecting its own national heritage (McIntosh et al. 1997), and that it requires the international cooperation against the well-heeled forces of the illicit international art and antiquities traffic to effectively stem the hemorrhaging of national heritage across its borders. The Malian case illustrates how, globally, archaeologists and heritage managers are pitted against dealers and museum directors in a continual battle for the attention of policymakers and, for that matter, the public. This case shows that

R. J. McIntosh (✉)
Department of Anthropology, Yale University, 10 Sachem Street,
New Haven, CT 06511, USA
e-mail: Roderick.McIntosh@Yale.edu



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even when a "source" nation has made heroic progress in protecting its most threatened sites and monuments, those hostile to any form of import restrictions are quite happy to indulge in sworn testimony that is demonstrably … counterfactual. The need for eternal vigilance is global.

The basis for any "source" nation request for import restrictions is Article 9 of the 1970 UNESCO Convention (Schmidt 1996; Schmidt and McIntosh 1996). In September of 1993, the USA took emergency action to impose import restrictions on a limited set of archaeological materials (from the Niger River (Interior) Valley and the Tellem burial caves near Bandiagara). In September of 1997, the two governments entered into a bilateral agreement concerning those same materials. This bilateral was extended for 5 years in September of 2002. And in September of 2007, the agreement was extended and amended to include archaeological material from all over Mali from the Paleolithic to the mid-eighteenth century. The 2012 CPAP hearing was, thus, the fifth fully public, transparent, and "adversarial" review of Mali's progress towards protecting its own threatened heritage—"adversarial" in the sense that witnesses for and against the bilateral accord were invited to give public testimony.

The public testimony before the April 25, 2012 CPAC meeting to review Mali's petition for renewal is published on the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs website (written statements are archived on www.regulations.gov, docket #DOS-2012-0012. URL: http://www.regulations.gov/#!documentDetail;D=DOS-2012-0012-0001. Click on "Open Docket Folder"). At the hearing, there were six statements read into the record from an assortment of invited representatives of public and university museums and museum directors and archaeologists. The reader is invited to sample the sworn statements on the aforementioned website; here I wish to abstract out the three broad points repeated by those hostile to the petition for renewal, hostile to Mali's past efforts to protect its own past—hostile, I would argue, to the very idea that there should be any international import restrictions on art and antiquities, looted or recently "emancipated," or long in the possession of private collections.

1. "Most Source countries cannot and will not protect their own heritage." The first counterfactual in the Mali case has an all-too familiar ring. Hostile witnesses talked about widespread looting continuing around the sensitive city of Jenne. They talked about ineffectual efforts at airports and border crossings to interdict passage of looted materials. And (in, sadly), a new twist, they said that with the passing of Timbuktu and other Saharan cities into the hands of a New "Al-Qaeda" Republic, many of the antiquities in question are no longer Malian state property. To paraphrase, the best option is not to renew the MOU in order to try to extract as much cultural heritage from northern Mali as possible (even though archaeological materials were never, as opposed to specific "Sufi pilgrimage monuments," under threat by the Ansar Dine).

Mali, despite its weak economy, low development index, and the recent coup d'état and fight to regain its northern territory (Malian, Chadian, and French Operation Serval), continues to have fewer problems—now—with looting and the illicit traffic

than many countries that have petitioned the CPAC for relief. This is in stark contrast with the 1980s and the early 1990s (see below), when hundreds (thousands?) of Middle Niger terracottas were unearthered each year by the teams of peasant diggers in the employ of Malian antiquarians who were themselves ultimately in the employ of a French-Belgian syndicate of international dealers (Brent 1994a, b; McIntosh 1989, 1995, 1996). Much of the credit for the Malian success has to be laid at the feet of the local and national heritage institutions and to their staff's perseverance in the face of equipment and budgetary restrictions. These institutions will be enumerated in later parts of this chapter. Suffice it to say that I have monitored looting at sites within at least a 10-km radius, and sometimes within a 40-km radius, roughly, every other year and have seen negligible evidence of looting since 1995. Douglas Park (about whom is detailed below) has done the same around Timbuktu since 2007, with similar results. In how many other countries (including the southwest USA) can the same be said?

2. "Heritage is best protected in 'universal' museums." That old chestnut (Cuno 2008, 2011) became our second counterfactual when hostile witnesses stated that the Malian national museum was difficult to deal with, that its inventory is hidden (a complete inventory can be found in print (Musée National du Mali 1995 and on its website), and (inexplicably) that Malian museums are not participating in international long-term loans with the US museums. Since the mid-1990s, the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History has had on prominent display in its second-floor Africa Hall an anthropomorphic terracotta from Jenne-jeno (properly excavated), on long-term loan from Bamako's Musée National—one of only a handful of complete terracottas available for Malians themselves to see—as opposed to the hundreds (thousand?) lurking secluded and underappreciated in western museum storerooms and private collections? Is it really so unreasonable for the Malian national museum to balk at multiple requests from the US and European museums, when it has so few museum-quality pieces and those only from the few scientific excavations to have, by chance, unearthed such items?

Indeed, one might otherwise and with a touch more charity have called the long-term loan of the terracotta to the Smithsonian an example of Mali's extraordinary willingness to share its heritage with others. Indeed, as of the mid-2000s, the director of the National Museum had never been offered anything in long-term exchange for a requested ethnographic or archaeology piece (S. Sidibé, pers. comm., 2005). Indeed, the Bamako museum is well maintained, with functioning conservations staff and facilities, and not a hint of insider theft or malfeasance. Mali has even, despite its many other development needs, begun an ambitious program of construction of regional museums to make local arts, crafts, and antiquities available to local people. The Jenne museum opened in 2012—just when the northern problems came to a head.

It is perhaps easy, again with a bit of charity, to see why many heritage professionals from "source" nations (not to mention the Greeks in the case of the Parthenon frieze) consider the mewling about Universal Museums to be yet another

rich nation's justifications for sequestering the stolen cultural heritage of less powerful people (McIntosh et al. 1995).

3. "Bilaterals do nothing or very little to stop trafficking in antiquities." Malians would leap at the chance to call this utterance our third counterfactuals. In fact, Malians are enormously proud not only of being one of the first (with Peru) to conclude an emergency protection with a "market" nation but, especially, of the fact that the documentation and argument behind the 1997 full bilateral between Mali and the USA serves even today as the template for subsequent requests by other nations (15 other nations, as of 2014). Malians are acutely aware of their pioneering role. They understandably take enormous umbrage when the concept of bilaterals and, by extension, their contribution to this international instrument are dismissed. Further, they are well aware of the fact that the continuing Mali–US bilateral has put so much pressure on the dealers—and specifically on the aforementioned French-Belgium syndicate that trafficked in Middle Niger terracottas—that the market for illicit, newly obtained Malian statuary has shriveled, if not in essence disappeared.

Perhaps, we hear in this third counterfactual a primal scream by dealers, museum directors, and their legal minions in the face of recent repatriations of clearly looted art from the likes of the Metropolitan Museum (Euphronios krater—Povoledo 2008), or the Boston Museum of Fine Art's about-face concerning investigating its own prior questionable accessions, leading to recent repatriations to Nigeria (Edgers 2014), or the legal "embarrassments" of Marion True and the Getty.

Why, when they so patently fly in the face of the facts in favor of renewal of the Mali–US MOU, did the hostile witnesses trot out such falsehoods? Does the world of dealers and traffickers simply restate and restate the old chestnuts so often that they come to believe them. Is there something more sinister afoot? Here I break with my practice above of not directly quoting witnesses who stood before the CPAC; to quote briefly one, Dr. Douglas Park, an archaeologist (and my former graduate student who did his dissertation on the sites of the Timbuktu hinterland). This is from a communication to me, written immediately after testimony ended (e-mail of April 24, 2012):

> Well, Rod, I think I just aged 10 years.
> I never have personally witnessed educated people lie and misrepresent a situation without a hint of hesitation or guilt (maybe I have, but not about something I care about and have risked my life to study). If I had not been there, there would have been nobody to address such misrepresentations and false accusations. Téréba Togola surely rolled in his grave upon the statement that 'Malians do not know how to protect their heritage' and that 'Malians cannot seem to stop the rampant looting of Jenne-jeno' and that 'why should the MOU be renewed considering that Mali is not fulfilling its end of the deal?'

Sad is the day when a professor sees his or her bright, idealistic student's world suddenly become just that much darker, besmirched, and tarnished by filthy lucre.

So, what has been the reality on the ground in Mali ?. What was the universe of measures taken by Malians in defense of their proud heritage that Dr. Park had seen firsthand (and in contrast to the situation in Greece, Bulgaria, Albania, and Peru, that he also knew firsthand)? What was the source of his outrage at the three

counterfactuals? Is this a case of a (Malian) success too sweet? Dr. Park appears to have been expressing his outrage at those who would shed tears when looting ends! And how, in the end, does this outrage contribute to the call for eternal vigilance?

## Globalizing Africa's Problem[1]

The assault on African cultural property by those in the service, directly or indirectly, of the illicit traffic is a familiar, sad litany of destruction. The assaults are most cruel to those who wish to "repatriate" Africa's image (as a first step towards rehabilitation): the continent's past is being ripped out of the ground before it can even be recorded and presented with pride to the rest of the world. Those who finance that destruction of knowledge justify their actions by saying that "basketcase" Africans are incapable of caring for their own heritage.[2] Nothing rankles quite so much as that last claim, whether it be for Africans or for Greeks, in the case of the Parthenon friezes stained, abraded, and "improved" while in the care of the British Museum.

Perhaps, no other continent has so low a density on the ground of field archaeologists, nor such vast areas utterly unsurveyed, unrecorded, and uncharted by prehistorians. Much of the Africa's deep-time record falls victim to urban, hydrological, or agricultural development. However, far too many archaeological sites never subject to scientific investigation have been disemboweled by looters searching for ancient art in copper, bronze, or terracotta.

Such pillaging has a depressing sameness across the continent: a subsistence-level local peasantry (sometimes with a cultural or religious disconnect with the long-dead inhabitants of the sites) "cash crops" nearby archaeological sites or historical monuments for sums that, locally, represent a small fortune. They are paid a fraction of what the purchasing western or elite African dealers will eventually realize as the art pieces work their way through a well-established chain of upper-echelon dealers and auction houses in clearing-house cities (especially Zurich, Paris, Brussels, and London)—traveling eventually to the collector or museum in cities such as Los Angeles or Tokyo. The take may be archaeological: terracottas from "Komoland" in Ghana, or Mali's Middle Niger, or from the Bura necropolis in Niger, or from the "Sao" tells of Chad; artisan architectural features (carved doors, grave markers, mosque flourishes, etc.) from coastal sites in Somalia, Kenya, or Tanzania; rock art panels from Tanzania, Libya, or the Republic of South Africa; or stone sculptures from Zimbabwe, Nigeria, or Liberia. The take, equally, may be ethnographic, ripping the still-pumping cultural heart right out of living communities: gold chiefly (*hene*) regalia from Ghana; Dogon freestanding sculpture from Mali; funerary staves from Madagascar; Senegalese cloth; wood masks from equatorial Congo Basin villages; and Cameroon Grassland royal art.

[1] Much of this section is an update of McIntosh 2002.

[2] An interesting selection of these views can be found in a special issue (1995) of *African Arts* entitled "Protecting Mali's Cultural Heritage."

The loss of archaeological resources is particularly sinister because, without the comprehensive national site inventories that are rare even in the wealthy world, African nations lose a past they never even knew they had. It should not be necessary to say that, when a site is excavated with full professional control and recording and eventual publication, all the scientific understanding and all the art pieces are available for study and appreciation by the wider world. When a site is pillaged, the yield of (often damaged) art remains forever in cruel chronological and cultural limbo, of marginal help in the process of "repatriating" that nation's image.

The cruelest losses of all, of course, come as a result of wars and civil strife. As we know from recent events in Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan or Bosnia, or from the state-organized pillages throughout conquered Europe during the last World War (Nicholas 1995), the targeting of monuments, systematic looting of museums, and murders of experienced museum and cultural properties staff are not exclusive to Africa. That knowledge, however, does not lessen the anger one feels upon learning that the total pillage of national and provincial museums in Somalia after 1991 (Brandt and Mohamed 1996) and, according to scattered reports, after the recent fall of the Mobutu regime in the ex-Zaire, was orchestrated by dealers and runners in neighboring countries who then quickly moved the objects onto the illicit art and antiquities market (Pierre de Maret, pers. comm. 1998).

African museums have been severely criticized (Posnansky 1996). A few nations, Mali and (until most recently) Zimbabwe come immediately to mind, have well-appointed, well-maintained research, curation, and public exhibition facilities. Most nations, to be frank, have starved their colonial-legacy museums of funds for basic maintenance, much less of funds for accessions and research. Derisory staff salaries have contributed to some highly publicized cases of "insider" theft or of staff reportedly looking the other way during robberies (checked and punished in Senegal; apparently unchecked and widespread in Nigeria). Collusion and corruption are as destructive as mortars and howitzers. The fundamental problem is that it is hard to argue for more money when the vast majority of the populace finds the museum to be a completely alien, indeed intimidating institution, (more importantly) when they have no emotional connection to the objects displayed therein. However, exhibitions in Mali on toys and objects made from recycled materials and on public transport as art (!) or in Burkina Faso on the history of the bicycle have been resounding successes. If museums continue to be seen by most Africans as mausoleums for dead objects, mere exoskeletons of vibrant cultural or religious practices killed once they were ripped from their living context, this can only add to the alienation and commodification of cultural property and to the objects' eventual slippage into the illicit market.

The last persistent problem for African nations with the will to preserve their cultural heritage is "international extensions." Given the fiscal realities of most nations, and the other national-interest demands of rural health care, infrastructure, education, etc., most nations will simply not be able to address the problems of pillaging, national heritage inventory, suppression at the frontiers of illicit transport, museum, and university erosion without partnerships from the outside. Things have to be bad indeed when the national head of INTERPOL in the country most

committed to preserving its cultural heritage (Mali) has to ask a visiting expatriate academic to bring him a computer and modem so he can link to the centralized databank of stolen art and antiquities at INTERPOL headquarters in Lyon. African nations have yet to realize the real protections afforded by bilateral agreements between "source" and "market" nations, signed under the umbrella provisions of the 1970 UNESCO Convention. That process is hindered by the fact that, as of the present, only 26 African nations were state parties to the 1970 Convention (UNESCO. Legal Instruments 2014). We are still a very long way from the kind of comprehensive, unreserved mutual respect among nations that will allow the creation of universally agreed upon standards of due diligence, the global network of bilateral export/import regulations, and proactive protections for as yet undamaged archaeological sites, historical monuments, and "living" ethnographic treasures.

## Mali's Solutions

Mali is, surely, not the only African nation generating innovative responses to the theft and international trafficking in its ethnographic art and archaeological riches. However, few other nations so worry, by recent successes, the principals of the illicit art syndicates and their academic and legal apologists. Mali is truly in the vanguard of its legislative and educational design to protect cultural heritage; perhaps this is why the hostile statements before the 2012 CPAC hearings on the Mali–US MOU were so … shrill? What a reversal this represents. As recently as the late 1980s, Mali's ethnic art and, particularly, terracotta and metal antiquities were bleeding from the country's rich artistic and historical arteries at a rate of flow that threatened, quite literally, to kill any possibility of a true, careful, and scientific discovery of the nation's past civilizations (including one of the world's indigenous urban civilizations along the Middle Niger).[3] By the mid to late 1990s, the tide had turned on looting. The international trafficking syndicate specializing in this art broke and dealers and museums now have to consider twice when offered a Malian antiquity. This is a cautiously optimistic story, one whose outline is written by a chief executive willing to share with his citizens a vision of a Malian future as glorious as Mali's past: the "repatriation" of the nation's image. (It helps, of course, when that chief executive, former President Alpha Oumar Konaré, was an archaeologist and former president of the International Council on Museums.)

Mali has moved aggressively on two fronts. We have already recalled that in September of 1993, Mali concluded with the USA a broad (but still limited) accord for export restrictions, under the umbrella provisions of the 1970 UNESCO Conventions. In compliance with its partnership obligations under the 1970 Conventions, Mali has promulgated unambiguous legislation concerning the classes of protected objects and the protocol for legitimate investigation (especially archaeological),

[3] Notice the change in tone between two articles reporting upon this situation, one in 1989 (McIntosh) and the second in 1997 (McIntosh et al.).

preservation, and removal of cultural items from the country. The success of four subsequent renewal petitions speaks volumes to the international regard for Mali's efforts (despite the voluminous protestations to the contrary by the voices of the dealer world). The Ministry of Culture has an education campaign for customs officials and, locally through the Missions Culturelles, mechanisms to educate tourists. As part of the Ministry of Culture, the Direction National des Arts et de la Culture (DNAC) has been among the most proactive of all African nations in formulating national responses—through national inventory projects, signage at important sites, educational packages aimed at the lower school through university level, and (retarded by the northern problems) a campaign to build regional museums at Jenne, Kidal, Gao—just for starters. The DNAC has been headed by a practicing archaeologist—at its inception by the incomparable Téréba Togola (until his untimely death, essentially of overwork) and presently by Lansana Cisse, formerly head of the Bandiagara (Dogon Region) Mission Culturelle.

The Missions Culturelles are perhaps President Konaré's most brilliant stroke. Idealistic, well-trained members of the culture ministry are sent to live permanently in the middle of problem areas (initially, at Jenne, Timbuktu, and the Dogon cliffs region, with a mission in Kangaba in southern Mali, now manned by a top archaeologist, Mamadou Cisse). Their duties are multiple: intercepting local and expatriate pillagers, maintaining a guard over protected monuments and sites, educating tourists (and local tour guides) about Malian cultural property laws, generating research and preservation programs, and especially, creating through on-site education a pride in the local past that can been translated into real, spontaneous action against looters. In the regions of most intensive pillaging, Mali can now claim a "Shield of Local Pride": so effective has this become in the years since the foundation of the Jenne Mission Culturelle that the late 1980s epidemic of archaeological site destruction has declined, by 1997, to no pillaging whatsoever within a considerable radius of this UNESCO World Heritage. How many wealthy, western nations can boast as good a record of protection for their own most-threatened sites or monuments? How dare the hostile witnesses at the 2012 CPAC claim that Mali is unwilling and unable to protect its own past?

As mentioned above, Mali has an attractive, secure, and functioning national museum of which it can be justifiably proud. Addressing the aforementioned issue of alienation of most African populations from the remote (Olympian) western museum ethos (in addition, of course, to the new regional museum initiative), Mali has begun an experiment to make local materials accessible. And, in this very interesting but unproven experiment, Mali has solicited and obtained outside aid grants to build the buildings and provide the "micro-finance" scheme to encourage villagers to set up "culture banks" in their villages. Here families (or villages or moieties such as the traditional Mande power associations) with art or antiquities can deposit those objects in a secure locality (where they are proudly put on view to other villagers and where their cultural value can be assessed and professional preservation measures taken). The objects always remain the property of the family or group. In exchange for exhibition for a set (and finite) period, the families can receive loans for the purchase of seed grain, farm machinery, and other goods.

Does this sound like a country unable and unwilling to manage the protection of its own cultural heritage? That, of course, is the stock accusation hurled at Africa by the apologists of the illicit art and antiquities trade. The Malian people deeply resent any such intimations that they might function as less-than full partners in what must be a coordinated, international effort to wrest Mali's (and Africa's) cultural heritage from the cupiditous grasp of homegrown looters and from cabals of western art and antiquities merchants. Eventual suppression of the illicit international traffic in art and antiquities—with its well-documented implications for the laundering of monies obtained through the sex, drug, and arms traffic—will be a complex and evolving process. These processes must have at its foundation a deep and global mutuality of respect among nations. Renewals of the Mali–US bilaterals are just a small part of that complex process—but a big part of building that mutual respect among those two nations. But, there are antagonistic forces out there that witness the hostile statements to the 2012 CPAC. All of us must raise the watchword—"eternal vigilance."

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# Chapter 5
# Seeking Solutions: An Archaeological Approach to Conservation of a Threatened Heritage on Rapa Nui (Easter Island)

**Jo Anne Van Tilburg, Christian Fischer, Mónica Bahamondez Prieto and Cristián Arévalo Pakarati**

## Introduction: The Study Area

The Pacific Ocean is the largest and deepest of earth's oceans, and Rapa Nui (Easter Island) is one of the most remote islands in the Pacific. It is situated in the eastern Pacific and in the Southern Hemisphere at 27° 9′ S latitude and 109° 26′ W longitude. Geographically located 1819 km east of Pitcairn Island and 2676 km west of the port city of Valparaiso, Chile, Rapa Nui has been an integral part of that South American nation since September 9, 1888. When originally discovered by East Polynesian voyagers, the island was uninhabited.

Recent geological mapping by R. K. Dunn demonstrates that Rano Raraku is an erosional geomorphic feature measuring about ~800 m from east to west and ~100 m from north to south. It contains a small (0.11 km$^2$), marshy, and shallow (3 m deep), roughly ovoid freshwater lake. The Rano Raraku archaeological zone, which encompasses an area of about 1.2 × 1.1 km, includes a volcano, an interior lake, and a portion of the adjacent, soil-rich plain (Dunn et al. 2012; Routledge 1919; Cristino et al. 1981; Fig. 5.1).

J. A. Van Tilburg (✉) · C. Fischer
Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA, A210 Fowler Building 151006,
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1510, USA
e-mail: jvantil@g.ucla.edu

C. Fischer
e-mail: cfischer@ucla.edu

M. Bahamondez Prieto
Centro Nacional de Conservacion y Restauracion, Claustro de la Recoleta Dominica,
Tabare 654 Recoleta, Santiago de Chile, Chile
e-mail: mbahamondez@hotmail.com

C. Arévalo Pakarati
225 Arizona Avenue, Suite 500, Santa Monica, CA 90024, USA
e-mail: cristianarevalopakarati@gmail.com



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**Fig. 5.1** Rano Raraku archaeological zone, exterior view, Rapa Nui National Park. (Easter Island Statue Project ([EISP]), 2014)

The Rapa Nui community considers all aspects of the archaeological record to be privileged and all sites and objects to represent their ancestral property and patrimony. All archaeologists on Rapa Nui function as part of a legally reviewed process and with permits issued by the host government that set out what the researcher wishes to do and what he or she is, in fact, allowed to do. The boundaries of the Chilean national park (Corporación Nacional Forestal, CONAF) are the permitted areas of work.

Global Positioning System (GPS) mapping in Rano Raraku interior region was completed in 2009 (Van Tilburg and Arévalo Pakarati 2009). Phase 1 excavations of two statues (RR-001-156 and RR-001-157) in Quarry 02 of the interior region began in 2010. Phase 2 was initiated in 2013.

## Monolithic Statues

The monolithic statues *(moai)* are numerous, culturally and aesthetically significant, deteriorating at a remarkable rate, and endangered. The EISP research team has conducted an island-wide inventory in which, to date, over 1045 "sculptural objects" (complete statues, incomplete statues in various stages of carving, and discrete heads, torsos, and fragments) have been located and documented. The

statues were carved in Rano Raraku with stone tools, and by c. AD 1200 ~7-m-tall statues were being produced.

## Sculptural Material

The volcanic tuff (a consolidated lapilli tephra ash) of which the vast majority of *moai* is carved is "porous, permeable, and heterogeneous" (Vouvé et al. 1994, p. 321) and has been the subject of considerable scientific study (Domaslowski 1981; Charola 1994; Gioncada et al. 2010). The geological nature of the stone itself presents considerable challenges to conservation. Laboratory testing to determine the physical characteristics of weathered and unweathered Rano Raraku stone samples suggests that the most important variables in maintaining integrity are the size and amount of incorporated lapilli. A significant factor "for *in situ* conservation of the moai" is controlling surface moisture penetration, the capillary rise of absorbed moisture, and the internal migration of water (Lazzarini et al. 1996; Pauly et al. 1994, pp. 283–288).

## Spatial Unit and Excavated Statues

Each of the EISP statue records, no matter where the statue is located, contains both archaeological and conservation observations. The statue prototypes for the conservation initiative were selected for excavation on the basis of historical and ethnographic data indicating their iconographic importance. They are upright statues in Quarry 02 of the Rano Raraku interior region (RR-001-156 and RR-001-157). The spatial unit for our study is the interior region, the immediate setting (Quarry 02), the two target statues, and an adjacent control statue (RR-001-158).

## Antecedents

Preliminary actions taken prior to the conservation initiative include the GPS mapping of Rano Raraku interior region to centimeter-level accuracy and the laser scanning of the statue BM-LON-001 (www.esip.org) to create a comparative iconographic record. Simultaneous to the initiation of excavations, we converted the EISP access database (1315 sites and 4002 objects) and portfolio database (82,769 images and documents) to a single integrated database known as DATASHARE. This was in order to provide multilocation- and multi-access capability to all collected data for our collaborative users. These included the Consejo de Monumentos Nacionales (CMN) and its local office Consejo de Monumentos Nacionales de Chile, Comision Asesora (CAMN), CONAF, and the Centro Nacional de Conservación y Restauración in Santiago de Chile (CNCR). The director of the latter, Mónica Bahamondez

Prieto, and Christian Fischer of the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), were responsible for designing and carrying out the conservation intervention. A major goal was to increase institutional capacity and collaboration to support sound heritage management.

We share the commitment of the Rapa Nui community to their goal of heritage management, and the excavation personnel are nearly exclusively members of the Rapa Nui community. The highest standards of participation are maintained. Inherent in our project are the means of educational advancement for a substantial number of Rapa Nui university-level students as well as economic advantages to elders who are in support roles. Supervised training was offered in on-site database collections, portable X-ray fluorescence (pXRF) use, photography, and laboratory analysis of various types. Most importantly, it was our initial goal to create a trained conservation team within the community.

## Information Management

We comply with international standards of good practice in the fields of recording, documentation, and information management of heritage places as well as in techniques of archaeological conservation (Letellier 2007; Eppich and Chabbi 2007; Van Tilburg et al. 2007). The conservation initiative is a pilot project for an island-wide, online heritage conservation registry that is in the planning stages. DATASHARE is not simply an archaeological record. It is a key component in the future management of the Rapa Nui patrimony by its duly appointed custodians.

Official written and photographic records are compiled weekly, and briefings on the progress of the project are given for the CONAF rangers. Regular site visits by an associated local Rapa Nui collaborator are made for the purpose of downloading and transferring weather station data on-site (see below). More informally, our site is visited by 10–100 camera-toting tourists daily and year round. Many of these visitors post site images on the Internet, and most of them are eager for information and insight. We thus have an appointed on-site "ambassador" to encourage this interest. Written reports in English and Spanish are provided at the end of each field season, along with PowerPoint presentations, to each of the collaborating agencies on the mainland. The Rapa Nui community receives the same reports as well as others from local radio and television interviews, tours of the site, and local newspaper and magazine articles.

## Environmental Monitoring

An environmental monitoring system (weather station) was installed on the excavation site (Fig. 5.2). It consisted of an enclosure with a data logger and a rechargeable battery; a solar panel to charge the battery; sensors to measure humidity and air temperature, barometric pressure, rainfall, and wind speed and direction; a pyranometer was mounted on a crossarm for solar radiation measurements. The

**Fig. 5.2** Weather station in front of statue RR-001-157

sensors include one for measuring soil temperature, three to measure the surface temperature of the statues, and four soil-moisture sensors buried at 20 and 50 cm depths.

There are two main goals in terms of environmental monitoring. The first is to identify the specifics of the microclimate inside Rano Raraku interior region and in Quarry 02 by a comparative analysis with data collected from the meteorological station installed at the Mataveri International Airport. The second goal is to quantify the critical factors and levels of environmental stress that contribute to the deterioration of the statues' stone surfaces. The collected data are of great value for long-term conservation planning and site management decisions.

## Proposed Conservation Actions

The visual examination of both target statues, complemented by photographic documentation, clearly revealed that the exposed parts of the statues were in an advanced state of deterioration with pronounced granular disintegration, flaking, and scaling.

**Fig. 5.3** Excavated portions of statue RR-001-157 are better preserved than those that were exposed. Lichens were later removed

These conditions will naturally result in slow but continuous loss of surface stone material[1]. The excavated parts are much better preserved (Fig. 5.3). As originally proposed by C. Fischer and M. Bahamondez Prieto, the conservation initiative was meant to be carried out in two discrete but related phases:

Phase 1

- Clearing, excavation, and construction of protective site stabilizers for the two target statues
- Laser scanning and survey
- Environmental monitoring with a system including a set of specific sensors (soil moisture and temperature, surface temperature of statues, sunlight expo-

[1] Repeated high resolution scanning on small surfaces could be attempted to estimate the rate of loss over time. The weathering layer has a thickness of a few centimeters, but for the statues in a vertical position preferential weathering occurs along the bedding planes.

sure, etc.) and a main station for the microclimate of the site (wind, temperature, humidity). Infrared thermography to record spatial temperature distribution and temporal variations during wetting/drying cycles providing indirect information about the hydric/hygric behavior of the statues' surface layers
- Scientific analysis and digital mapping of weathering features (cracks, scales, losses, detachments, surface deposits, and biological growths) and lithology (bedding, grain size, clasts, altered materials, etc.)
- Preliminary testing in support of phase 2

Phase 2

- Cleaning of the statues to remove lichens, algaes, mosses, and other surface deposits.
- Conservation treatment of the target statues based on a precise protocol including application of a water-based anti-swelling agent, a drying phase over several months, consolidation with an ethyl silicate-based formulation, and final protection with a siloxane-based water repellent. Localized interventions, such as crack filling or structural repairs, as required.
- The impact of measures taken on the immediate environment to mitigate the detrimental effect of climatic and geomorphic factors will be evaluated by visual observation and by analyzing the changes in the continuously recorded environmental data, particularly soil moisture. The efficiency of the conservation treatment will be assessed with water absorption tests, spot measurements of moisture content, infrared thermography and other noninvasive techniques using data collected before and during treatment as controls. The statues will be laser scanned after treatment and two or three small, but representative areas, scanned at the highest possible resolution to establish controls for long-term monitoring of material losses.

## Anticipated Conservation Outcomes

It was anticipated that the conservation treatment described above would reinforce the surface layers by restoring part of the mechanical strength of the weathered tuff through the precipitation of a silica gel following the hydrolysis and condensation of the ethyl silicate. Secondly, it would reduce the sensitivity of those layers to wetting/drying cycles by preventing absorption/adsorption of liquid water/moisture and limiting dilation of the material through the presence of anti-swelling and water-repellent products. Finally, it was expected that the conservation treatment would stabilize the statues at their current deterioration state and mitigate any detrimental effects of an adverse climatic environment. Subsequent events, however, forced significant program changes.

## Redirection of the Conservation Initiative

In April of 2010, the conservation initiative was radically redirected by unanticipated events during which our site was vandalized. Environmental monitoring equipment was illegally removed and an adjoining statue (RR-001-158) was superficially damaged. This unfortunate act was embedded within a much larger political issue of long-standing (uncontrolled) immigration and caused by unresolved friction between Chilean mainland authorities and factions of the Rapa Nui community. CONAF park guards witnessed the vandalism; a criminal complaint was duly filed, and the individuals responsible were identified. In July, the weather station was reestablished. The excavation was reinitiated the following November.

However, a profound revision in the original conservation initiative plan was required. The original treatment methodology was reconsidered not only due to budgetary issues caused by the delay but also by technical issues and timing constraints. After careful evaluation of available options, it was decided to limit the conservation treatment to the original phase 1 application of a protective treatment. This was partly dictated by the fact that moisture and water (as noted above) are the major factors in statue deterioration. From a technical point of view, this choice was a compromise filled with uncertainties and limitations.

On the other hand, this new methodology contained some unanticipated but positive components. Firstly, it is a simplified procedure capable of cogent explanation and graphic demonstration to the local community. Secondly, as the methodology is carried out, it is possible to refine it sufficiently enough to train a core conservation team drawn from our all-Rapa Nui field crews and including several university level students. These teams will then be capable of treating a large number of statues in a relatively short time frame and at a reasonable cost. Working with CONAF and under the direct supervision of the conservator on that administrative staff, this goal is a final objective and of high priority for the direct involvement of the Rapa Nui community in statue preservation.

## Revised Methods

Conservation intervention consisted of the application of a protective treatment using a silicone concentrate of silane and siloxane[2] (BS290, Wacker Chemical Ltd.) diluted in a solvent similar to white spirit. Though less pure, it is available in Chile. It contains a mixture of paraffinic, olefinic, cycloparaffinic, and aromatic $C_{10}$–$C_{14}$ hydrocarbons (Aguarras Mineral). These same BS290-based water-repellent solutions were successfully used in the past for the treatment of the Ahu Hanga Kio'e

[2] Siloxanes like Wacker 290 are composed of oligomers (low MW, di- and tri-functional molecules) which minimizes skin formation on the external surface as the product penetrates well into the porous material. On the other hand, this problem is often more related to the application methodology and on how much product is applied...

and Ahu Tongariki statues (Roth 1990; Bahamondez Prieto 1990; Bahamondez Prieto and Valenzuela 2005). Two water-repellent formulations were used for the protective treatment of the project's two target statues: a solution of BS290 at a concentration of 15 % (V/V) diluted with Aguarras Mineral and Cave Clear-S, a ready to use solvent-based water repellent available in Chile (the product actually contains BS290 diluted with Aguarras Mineral).

After some preliminary trials with the brush, the different products were applied with a portable sprayer following a wet-on-wet application methodology until saturation of the surface was observed. The water-repellent solution at 15 % was primarily used for the treatment of the exposed and most weathered parts of the statues. Once treated with the solution at 15 %, the surface was sprayed with pure solvent in order to increase the penetration depth of the active product followed by a final application of Cave Clear-S. On the excavated parts of the two statues, which were in a much better condition, only Cave Clear-S was applied.

On the back of the head of statue RR-001-157, which has suffered major losses of tuff material through flaking, a mortar was prepared by mixing a partially reacted ethyl silicate with a fine powder of yellowish volcanic tuff. This was applied in some areas along the edges created by these losses. A few loose surface fragments were also reattached with Paraloid B-72 to the dorsal surfaces of both statues.

About 50 l of the solution at 15 % and 40 l of Cave Clear-S as well as 30 l of pure solvent were applied (Fig. 5.4). Based on a rough estimation of the surfaces to be treated, 14 and 16 $m^2$ respectively for the exposed and excavated parts, the amount of product applied per square meter was as follows: solution at 15 %: 3.5 $l/m^2$; pure solvent: 2 $l/m^2$ and Cave Clear-S: 1.25 $l/m^2$.

These relatively elevated values are directly correlated with the high absorbing capacity of the weathered volcanic tuff, a material for which the porosity can reach 40 % and more. The high consumption per square meter also indicates, indirectly, that the treatment was carried out to a sufficient depth with respect to the average thickness of the weathering layer estimated to a few centimeters. However, important variations in the absorbed amounts were observed during the application. These were primarily caused by the petro-physical heterogeneity of the volcanic tuff as well as by differences in the degree of weathering.

Although the solvent evaporation and drying of the statues will take several weeks or even months after the application of the water-repellent products, the effectiveness of the protective treatment was almost immediately visible with water droplets literally running away from the treated surfaces when water was poured onto the statues. Finally, it should be mentioned that the weather conditions during the conservation fieldwork described here were far from being optimal. From time to time strong winds and light rains complicated the conservation treatment.

In March of 2012, a general assessment of the situation, after the statues were left to dry and stabilize from November to March, was conducted. The remaining lichens and algae were removed as necessary. An additional protective coating was applied to the areas that were cleaned, and some color retouching of the applied mortar was carried out. An evaluation of the water repellency of the stone surface was carried out in several areas.

**Fig. 5.4** Water-repellent protective solvent treatment was applied to the excavated and exposed surfaces of both statues in the pilot conservation project

## Preliminary Results

Data collected on ambient environment between April 2011 and March 2012 show strong correlations for rainfall, air temperature, and relative humidity with similar data collected at Mataveri Airport. This indicates that the data from our excavation site are relatively accurate and, secondly, that the environmental conditions are not very different from one area to the other. The amounts of rain over the whole period are in the same range with a total of 714 mm in Rano Raraku at 94 m elevation and 857 mm at 69 m elevation at Mataveri Airport. The differences in temperature and relative humidity can be attributed to altitude and geomorphic factors.

However, a major difference exists in the prevailing wind conditions. At Mataveri Airport, the wind blows primarily from the east with rare changes to the west. In Rano Raraku, in contrast, the prevailing and strongest winds blow from the north to the northeast. This difference is due to the configuration of the Rano Raraku crater's rim, where the northeast edge is at a much lower elevation than at the southeast. The environmental monitoring station is currently still in operation, and more data will be collected, processed, and analyzed in the future.

A major problem situation was detected on statue RR-001-156, where decay of the stone surface on the back of the head was particularly visible at the lower right. Major loss of material has occurred there, although the upper part is apparently in better condition. There is a real risk of losing stone through detachment in the future. This structural problem is the result of an advanced weathering stage and is enhanced by the orientation of the natural bedding of the tuff, which is slightly inclined with respect to the vertical position of the statue, causing potential planes of de-cohesion.

A possible mitigation of the problem would be to secure the area at risk by inserting two or three stainless steel pins fixed with epoxy glue. However, such an intervention, though relatively easy to implement, would benefit from a detailed and quantified assessment of the extension of the damage. A precise picture of the spatial distribution and size of the voids underneath the surface could be obtained by analyzing the area with a ground penetrating radar unit equipped with a high frequency antenna.

## Conservation Results and Recommendations

This pilot project focused on cleaning and applying protective treatments to Easter Island statues RR-001-156 and RR-001-157 in Rano Raraku interior region. The vandalism that occurred in April 2010 impacted and redirected the conservation and environmental monitoring plans. Nonetheless, our results show that the water-repellent treatment has provided good protection against rainwater, one of the imminent threats in the preservation of the statues. Our observations during the course of this process led to several recommendations.

Firstly, while both protection and consolidation treatments are necessary for the preservation of the statues, large amounts of consolidant are actually not required, and quantities similar to the ones used for the statues at Ahu Tongariki should be sufficient. It is essential to use ethyl silicate-based formulations able to form a flexible reinforcing network inside the stone, such as prepolymers or copolymers, in order to provide the adequate consolidation levels required by the nature and high degree of alteration of the tuff.

Secondly, the preliminary drying phase might not be necessary and could be circumvented by choosing the less rainy seasons for the application but also, and more importantly, by adjusting the reactivity of the consolidant to make it less sensitive to the presence of water in the tuff. In a less rainy season, most statues in

Rano Raraku could be treated using adapted ladders or a light scaffolding that can be easily moved.

Thirdly, besides consolidation and water-repellent products, the use of an appropriate injection grout would greatly improve the conservation process. It would provide re-adhesion of many partially detached flakes, scales, and larger fragments loosely bound to the surface. This material might be an ethyl silicate-based grout to ensure compatibility with the tuff and the other conservation products. Due to the lack of commercially available grouts with the desirable properties for weathered tuff, the development of an ethyl silicate-based injection grout may be advisable.

## Sustainable Community Involvement

From a technical and conservation perspective, the aforementioned recommendations could form the basis of a conservation methodology that integrates the key elements of flexibility, mobility, continuity, and efficiency in order to implement a master conservation plan involving trained members of the Rapa Nui community.

The goal of such a master plan is the treatment of a large number of statues with reduced operational costs. The plan should include a detailed assessment of the conservation state of the statues to establish priorities not only from visual observations and photographs but also by using modern technologies capable of detecting and analyzing surface and structural problems such as the one still being evaluated on target statue RR-001-156 (see above). More importantly, the plan should include the development of a local team of motivated Rapa Nui people trained by experienced conservators and other experts. The aim is to ensure sustainability and professional implementation in order to take the necessary and urgent statue conservation actions in a coordinated and efficient way. The highest priority should be given to conservation treatments based on minimum intervention to ensure the long-term preservation of the statues.

Finally, even in the most enlightened human communities today there are issues of ethics and values clarification that demand ongoing attention and negotiation. The small but intensely focused Rapa Nui community faces pressing issues of global importance such as immigration, tourism as the major source of its economy, and conflicts over resources between various entrepreneurial interests. Such conflicts can blossom into actions with far-reaching consequences. In the case we describe here, recovery of the intended goals was accomplished, but not without the loss of time and resources. Our deep engagement with the Rapa Nui community over nearly three decades has brought to light important questions of values clarification. Our experience in creating the EISP and the archaeological and conservation database tool we have developed is available to the community and especially to selected governmental agencies charged with site preservation. It is our hope that exploration of Rapa Nui intellectual property rights in the digital age and economic sustainability in the modern era of globalization can be facilitated through side-by-side conservation and scientific projects such as that described here.

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# Chapter 6
# Analyzing "Markets" for Sustainable Preservation: A Jordanian Case Study

**Lawrence S. Coben**

## Introduction

When considering community-focused sustainable preservation and development projects, analysis at larger geographic scales such as the regional and national, forms an integral part of the structuring and decision-making processes. This statement is particularly relevant for non-governmental organizations (NGOs) considering whether to expand into a particular country or region, where economies of scale may be critical to and enhance the success of a series of projects. NGO's resources will frequently be more efficiently allocated when multiple projects are undertaken in a particular region or nation, allowing for the leveraging of personnel, infrastructure, and knowledge.

In this chapter, I discuss the analytical framework for country entrance employed by the Sustainable Preservation Initiative (SPI). I present this framework through a case study involving SPI's potential entry into Jordan, utilizing both SPI's internal analysis as well as that of the Tuck Global Consultancy, an affiliate of the Tuck School of Business at Dartmouth, which conducted a study for SPI of potential projects in Jordan.

In order to place this analysis in context, let me describe briefly the SPI and the types of projects it undertakes. SPI is the innovative organization that preserves the world's cultural heritage by providing sustainable economic opportunities to poor communities where endangered archaeological sites are located. SPI believes that the best way to preserve cultural heritage is creating or supporting locally owned businesses whose success is tied to that preservation. SPI's grants provide a TWO for ONE benefit: they provide transformative economic opportunities for local residents while saving sites for future generations to study and enjoy.

SPI paradigm alleviates poverty by empowering local entrepreneurs and creating jobs that are dependent on the preservation of cultural heritage sites. Working with

L. S. Coben (✉)
Sustainable Preservation Initiative (SPI), University of Pennsylvania
Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, PA 19104, USA
e-mail: larrycoben@sustainablepreservation.org



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community and governmental leaders, local business people and residents, and archaeologists who have spent years in and know these communities well, SPI and these stakeholders develop plans for projects and businesses that will be locally owned and controlled and that maximize the spending of dollars in the communities surrounding the sites. SPI provides grants for rapidly implementable projects to existing or start-up businesses in areas such as tourism, guides, restaurants, hostels, transportation, and artisans. Through this combination of local involvement, decision making and ownership, sustainable economic benefits and value will be related to and conditioned upon continued site preservation. These businesses will also provide an ongoing revenue stream to meet preservation and other local needs. This paradigm provides a double benefit: every dollar spent on economic development and the improvement of local people's lives will also serve to preserve the world's cultural heritage.

SPI paradigm differs dramatically from most of the other organizations dealing with preservation. SPI places greater focus on sustainable economic and social investment as opposed to a conservation-only focus. SPI will invest in and advise on locally owned and controlled businesses whose success is tied to the continued preservation and sustainable management of local archaeological sites. These businesses will have an excellent chance of economic success, thereby creating a local constituent group whose economic interest is aligned with site preservation. SPI will favor investments that create or stimulate a cluster of businesses, increasing the multiplier effect of its dollars, the economic benefits to the community, and the attraction of additional investors.

SPI functions similarly to a not-for-profit venture capital fund, enabling local individuals and cooperatives to propel community-based economic development using their cultural heritage assets as the catalyst and driving force. SPI provides equity-like capital, training and advice to these new entrepreneurs, who have extraordinary talent and potential but lack access to these resources. Community members contribute in-kind labor and services. SPI supports businesses that maximize job creation and the multiplier effect, and that serve to inspire additional local economic development. SPI does not take a return of capital—all equity and profits remain within the community.

All projects receiving funding from SPI must collect quantitative and qualitative data regarding both business and preservation results. Every SPI project must have discernible methods of evaluation in both of these areas. Economic metrics include jobs created, revenue generated, profitability, and additional economic activity and tourist visits stimulated. Preservation metrics include site deterioration, absence or reduction of destructive activities at a site (agricultural activities, grazing, and looting to name a few), encroachments if any on site's boundaries and preservation measures taken by the local community in order to preserve their "asset." SPI utilizes this data to measure the success of ongoing projects as well as to modify and improve its investment paradigm and criteria for future investments. SPI also publishes its data so that others can learn from and comment upon its successes and failures.

In most circumstances, SPI will not enter a country unless it can implement multiple projects there. The expense of staffing and related infrastructure, whether placed in country or covered from afar, and the effort to gain "market knowledge" and develop relationships, particularly with governmental authorities and the tourism industry, is too great when spread across only one or two projects.

## The Jordanian Market

Turning to Jordan, SPI conducted an intensive analysis of the Jordan “market” to determine whether it could find and successfully develop a sufficient number of economically sustainable projects that met the criteria described above. SPI’s analysis of Jordan consisted primarily of two extensive visits by its executive director Larry Coben, as well as the aforementioned study conducted by Tuck Global. Both Coben and Tuck personnel met with archaeologists (both local and foreign), tour operators, NGOs, government officials, local community members and non-profits to understand not only the potential impact of an investment, but also the steps necessary to operate successfully in Jordan. Both also visited numerous archaeological sites in order to evaluate them as potential loci of projects, while meeting with knowledgeable guides, security guards, artisan groups, community leaders and members, local businessmen, and other tourists at each site.

The analysis had two parts—the first considered whether Jordan’s broad macroeconomic and social trends, such as demand for SPI-type projects, tourism, political stability, and infrastructure, were appropriate for the SPI paradigm. The second part consisted of the analysis of approximately 35 archaeological sites (some shown in Fig. 6.1) and their surroundings for the feasibility of creating or supporting economically sustainable businesses whose success is tied to the preservation of an archaeological site.

With a large tourist industry, totaling approximately 1.3 million visitors in 2010, Jordan at first glance appeared to be highly appealing. Tourism-related spending made up 15% of Jordan’s GDP in 2009, and the government has demonstrated a

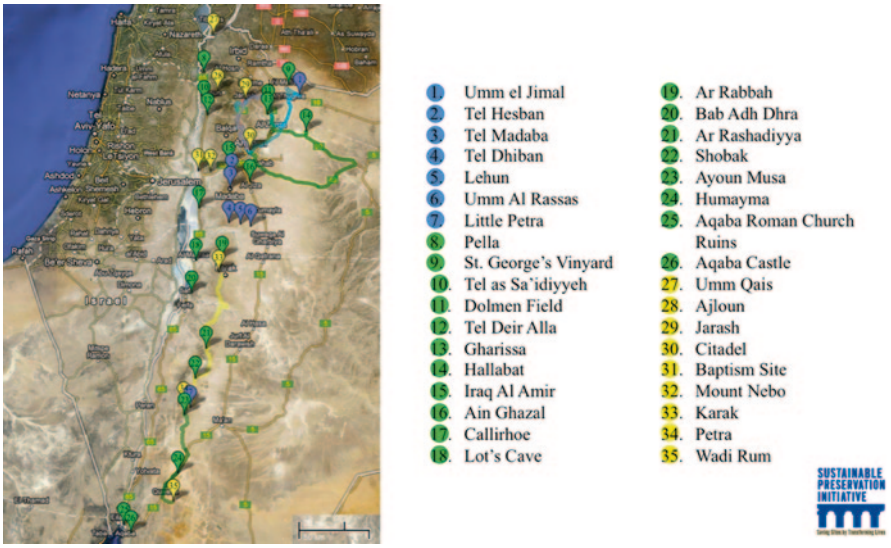



**Fig. 6.1** Map of Jordan showing the 35 sites evaluated

commitment to protecting and encouraging tourism. Also, 76% of all tourists in 2009 traveled to Jordan with a tour company. The major tour companies belong to an association, the Jordan Inbound Tourism Association (JITOA), through which SPI and its projects could reach a critical mass of potential visitors.

With over 150,000 registered archaeological sites and a per-capita income of less than $ 6000, Jordan has all the apt characteristics to fit the SPI model. There is also a sustained effort by the government and aid agencies to foster and promote local community involvement. This effort has been carried out primarily through building visitor centers at some secondary sites and permitting women's cooperatives to set up shops to sell crafts.

Through the insights gained from meeting with experts and visiting sites, we identified certain macro risks of entering the Jordanian market, primarily related to the nature of the Jordanian tourism industry and its vulnerability to regional instability.

The second phase of our analysis focused upon the opportunities and risks associated with a particular project at a designated site. We focused upon the following criteria to assess the prospects for a potential project.

## Demand Opportunity and Risk

We define demand opportunity and risk as the potential for and difficulties of drawing visitors to a particular site. Tourist visits to Jordan are highly concentrated among a small number of sites and in-bound travel operators predetermine 76% of tourist itineraries. Many of the people we spoke with also expressed their perception of a troubling decline in the length of the average stay in country, thereby leaving tourists with even less time to visit a secondary site. In light of Jordan's vast wealth of archeologically significant sites, there is terrific competition for a tourist's attention that would make it very difficult to attract visitors to additional destinations. This problem of intense competition among attractions is compounded by Jordan's susceptibility to regional instability. Since the Arab Spring began, Jordan has seen a sharp drop in its overall number of visiting tourists as well as the average number of days spent in country. Regional instability drives away tourists who either do not differentiate between Jordan and its less-stable neighbors or who are discouraged from taking a trip to the region that would have included a segment in Jordan.

## Product Potential and Risk

We define product potential and risk as the likelihood that a particular project will create a site that has both points of parity and points of differentiation. Tour experts repeatedly told us that for a site to even be considered in an itinerary, it must first have basic infrastructure and facilities as well as be easily accessible to buses and people on foot. Once these basic points of parity are established, a site must then provide tourists with a distinctive and appealing experience. Tour operators were

adamant that a site must have a marketable point of differentiation in order to supplant another stop on their itinerary.

## Relationship Risk

We define relationship risk as the likelihood SPI will be able to create a series of successful projects in a given country. By visiting many of the shops and cooperatives around sites and talking with local artisans, we learned that many of the governmental and NGOs efforts to promote local economic development had failed. This was not surprising to us—it is one of the reasons that SPI was formed. Clearly, building an oversized visitor center has proven insufficient for driving tourists to a site and the money earned from the sale of crafts has routinely failed to meet both local and NGO’s expectations.

Thus, our macro analysis suggested that entry into Jordan under the prevailing conditions of the tourism market would be difficult, though not impossible. We then turned to our site-by-site analysis. We initially applied a simple screen of the three criteria that a site would have to pass in order to merit deeper consideration:

- *Potential for SPI impact*
  - Will the grant make a significant impact on the community and the site?
- *Tourist resonance*
  - Is the historical significance of the site apparent to visitors?
- *On or near an established tourist route*
  - Can a project attract visitors to a site?

While these are not the only important criteria in analyzing the feasibility of an SPI-type, they do provide an excellent method of culling a broad number of possible project locations, enabling SPI to focus its scarce analytical resources on sites with the highest probability of success.

Each site was given a rating of red, yellow, or green by the Tuck team. These ranking were, of course, somewhat arbitrary and subject to much discussion among the members of the Tuck team as well as with Coben and other SPI staff. In order to survive the screen, a site had to have no red ratings, and at least two green ones. Seven sites survived the Tuck screen (Fig. 6.2):

Al-Humayma
Gharissa
Lehun
Rabba
Tel Hesban
Tel Madaba
Umm al-Jimal

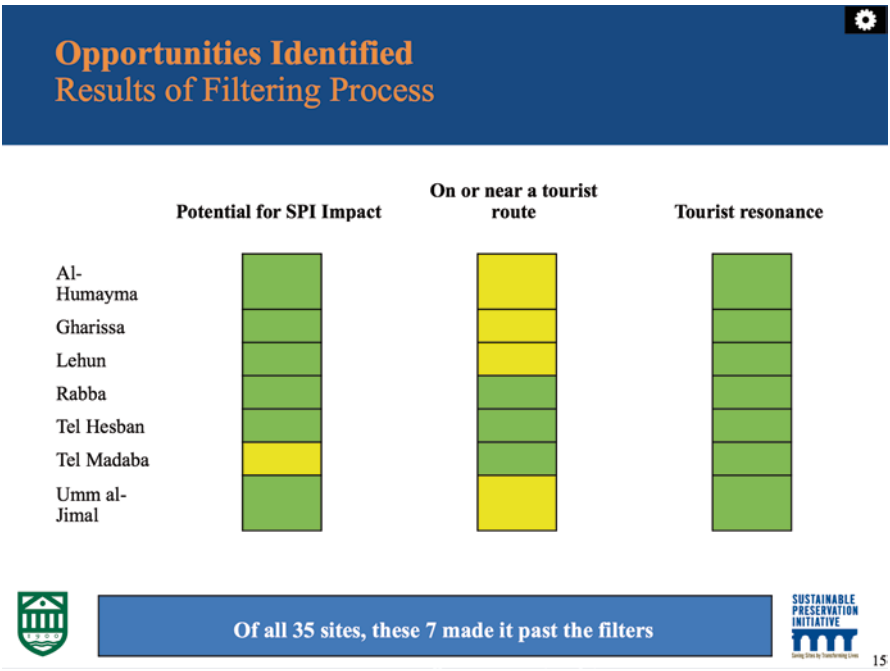
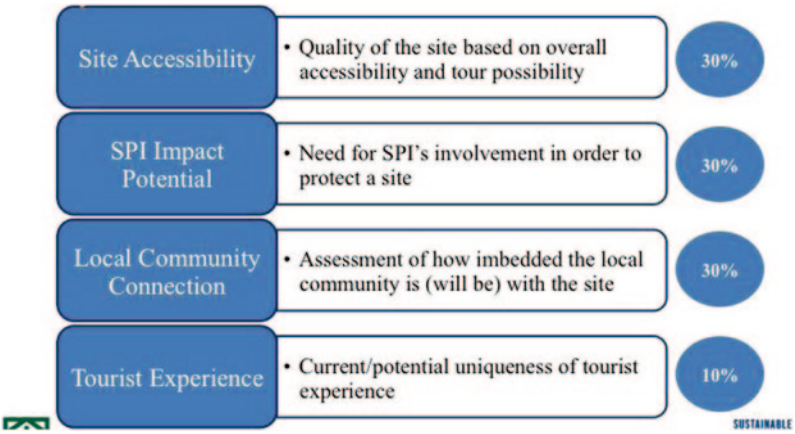



**Fig. 6.2** Seven of 35 sites passed the initial screening process

In addition, Coben added Tel Dhiban, believing it had potential as part of a tourist circuit including Tel Hesban, Tel Madaba, and Lehun, though Tuck did not analyze this site.

Tuck, in consultation with SPI, created an analytical model for the remaining seven sites. The model involved four primary criteria, with the following weighting:



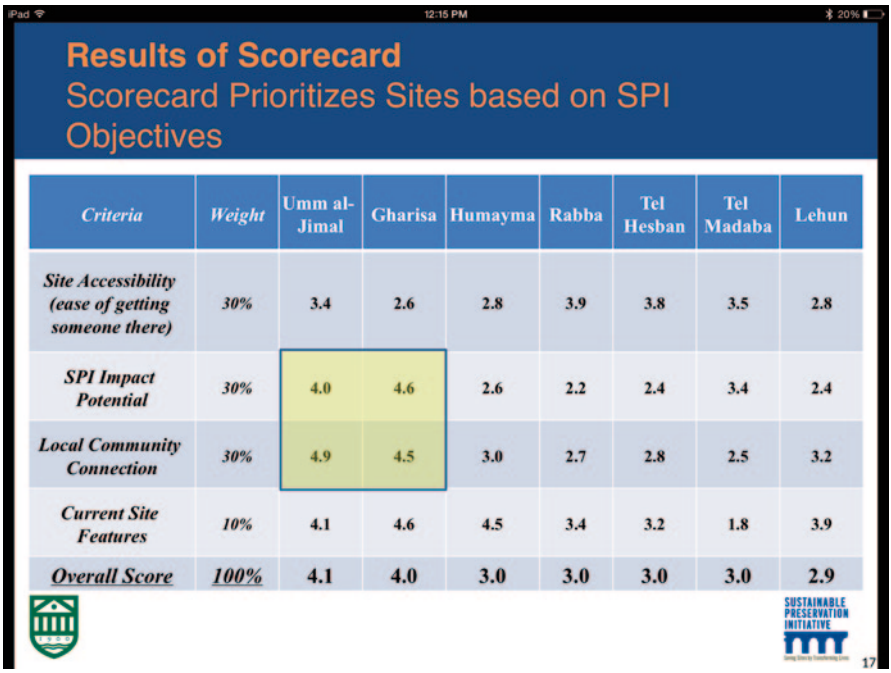



**Fig. 6.3** Evaluation of the seven sites that survived the first filter

Numerous subcategories were devised and weighted for each major category. For example, site accessibility included road signage and accessibility by car (both 10 of the 30%), SPI Potential Impact included current protection measures and encroachment upon the site (both 40% of the 30%), and local community connection included the presence of a business leader or entrepreneur and proximity to the community. Each subcategory was ranked between 1–5, with 5 as the highest score (Fig. 6.3).

Utilizing this system, only two sites, Umm al-Jimal (4.1, Fig. 6.4) and Gharisa (4.0) ranked at 4 or higher, a level where the probability of project success is rated above average. Most of the other sites ranked at or around 3.0, representing at best a middling possibility for application of the SPI paradigm. Tuck supported its analysis by doing a detailed projected cash flow for Umm al-Jimal that reflected the potential for project success. Notably, this cash flow modeled a project of $ 50,000—an amount far less than the bloated budgets required by and provided to the failed aid agency projects, and an amount more in line with appropriate scale for sustainable community development and business success in the Jordanian market for sites of this type.

The SPI Board of Directors then considered the Tuck report in depth. The site-by-site analysis was subject to considerable scrutiny, both in terms of the criteria selected and their weighting. In addition, board members and staff with knowledge of Jordan, its sites and communities also weighed in with additional facts and

**Fig. 6.4** Umm el Jimal, the highest-ranked site of the Tuck Study

opinions. The process is not merely a quantitative one, but one that requires judgement, insight, instinct, and luck—there is room for human agency.

At the end of the day, SPI decided to defer entry into the Jordanian market, primarily due to the macro risks described above. The decline in Jordanian tourism, the inability to attract tourists to stay additional days, and the ambivalence of the current tour operators led us to conclude that this was not the appropriate time for market entry. This presumption against entering Jordan was bolstered by the dearth of projects that appeared to be capable of sustaining themselves under the project analysis model.

The entire Tuck report can be found online at the SPI's website (www.sustainablepreservation.org), and we encourage others to read and consider it. SPI hopes to enter into Jordan when conditions are more favorable for sustainable development success. We also call upon the government and aid agencies to reconsider their failed development models and incorporate notions of economic sustainability and appropriate scale in order to not to continue disappointing communities where archaeological sites are located.

# Chapter 7
# The Machu Picchu Solution: A New Approach to Cultural Patrimony Disputes

**Lucy C. Salazar and Richard L. Burger**

## Introduction

The history of cultural patrimony conflicts is littered with cases that seem to defy solution. As these problems languish, antagonism and polarization only seem to increase, thereby making a final solution even harder to achieve. The dispute over the Hiram Bingham collections from Machu Picchu was one such case but, much to the world's surprise, it was successfully resolved through diplomacy on November 30, 2010. This diplomatic resolution was made possible by three formal agreements: one by Yale University with the Peruvian government, a second by Yale University with the Universidad Nacional San Antonio de Abad, Cuzco (UNSAAC), and a third between UNSAAC and the Peruvian government. At the heart of the agreements, which brought a decade of discord to an end, was an attitude of mutual respect and appreciation between the three parties involved. The key to the resolution was to focus on the values, understandings, and goals that were shared by all of the interested parties, rather than emphasizing the irreconcilable differences between them. In this chapter, we review the history and features of the agreements in the hope that this case of a successful example of cultural resource dispute resolution can serve as a model for dealing with other cultural patrimony disputes.

L. C. Salazar (✉) · R. L. Burger
Department of Anthropology, Yale University, New Haven, CT 06511, USA
e-mail: Lucy.Salazar@Yale.edu

R. L. Burger
e-mail: Richard.Burger@Yale.edu



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## Historical Background

The ten-year dispute between Yale and Peru focused around a collection of archaeological materials excavated by the Yale Peruvian Scientific Expedition of 1912. The director of this project, Prof. Hiram Bingham III (Fig. 7.1), was a lecturer in the History Department at Yale University (Bingham 1989, p. 82). Prior to the 1912 excavations, Bingham had represented the USA as a delegate at the Pan-American Scientific Congress in Santiago, Chile in 1908 and then visited Inca archaeological sites such as Sacsahuaman and Choquequirau in southern Peru the following year. This experience inspired him to initiate the Yale Peruvian Scientific Expedition in 1911 that brought Machu Picchu to the attention of the world due to the coverage in newspapers such as the New York Times and popular periodicals such as Harper's Magazine and the National Geographic Magazine (Bingham 1912, 1913a, b).

The 1911 expedition did not involve excavations or detailed mapping of the now famous site. Rather, the expedition was oriented to regional archaeological and geographic investigation. It included surface reconnaissance of numerous Inca sites in Cuzco including Machu Picchu, Vitcos, and Espiritu Pampa. This field program

**Fig. 7.1** Hiram Bingham III at Machu Picchu, Yale Peruvian Scientific Expedition of 1912. (Photo courtesy of Peabody Museum of National History, Yale University)

of exploration was supported with funds from Bingham's classmates and family as well as from Yale University.

When Bingham returned to the field in 1912, with support from Yale University and the National Geographic Society, his primary focus was on Machu Picchu itself. Bingham's research in 1912 as in 1911 was carried out with the appropriate permits from the Peruvian government and the strong personal support of Peru's president Augusto B. Leguía. He also received the advice and institutional support of Albert A. Giesecke, the rector of UNSAAC. Most of the project resources of the second expedition in 1912 were devoted to clearing the site of its heavy vegetation and then mapping and photographically documenting the site's masonry architecture. Bingham himself was largely responsible for the photography, and the surveying of the architecture was done by Herman L. Tucker, Paul B. Lanius, and Robert Stephenson. The final drawing of the map was the responsibility of Albert H. Bumstead, a skilled cartographer trained by the US Geological Survey. Work was begun on the map in 1911 and it continued in 1912 from August 13 until October 31. The detailed map created by the expedition remained unsurpassed in the century following its creation, and it remains an important resource for the protection and conservation of the archaeological site (Burger and Salazar 2013).

In addition to the mapping activities, Bingham's team also carried out limited excavations in the architectural core of Machu Picchu and in the burial caves on the edge of the site (Fig. 7.2). The excavations directed by Ellwood Erdis and George Eaton were generally shallow and small in size, and few in number; in fact, less than 1 % of the site was sampled by Bingham's team. Dr. José Gabriel Cosio, a representative of the Peruvian government, supervised the excavations and produced an inventory of everything that was exported to Yale in 1912. He attested to the absence of precious metal objects and the fragmented nature of materials recovered from Machu Picchu (Cosio 1912 [2001]). Most of the collections consisted of small ceramic fragments, animal bones, and broken metal artifacts. The absence of gold objects or fine intact pottery contrasted with the results of excavations at better-known Inca sites in Cuzco. In 1912, Machu Picchu was still largely unknown, so it is perhaps not surprising that the Peruvian government gave permission for Bingham to export the materials to Yale's Peabody Museum of Natural History, where they were stored, conserved, and studied. After their arrival, the materials were analyzed, and scientific articles and monographs were written and published based on these collections (Bingham 1915; Eaton 1916; Mathewson 1915); Bingham (1930) authored a technical monograph entitled *Machu Picchu: Citadel of the Incas* describing the archaeological investigations and discussing their interpretation and implications for understanding Inca culture and society. Bingham also helped to increase the international fame of Machu Picchu through his popular articles and books (Bingham 1913b, 1916, 1922, 1948).

In the 1980s, Burger and Salazar initiated a new wave of research on the Bingham collections from Machu Picchu. This involved outside specialists as well as Yale faculty, such as Robert R. Gordon, Professor of geology and geophysics. Noteworthy among these was Professor John Verano, a specialist in the human osteology of ancient Peru, Professor George R. Miller, a specialist in Andean faunal analysis,

**Fig. 7.2** Excavations at the Main Temple of Machu Picchu in 1912 overseen by Ellwood Erdis *(on left)*. (Photo courtesy of Peabody Museum of National History, Yale University)

and Nicholas van der Merwe, a pioneer in the reconstruction of ancient diet based on carbon isotopes. Along with Burger and Salazar, these investigators produced publications that supported the interpretation that Machu Picchu had been built as a country palace for the Inca royal family. These studies increased our understanding of the people who occupied Machu Picchu and the daily life of these residents (Burger 2004; Burger and Salazar 2003, 2004, 2012; Burger et al. 2003; Gordon 1984; Miller 2003; Salazar 2004, 2007; Salazar and Burger 2003; Verano 2003).

In the 1990s, Burger and Salazar designed a traveling exhibit on Machu Picchu. This was done with the enthusiastic support of Ricardo Luna, the Peruvion government's ambassador to the United Nations (1989–1992) and Washington DC (1993–1999) under the Garcia and Fujimori administrations, respectively. The exhibition of the collections from Machu Picchu outside of New Haven was made possible by financial support from the National Science Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Connecticut Humanities Council, and Yale University. Beginning in 2003, the traveling exhibit was shown seven cities in the USA (New Haven, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, Denver, Houston, Chicago, Tulsa) and was seen by well over a million visitors. At Ambassador Luna's suggestion, the cities included on the exhibit tour had large Peruvian immigrant populations, and these communities responded warmly to the show.

The preparations for the traveling exhibit and subsequent tour drew unprecedented attention to Bingham's Machu Picchu collections, and the incoming regime of President Alejandro Toledo (2001–2006) decided to make the return of the Machu Picchu materials a priority of their administration. In fact, in July of 2001 Toledo chose to have a second inauguration held at Machu Picchu, despite conservation concerns. From the outset, Yale University believed that the claims regarding the Bingham collections would be best resolved through diplomacy, and over the following years negotiations were held in New Haven with representatives of the Peruvian government. While these discussions appeared to be promising, progress was systematically frustrated by the unwillingness to compromise at the highest levels of the Peruvian government; more specifically, the resistance to an amicable resolution came from the First Lady of Peru, the French-born and Belgian-educated Eliane Chantal Karp. Parallel to these confidential talks, there was an increasing use of this issue for political ends by the Toledo administration in Peru. Consistent with this, one of the final acts of the Toledo government before leaving office in 2006 was to allocate the resources for pursuing the dispute with Yale University in the US federal court system.

With the beginning of the government of Alan Garcia (2006–2011), there was a renewed judgment that negotiation rather than litigation might hold the solution to the problem. Nonetheless, legal proceedings were begun in 2009, and these continued parallel to the discussions that had been revived between Yale and the government of Peru during an unpublicized visit by a Yale delegation to Lima. In 2007, a Peruvian delegation led by Hernán Garrido Lecca, a cabinet member of Garcia's administration, visited New Haven; this delegation included Cecilia Bakula, the director of Peru's National Institute of Culture. The visiting committee was authorized by Alan Garcia to find a diplomatic solution. After a day of intense

negotiations, the draft of a confidential Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was created and signed by both parties that would have resolved the dispute. Unfortunately, the confidential 2007 MOU came under fire before it was made public, and President Garcia decided not to implement it. With its failure and the subsequent breakdown of negotiations with Yale, Peru's efforts shifted to the US federal courts.

As the problem over the collections became framed as a legal one, there was an increasingly strident and adversarial tone to the discussion. History was distorted and motivations were impugned in order to undermine the legitimacy of the other side. Bingham was repeatedly depicted as a plunderer and an unethical dilettante, who took credit for the discoveries of others (Salazar 2010). The Peruvian government was depicted as cynically using the issue for political purposes, more interested in populist rhetoric than in the archaeological heritage itself. In this contentious atmosphere, it began to be increasingly difficult to imagine a resolution. The development of this situation was described in a New York Times Magazine article by Arthur Lubow (2007) entitled "The Possessed."

On September 17, 2010, the case between Yale and Peru was scheduled before the federal court in Hartford and this seemed to offer the potential of a definitive ruling. The initial question put before the court had a focus on statute of limitations issues. But would a judicial decision in US courts really resolve the problem or would the court's findings only further exacerbate the political conflict? The increasing acrimony surrounding the dispute was gleefully reported by the press in both countries. While attracting a great deal of attention, this media coverage undermined Peru's image as a progressive country embracing the world and its new economic opportunities. In an effort to attract foreign investment, the Peruvian government under the second Garcia administration was anxious to move beyond a decade of terrorism by the Shining Path and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement and an even earlier period in the late 1960s and early 1970s when a military government led by General Juan Velasco Alvarado nationalized foreign interests in mining and petrochemicals. Peru's aggressive attacks on Yale seemed inconsistent with this larger effort at rebranding the country as a stable neoliberal democracy. Similarly, Yale University's efforts to become a global university through increased international collaboration seemed at odds with its festering conflict with the Peruvian government. It is also relevant that for both sides the legal costs were by no means insignificant and probably would have been very expensive had the legal dispute continued.

As the case continued through the courts, the public profile of the conflict escalated further with "spontaneous" demonstrations against Yale being held in Lima and Cuzco, and anti-Yale banners being hung from the overpasses of Lima's main urban thoroughfare. Yale University continued to assert that the legal basis for Peru's claims was weak and that there was no historical or legal basis for repatriating the collections. Moreover, as a private university, Yale was in a position to resist international diplomatic pressures being applied by Peru. Given the circumstances described above, the Machu Picchu dispute began to look increasingly like an intractable problem that, as in the case of the Elgin Marbles, might permanently resist all efforts to find a solution.

## The Machu Picchu Solution

The resolution of the dispute owes much to the vision of Victor Raúl Aguilar, the former rector of UNSAAC. It was Aguilar who suggested the potential value of direct talks between Yale University and UNSAAC. During the subsequent discussions, in which the authors played a crucial part, it became clear that UNSAAC and Yale shared many things. Both were distinguished institutions with histories spanning over three centuries. Both universities had a long-term commitment to archaeological training and research, and both had traditions of maintaining museums for the display and conservation of archaeological collections. Aguilar observed that Yale might be able to accomplish many of its goals regarding Bingham's Machu Picchu collections through a partnership with UNSAAC, an arrangement that would be based on a foundation of mutual respect and cooperation. He suggested that the framework of the agreement between these two universities could be broadly defined, and could include long-term collaboration in education and research as well as the return of the collections to Cuzco. The museum that would receive the historic collections would be created jointly by UNSAAC and Yale and administered by UNSAAC. The discussions between representatives of Yale and UNSAAC were facilitated by the fact that the two universities held a similar worldview and set of priorities. During the meetings between the two universities, Yale expressed its agreement with UNSAAC that the people of Cuzco were the direct descendants of the Incas and thus had a unique and special stake in the resolution of the dispute. UNSAAC likewise acknowledged that Yale had an abiding historic link to the Machu Picchu collections stemming from its historic role in Machu Picchu's scientific discovery and investigation as well as the subsequent conservation and study of the Machu Picchu collections.

Naturally, any definitive resolution of the dispute required the full support of Peru's central government as well as that of UNSAAC. Fortunately, Peruvian president Alan Garcia recognized the value of returning to the negotiating table in an effort to settle the dispute before the centennial anniversary on July 24, 2011 of Bingham's historic first visit to Machu Picchu. In late November of 2010, President Garcia received a delegation sent to Lima by Yale's president Richard Levin. This group was led by Ernesto Zedillo, former president of Mexico and the current director of Yale's Center for the Study of Globalization (Fig. 7.3). In direct discussions between Garcia and Zedillo, the general outlines of an agreement between Yale and the Peruvian government were reached. The details were hammered out in meetings between the representatives of the two sides overseen by Zedillo and Peru's minister of foreign affairs José Garcia Belaunde.

On November 23, 2010, an agreement was reached in Lima between the Peruvian government and Yale's representatives, and it was released to the public as an MOU. It constituted an amicable resolution of the dispute and the foundation for a long-term collaboration between the two parties. The MOU was premised on Yale's recognition of the unique importance of the Machu Picchu materials to Peruvian national identity. In the agreement, Peru explicitly recognizes the historic

**Fig. 7.3** Richard Burger, Peabody Museum curator; Lucy Salazar, Machu Picchu Project; Victor Aguilar Callo, rector of the Universidad San Antonio de Abad del Cuzco (UNSAAC); Richard Levin, President, Yale University; Liliana Chino, representative of the Peruvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Ernesto Zedillo, Yale Center for the Study of Globalization at the signing ceremony of the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between their respective institutions

importance of Yale's stewardship of the Machu Picchu collections, and Yale recognizes Peruvian ownership of the materials. In the MOU, Yale agreed to return the museum-quality pieces from Machu Picchu on time for their display in Peru during the centennial celebration in 2011. In addition, it committed to sending all of the remaining elements of the Bingham Machu Picchu collection in two additional shipments, one at the end of 2011 and the other before the end of 2012. It should be emphasized that the return of the materials, at Yale's expense, was offered as a gesture of good will on Yale's part rather than because of any legal decision. Peru and Yale together pledged to establish a collaborative relationship for the conservation of the materials and for developing future research and scholarship. Yale expressed its satisfaction that the Peruvian government had requested that UNSAAC serve as the long-term depository of the Machu Picchu materials and committed itself to separately arrange for a cooperative program with UNSAAC.

The MOU between the Peruvian government and Yale University created the basis for the subsequent agreement between Yale and UNSAAC. This Yale–UNSAAC agreement was negotiated directly between UNSAAC's Rector Victor Aguilar and Yale's President Richard Levin 3 months later in New Haven, and it was signed on February 11, 2011 (Fig. 7.3). In this second MOU, UNSAAC pledged to prepare appropriate environments at the Casa Concha in the historic area of Cuzco that would include a museum, a high-quality storage facility, and research space for visiting

**Fig. 7.4** Dorothy Robinson, Yale General Counsel; Lucy Salazar; Richard Burger; Derek Briggs, Director of the Peabody Museum of Natural History; Cayo Garcia Miranda, Dean of architecture (UNSAAC)

scholars. This facility, known as the International Center for the Study of Machu Picchu and Inca Culture (CIEMCI) would be administered by UNSAAC under the direction of an advisory board of five members, two each appointed by Yale and UNSAAC, and a fifth selected by the other four members. UNSAAC pledged to maintain adequate security and environmental conditions at the museum and the conservation components of the center. For its part, Yale pledged to help create two exhibits of the Bingham Collection at the Casa Concha over the following decade. Yale and UNSAAC agreed that joint activities sponsored at the Casa Concha would include activities such as temporary exhibitions, academic conferences, and fieldwork. It pledged to provide scholarly access to investigate and document the collections. Yale agreed to facilitate educational exchanges between the two institutions, including sending visiting researchers and teachers to UNSAAC. Finally, the newly created museum agreed to lend a small number of archaeological pieces to Yale for display at the Peabody Museum of Natural History, if such a request was formally made through normal government channels.

The sincerity of the new relationship established with Yale University by the Peruvian government was symbolically confirmed by awarding Yale's president Richard Levin with the Orden del Sol, Peru's highest civilian honor. Similarly, UNSAAC honored Richard Burger and Lucy Salazar as honorary faculty members of the Faculty of Social Sciences (Fig. 7.4).

## Implementation of the Agreement

Since the signing of the MOU between the UNSAAC and Yale, much progress has been made. A new museum has been created at the Casa Concha and has been named Museo Machu Picchu. By the time this volume is published, the museum will have been seen by over 200,000 visitors, including large numbers of students from the Cuzco primary and secondary schools. The exhibition materials and equipment were sent by Yale University to Lima on five shipments by boat and two by air (Fig. 7.5). From Lima the equipment and materials were transported by truck to Cuzco. The museum-quality artifacts were flown to Cuzco, after being displayed for tens of thousands of visitors at the presidential palace. At the opening of the exhibit at the palace, President Alan Garcia personally welcomed the collections and provided a personal tour of the exhibit for journalists and guests.

The arrival of the museum-quality collections in Cuzco was greeted by the local authorities and a military escort. Before being brought to the Casa Concha, the collections were paraded through the main avenue to the Temple of the Sun (Coricancha), where speeches were made in Quechua, the language of the Incas, by local political figures and performers dressed in Inca-period costumes (Fig. 7.6). The collections were then circulated around the central plaza before a large and emotional crowd to sounds of a military band.

The Casa Concha was a particularly appropriate locale for the Museo Machu Picchu (Fig. 7.7). The foundations are of Inca masonry, and many believe that it was


**Fig. 7.5** Machu Picchu collections packed and in transit to Peru

**Fig. 7.6** Reception of the Machu Picchu collections at the Temple of the Sun, Cuzco

once the Pucamarca palace, residence of the Inca emperor Tupac Inca Yupanqui. The standing building, which has been meticulously conserved and restored by the National Institute of Culture and UNSAAC, served as a manor house for Don José de Santiago Concha y Salvatierra, Marqués de Casa Concha during the eighteenth century. Later additions by the nineteenth century occupants make the Casa Concha a living testimony to the architectural history of colonial and republican Cuzco. The design and curatorship of the bilingual exhibit created at the Casa Concha was overseen by Salazar and Burger in collaboration with UNSAAC's dean of architecture Cayo Garcia Miranda (Fig. 7.8). Installation of the exhibit was directed by Lucy Salazar with the assistance of museum technicians brought from the Yale Peabody and employees drawn from the UNSAAC staff.

The celebratory opening of the Museo Machu Picchu on October 6 of 2011 was a festive event attended by Susana Baca, Peru's Minister of Culture; Jorge Acurio, governor of the regional government of Cuzco; Luis Flores, Mayor of Cuzco; Victor Raúl Aguilar, the President of UNSAAC; and Peter Salovey, the former provost and now President of Yale University. Among the hundreds of guests attending were the presidents of 64 Peruvian universities and representatives of the US embassy. A faux Inca throne or *ushnu* was constructed in the plaza area of the Casa Concha and actors dressed as the Inca emperor and queen offered festive words in Quechua, and traditional shell trumpets or *pututus* were blown. In honor of the museum's


**Fig. 7.7** Museum of Machu Picchu, Casa Concha, Cuzco

opening, the US Embassy (2011) published a color catalog in Spanish and English of the Bingham collections and copies of it were distributed to the numerous guests of honor (Fig. 7.9).

The Machu Picchu Museum was opened to the public after a brief interlude, and its first official visitor was the famous English rock musician Mick Jagger. Since then thousands of visitors have been able to view the Bingham collections firsthand,

**Fig. 7.8** Exhibition gallery focusing on scientific analyses of the Machu Picchu collections, Casa Concha, Cuzco

as well as learn of the historic and scientific research that has dispelled some of the mystery surrounding the site. These museumgoers include daily visits by local school groups and residents of Cuzco as well as travelers from all of the world's continents.

In accordance with the MOU, the human and animal bones recovered from Machu Picchu were flown to Cuzco in December of 2011, and all of the ceramic, stone, and other artifacts arrived at the Casa Concha in November of 2012. The entire corpus of the materials excavated by the Yale Peruvian Scientific Expedition in Machu Picchu is now in Cuzco. It is stored and conserved in the facilities of the Casa Concha in Delta cabinets and in acid-free boxes on open shelving identical to those that once housed them in the Peabody Museum of Natural History.

In addition, the International Center for the Study of Machu Picchu was established and its advisory board named. With the support of Yale University and the Cartago Foundation, a collaborative educational and research program prepared for the UNSAAC archaeology faculty was initiated at the Casa Concha in the summer of 2013. It focused on Andean faunal analysis and the application of ground-penetrating radar technology and included workshops led by Dr. Timothy Horsley and Dr. George Miller, international specialists in these fields. In August 2014, another workshop was given by Dr. Michael Glasscock at the Casa Concha on the principles of archaeometry, with special focus on the use of portable X-ray fluorescence tech-


**Fig. 7.9** Dignitaries at the opening of the Machu Picchu Museum at the Casa Concha, Cuzco

nology in the analysis of archaeological artifacts. As anticipated, these activities are enriching the educational experiences of students and faculty from both UNSAAC and Yale. In addition to the classroom instruction, these programs have also produced scientific breakthroughs. For example, the workshop on ground-penetrating radar succeeded in identifying the first known circular houses and rectangular public structures at the early Cuzco settlement of Marcavalle.

## Conclusions

Given the acrimony and rancor surrounding the dispute over the Machu Picchu collections only 3 years ago, it is remarkable to observe how profoundly the situation has changed. Through a forward-looking set of agreements, the Machu Picchu collections are now accessible to a larger and more diverse audience, while still being well conserved and accessible for research. Equally important, a sense of balance and wellbeing has been restored by the return of these materials to Cuzco. By housing the Bingham collections on the site of what many believe was the palace of the son of Pachacuti, the builder of Machu Picchu, a certain historic harmony has been achieved. Considering the possibilities of future laboratory research, field investigation, and long-term educational collaboration between Yale University and

UNSAAC, the resolution of the Machu Picchu dispute described here seems to be an exemplary case of a "win-win" solution. It honors the heritage of the Peruvian nation, while creating the conditions for a future enhanced by long-term international collaboration.

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# Chapter 8
# Participation of the Local Community in Archaeological Heritage Management in the North Highlands of Peru

**Yuji Seki**

## Introduction

In our modern world, the involvement of local communities in the conservation and practical use of projects related to cultural heritage is inevitable. This chapter discusses not only the primary factors that contribute to this situation but also the different meanings of "participation." Most of these projects consider the concept of "participation" as making local villagers attend education or training programs. However, this position assumes that only people with archaeological knowledge determine the value of archaeological sites. To actually involve the "participation" of local communities, it is necessary to first acknowledge the social memory carried by them about their heritage, and merge it with the core archaeological and historical concepts promoted by archaeologists and conservators. To illustrate this idea, cases from the north highlands of Peru are presented, where the Japanese archaeological team faced several problems concerning the ownership of gold objects unearthed during archaeological excavations. The process of resolving this conflict may help us to find possible solutions for improving the conservation and practical use of cultural heritage.

## Voice and Action from the Community

1. Crisis of extinguishing archaeological sites and repercussions from the community

Before giving some concrete cases, I would like to consider the background of involving the participation of local people in developing programs. During the 1960s and 1970s, public interest in cultural heritage arose, especially with respect to

Y. Seki (✉)
National Museum of Ethnology, 10-1 Senri Expo Park, Suita, Osaka 565-8511, Japan
e-mail: sekito@idc.minpaku.ac.jp



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archaeological sites and remains around the world. Cultural resource management (CRM) was established in the USA (Kerber 1994). The situation was allegedly triggered by the destruction of archaeological sites as a consequence of development, the fruits of economic growth, and the discovery of important sites whose subsequent excavation inevitably resulted in destruction. Since then, much emphasis has been placed on the destruction of archaeological sites, but at the same time the world has been experiencing an upsurge of a different kind.

The trend has been experienced, without exception, in the western hemisphere where I conduct my research. Archaeology and anthropology were introduced to this continent by European researchers who focused their research on the heritage of indigenous people and archaeological sites as evidence of their ancestors (Trigger 1989, pp. 104–109). Those indigenous people, who were mere research subjects, started raising their voice in objection. In the USA, it is well known that indigenous people have struggled to negotiate with the government to secure equal status and the same rights as nonindigenous people, even before the adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People in 2007 (Cobb and Fowler 2007). Similar movements have also been recognized in Latin American countries (Langer and Muñoz 2003).

On the surface, it seems that there is no direct connection between archaeological sites and the rights of indigenous people. It is not only a materialistic issue with development threatening living areas, but that sites regarded as holy sanctuaries are designated as archaeological sites, and the "profanation" of sites by nonindigenous experts take place through excavation, analysis, and exhibition. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that cultural heritage is managed by a modern framework, completely different from the *weltanschauung* of indigenous peoples (Stapp and Burney 2002, pp. 46–50). So it is natural to see a direct connection between archaeological sites and the rights of indigenous people.

## 2. Shift to post-colonialism and possession of culture

My perception of this issue is that it is greatly influenced by changes within anthropology and archaeology, themselves. This transfiguration is the so-called shift to post-colonialism indicated in studies of human societies and, in the field of anthropology it is criticism about anthropology by anthropologists (Clifford and Marcus 1986). This trend cannot be ignored in regions such as the USA, where archaeology is considered to be related to anthropology.

The critique of anthropology by post-colonialism as represented by Edward Wadie Said (1979) is immeasurable. Not only was modern anthropology established under the cooperation of colonial administrators and missionaries but severe criticism was also applied to the method of participant observation in contemporary anthropology, which is regarded as the private plundering of informants who are cut off from the culture of the target society. From this standpoint, museums that are instruments of storing and exhibiting plundered material culture must bear the brunt of criticism. The rights of those whose cultures are exhibited in museums and viewed with curiosity by the public have been debated and considered in museum planning (Clifford 2002).

Needless to say, this transition in academic society is correlated with the movement of indigenous people claiming for their rights. At any rate, it has become widely understood that discussions about culture are no longer limited to researchers.

3. Cultural policy of neoliberalism

It is crucial to focus on cultural policies. Globally speaking, considerable movement generated after the 1980s involved neoliberalism, especially in the area of economy. Application of neoliberalism varied from country to country. Those countries which emphasized this philosophy undertook many policies to integrate themselves in the market economy and realize smaller governments. Simultaneously, the autonomy of a general public liberated from protection by the state, has been vociferously advocated and exploited as a philosophy supplementing reducing culture-related budgets. With a call for self-reliant financing, this trend has forced a direct connection between culture and economic development, while autonomy of indigenous people, community, or the general public has been encouraged.

Reflecting on this background, it is easily understood that a slogan "community involvement in cultural activities" is inevitable and a common goal for all actors. But this can inhibit the community, scholars researching the community, and state or local municipalities who are promoters of cultural policies. In this respect, it is insufficient to discuss pros and cons of public involvement in cultural policies.

It must be asked why is this topic, community involvement, argued about whenever management and utilization of cultural assets are discussed. I am concerned about the definition of "involvement," in addition to the definition of "community." In other words, my interest concerns discrepancies stemming from the definition of "community" by each actor.

In this chapter, my definition of "community" is limited to people living around archaeological sites, and it should be reminded that the target of discussion is the Latin American society which I have been working with.

## Rejection of Community Involvement

1. Asymmetry of knowledge possessed

Examples of direct application of proposals derived from the general public do exist in developed countries such as Japan. However, in many developing countries, so-called community involvement is not easy. First, I would like to cite cases illustrating conventional rejection of community involvement.

Several causes for rejection are conceivable. Unbalanced knowledge related to cultural heritage, which is one of the causes, is recognized and is limited to tangible historical heritage, not intangible heritage. In the case of intangible heritage, it is possible to have disclosure of implicit knowledge by researchers, but it is only natural that knowledge possessed by a community, the bearer of cultural heritage, surpasses that of researchers.

With respect to tangible heritage, on the contrary, a site where archaeologists undertake excavation, ruins or remains from the past should be preserved, not the culture of current human beings. Special skill is required for investigation and analysis. In this respect, there is little room for non-researchers to participate in discussions related to interpretation of findings. Emphasis should be made on the fact that this is somewhat different in developed countries like Japan where there are many

nonacademic historians and amateur archaeologists. As we know, in the USA, many archaeologists tried to eliminate this asymmetric relationship between researchers and non-researchers, especially indigenous people, during the early 1970s (Stapp and Burney 2002, pp. 49–50).

In either case, generally this type of knowledge is possessed by archaeologists and administrators of cultural assets, claiming responsibilities and rights based on legal grounds. In other words, an asymmetric relationship exists between them and the ignorant general public and, naturally, the cultural policies are planned on this premise. This is the process how a system, where management of archaeological sites is planned and executed only by archaeologists and people with expertise in cultural assets.

In this system, people living around sites are labeled as "ignorant people who do not understand the real value of sites" and are neglected. Even if a desire for community involvement is expressed, people are often forced to participate in a program prepared by cultural assets administrators with archaeological knowledge. Knowledge flows vertically with a hierarchical relationship from those who teach and those who are taught. In other words, the autonomy of people living near archaeological sites is not allowed to be demonstrated.

## 2. Neoliberalism and enhancement of asymmetry

The asymmetric relation between cultural heritage administrators and the community can be referred to as a classical relationship, but it is necessary to point out this relation has been strengthened in modern society.

This enhancement is influenced by the movement of neoliberalism or globalization. Administrators aiming to have small governments are reducing budgets related to preservation of archaeological sites and introducing forces from the private sector (Harvey 2005). This is a critical issue for researchers and cultural heritage administrators, and it has been criticized. As a result, researchers and cultural heritage administrators began to express their nationalistic claim that their country is abandoning its national cultural assets.

Furthermore, neoliberalism has produced a new phase enabling the private sector to have access to cultural heritage over which national restraints have been loosened. Actually, there are many cases for which tourism development is encouraged when private investment is introduced for management of sites. For archaeologists and cultural heritage administrators, it is an unforgivable condition for private investors to intrude on their territories and commercialize noble objects.

In many cases, asymmetric relationships are further enhanced if a concerned community raises its voice of opposition. A community may voice its opposition on the grounds that an archaeological site is a sacred place for current people or that land possessed by the community has unique significance. The opposition raised may be eliminated or hindered from a nationalistic standpoint. When the voice of a community is demanding distribution of profits obtained from tourism development, the community is criticized, just as tourism developers are criticized for intruding in archaeological sanctuaries. This criticism is similar to the crusade to extirpate idolatries that was implemented during the colonial era in Hispanomerica as part of the propagation of Catholicism. In the following sections I describe two cases which illustrate these issues.

## The Huacaloma Case

The first case is at Huacaloma, an archaeological site with ceremonial architecture (Figs. 8.1, 8.2). It is one of the largest ceremonial centers in Peru dating to 1000–550 BC in the Cajamarca valley. We started excavations in the year 1979 and the last season of the excavation and conservation program was completed in

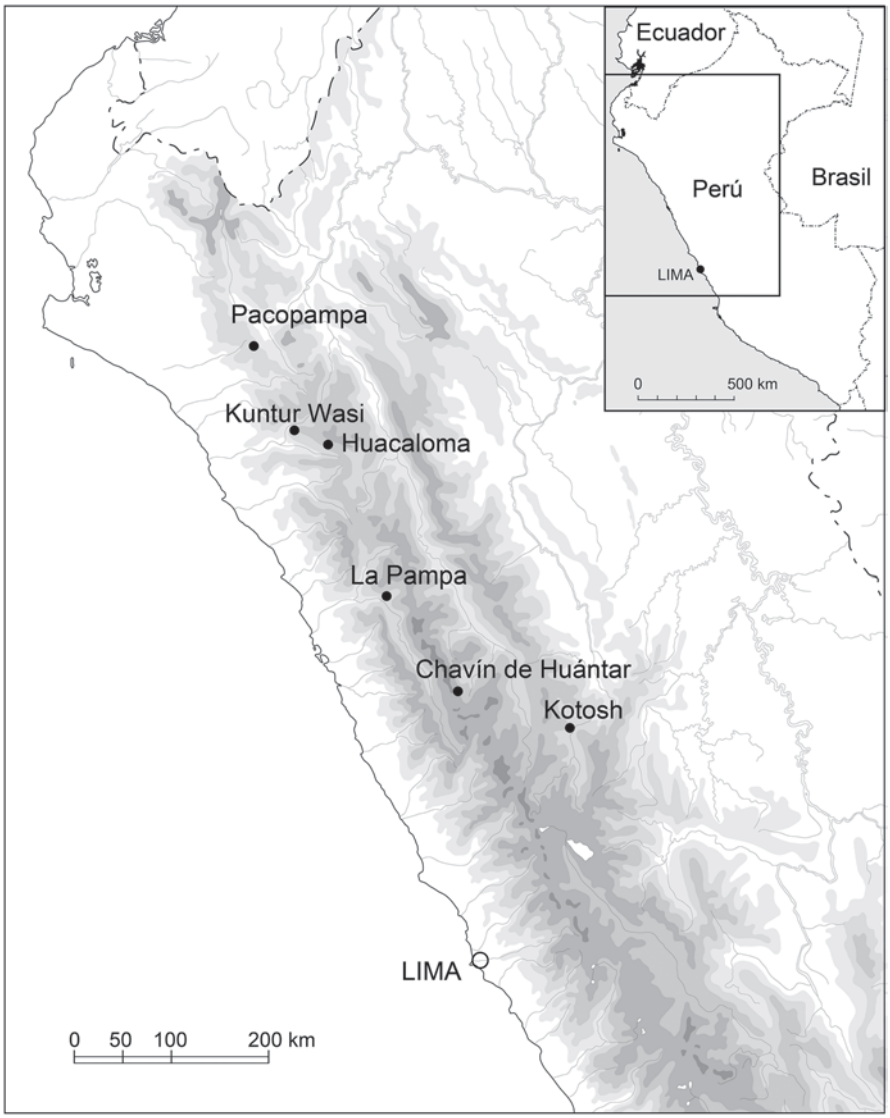


**Fig. 8.1** Location of the archaeological sites mentioned in the chapter

**Fig. 8.2** View of the Huacaloma archaeological site

the year 1989; thanks to a Japanese company, working in Peru, for their donation. Our purpose was to make some contribution for the people of Cajamarca through demonstrating the historical value of Huacaloma. However at the presentation ceremony, local people, especially those who lived around the site, protested against the project (Fig. 8.3), especially against the local office of the National Institute of Culture because the local office of the National Institute of Culture delimitated an intangible zone 10 or more times as large as the range of the archaeological site. Such a ridiculous political decision came from an idea of an archaeologist from the local office that a botanical garden and zoological park near the archaeological site


**Fig. 8.3** Local people of Huacaloma protested against the delimitation project

should be included. The lack of coordination with local people resulted in a social conflict, and the problem remained unresolved. I remember one laborer of the excavations who lived in the delimitation area at the same time saying to me: "I thank you so much for giving a lot of jobs, but there were no problems until you found the important remains here." The Huacaloma case showed us that significant asymmetric relationships can arise between cultural heritage administrators and local people and should be taken into account.

## The "Juanita" Case

Such issues can be seen in the case of a famous mummified girl. She was dedicated to a mountain god of the Inca period and was found in the southern highlands of Peru where I carried out research (Seki 2003). In April 1999, an exhibition called "Exhibition of the Eternal Great Inca" was held in the Mitsukoshi Art Gallery in Tokyo. It was a project, celebrating the 100th anniversary of the immigration of Japanese people to Peru. As the subtitle for the exhibition "Juanita, the Beautiful Maiden in Grief" indicates, the main feature of the exhibition was to display the mummified body of a girl from the Inca period. The Japanese excavation team was engaged as a part of the organizing committee of the exhibition.

Many mummies have been discovered along the coast of Peru, which is known for its dry climate. It is very rare to find a mummy with clothes and skin so vividly preserved by the frozen temperatures of a snow-capped mountain. This mummy was of high academic importance because of the context of the girl being sacrificed to the mountain god. However, when the decision to go ahead with the exhibition project was taken, its details were reported in Peru, and it immediately sparked opposition. This eventually led to the enactment of a strict law regarding temporary export of excavated cultural properties, including "Juanita." I would like to discuss the main elements of the controversy about the mummy, including the situation regarding the cultural administration, the attitude of academic experts, and the opinions of people living in the area where the mummy was discovered.

On the 8th September 1995, an American anthropologist and an experienced mountain guide climbed the Ampato Mountain (6380 m) located in the Arequipa Department in the southern part of Peru (Reinhard 1996). They discovered the mummy of a girl from the Inca period in a glacier which had melted due to the eruptive activities of the nearby Sabancaya Mountain (5976 m). They immediately recognized its importance and considered the possibilities of damage that could be caused by grave robbers. They went down the mountain carrying the frozen mummy, which weighed 32 kg, and announced their discovery. She was named as "Juanita," after one of the discoveres, by converting his name into its feminine form.

According to the Spanish narratives, which were put together after the conquest of the Inca, human sacrifices were given to the *apu*, a spirit living in the mountains, at times when the population faced threats such as the eruptive activities of volcanoes or drought caused by the El Niño phenomenon during the period of the Inca

Empire (Betanzos 1987/1551, p. 51). As a result of scientific analysis in the USA, it was found that "Juanita" was 12–14 years old at the time of her death. There were marks on her head caused by hammering, suggesting the likelihood that the find represented human sacrifice (Reinhard 1997).

Japan was not the first country that "Juanita" had been exported to. With the sponsorship of the National Geographic Society, which had exclusive coverage of the event, an exhibition was held in Washington, DC in 1996, where the museum of the National Geographic Society is situated. Some 100,000 people visited the exhibition to see the mummy (El Comercio 1998/9/6). Although the most important purpose of the exportation was exhibition, a second purpose was for the mummy to be submitted for physicochemical analysis. In contrast, exportation to Japan was solely for exhibition, and no analysis was involved.

About a month before the Japanese exhibition was to be launched, a campaign of criticism of the proposed export of the mummy rapidly gained momentum. It was initiated by the local people interested in cultural heritage and by the discoverer (El Comercio 1998/12/15). Before the Japanese exhibition, "Juanita" was exhibited at the Museum of the Nation in the capital Lima for only 10 days. Until then, "Juanita" was barely shown to the citizens of Peru.

The criticism was not based solely on the technical issue that "Juanita" (who needs special preservation measures) cannot tolerate long-distance transport (El Comercio 1999/3/14). The criticism also extended to the question whether such a rare piece of cultural heritage should be used for a political event. There was even resistance from an ethical point of view; some criticized the approach of the exhibition, which was a commercial promotion, considering it deplorable that the girl's body would be exposed in the exhibition, causing the girl to lose her dignity, exposing her body to the public as a "freaky" object. Also, there was a nationalistic argument which stated that it is unacceptable for a piece of Peruvian cultural heritage to be taken around the world, while many Peruvians have not seen this example of their own country's cultural heritage (Caretas 1999/3/18:74.75). I agree with these comments.

In the end, the criticism of the exhibition of "Juanita" came to a point where not only the organizers of the exhibition but also the cultural administration of the Peruvian government became the subject to criticism. Eventually, the director of the National Institute of Culture was dismissed, and a law was passed which banned the exportation of important excavated remains.

This criticism against cultural administration happened while there was swirling controversy over the laws regarding the promotion of agriculture and tourism during the second term of the Fujimori regime (1995–2000). Under these laws, it was possible to develop an area, even if cultural heritage such as historical remains were found there, unless the National Institute of Culture (which is in charge of cultural heritage) immediately registers them as cultural heritage and submits this information. In Peru, many historical remains were not registered at that time, a situation that continues to exist today. In the second term of the Fujimori regime, officials were promoting neoliberalism in the economy, and they made it clear with these laws that they would prioritize the promotion of the needs of industry over cultural

administration (i.e., commercial utilization of cultural heritage over protection of cultural heritage).

In this context, one can take the criticism toward the "Juanita" exhibition as an expression of a noble idea that calls for the protection of cultural heritage and takes a stand against the excessive promotion of development by the government. However, the situation was not that simple. There was another group protesting against the "Juanita" exhibition. The main constituents of the group were the leaders of Cabanaconde village, which is situated in the Department of Arequipa near the Ampato Mountain, where "Juanita" was discovered. They made the following comments to the media:

"The residents of Cabanaconde will go to Lima and demand that President Fujimori returns 'Juanita'. This is because 'Juanita' cannot rest peacefully until she comes back to her home." (Peru.com 1999).

Responding to such comments from the villagers, the anthropologist at the National Museum who was in charge of the Japanese exhibition argued against "Juanita" returning to the Arequipa area, saying that it is impossible to keep the mummy in the village from the security and conservation point of view. Another anthropologist criticized the villagers for trying to use the mummy to gain money and promote tourism in the village. The anthropologist brushed aside the villagers' comments and emphasized that we should pay great respect to the mummy, because it provides us with precious information about the past.

I visited Cabanaconde village to study and confirm the controversy over this issue. It was found that the site where "Juanita" was discovered was within the communal land of the villagers, but the villagers were never informed about the discovery of the mummy. Although buried cultural properties belong to the nation state, it would have been better to inform the villagers about the find. Also, an agreement was made between the organizer of the Japanese exhibition, the National Institute of Culture in Peru and the local university about providing funding to pay for some of the equipment and facilities that were needed for the preservation of "Juanita." The local university was the co-organizer of the exhibition, and it is also where the Peruvian discoverer works. However, the village was completely marginalized from the negotiations that led to this agreement.

When newspaper reports made the story known to the public, the villagers learned about "Juanita" for the first time and started to have their say. The villagers consistently asked for the return of "Juanita," and demanded for tourism development featuring "Juanita," including the construction of a museum. There was also a concern from the villagers that they were the people who had been carrying out the rituals for the god of Ampato Mountain, and if "Juanita" (who was sacrificed in the Inca period) was brought down from the mountain, the wrath of the gods would cause disasters such as droughts.

The development of the controversy about the "Juanita" exhibition showed the complexity of the situation relating to preservation of cultural heritage. For example, the campaign of criticism, started by the intellectual class people in the nation's capital Lima, was based on frustrations about their cultural heritage being used for political and commercial reasons as part of the globalization process. One can also

take this campaign as advocacy for paying more attention to the historical aspect of cultural heritage, such as "Juanita," to pay it respect and utilize it as a foundation of the national identity.

However, the problem is that when the intellectuals call for the utilization of cultural heritage as a symbol of national unification, the citizens of the countryside who are supposed to use the symbol, do not seem to be taken into consideration. One cannot find people living in rural areas, such as the villagers of Cabanaconde, included in the discussions organized by intellectuals. The villagers of Cabanaconde took action claiming that "Juanita" represents their cultural heritage and wanted to utilize "Juanita" as a main feature in their tourism development plan. In the eyes of the intellectual population who were demanding for the preservation of the national cultural heritage, this action was only seen as taking unfair advantage of the usual trends in tourism development which is seen as responding to external pressure. Also, under the Cultural Property Law, the owner of the cultural heritage is defined as the country, not the owner of the land on which cultural remains are found. When this issue is considered based on law, the claim of villagers can easily be ignored.

Moreover, the local community claimed that the mummy was found on the community's communal land and is inextricably connected to the community since the mummy was a sacrifice made for a mountain god or *apu*; therefore the community claims a right to manage or utilize the mummy as a tourist resource. In this specific case, an archaeologist took an extreme measure and denounced the community as lying by conducting DNA analysis of the mummy and used the results to deny direct ancestral relations between the mummy and the community (Seki 2003). According to historical documents during the Inca period, many innocent girls and boys were gathered from all over the empire. In this sense it is comprehensible that the DNA analysis does not support a genealogical tie between the mummy and the local community. Many early colonial documents show that indigenous peoples switch from revering a supernatural being or a sacred place that is called *huaca* to another one if the former deity cannot give any reciprocal benefit to them (Stern 1982, p. 16). A basic principle among Andean indigenous peoples has been reciprocity, including the relationship between peoples and deities. People dedicate some offerings to deities and the deities do them a favor. In case of nonfulfillment of obligation done by one party, a good relationship will cut off. Changing an object of worship in the case of the girl mummy probably can be understood within a cultural or traditional framework.

However, it is essentially the voice of local communities like Cabanaconde village which is often forgotten in the wave of globalization. In this sense, it is inhumane to take this stance with a local community that is already the bottom layer of the society, being socially and economically ignored without even the right to preserve its cultural heritage. The result was the ironic situation where the intellectuals, who were supposed to be against globalization, ignored the voice of a local community which was trying to find a way to survive while struggling against the same phenomenon (globalization). If they try to preserve cultural heritage without the participation of the local community, for whom are they trying to preserve it?

Or is it in fact only for intellectuals who have received an elite education and who want to do detailed research about history?

In any case, although local communities grope for survival, globalization, neoliberalism, and tourism development are sowing obstinacy of archaeologists and cultural heritage administrators—resulting in ‘‘glocalization’’. Even if those elites study methods for community involvement at training programs held in advanced countries where the public segment is fully established, the application of what they studied becomes coercion without sufficient scrutiny of the circumstances in their own countries. Actually, few training programs probe community involvement to adequate depth, and as a result, the abovementioned issue of asymmetry is not resolved.

## Social Development and Preservation of Archaeological Sites

The example cited above, a mummy excavated in Peru, may be an extreme case but conflicts similar to this case are very common. On the other hand, efforts to resolve these conflicts have only been recently observed. With diminishing budgets related to site preservation, administrators seek the involvement of communities in the regions where sites exist. They are beginning to employ a method to incorporate site preservation into a regional development framework. In other words, preservation is not undertaken individually but integrated into social development including tourism.

This trend cannot be denied. In developing countries, economic disparities are obvious and in many cases people categorized as living in poverty or extreme poverty are residing near archaeological sites. It can be anticipated that those living in dire poverty would not listen to the needs for preserving sites by forcing them to understand the value of the remains.

The story would be different if economic value is added to an archaeological site. If improvement in living standards become visible, perceptions toward a site, the source of the blessing, will naturally be different. If people around the site become aware of the fact that preservation of the site is supporting their infrastructure, the possibility of voluntary participation in site management by the community may be elevated. However, this win-win situation, honestly speaking, cannot be assumed in many cases. The reason for this is that there are only a handful sites like Machu Picchu that produce economic benefits. Even for those sites which generate economic benefits and succeed in the world of large-scale cultural heritage tourism, it is usually difficult for the general public to participate, and in many cases, administrators control the sites to secure income.

How is it possible to realize community involvement for archaeological sites with no prior anticipation of economic impact? In the following section I describe a situation that I have experienced first-hand in the northern highlands of Peru.

## The Possibility of Combining Social Memory and History: the Kuntur Wasi Case

This case involves the Kuntur Wasi site (Fig. 8.1) where a Japanese team collaborated with the local community and completed the construction of a site museum after discovering gold offerings associated with several tombs (Onuki 2006). The Kuntur Wasi site is a huge ceremonial center which dates back to 1000 BC. More than three terraces were constructed in its heyday (Kuntur Wasi phase: 800–500 BC.). Research was carried out at the site from 1998 to 2003. In the second year of research in 1989, the team discovered three tombs while investigating the main building located on the uppermost platform. A large quantity of burial goods was found including gold objects, silverwork, and stone and shell necklaces. The gold objects show the importance of early metal works in Andean civilization and have a high academic value.

Discovery of the gold caused a big change among the archaeologists as well as in the nearby village where we lived. According to Peruvian Cultural Property Law, archaeological remains belong to the state, and they were under the control of National Institute of Culture at that time (now the Ministry of Culture). However, the village, the province, the Department of Cajamarca, and the central government in the capital, all claimed that the gold belonged to them, and we were caught in the middle of all these parties.

Responding to this situation, for more than a year, we patiently continued discussions with villagers every night on how to deal with the gold while carrying on with our research. We did not want to have an unfortunate experience like the one described for Huacaloma in the Cajamarca valley. Eventually, we agreed to construct a museum at Kuntur Wasi. After we completed official procedures, the excavated objects were exported to Japan in 1991, and exhibitions were held in 12 places in different parts of Japan. Based on donations and financial sponsorship, which was raised during the exhibitions, we were able to build a museum in 1994 (Fig. 8.4). The building, showcases, and panels were donated to the Cultural Association of Kuntur Wasi on the opening day of the museum. The association is a nonprofit organization formed by the villagers. The operation of the museum was left to the association. The National Institute of Culture permitted them to take custody of the archaeological materials at the museum. About eight people from the association were chosen to be the museum staff, and it was agreed that they would work at the museum in rotation. All worked as volunteers and carried out roles as receptionists, guides, and guards. At the time of the launch of the museum, it was the only museum in Peru operated by farmers. These museum activities had unexpected ramifications.

The neighboring towns heard about the museum activities and started asking the members to give lectures. The Cultural Association sent off the members in rotation. They made speeches about the archaeological significance of the excavated materials that the museum possessed and about the mechanisms of their museum activities. The income from the lecture fees was one positive result. However, more than that, the cheers and applause, as well as the public respect they received at the end of the

**Fig. 8.4** Kuntur Wasi Museum

lectures gave them a sense of pride that they had never felt. This experience generated the momentum to work even more passionately on the museum activities.

These activities gradually brought about various benefits to the village. A textbook distributor company donated all kinds of textbooks that they were selling, and so the museum started taking on the role of an education center for the community. Then further development of the infrastructure was carried out. Water supply and sewage systems were developed, and even electricity was provided. Moreover representatives from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) visited the site for an investigation and mentioned the Kuntur Wasi case in their report in 2000. We also implemented a large project for restoration of the site using the Japan Trust Fund of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

Generally speaking, it is not easy to establish a system for local participation in a development-aid program. In this sense the Kuntur Wasi case is one of the successful projects. One of the reasons why we succeeded in the Kuntur Wasi project was our perseverance and determination to consult villagers in order to understand their desires before the construction of the museum. We conducted many meetings to listen to their opinions night after night. Apart from that, perhaps the social and political situations helped. In Peru there is a general image of Peruvians of Japanese ancestry as people who work diligently, and this probably had an impact on our activities. This image was reinforced by the then President of the Republic of Peru, Alberto Fujimori. The Kuntur Wasi project coincided with the first and second terms of the Fujimori regime. President Fujimori was tremendously popular at that time, especially in the provinces. At the inauguration of the Kuntur Wasi Museum,

Fujimori was present together with several authorities of the government. In any case, the point at the Kuntur Wasi case was not to establish a system for physical participation by local people, but for us to be open to introduce the social memory held by them to the museum activities.

As I already noted, in social development projects, generally developers draft a plan and carry it out. In the case of the conservation and practical use of archaeological sites, specialists like archaeologists and anthropologists give academic values to the sites and are in charge of that part. Personally speaking, I am not against cultural heritage administrators or archaeologists interpreting the value of sites, planning management programs, and implementing these programs. In addition, I am not against the administration, as a key actor, to place site preservation in the framework of social development. In fact, I believe those should be implemented more positively. Preservation of sites requires certain skills and substantial funds. It is only natural for the experts to return the sites to society and for administrators to make efforts for preservation.

Moreover, there is some truth in the historical perspective the specialists use. Normally the specialists draft a plan based on an academic concept, especially on universal or popular historicity. For example, they identify the archaeological site as "the ceremonial center which dates back to 500 BC." In case of the Kuntur Wasi Museum, we also educated and trained the museum staff with this historical perspective. Naturally, such a perspective of historicity is very important because the archaeological investigations with this kind of perspective can give "a meaningful life" to an unknown mound formed by the remains of ancient constructions. And the academic investigations will contribute to clarify the local, regional, or pan-regional history through comparative studies. At the same time tourists or visitors who have different cultural backgrounds can easily understand the historical value of the archaeological sites.

However, the problem is that such a western, academic, and popular perspective of historicity is often treated like a perspective of historicity in the social development program. Quite frequently it is said "local people don't understand the importance of cultural heritage" or "we archaeologists or specialists must educate others about the true value of cultural heritage." In other words, I am concerned that only people with archaeological knowledge determine the value of archaeological sites.

As anthropological studies indicate, a variety of concepts of time are found in non-western societies. Moreover, anthropologists have recently paid attention to social or collective memories (Olick et al. 2011), and it is clear that social memories are possessed jointly or reproduced between members of a community through the relationship with material culture. If the principle that it is not only the researchers or cultural heritage administrators who are responsible for presenting past culture, is not accepted, we are left with problems that memories of sites and sentiments of sites possessed by the local public or community, "not concerned parties", are neglected. It is not problematic even if those memories are not directly related to archaeological information. Local people who live near archaeological sites often talk about their personal memories, such as that they played there when they were children, or they used some architectural remains exposed on the surface of the earth as a boundary of an agricultural field. At the same time, social memories arise from common experiences with archaeologists or investigators. We can see some examples at the Kuntur Wasi Museum.

**Fig. 8.5** An administrator of the Kuntur Wasi Museum guides visitors

The guides of the Kuntur Wasi Museum did not just present archaeological knowledge which they had learned from researchers and reports; they took the meaning of exhibited materials in their own experiences and memories (Fig. 8.5). They often tell this to the visitors like a joke: "It is said that this gold pin was discovered by Prof. Seki, but it is not true. I found it from the earth removed in excavation when he ordered me to throw it away." That is, social memories can arise from any experience of excavations or conservation programs. Local people are not ignorant; they have connections with cultural heritage in their own ways.

This issue is pointed out not simply as a pretense to absorb voices from a community. Since contemporary site preservation is implemented under aforementioned policies based on neoliberalism, community involvement is inevitable. To achieve this, effective methods to secure autonomy of communities are necessary. For this purpose, I believe the introduction of a community's cosmology is essential, not only merely involving a community by economic benefits, such as tourism development. To acknowledge different perceptions about sites possessed by each member of a community, which may be referred to as social memories, and to merge it with core archaeological historical concepts, so-called history is necessary. In other words, this approach embraces diversified sentiments about sites.

I previously mentioned that archaeological historical concepts should become the core of practical applications at archaeological sites. It is possible that a site is preserved only for a community, but generally, a preserved site is visited by people who are not members of the community and, in addition, they possess a cosmology

and historical perspective different from the members of the community. If a system or interpretation which can only be comprehended by the community concerned is constructed, it will lead to the elimination of people with different cultural backgrounds. In order to avoid this, it is essential to secure fundamental archaeological information. This is the significance of fundamental archaeological concepts. By providing an instrument which enables understanding, archaeological sites become places where people with diversified historical concepts can gather around.

By fostering places such as the above, community members participating in site preservation will be observed by third parties, and this will lead to confirmation and enhancement of their identity. Specifically, it is important for community members to disclose social memories they possess by confirming their own position through instruments reflecting archaeological concepts. Through this process, further promotion of community autonomy and site management adjusted to current social situations can be expected.

It is certain that introduction of social memory to the activities at the Kuntur Wasi Museum happened by chance, but if such kind of social memories can be recovered and can be joined with the universal or popular perspective of historicity that archaeologists and experts of cultural heritage hold, the perception that cultural heritage is under control of only archaeologists or academic experts will be changed drastically, and the concept of "participation of the local community" will be more substantial.

## Conclusion: Contradiction and Conflict Over Conceptualization of Archaeological Sites

Whenever the above points are indicated, the following question is raised: What should be done if a community's unique social memories and archaeological conceptualizations of history are totally irreconcilable? One assumed example is clandestine excavation. In many cases, clandestine excavation is conducted for commercial purposes, but in my research, clandestine excavation is conducted in relation with deep historical background and *weltanschauung*, or world view (Seki 1996). Is reconciliation possible between these conflicting *weltanschauungs*?

Actually, I do not have ingenious ideas to give a straightforward answer, but this does not mean I do not have any hope. Although social memories are deeply rooted and activities rooted on these memories cannot be changed overnight, they do have aspects that are malleable. The changing relationship between local community members and archaeologists, and generation of new concepts of archaeological sites accompanied by development are examples.

With this stance, the attitude of archaeologists who strictly disapprove commercialization of mummies, previously mentioned, can be flatly denied. Discussing existence of genealogical relationships or spiritual relationships based on essentialism is an attitude to be rejected after the post-colonialism critique as nothing other than exploitation of voices from local communities. The relationships that the local

community in Arequipa is trying to establish with the mummy should be considered as generation of new social memories. Thus, the gap between researchers and communities can be bridged. From the time excavation of a site and discovery of ruins begin, social memories within mutual relations of materiality and actions related to them are generated. In this sense, a community is never constant. Therefore, there is a possibility for mutual reconciliation for conflicts between preservation and looting. In any case, the process of studying and analyzing the current situation of social concepts will provide many benefits to archaeological site management. In conclusion, I would like to suggest the importance of including surveys to identify particular social concepts of importance for site maintenance and management programs.

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# Chapter 9
# Huacas del Sol y de la Luna Project: Inclusion with Local and Regional Social Development

**Santiago Uceda**

## Introduction

Intervention in monumental sites not only includes a series of compromises but also raises debates about the nature of the said intervention. The simplest one is the intervention with academic ends, this is to say, to know the past through the study of the remains and the oral traditions or customs of local societies in their surroundings. A second way to study the past is to search for the roots of a local or regional identity, for example, when archaeology appeared at the time of modern European states (Gran-Aymerich 2001).

Also, heritage goods are investigated to include in touristic circuits with the goal of creating better life conditions for local populations surrounding sites (Llull 2005; Viñals and Morant 2012). A basic problem, related to the subject of cultural identity, is that theorists consider this as a premise that exists within the population (Cojtí 1993). They forget that each person has cultural behaviors, which are due to the concrete historical developments; so, there is no guarantee that the said people will be consistent with their cultural identity. The history of many of these people is a result of oral tradition, which varies through time, as a consequence of the relations of these with modern states or with groups with a different cultural origin constituting the dominant group in the state. Very few communities are conscious that their present cultural situation is a result of crossbreeding, of resistance to conquering groups that were not always European. The Mayas were conquered by the Aztecs like the Chimu by the Incas and, as a result of this conquest, they suffered changes in their social, economic, and religious structures; knowledge of this history makes people gain consciousness about their past, understand their present, and, on this basis, plan their future.

S. Uceda (✉)
Universidad Nacional de Trujillo, Trujillo, Peru
e-mail: santiago_uceda@hotmail.com



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From my point of view, people with ancestral cultural history must first have access to the said history, thanks to the knowledge generated by modern science. The existence of a debate among them for its interpretation and assimilation is an aspect that depends solely on them, as a free and autonomous social group. I consider that talking about cultural identity without the knowledge of past history is one of the great mistakes which has been committed in the past two centuries.

In recent times, cultural heritage has been considered a tourist product that should be "exploited"; this aspect can be perceived through different perspectives. There are those that see tourist resources as a product marginal to surrounding local groups, direct or indirect heirs to such resources. Several authors consider that tourism is the only way to protect and promote cultural heritage (Trotzig 1990; Endere 2001). Tourism has looked forward to present those sites where cultural heritage counts with traditional ethnic groups like almost exotic spiritual spaces. Nevertheless, today, many more people want to travel to have a life experience, establish comparisons between their own world view and the world as it is seen by others. In this sense, the tourist wants to be in contact with the local population, and the Peruvian tourist market is not making this necessity a possibility in modern tourism.

Sustainable tourism is the one that allows better living conditions for the present marginal populations, which live around cultural sites or environments with high diversity, without alienating the future of local generations, provoking negative impacts, or altering the environment (Mujica et al. 2008; Viñals and Morant 2012). In this sense if cultural tourism is well focused, it should create opportunities to improve local life conditions and be an alternative development to reduce problems generated by poverty. Preservation of cultural heritage, particularly archaeological heritage, can be achieved in many ways depending on administrative, legal, and political conditions of each country. In underdeveloped countries, even though they have laws to protect heritage and specialized organizations have been created for this task, there is no political condition that will favor its preservations. This translates in thin budgets and weak institutions for this task (Starr 2013).

In this chapter, I wish to present the experience acquired at the Huacas del Sol and la Luna complex, since 1991, where, as a first step, it was developed as a research center that generated knowledge allowing it to first create a consciousness of the past history in local populations because the inhabitants of Moche countryside are heirs of the ancient Moche and Chimu cultures of the north coast of Peru. Therefore, the second logical step was to preserve the recovered and exposed heritage through excavations and prepare the site for tourist visits, so it could be shown to the present and future generations without endangering its preservation. Finally, we tried to develop the Moche countryside's capacities in order to insert them into the tourist market, creating work and development opportunities.

## Historical Context of the Project

In Peru, between the 1970s and 1980s, a series of political conditions was generated taking the country almost to bankruptcy (Uceda 2000c). When political power was in the hands of Alberto Fujimori, he liberalized our economy, produced a traumatic devaluation, and reduced the size of the state and the budget of public institutions. Under these conditions, archaeological monuments were the most vulnerable, becoming an income source for farmers and other group of individuals, as they were looting them and selling the treasures obtained in this manner. These were the conditions in which Ricardo Morales and I began the work at Huaca de la Luna, starting from Ricardo's fortuitous finding of polychrome murals.

The work had started in May 1991 and since 1992, it was conceived as a strategic plan of intervention at the site, proposing a particular nature for the initial university research project where the main objective was the preservation of cultural heritage (Uceda 2000a). Here I present the most important aspects of our project and how these have generated positive impact on the population settled around the site.

The site of Huacas del Sol y de la Luna is located in the north coast of Peru, in the lower part of the Valley of Moche. It is one of the most important sites of Moche culture between the first and ninth centuries of our era; the site has been considered as the capital of the Moche southern territory.

This archaeological site is an urban settlement where planning is outlined by three major streets or avenues and an epimural road that separate the two great monumental buildings, the so-called "Huacas" del Sol and La Luna, from residential neighborhoods, productive centers, and other sectors (Fig. 9.1; Uceda 2010c).

## The Management Model of the Huacas del Sol and La Luna Project

This is a project of the Universidad Nacional de Trujillo, a public education institution, which in the 1990s had no financial support, but it had teachers who decided to undertake an exemplary task at the site. Therefore, first characteristic of the project was to generate strategic alliances between the university and private and public sectors to obtain the necessary financial support. The second characteristic was its multidisciplinary integral nature, to develop archaeological and historic research at the site, allowing a high-quality conservation program to guarantee preservation of the site, presenting the monument and its results (Mujica et al. 2008).

The first strength of our project is that we are not dependent on a single income source; in 22 years of work, we have obtained funding from foreign institutions such as the Ford Foundation, World Monuments Fund, UNESCO, Corporacion Andina de Fomento, Fondo Contravalor Peru-Francia, among others. On the national level, we have had almost permanent support from Union de Cervecerias Peruanas Backus & Johnson; among public institutions, we must emphasize the supporting

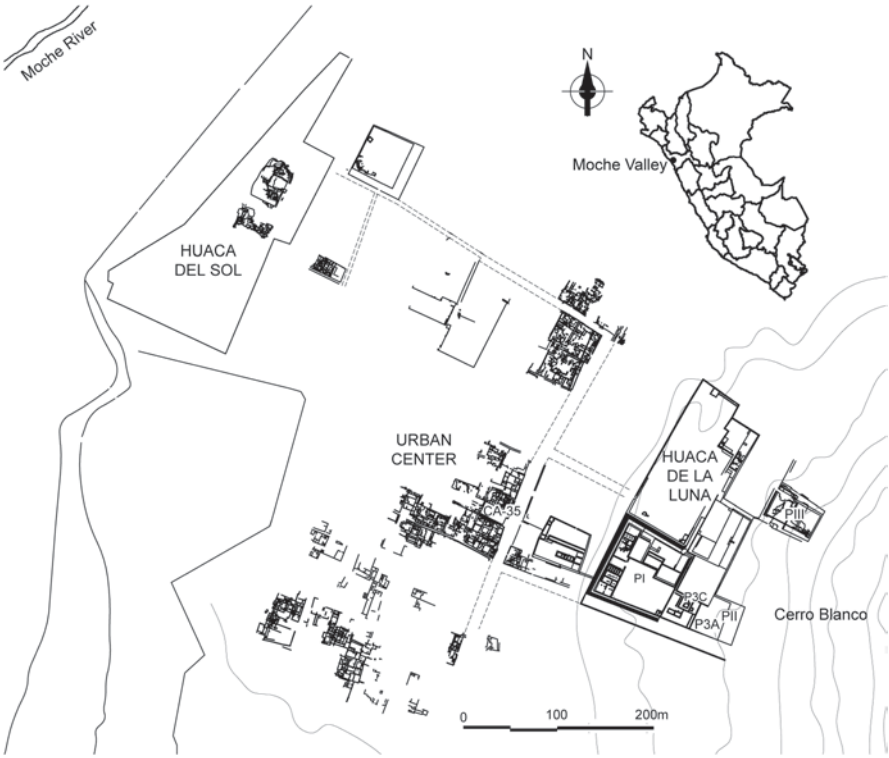


**Fig. 9.1** General plan of Huaca del Sol and La Luna archaeological complex

role of Municipalidad Provincial de Trujillo, the regional government of La Libertad, and the central government (Table 9.1).

Over these 22 years, we have obtained funding over S/. 38 million, some $ 15 million according to the present valuation (Table 9.2). It is interesting to note that the research and conservation work began with national and foreign private funding, but the greatest volume of investment came from the central government in the last 5 years. This public funding has been used to build the new site museum and the roofing of the monument. Private and foreign funding has been used for research, conservation, and the upgrading of local population capacities.

Interdisciplinarity aspects of our project are observed in its basic components: archaeological, ethnographic, ethnohistoric and cultural research; conservation and valuing cultural heritage for the social use of monuments; and local development.

a) Research

It is the vertebral column of our intervention at the site. The basic objective is to obtain new knowledge about the natural, cultural, and occupational history of the site (Uceda 2000b, 2006, 2010c; Uceda and Tufinio 2003; Uceda et al. 1994). This new knowledge must allow learning from past societies, their success as well as

**Table 9.1** Contribution period of national and international institutions to the project

| YEARS | 1991 | | 2012 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| TYPES OF JOBS | QUANTITY | MONTHLY SALARY S/. | QUANTITY | MONTHLY SALARY S/. |
| **A. DIRECT JOBS** | | | | |
| | | | | |
| 1. Management and direction | 2 | 400 | 5 | **19,700** |
| 2. Visitor center | 0 | 0 | 25 | **19,700** |
| 3. Archaeological laboratory | 0 | 0 | 4 | **6,050** |
| 4. Store | 0 | 0 | 1 | **1,100** |
| 5. Archaeology field staff | 7 | 800 | 48 | **61,210** |
| 6. Conservation field staff | 4 | 540 | 49 | **50,080** |
| 7. Coffee shop | 0 | 0 | 1 | **1,000** |
| 8. Souvenirs | 0 | 0 | 1 | **1,000** |
| | | | | |
| **TOTAL** | 13 | 1,740 | 134 | **159,840** |
| **TOTAL $ USA** | | 1,740 | | **61,477** |
| | | | | |
| **A. INDIRECT JOBS** | **QUANTITY** | **JOBS** | **QUANTITY** | **JOBS** |
| | | | | |
| 1. Wineries | 1 | 1 | 26 | 41 |
| 2. Restaurants | 5 | 23 | 42 | 312 |
| 3. Transportation | 5 | 20 | 28 | 120 |
| | | | | |
| **TOTAL** | 11 | 44 | 96 | 473 |

their failures. But this new knowledge has a very important social objective for us—it must create a social consciousness at all levels: among politicians, for the decision-making around the preservation of our heritage; among local inhabitants, to generate a compromise with their monuments and history. In this way, we have been building, in this population, a sense of cultural identity.

Research has been centered in understanding the cultural and architectural sequence of the monuments and the urban nucleus (Uceda and Canziani 1998; Uceda 2010b). At the same time, we have studied the monumental architecture and its reliefs (Fig. 9.2), the functions of Huaca de la Luna, from its occupational dynamics (Uceda and Tufinio 2003) to its ceremonial and ritual aspects (Uceda 2001). At the urban nucleus, we have dealt with aspects about the urban planning as well as those of craft production and the role of specialists (Gayoso 2011; Uceda 2010a; Uceda and Rengifo 2006). But at the same time, the research has been used to strengthen the academic formation of our national and international students.

b) Conservation

It should allow preservation of all recovered remains by our excavations, as part of our cultural heritage. But this preservation has to produce three results:

**Table 9.2** Contribution in Nuevo Soles (S/. 38 million) from national and international institutions

| Global contribution in 22 years | Total (S/. 38 million) |
|---|---|
| Entities contributors | |
| Foreign | **1,06,98,526** |
| Ford Foundation | 2,91,200 |
| UNESCO | 1,30,200 |
| Andean Corporation Foundation (CAF) | 4,21,959 |
| World Monuments Fund | 59,27,437 |
| Fondo Contravalor Peru—France | 39,27,730 |
| Nationals | **2,14,90,676** |
| *Private* | |
| Backus Foundation | 46,01,311 |
| Barrick mining | 95,000 |
| Grifo Cassinelli | 16,500 |
| *Public* | |
| Municipalidad Provincial de Trujillo | 8,48,000 |
| Regional government | 8,62,770 |
| National government | 1,50,67,095 |
| *Generated funds* | **64,55,395** |
| Funds for visitors | 59,86,013 |
| Exhibitions, films, publications | 4,69,382 |
| *Total* | **3,86,44,597** |

- Show this heritage to the present collective, always within the parameters of responsible tourism.
- Perpetuate this heritage for future generations.
- Generate a minimum impact on the ecological surroundings.

One fundamental aspect of conservation is keeping the authenticity of monuments, and the procedure we followed was that of minimum intervention. As recommended by international organizations (Venice, ICROM directives), the visitor looks at the monuments as they had been uncovered by archaeologists.

Conservation requires highly qualified personnel who are thoroughly trained, in particular the fragile and fatigued monument at Huaca de la Luna, built entirely in mud bricks with polychrome painting (Morales 1994, 1995, 2004)

c) Social use

In any archaeological monument, social use is directly linked to the tourist visit, but badly generated tourism is one of the more damaging agents for cultural heritage, if the monument is not valued first, this is to say, is not adequately prepared. In this sense, the two previous actions are linked to this one. Without serious research, there will be no story to relate or transmit to the visitor; absence of research in other sites allows guides to develop fables and tales, alien to historic or cultural fact. Conservation must allow us to show the monument or its cultural goods in the best preservation conditions, against natural or human agents (Niño de Guzman 1993; Morales 2007, 2010; Uceda 2008).

**Fig. 9.2** Main facade of Huaca de la Luna, showing the polychrome reliefs

In short, we struggle to make our monuments attractive to tourists in a sustainable way. Our experience shows that this is possible; in less than 18 years, we have gone from 22,000 visitors in 1995 to more than 127,000 in 2012. In the last year, the funding obtained through tourist visits was approximately US$ 330,000 (Table 9.3).

Besides these numbers, the value of the attraction for social use has allowed us to transform the abandoned monument of Huaca de la Luna into a monument in service to the community. Late in the 1980s, grave robbers even worked in daylight; looting this monument was one of the most lucrative businesses for dealers in the country. Not only have we lost heritage objects, we also lost archaeological contexts, which deprive us today of more complete and integral information about the site: its nature, social activities which took place, and an understanding of the occupational dynamics of its diverse components. Valuing the site for its social use allows the foreign visitor to gain knowledge of our local history, admire the beauty of the architecture and colorfulness of the walls at Huaca de la Luna, as well as understanding and comparing cultural processes different to their own. With respect to the local people, the monument has transformed into a symbol of identity of the Moche countryside for Trujillo's population in general.

The construction and inauguration of a site museum, where the objects recovered by our excavations are exhibited, give us a powerful tool to introduce the visitor to the history and complexity of the site and the society behind it. This museum presents innovative characteristics in our country and maybe for other museums also. All objects on exhibition come from archaeological excavations; therefore, we know their context and from there we offer an interpretation within the frame which modern archaeological science allows. The museum was conceived for this purpose and its structure and design are those of a modern museum—ample, dynamic, and ecological. Finally, this museum can be visited without a guide as it lacks a lineal script indicating a predefined route.

**Table 9.3** Total visitors (national and foreign) and amount in Nuevo Soles (S/.)

| Type of visitor | Peruvian | Foreign | Total quantity | Total (S/.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Years | | | | |
| 1994 | | | 2792 | 11,500 |
| 1995 | | | 22,137 | 30,000 |
| 1996 | 25756 | 8634 | 34,390 | 99,298 |
| 1997 | 26,032 | 9587 | 35,619 | 1,15,851 |
| 1998 | 24,368 | 8562 | 32,930 | 1,05,166 |
| 1999 | 34,576 | 10,328 | 44,904 | 1,56,912 |
| 2000 | 34,967 | 11,346 | 46,313 | 1,64,181 |
| 2001 | 40,234 | 16,434 | 56,668 | 1,96,908 |
| 2002 | 42,014 | 15,539 | 57,553 | 3,09,490 |
| 2003 | 46,006 | 20,669 | 66,675 | 2,89,608 |
| 2004 | 56,431 | 21,946 | 78,377 | 3,36,352 |
| 2005 | 59,969 | 24,579 | 84,548 | 3,91,956 |
| 2006 | 73,188 | 23,616 | 96,804 | 5,01,210 |
| 2007 | 69,218 | 29,379 | 98,597 | 5,62,260 |
| 2008 | 84,529 | 29,066 | 1,13,595 | 6,41,672 |
| 2009 | 69,263 | 28,880 | 98,143 | 5,85,750 |
| 2010 | 79,196 | 29,444 | 1,08,640 | 5,03,309 |
| 2011 | 90,432 | 30,506 | 1,20,938 | 4,12,567 |
| 2012 | 92,524 | 30,118 | 1,22,642 | 5,72,024 |
| *Total* | 9,48,703 | 3,48,633 | 13,22,265 | 59,86,013 |

d) Development of local capacities

One of the more critiqued aspects of tourism is the search for insertion of tourist attractions in the international market without considering local populations (Viñals and Morant 2012).

Marginalization of local populations by the state and investors reduces the opportunities that can and should offer tourism, causing them to reject tourist investment and tourists in general. What were the reasons for this behavior from the state and investors? There are many, but I am going to mention only the most important ones.

The first reason is the wrong vision of what we believe that tourists want to see. It was thought that the tourist looks only for delight and pleasure, sees the pretty and exotic things in each country or locality. Today we know that tourists, above all, want to have a life experience, share their experiences with local populations, and learn about their culture and traditions. If local populations are marginalized, these possibilities are suppressed, and with them, more opportunities for the population as well.

A second aspect is linked to the conditions of local populations; most archaeological sites are found in marginal areas where there is little presence of the state. There are many unmet demands such as basic services and job opportunities. Also, the relatively low level of education of the local population prevents people from

**Fig. 9.3** Workshop of an artisan trained by the project

seizing opportunities, which exist in tourism involving archaeological sites (Starr 2013).

Nevertheless, many of these people have the ability to prepare elaborate craft and domestic goods. In case of Moche countryside, the presence of craftspeople who make pottery, textiles, wood objects, leather, etc., has a long history that can be traced since Moche times to this day.

Our intervention in the community has gone through various phases; the first task was to create a consciousness of ownership of cultural heritage to empower people to get involved in its protection and to make it known. In this sense, the first step of our policy was to offer jobs on the project to local community members. The second task, since the first years of our intervention at the site, has been to offer lectures in schools and local associations. Finally, we prepared a space in the visitor's center so craftspeople could sell their products there (Fig. 9.3).

These initial steps were not enough; the artisans had no knowledge how to calculate costs, how to formalize their activities, and how to launch themselves in the market. Since 2008, courses and training workshops have been offered in two fundamental ways: improvement of technical capacities and creativity for new products; and formalization of activities, allowing people to make contracts to sell their products in regional or national markets and become small entrepreneurs (Marshall et al. 2010).

Our main objective is not limited to simple humanitarian aid; we strive to transform the greatest possible number of artisans into small entrepreneurs offering quality products, in accordance to market needs and in this way creating opportunities to develop the local economy around craft production.

**Table 9.4** Job creation, direct and indirect

| Years | 1991 | | 2012 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Types of jobs | Quantity | Monthly salary (S/.) | Quantity | Monthly salary (S/.) |
| *Direct jobs* | | | | |
| Management and direction | 2 | 400 | 5 | *19,700* |
| Visitor center | 0 | 0 | 25 | *19,700* |
| Archaeological laboratory | 0 | 0 | 4 | *6050* |
| Store | 0 | 0 | 1 | *1100* |
| Archaeology field staff | 7 | 800 | 48 | *61,210* |
| Conservation field staff | 4 | 540 | 49 | *50,080* |
| Coffee shop | 0 | 0 | 1 | *1000* |
| Souvenirs | 0 | 0 | 1 | *1000* |
| Total | 13 | 1740 | 134 | *1,59,840* |
| Total $ USA | | 1740 | | *61,477* |
| *Indirect jobs* | *Quantity* | *Jobs* | *Quantity* | *Jobs* |
| Wineries | 1 | 1 | 26 | 41 |
| Restaurants | 5 | 23 | 42 | 312 |
| Transportation | 5 | 20 | 28 | 120 |
| Total | 11 | 44 | 96 | 473 |

We are also working in the same direction with local restaurants. Today there is no secret about the benefits of Peruvian cuisine, from the north coast in particular. Our intervention has been directed to two segments: owners and employees. For the former, we aim to improve the infrastructure of establishments and quality of service; for the latter, we aim to improve capacities in food production, the quality of drinks, and tourist service in general.

We are exploring other potential activities with the local population because we want to transform the Moche countryside as part of a tourist package, which has the Huacas del Sol and la Luna as the main attraction.

## Final Comment: The Impact and What We Have Learned

The project has generated two great impacts. The first one has been the creation of jobs. Among the total number of employees directly connected to the site, many come from the Moche countryside, so the project has become the main employer in the area. Starting with 17 workers in 1991, in 2012 we have 134 employees with a monthly mean wage of $ 460, almost twice the minimum wage in our country (Table 9.4). Including indirect jobs, within the three main activities—grocery stores, restaurants, and transportation—there has been a creation of 473 jobs.

Second, with respect to training (Table 9.5), we have not only trained local people but we have also trained students from our university and other local and foreign universities. However, these figures by themselves have no major meaning, if we do

**Table 9.5** Amount of people trained in 22 years

| Training provided | Quantity |
|---|---|
| 1. Tourism guides | 113 |
| 2. Local drivers | 80 |
| 3. Company restaurant owners | 35 |
| 4. Workers in restaurants | 270 |
| 5. Craftsmen | 113 |
| 6. Domestic and foreign students | 933 |

not achieve an improvement in conditions of life for the population, economically as well as socially.

All these achievements do not mean that we have reached our goal. Our interest is to continue working to make the site a model of social and economical development, taking off from the social use of our cultural heritage.

As Fiorella Starr (2013) mentions, the participation of private business as promoters of projects or sites with cultural heritage has not always been the best, when the interest of business are prime; invading with exaggerated publicity or intervening directly in the management of heritage sites. Our experience teaches that this is a difficult work in both senses, for those that are responsible for management of heritage goods and for the private enterprises that provide economic support. We have demonstrated to these enterprises that discrete publicity has more impact on visitors rather than when the logos or names of these companies occupy an important part of signaling panels. We have also demonstrated to these enterprises that although in our country there are no tax deductions for sponsors supporting conservation and promotion of heritage sites, good management of publicity in mass media in presenting the findings and cultural events housed at sites means savings in publicity for companies or brands. This fact, along with the image of social responsibility of private companies, is the element that should be taken into consideration in negotiating the participation of private enterprises in actions of preservation or the management of a cultural heritage site.

Nevertheless, the model we have implemented has a weakness since it has no legal backing. The situation in which a public university manages an archaeological site is not contemplated in any Peruvian law. This impasse has been solved with the signing of renewable agreements with the Ministry of Culture. This situation forces us to struggle with a double public administration. If we do not solve this great pitfall, the model will have no future in our country, and we will lose all the contributions achieved by this cultural heritage model of management.

In conclusion, protection of cultural heritage must begin with a planned investigation, and should be executed in a long-term way where the new knowledge has social meaning, not simply academic in value. Self-sustainability of cultural heritage has, in tourism, one of its main pillars, as long as it is prepared and managed in a responsible and efficient manner, avoiding a situation in which visits become an agent of destruction.

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# Chapter 10
# New Approaches to Community Stewardship, Education, and Sustainable Conservation of Cultural Heritage at Rastrojón, Copán, Honduras

**William L. Fash, Barbara W. Fash and Jorge Ramos**

## Introduction: Origins and Development of Heritage Management in the Copán Valley, Honduras

In Central America, the archaeological past has not generally played as large a role in cultural identity as it does in Mexico, which has placed special importance on its indigenous past since the anthropologist Manuel Gamio formulated his manifesto, *Forjando Patria* (Gamio 1916). In Honduras, there remains a great deal of work to do in strengthening a sense of identity, both within the various regions of the country and for the nation as a whole (Euraque et al. 2004). The one archaeological zone that has traditionally been a strong focus for national pride is the lone "Classic Maya" (AD 250–900) realm, Copán. Forty years ago, the Director of the Honduran Institute of Anthropology and History (IHAH in Spanish), Dr. José Adán Cueva, invited Gordon Willey of Harvard University to his country to help design a long-term program of conservation (or "preservation," in the diction of the times) and scientific investigation of the ruins of the ancient kingdom of Copán (Willey et al. 1976). This was to mark the beginning of a new era in Copán, characterized by intensive research and conservation programs involving specialists from Honduras, Central America, the USA, and other nations, which continues to this day.

W. L. Fash (✉)
Department of Anthropology, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 11 Divinity Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138, USA
e-mail: wfash@fas.harvard.edu

B. W. Fash
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 11 Divinity Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138, USA
e-mail: bfash@fas.harvard.edu

J. Ramos
Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia, Barrio Buena Vista, Copán Ruinas, Copán, Honduras
e-mail: jiquilite@yahoo.com


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Long known for the beauty of its art and architecture as well as the abundance of its hieroglyphic inscriptions, the central site "core" of Copán had been investigated sporadically since the early reports of Juan Galindo and John Lloyd Stephens in the 1830s. A significant program of "repair" of monuments and attendant archaeological investigations was undertaken from 1935 to 1947 by the Government of Honduras, in a collaborative arrangement with the Carnegie Institution of Washington. In 1952, the Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia (IHAH) was founded—modeled after the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH) in Mexico—and directed by a Honduran archaeologist, Dr. Jesús Niñez Chinchilla, who received his PhD at the Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia (ENAH) in Mexico City. Dr. Adán Cueva became only the second director of IHAH in 1972, and began to pursue a broad vision for Copán heritage, based upon his own experiences growing up in the nearby town of Copán Ruinas during the Carnegie expeditions. Adán followed in the footsteps of his father, Juan Ramón Cueva, a community leader who founded the public school, worked with the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology's nineteenth-century Central American Expedition to Copán, and became mayor years later (Fig. 10.1). In that fine Honduran citizen's view, the long-term plan produced at his request was to have heritage management and responsible stewardship of the archaeological remains as its top priority (Cueva, Prefacio, in Fash and Agurcia 1996). Heritage management should have continued, ever thereafter, to be both a guiding principle and first step, in the long-term program of infrastructure development and social investment that was to follow. Up to that point the town of Copán Ruinas had been a sleepy oasis in the western mountains of the country, tied more closely to neighboring Guatemala (only 8 km distant), than to the rest of Honduras.

**Fig. 10.1** Juan Ramón Cueva, in 1893. (Photo courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 2004.24.289)

The plan prepared by Willey and his colleagues William Coe and Robert Sharer (who were working at the nearby Guatemalan site of Quiriguá at the time) served as a magnificent baseline for future Site Management Plans, and the overall tone of the development of the town of Copán Ruinas and its environs. William and Barbara Fash participated in Willey's initial Copán Valley Sustaining Area Project (designed to produce an accurate record of the ancient settlements in the valley and begin to assess their meanings) in 1977, and subsequently participated in the larger, Honduran government-sponsored research, the Proyecto Arqueológico Copán, directed in its first stage by Claude Baudez (PAC I, 1977–1980) and in the second stage by William T. Sanders (PAC II, 1980–1984, with David Webster serving as Codirector in charge of the Valley Survey). As this work drew to a close, the Fashes realized that there were still enormous needs for site conservation both in the valley and also in the Principal Group of Ruins, the "core" of the Párque Nacional Ruinas de Copán, and therefore founded the Copán Mosaics Project in 1985 to address many of those needs.

The Copán Mosaics Project (1985–present) and its two main derivative projects, the Hieroglyphic Stairway Project (1986–1988) and its larger successor the Copán Acropolis Archaeological Project (or PAAC, 1988–1996; Fash and Agurcia 1996), were designed and conducted with heritage preservation as their primary mission. The archaeological research and conservation work (including the protection of the archaeological river cut of the Acropolis, and much architectural restoration in other parts of the Acropolis) served as the necessary preconditions for the long-term protection and management of the site. Yet the PAAC, for all their recruitment of institutions, investigators, and conservators from universities and foundations throughout the USA and Central America, was still carried out within a basically statist model. Like the Carnegie Institution Project of 1935–1947, and the PAC I and II projects, the PAAC funding was administered through the Government of Honduras, with investigators from both within and outside Honduras directing and conducting the field and laboratory research. PAAC Codirector, Ricardo Agurcia, and the Fashes cofounded the nonprofit Copán Association for Pre-Columbian Studies in 1990, to provide support for the IHAH in heritage needs through grants and programs of conservation, research, and dissemination. Among other things, the Copán Association provided scholarships for young Hondurans seeking to study archaeology, including Jorge Ramos, the third author of this chapter. The history and results of the sculptural and architectural research and conservation programs since that time are summarized in the book, *The Copán Sculpture Museum: Ancient Maya Artistry in Stucco and Stone* (Fash 2011), devoted to the museum's history and its diverse and compelling exhibitions presented to the public at large.

Much has happened in the two decades since the opening of the Sculpture Museum in 1996 that has inspired new approaches to the goals set forth by Dr. Cueva, and codified in the Willey, Coe, and Sharer's 1976 "Plan para la protección de las Ruinas de Copán." Copán's situation as an "oasis" was altered by the paving of the highway that leads from the main road connecting Copán with the rest of Honduras. The paved highway was extended the final 8 km beyond Copán Ruinas to the border with neighboring Guatemala, from which point it is a short drive to closely adjacent

El Salvador. All manner of commerce increased exponentially, and great strides were made in the development of infrastructure and tourist services (there are now 32 hotels in Copán; in 1976 there were 3). No longer an oasis, Copán became a link in the chain of cocaine transport (Rosenberg 1988), albeit not on the scale of larger cities in any of the three countries that have become centers of operations displaced from the Caribbean, Mexico, and Colombia, by Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) policy in the USA. The violence and corruption resulting from the drug trade and other social, economic, and political factors—all compulsively reported upon and repeated by a voracious foreign press corps—has increasingly kept foreign, non-Central American tourists away from Copán, in droves. The resulting decline in revenues has badly hurt legitimate businesses in the region, and also decimated the IHAH coffers, which has always been dependent, for a large part of its annual budget, on the ticket sales at the Archaeological Park (Fash and Fash 1997; cf. Kohl 2004).

Over the past decade, and particularly since the coup d'état of 2009 in Honduras, it has become abundantly clear to us and many other academics and heritage specialists that the old model of the State being the font of resources, manpower, and educational programs to defend cultural heritage (as it still is, in Mexico) was no longer very effective in Honduras, including at Copán. The recently elaborated management plan for Copán stresses this problem (IHAH 2014). There has also been a strong sentiment on the part of many recent administrations in Honduras that Copán has gotten more than its fair share of attention and resources and that greater emphasis should be placed on the archaeology and cultural traditions (and languages) of other parts of the country. Particularly so in the many parts of Honduras where looting of archaeological sites continues unabated, to this day, as cogently and effectively pointed out by many historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists. We agree with the perspective stated in the *Cultural Survival* article (Fash and Fash 1997), and with the need of the IHAH to invest resources from ticket sales at Copán in other vital priorities for the country and the institute. That said, we also continue to be well aware of how much remains to be done in Copán, to further the goals of all of the Site Management Plans elaborated since 1976, and many other urgent needs that have surfaced more recently. Going forward in this chapter, we will refer only to our joint work of the past 7 years. For a summary of the larger conservation and community participation aspects of the Copán Mosaics and Copán Acropolis Archaeological Projects, the reader is referred to B. Fash (2011) and Lena Mortensen's (2012) review of it.

## El Proyecto Arqueológico Rastrojón Copán (PARACOPAN): Environmental Context and Consequences

The Rastrojón Archaeological Project at Group 6N-1 was initiated by the authors in 2007 when that site was selected for rescue archaeology, heritage conservation, and a training program for university students and a new generation of young

Hondurans, along with veteran workers from the community of Copán Ruinas. Though Group 6N-1 had been looted in the 1970s, there were still hundreds of stone sculptures visible on the surface of the site, therefore, rescuing and preserving its archaeological remains, coupled with educating the public on the need to save the past for the future, were primary goals of our work. The project also served as a training program for passing on the methods the senior authors developed during the Copán Mosaics Project (1985–present) and the Copán Acropolis Archaeological Project (1988–1996) in the study and conservation of fallen stone building façade sculptures. During the 7 years of collaborative investigations at Rastrojón, four buildings were completely excavated and restored, and another one partially investigated. It appears that it was a very important place for the Copán royal family during the dynasty's last century, for more than 4000 collapsed façade sculptures were recovered from Structures 3, 5, 10, and 12, each building having different themes. The majority of the sculptures were derived from Structure 10, and were fit back together to enable visitors to interpret their ancient messages, both on-site and in new exhibitions in the Copán Sculpture Museum.

Situated in the rolling karst topography of the foothills north of the Copán River in the eastern end of the Copán Valley, the site of Rastrojón is located 2 km northeast of the royal center or Principal Group of Ruins. This location became locally known as "Rastrojón," or "fallow milpa and scrub-brush," because of its appearance recently after it ceased being used for maize agriculture. The physical setting of Rastrojón is quite captivating, in part because the landowners, José Raúl Wélchez Villamil and his brother Juan Angel Wélchez Villamil, have preserved the forest to the east and west of the site; a large reforestation project is underway on its north side as well. The two brothers, who inherited the successful Hotel Marina from their parents, are also deeply committed to education as president and vice president, respectively, of a local nonprofit educational organization, the Welchez Foundation, and their spouses founded the bilingual Mayathan School in Copán Ruinas. The selection of this site for the training program, heritage and education project, and rescue archaeology work owed largely to the Welchez Foundation's signed, notarized commitment to stewarding the site once the training and preservation aspects were completed. Harvard University signed a Memorandum of Agreement with the foundation to collaborate on educational and heritage efforts at the site for the foreseeable future.

Rastrojón proved to have important modern-day lessons to impart to the public. From 2007 until 2013, five areas of this site were investigated and preserved, revealing architectural collapses far more extraordinary than anything else seen in the Copán Valley. Despite the evidence that the inhabitants were aware of the geological faults in the area, and took measures to shore up at least one building (Structure 3), with the fall of the royal dynasty of Copán in AD 822, the buildings were abandoned and collapsed. Perhaps defensive or religious reasons—or both—attracted them to this locale, or perhaps they were initially unaware of the long-term consequences of the buildings in such unstable terrain. As our project Codirector for Architectural Restoration, Rudy Larios, was fond of pointing out, Structure 10 at Rastrojón is the "most ruined ruin" in the Copán Valley. The ancient inhabit-

ants constructed this building over a fissure, where the movements of limestone and deep groundwater caused landslides. Its original length east–west was 20 m, but in 1100 years of abandonment it morphed into its current state, 38 m long. As stabilized, in the central part of the structure the visitor can see a linear depression running east to west throughout the building, while another three depressions cross from north to south; all are products of a geological fault and the generally (but not always) slow subsoil movement.

We contracted the MIT geomorphologist, Taylor Perron, a specialist in karst topography, to evaluate the terrain and the prospects for conservation of its scattered and shattered building remains. Perron (2010) concluded that many buildings on the hillside slid down the slope due to subterranean movements caused mainly by underground water, flowing within and between blocks of the buried limestone. The decision to not restore Structure 10 was difficult because it was one of the most elaborately decorated buildings ever created in Copán. The very positive outcome, however, is that the degree and duration of the "collapse" and natural destruction of this building is an arresting sight, which has a pronounced effect on visitors to the site (Fig. 10.2). No one can soon forget just how badly Mother Nature dismembered what had once been one of the most visually dazzling buildings in a very ornately decorated city. The case of Structure 10 recalls the prescient words of Tatiana Proskouriakoff, who in assessing Copan's architecture for her magnificent book,

**Fig. 10.2** Structure 10, Rastrojón, in its collapsed state

stated, "As if jealous of this superb creation of man, all the most violent forces of nature seem to have conspired to destroy it" (Proskouriakoff 1946, p. 8).

The Rastrojón site provides the visiting public with some visually stunning examples of the adverse consequences of building structures on shifting slopes in karst topography. Visitation at this point is mostly people from Honduras and neighboring Central American countries, but we should note that Perron studies the shifting karst hillslopes in Berkeley, California!

The severe slumping and collapse visible in the exposed and preserved buildings at Rastrojón is likely to be one of the strongest contributions of our work, for public education and practical applications. Just as the slow, gradual movement of the earth that destroyed this site reminds us of the dangers of building on slumping hillsides, the work here shows that we can all contribute to preserving ancient heritage, and share experiences we learn from archaeology with the public. The signage and small Visitors House at the site enable self-guided tours that emphasize the implications of the findings for contemporary visitors to Rastrojón (Fig. 10.3).

The Proyecto Arqueológico Rastrojón Copán (PARACOPAN) has offered a glimpse of many aspects of ancient Maya society. The combination of presenting and preserving this cultural legacy, both as lessons from the past and valued cultural heritage for the present, allowed a new dynamic social model to emerge in support of Copán's history and identity. This has fostered new partnerships among our staff, the local community, archaeologists, artists, architects, students, and conservators from Honduras, the USA, and Mexico. It has proven to be a great pleasure and source of pride to share the remains of this enigmatic site with the public and pres-

**Fig. 10.3** The Visitors Center with signage in and next to it at Rastrojón

ent the work conducted mainly by a local team of Copanecos and many university students. Prominent among the Copanecos is the third author, Codirector Ramos, who was born and raised in the Copán Valley.

Along with learning about and enhancing scientific excavation methods and criteria of heritage conservation, the project trainees and veterans joined us in weekly community projects. They were the key players in creating and curating two new exhibitions of historic community photos, installed in the town of Copán Ruinas in 2009 and 2012. In doing so, they shared the special mission of working together with the Fundación Wélchez and the archaeologists, as part of an international, interdisciplinary team in the holistic investigation, analysis, conservation, and dissemination of knowledge about many diverse aspects of the ancient history of Copán and their own modern town.

A fundamental component of the training program has been to formulate new techniques of archaeology, conservation, and architectural restoration. Among the challenges were the different circumstances represented by each building's responses to moving terrain, which required different methods of architectural conservation. Structures 4 and 12 are found in relatively stable areas, so it was possible to restore them, using careful excavation and documentation to restore those fallen elements still directly associated with standing walls. By contrast, Structures 3 and 10 were located in very unstable areas, and their foundations had sunk so far below their original levels that it was necessary to stabilize them in their fallen state. Along with preserving and studying the architecture and sculpture, special attention was paid to recording and recovering fallen walls and fragments of plaster. When Structure 10 collapsed, the exterior façade sculptures fell to the ground along with the other wall stones and the interior ceiling vault. For 4 years the PARACOPAN team carefully recorded the exact position of each fallen fragment to determine which sculpted elements fell together, followed by 3 years of detailed analysis to reconstruct the façade's original form (Fig. 10.4a, b).

**Fig. 10.4** Reconstruction of structure 10 in Copán Sculpture Museum

## Social Context and Dynamics: Site Interpretation and Educational Programs

The archaeological site of Rastrojón is tucked into the side of a steeply sloping hill in a strategic defensive position, and was supplied by local water sources. We believe it served as a pivotal communication point between the royal center and the eight stelae that were erected in the hills of the Copán Valley during the reign of Ruler 12 (AD 628–695). Rastrojón is located in a visible linear alignment with Stela Petapilla (closest) and Stela Titorror (farthest) on the eastern side of the Copán River, possibly to facilitate the sending of "rapid messages," perhaps by smoke or other visible means, from the eastern edge of the valley. These stelae also have a view of Stela 12, located south of the Copán River on a bluff overlooking the royal center (Fig. 10.5). This idea places Rastrojón within a system of communication, serving defensive functions for protection of the city.

The dynasty of K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' lasted from AD 426 to 822, but the artifacts show that Rastrojón was occupied before, during, and after this period. To our current knowledge, that makes this particular site unique in the Copán Valley settlement history. To understand the social context of the site and the hundreds of sculptures visible on the surface that were considered to be at risk when we began the project, many different kinds of archaeological research had to be undertaken. These have followed the standards and many of the research parameters of research conducted in the valley since Willey's initial project, the PAC I and II, and more recent investigations both within the Copán pocket of the valley, and farther afield


**Fig. 10.5** A view east from Rastrojón to three stelae in the valley

(Metz et al. 2009; Canuto and Bell 2013). It is believed that the site had both domestic and defensive functions, since many corn grinding stones and spear points were found associated with all buildings including in three Early Postclassic contexts, suggesting that defensive functions persisted through the Late Classic and were a concern in the later reoccupation of the site as well. Many iconographic elements in the sculptural messages are related to a cult of war. The strategic position of the site in a high place, aligned with the three stelae "markers" of Copán's Ruler 12, suggests that it was closely associated with the memory of this longtime monarch, and the communication and defense system he implemented. Sculptures on several buildings also suggest that this domestic site honored Ruler 12 and possibly played both religious and political roles in the defense of the city.

Although Structure 10 was initially mapped as a modest-looking mound, excavations revealed it to be a vaulted masonry "palace"-type structure, with the most impressive façade sculptures outside of the Royal Precinct or Principal Group. The artistic virtuosity of its carvings is on par with the royal portraits on the Copán stelae. The excellent carving and quantity of sculptures implies that it was commissioned by one of the rulers and carved by his best sculptors. Based on masonry and sculpture style, as well as the associated ceramics, we believe this probably took place in the reign of Ruler 13, Waxaklajun Ubaah K'awiil (AD 695–738), the son of the Ruler 12, K'ahk' Uti' Witz K'awiil (AD 628–695; Ramos et al. 2011). The principal sculpture and central image on both north and south sides of Structure 10 is that of an immense, supernatural puma (*koj*), combining elements of ("precious") butterfly wings, snakes, earflares with *k'an* crosses, and heavy lidded-eyes indicating mountain (*witz*) symbolism. Ruler 12 can also be seen with a version of this supernatural feline patron on the Hieroglyphic Stairway in the Principal Group.

It is believed that all of these elements name the hill *k'an koj witz* or "precious puma hill," where they built this residential group. From the jaws of the feline, representing the hill, emerges the image of a revered royal ancestor, who wears ornaments associated with Ruler 12. It is noteworthy that many of the elements were associated with the culture of the great city of Teotihuacan in the highlands of Mexico (Ramos et al. 2011; cf. Fash 1992). The ruler wears a turban decorated with twisted strands and crowned with the "Mexican year sign," a symbol related to warfare. Both icons allude to the power of the king as a great warrior. The building's central message appears to focus on the spirit of Ruler 12, emerging from inside a sacred hill symbolized by the open mouth of the puma, a supernatural being with great antiquity in ancient Mesoamerica.

Just to the north of Structure 10 was found a rough stone platform, which dates to the Postclassic period, based on the associated ceramics. The jumbled stones forming this platform were an unexpected find because there was no trace of them on the surface of the site. The carved and sculpted stones incorporated in the platform came from Structures 5 and 10, including elements of almost all the images that decorated the northern façade of Structure 10. Apparently, those two buildings had already collapsed in the century between the end of the dynasty (ca. AD 822) and the arrival of the new settlers to the valley who constructed this platform at Rastrojón. The dates obtained from radiocarbon samples of similar architecture

**Fig. 10.6** Work in progress in the stucco gallery at the north end of Rastrojón

found south of the Principal Group (Manahan 2007) indicate that these immigrants came to the Copán Valley around AD 950.

Valuable architectural information can be derived from the study of building plasters. A large gallery was built on the north edge of the site (Fig. 10.6), through the generosity of the Welchez Foundation (which also paid for the protective cover of Structure 3). This provides a safe haven to study, preserve, reconstruct, and present to the public, the stucco fragments discovered in the excavations. The ancient inhabitants applied thick layers of stucco on the ceilings, the platforms of the houses, the courtyards between buildings, and on the floors in the interiors of the rooms. It is not possible to restore all fragments to their original positions, but the value of this cultural material at Rastrojón has led archaeologists, conservators, and architects to analyze the forms, methods of preparation, and the amount of lime and other aggregates that were used.

## A New Social Model for Heritage Preservation in the Copán Valley

The many years of collaborative efforts at Rastrojón were rewarded and recognized on August 1, 2013, when the site was formally opened to the public. A number of notable people from the local community and the national government attended and participated in the formal ceremony at the site which was hosted by the Welchez

Foundation. The director of the IHAH announced that the institute had signed a Covenant of Mutual Assistance and Collaboration with the foundation, which empowers it to comanage the site for IHAH. This new model for conservation of cultural heritage in Honduras was much lauded by US Ambassador, Lisa Kubiske, in her remarks at the opening ceremony, as well as by IHAH Director, Virgilio Paredes, and then Vice President of Honduras, María Antonieta de Bográn (http://www.laprensa.hn/csp/mediapool/sites/LaPrensa/Honduras/Regionales/story.csp?cid=379234&sid=279&fid=98#panel1-3), La Prensa, August 3, 2013.

Signage at the site was prepared by the authors to emphasize the community aspects of the work as well as the archaeological, historical, and religious aspects of the research at Rastrojón (Fig. 10.7). Visitors do not need guides to the site, merely a sense of curiosity and appreciation for the environment, cultural heritage, and the detective work of archaeology and conservation. The signage takes the form of large panels welcoming people at the new Visitors Center, a set of vertical signs to segue visitors from the Visitors Center into the site itself, and low bases with signs at the most interesting and important points along the formal, all-weather trail through the archaeological site. The Visitors Center also has a bathroom with running water and nearby septic tank, a small storage room, and sleeping quarters for watchmen.

Our Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the Welchez Foundation commits both parties to continue to provide on-site conservation training at Rastrojón, and to assist them in the formulation of various educational programs, from K-12 up to the university level. These programs will begin to be offered to students at the Copán public K-12 schools and private schools (Escuela Mayatán) beginning in 2016. The level of community engagement in Rastrojón, and indeed in the Santander/Botín program, is much remarked upon by the visitors and townspeople of Copán Ruinas, several hundred of whom came to the site on our Community Day, July 31, 2013, one day prior to the official, formal opening of the site. The PARACOPAN staff proudly served as special guides explaining their work and interpretation of the site (Fig. 10.8). Serafín Jiménez, a staff member since 2007, is a Ch'orti' Maya and over the course of the years he worked on our project he obtained his teacher's certificate. Now teaching in a rural grade school in the Ch'orti' community of San Jerónimo, Serafín is developing curricula for his own students, and he will also be providing workshops for the Maya students from other communities and contributing to future curriculum development with the Escuela Mayatán, marking the first time a native Maya will teach school children about ancient Copán in Copán Ruinas.

Community and archaeological preservation go hand in hand with any contemporary project. As mentioned above, together with the authors, the PARACOPAN staff engaged in community projects throughout the year, focusing primarily on two different historic photographic exhibits for the town. The first was a repurposed exhibit that Barbara Fash curated at Harvard's Peabody Museum in 2008, "Fragile Memories: Images of Archaeology and Community at Copán, 1891–1900," which was later shipped to Copán and installed in the town hall in 2009 (Fig. 10.9). Karina Garcia (PARACOPAN) and Laura Lacombe (Harvard), assisted with archival research in Copán to identify people and places in the nineteenth-century images of Copán (see Fig. 10.1).


**Fig. 10.7** An example of Rastrojón site signage. (Design layout by Daniel Ellis)

**Fig. 10.8** Staff member Jose Carlos Gonzales acting as docent to a school group on community opening day

**Fig. 10.9** Partial view of the Fragile Memories exhibition on view during a community event at the Copán Town Hall

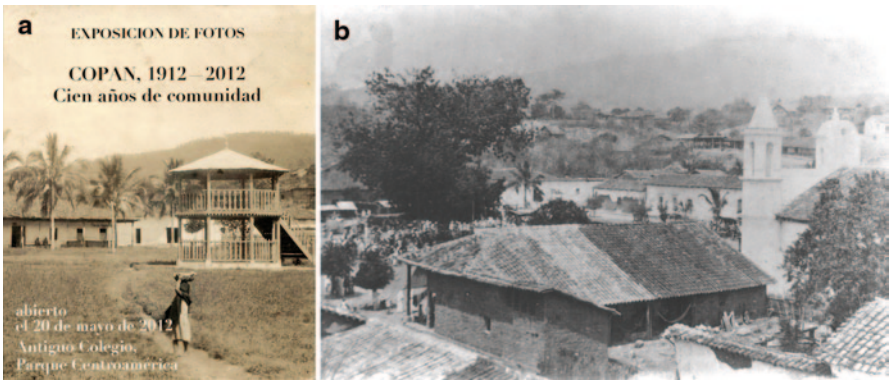


**Fig. 10.10** Photos of the Copán Town Square. **a** The Cien Años (Hundred Year) poster. **b** The Ceiba tree with group beneath

The second photographic exhibit and community project came about as a response to a request by the Cámara de Comercio and townspeople of Copán Ruinas to provide an activity to connect with the much-hyped (and incorrect) interpretation that the ancient Maya predicted the end of the world would occur on December 21, 2012. It was decided that this could be accomplished by an historic photographic exhibit with a theme of celebrating the Maya world and Copán Ruinas, both today and into the future. The exhibit entitled "Copán Ruinas, 1912–2012: Cien Años de Comunidad" was installed (all photographs, labels, and lighting) by PARACOPAN staff, supervised by the Fashes, in two corner rooms in the old Colegio building on the town square opening on May 27, 2013. The building had fallen into disrepair when the school was moved to a new building west of town. Mayor of Copán Ruinas, Mr. Helmy Giacoman, authorized PARACOPAN masons to open the two rooms into a single large gallery and rehabilitated the walls. With significant donations of materials and labor from the Fundación Wélchez (see above), the roof was also repaired and broken windows replaced.

Community research and outreach for the exhibit included interviewing knowledgeable townspeople and scanning their remarkable old photographs from the past century (Fig. 10.10a, b). Themes of great interest to all included the town square; archaeology, technology, and transportation; dress (particularly hats); traditions (including music, ceremonial occasions, and sports); and the Copán Valley (including tobacco cultivation). Since space was limited, a slide video of over 120 photos was set to music and projected on a gallery wall. The response from the community was broadly enthusiastic and a bit overwhelming.

The thought-provoking photos and the questions posed in the themes and accompanying labels inspired monthly community discussions about the history, identity, and future directions of the town. It also motivated people to examine their relationships with family, neighbors, and larger currents, both within and particularly outside of their own local setting. The strong response compelled PARACOPAN to provide staff as gallery monitors so that both this installation and the "Fragile Memories: Archaeology and Community in Copán Ruinas, 1890–1900" could be

open to the public six afternoons a week. Another community service provided by the project was to scan old prints in household collections once a month. Now a valuable historic archive of images exists in digital form.

At the present time, the IHAH is facing the worst financial crisis in its history, owing to forces far beyond its control. It is inconceivable that it could marshall the resources to staff a site like Rastrojón at this point. However, as noted above, the Welchez Foundation had committed to stewarding the cultural heritage of Rastrojón once it had been secured and made presentable to the public. Our partnership with the Welchez Foundation is based on an MOU with the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies (DRCLAS) at Harvard University, and sponsored in part by our long-term program of Sculpture Conservation and Investigation with the Banco Santander and Fundación Botín. The Welchez Foundation has its own Convenio de Asistencia Recíproca with the IHAH, and the first "Carta de Ejecución" (Letter of Implementation) enables the Fundación to steward the archaeological remains for the IHAH. This entails conservation and security, maintenance of the signage, facilities, and providing the educational programs at Rastrojón. Tickets to the site are modestly priced and the proceeds are split between the IHAH and the Fundación. PARACOPAN staff serve as docents while at the site doing maintenance or conservation work, and participate in continuing conservation and analysis of the material from the site housed at the Regional Laboratory for Archaeological Investigations of the IHAH or exhibited at the Copán Sculpture Museum and (Fig. 10.11). The Welchez Foundation, and the authors, are all committed to the perpetuation of the training program, and through that and the educational programs, inspiring and cultivating more young Copanecos to follow in the junior author's footsteps. One such budding Copaneco archaeologist is Adelso Canán, now at the University of San Carlos, in Guatemala City. The Copán Association has recently made an alliance with the National Autonomous University of Honduras in the capital of Tegucigalpa, in hopes of bringing more Honduran students to work in Copán.

However, despite all the efforts, there still remain immense challenges for heritage preservation in Copán. Among many local phrases that we find telling are two that are most pertinent. In archaeology and heritage management, "La paciencia es la madre de la ciencia" ("Patience is the mother of science"); in human affairs, "cada quien jala por su lado" ("everyone pulls in a different direction"). The IHAH is mistrusted by the townsfolk of Copán Ruinas, who do not take the long view—and certainly do not accept the idea—that the ticket sales from the ruins should go to the central government in Tegucigalpa. Likewise, other descendant communities in Copán do not share the view (McAnany and Parks 2012) that the Ch'orti' communities are the only ones with a stake in the future of Copán's cultural heritage. Conversely, many Ch'orti' community members believe that the ruins and all the land in the Copán Valley are their domain, in part because the language inscribed in the Copán hieroglyphic texts is most closely related to Ch'orti', among surviving Mayan languages (Metz et al. 2009, but see Maca 2009, Canuto and Bell 2013 for recent treatments of the multiethnic nature of ancient Copán, and particularly the likelihood that Proto-Lencan speakers were a large segment of its supporting population). Many Ch'orti' people believe that the administration

**Fig. 10.11** The PARACOPAN staff on completion of the structure 10 exhibition in the Sculpture Museum, May 2013

of the Archaeological Park should also be their responsibility. Most townsfolk, it should be noted, are not terribly concerned about preserving the past for the future, while other people are bitter (and some, quite outspoken) about the best archaeological pieces traveling to temporary exhibits in foreign countries before they have been exhibited in Copán.

The recently created Site Management Plan for Copán's archaeological heritage (IHAH 2014) seeks to establish a better functioning network among all the factions mentioned above to create long-term collaborations and find common ground for the preservation of Copán's cultural heritage. One of the researchers and "facilitators" for the plan, Rene Viel, shared this view with all of the local and national players throughout the process. With patience and perseverance, new educational programs, and the power of partnerships, we hope that many of the conflicts of recent years and decades can be overcome. A new museum of archaeology is planned, which may help to remedy some of the points of friction and will most certainly provide new opportunities for community engagement and public education.

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**Notes** Fig. 10.2, 10.3, 10.4 (left side), 10.5, 10.6, 10.8 and 10.9 photos taken by Barbara Fash. Fig. 10.4 (right side) taken by Jorge Ramos. Fig. 10.10 photographers unknown (courtesy of Oscar Cruz Melgar). Fig. 10.11 photo taken by Reina Flores.

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