

## **Modular Site Museums and Sustainable Community Development, The San Jose de Moro Case**

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### **Introduction**

Since 1987, the archaeology of the north coast of Peru has seen its most remarkable period of development, starting with the discovery of the Royal Tombs of Sipán (Alva and Donnan 1993). Tens of projects have been digging into the cultural development of ancient societies in this area that witnessed the development of some of the first complex civilizations of the central Andes. In contrast to what was the usual practice, much of the research efforts in the last decade have been sustained, long term programs that have involved several institutions, both national and foreign, multidisciplinary approaches and large quantities of resources (Quilter 2002). The intellectual quality of these projects is outstanding, considering the high number of publications and scholarly meetings organized around them, and the numerous archaeologists, graduate and undergraduate students involved in the research. One unusual aspect of many of these programs, and the central theme of this paper, is the emphasis given by many of these projects in the conservation of their findings, both art factual and contextual, in the development of the sites into touristic resources, and in the implementation of research centers, site museums, or full blown regional museums.

Archaeologists and conservators, museums and tourism experts have started to work together to develop the sites and their surroundings. These developments, due to their origin in the efforts and interests of the researchers, and of the research programs from which they sprung, are quite distinct among themselves, reflecting the multiplicity of motivations, resources, and complexity of the archaeological data.

In the first part of this paper we will focus on the development, motivations and tendencies of this new scenario for Peruvian archaeology and cultural patrimony. We will try to determine what have been the motivations and trends behind these efforts, and the different approaches to the issues at hand. We will try to understand why some researchers and institutions involved themselves in the efforts, and why others, particularly non-Peruvian archaeologists, have shy away from these kinds of endeavors.

The second part of the paper is devoted to the San Jose de Moro Modular Museum Program. The town of San Jose de Moro is a peculiar case of community and archaeological integration: the town was built, and has since grown, on top of the most important Mochica ceremonial center and cemetery in the Jequetepeque Valley (Castillo 2001, 2003; Castillo and Donnan 1994). Throughout 14 years of archaeological work at the site we have been implementing small size, exhibition modules featuring some of the most important findings at the site. Small and modular museums have the advantage of requiring smaller investments for building and maintenance; allowing to “completing” yearly programs with evident results, focus on the integration of the community and the archaeological site, thus increasing awareness about preservation and conservation of cultural resources. In our experience, to have an impact in community development, archeological patrimony has to be transformed into archaeological resources (Pearce 1990). An open air Modular Museum System can be an important aid in the development of income based in a rational exploitation of these resources. In a modular system visitors are forced to walk from one module to the next, creating a circuit within the site that increases the opportunities for contact between visitors and community-run businesses. Parallel to the creation of the modules, it has become apparent that research programs have to integrate with local and regional communities, and have to pursue every possible effort to make available to them the information produced through research. This information will be the base upon which any development effort will be built. In our experience the most fruitful opportunities are to work with children in school settings, through the creation of learning and activity programs. But integration with the community implies more than learning programs, and inevitable lead to the interaction with community organizations. This seems to be the toughest aspect of any program, since fragmentation and factionalism are common features of small community’s interactions, accentuated by partisan political leadership. In this scenario working with local leadership that combine creativity and enthusiasm, altruism and solidarity and that have a quota of long-term vision is imperative. Likewise, it is apparent that archaeologists have to become agents in the development of local capacities aimed at the production of goods, mostly handicrafts based in local natural resources, and in the provision of services demanded by visitors.

Our interest is centered not in the development of large, monumental site museums that require multimillion-dollar investments to be set up and maintained, but in small site museums. Although we recognize the invaluable contribution of large regional museums such as the “Museo de las Tumbas Reales de Sipán”, and their importance for the development of regional identities and for the increment of regional attractiveness, our efforts have been centered in local, community-based efforts. We think that next to

the monumental museums, there is still room for small site museums that accomplish different objectives, focusing in local histories; benefiting the local communities and making them part of larger programs or circuits. In contrast to large museums, local museums should aim at presenting specific sites and items, and should integrate the local populations. Furthermore, site museums can become, in archaeology rich areas, key elements in sustainable community development, contributing to the task of generating opportunities to diversify income through the provision and offer of services and products. To illustrate our points we will present a specific case, the development, in the site of San Jose de Moro, of a Modular Museum System.

### **Archaeology and Museums in the North Coast of Peru**

Starting with Max Uhle in 1899, the North Coast of Peru has been one of the privileged regions for archaeological exploration in the New World (Uhle 1913). Projects of different size and configuration have focused on the Salinar, Virú, Mochica, Transitional, Lambayeque, Chimú and Chimú-Inca periods; and in research subjects such as domestic or monumental architecture, funerary practices, paleoethnobotany, paleozoology, and diet, ceramic sequencing, craft production, origin, apogee, and collapse of societies, social organization, military resources and infrastructure, political and ideological power, religion, iconography, and ritual life (Quilter 2002). Pioneered in a first phase by work done by Max Uhle (1913), Rafael Larco (2001) and the Virú Valley Project (Willey 1953, Strong and Evans 1952), Mochica research features conspicuously as one of the most attractive areas of research in the region. In the second phase of Mochica research, the approximately 40 years between the Virú Project and the discoveries at Sipán, Mochica archaeology was practiced almost exclusively by foreigners, under a scheme of low profile, limited impact, and short term explorations, with little involvement in community development programs (Bawden 1996). The very few archaeological projects in those days were seasonal engagements carried out by North American researchers, or longer programs conducted by doctoral candidates. The only exception to this rule was the Moche Chan Chan Project (MCCP), conducted by Mackey and Moseley, which overtook the exploration of the entire valley of Moche, including its two larger sites, Chan Chan, the capital of the Chimú State, and the Huacas de Moche, the largest and most complex Mochica ceremonial center (Moseley and Day 1982). Under the umbrella of the larger Project several doctoral candidates conducted research leading to the exploration of previously unknown sites, to the study of settlement patterns in the valley and to research on subject such as diet and urban planning, previously undone (i.e. Topic 1977, Pozorski 1976, Bawden 1977). Overall, Peruvian archaeologists participated in these explorations as assistants or collaborators, not having the capacity to determine research lines or to participate in budgetary decisions. Regulation by National Agencies those days, although strict, was aimed at preventing mishaps during excavations and material handling, not at building local capacities.

Up to this point the museum situation in the north coast of Peru was quite weak with only two exemptions: the Larco Museum, originally located in Chiclín, a little town 50 km north of Trujillo had been moved in the mid 50's to Lima, and Lambayeque's Brüning Museum, focused mainly in the rich material culture of its region (Larco 1939). Trujillo had a small and deficient University Museum and a private collection exhibited in the basement of a gas station. Archaeological projects made no effort to include

activities that would raise the awareness of the local population about their cultural heritage. For instance, the Moche Chan Chan Project, the largest single effort to study the north coast, left for the local people very little in terms of archaeological sites that could be visited. Furthermore, MCCP members published very little in Spanish for the local archaeologists and population to appreciate the large amount of information recovered through several years of work<sup>1</sup>. Then, it should be mentioned, no requirement or bylaw made it necessary to include community outreach programs in any archaeological exploration, something that is still the case today. Foreign archaeologists argue that they already had a difficult time raising funds for research and having to deal with the complicated and sometimes obstructionist bureaucracy of the INC, to engage in community extension programs.

In 1987, after the discovery of the Sipán, tombs Mochica archaeology made a sudden and unexpected turn, starting its third phase (Alva and Donnan 1993). Since 1987 the number of archaeological projects focused on the Mochica, the number of researchers and students, publications and scholarly meetings, have multiplied. At the same time, a diversity of subjects is now under research, many times with the use of sophisticated and state of the art techniques for remote sensing, computer management of data bases, biological analysis or materials analysis. Regional approaches are now common, and most of the north coast valleys have already been surveyed, some more than once.

From our standpoint, the two most important transformations occurring after 1987 have been the extension and complexity of the research program conducted on Moche sites and the fact that the leading research program are conducted by Peruvian archaeologists, working many times in collaboration among themselves and with foreign researchers. Four of the largest projects, those centered at Sipán, Huaca de la Luna, Huaca el Brujo, and San José de Moro, have conducted continuous excavations since 1987 (Sipán), and 1991 (the other three). As these projects reached a level of maturation, through a better understanding of the sites and their surrounding regions, the extension of the excavation areas has shown a steady increase, allowing them to address issues of a larger scale. Larger projects have included the participation of specialists in physical anthropology, paleoethnobotany, ceramic analysis, etc. In many instances the larger programs have included subprojects conducted by specialists or doctoral students. The second characteristic, the fact that most of the larger research programs have been conducted by national archaeologists, is in part due to the fact that the year round permanence in the sites is required to conduct these programs, and that only national archaeologist would attempt research strategies that include, for example, dismantling part of a large Huaca to expose previous occupations. Even though it is true that Peruvian archaeologists would have had a better chance to succeed in this kind of situations, several other considerations have to be pointed out.

In the 1980's and 90's, for the first time large numbers of Peruvian archaeologists were admitted in graduate programs, mostly in North America and Europe. Better trained, these graduate students added a new dimension in the way archaeology was done in the North Coast, contributing new interests and concerns, and becoming, for the first time, real counterparts, both for research design as well as for regulation of research activities. At the same time, and for different reasons, Peruvian Corporations, such as Backus and the Wiese Bank were convinced of the promotional opportunities that

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<sup>1</sup> The bibliography of "Moche, Hacia el Final del Milenio" includes 89 references to articles or books published by the most visible participants in the MCCP since the 70's. Out of these, 14 are in Spanish, representing 15.7 percent of the total.

funding large archaeology programs would give them. As discoveries were being made the public's interest in what was going on in the archaeological sites grew. It was evident in regions like Chiclayo, that archaeology could provide new income opportunities, generating revenues in previously unforeseen sectors due to the increasing number of visitors. Soon after, municipal and regional governments, and in a lesser degree national agencies, started to sponsor excavations aimed at the presentation of archaeological sites. Likewise, foreign funding agencies and private foundations, such as the World Monument Fund, the Bruno Foundation of Fresno, the Kon Tiki Museum and UNESCO contributed funds for archeological research and habilitation of sites for touristy purposes. Due in part to the nature of funds, and in part to the motivations of the archaeologists and their interactions with their communities, a new kind of archaeology emerged. This process has resulted in a multitude of strategies to increase the interaction with local communities (Holmquist 1997), and in the implementation of tourist circuits, site museums and regional museums in most of the sites under investigation. In synthesis, changes in the way archaeology is practiced in the north coast of Peru are a combination of better trained researchers, availability of funds, and changes in the conception of the role of archaeology in the development of the region. Ultimately, and under the leadership and patronage of the Backus Foundation, these efforts and motivations have coalesced in the integration of archaeological sites and museums under the "Ruta Moche".

The following table lists the 14 largest or most conspicuous Mochica research programs conducted since 1899. The first three entries correspond to the 1<sup>st</sup> phase of Mochica research, the next four to the 2<sup>nd</sup> phase, and the last seven to the 3<sup>rd</sup> phase. Next to the program the table lists the Principal Investigators and their nationalities, followed by the fact that a site museum activity or a community outreach program was conducted as part of the program.

<b>Projects Name or Site</b>	<b>Principal Investigator (s)</b>	<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Museum</b>
Max Uhle's Excavations (1899)	M. Uhle	Germany	No
Rafael Larco's Excavations (30's)	R. Larco	Perú	Yes
Virú Project (late 40's)	G. Willey, D. Strong, & others	US	No
Moche Chan Chan (70's)	M. Moseley & C. Mackey	US	No
Galindo ( 70's)	G. Bawden	US	No
Pampa Grande (late 70's)	K. Day, I. Shimada	US	No
Chavimochic (late 80's, early 90's)	INC Trujillo	Perú	Yes
Sipán (1987 - today)	W. & S. Alva, L. Chero	Perú	Yes
Huaca de la Luna(1991 - today)	S. Uceda & R. Morales	Perú	Yes
San José de Moro (1991 - today)	L. J. Castillo	Perú	Yes
Huaca el Brujo (1992 - today)	R. Franco, C. Galvez, S. Vasquez	Perú	Yes
Dos Cabezas (90's)	C. Donnan	US	No
Huancaco (late 90's to 2002)	S. Bourget	Canada	No
Valle de Santa (2000 - today)	C. Chapdelaine	Canada	No

This table brings us back to the question raised in the introduction of this paper. It seems that only archeological research programs conducted by Peruvian nationals engage in Museums and community related activities. This, of course is not true in every case, being many the Peruvian programs that have had no impact in their surroundings, and on the hind side, many foreign programs, such as Izumi Shimada's development of the Sicán Museum, or Brian Billman's involvement in the community of Ciudad de Dios, examples of foreign archaeologists deeply involved in the development of the communities where

they carry out their work. What the table shows is a trend, where the tendency is that it is more natural for national to engage while it is rare for foreigners to do so.



The fact that outreach activities, and for instance the implementation of a site museum, would contribute little in the academic advancement of a North American professor, or the fact that the funding agencies will only fund scientific activities and not community development programs, are often cited to explain the sharp national division in terms of the subject discussed here. Keeping a low profile to prevent harassment from the community, or even from the INC is also cited as a reason not to engage in active community programming. One possible solution to this situation was to create a compulsory national academic co-directorship in foreign run projects. The idea was that maybe the national counterpart could handle more efficiently the interactions with communities, bettering their training in the interaction with their co-directors, and becoming a readily available reference for the work done during the project. Regrettably this has not been the case and in most instances the Peruvian co-director has been a paid field archaeologist working for the project. In the worst cases, the co-directorship condition, written into the bylaws several years ago, has created a cast of archaeologists for rent.

It is now time to look in perspective the development of the new condition of an archaeology integrated with community development in the north coast of Peru. In spite of its vast archaeological resources, tourism was not considered in the past as an important source of sustainable development in the North Coast. Traditionally Chan Chan, and in a lesser degree the Brüning Museum were the only archaeological points of interest in the region, adding very little to local economies, and providing very limited indirect employment. This situation changed dramatically since 1987, and the opening for tourism, of Túcume, Sipán and Batán Grande, the Royal Tombs of Sipán and the Sicán Museums, Zaña, San José de Moro, Huaca el Brujo, Huaca de la Luna, the University museum and the Chan Chan site museum in Trujillo, and the Castillo de Tomaval. Other smaller or less known sites as Pampa Grande, Cerro Chépén, Pacatnamú, Dos Cabezas, Cañoncillo, Ascope, Galindo and Huancaco can add new points of interest in the region.

In this process the role of the state, paradoxically has been very limited, being the PI's responsible of obtaining funding for research and habilitation of sites for tourism. The state showed up once the archaeological work was completed, providing funding for infrastructure, but not for archaeological work. For most large projects' PIs it was clear that conducting scholarly investigations was not enough, but that sites needed to be prepared for visitors and artifacts required preservation to be exposed. Under the new scheme of corporate sponsorship there was a pressure to make visible their investment and to give it a social repercussion. At this point we reach the first in a set of problematic situations. Archaeologists are not trained to accomplish the tasks at hand. Implementing sites for visitors, building and furnishing site museums, developing conservation facilities and engaging in multi-million dollars projects to erect Regional Museums is not part of the traditional training of archaeologist. An association with museologists, conservators, architects, urban planners and a large arrangement of experts and technicians followed. Depending on the scale and complexity of the findings different magnitude of operations were developed. For instance, the Sipán tombs and their treasure clearly deserved a large, regional museum that could raise the interest of the whole north coast. Huaca de la Luna and its impressive murals have an equally monumental character. Smaller and more localized or isolated site and findings, such as San José de Moro, or Huaca el Brujo, could only have an impact in a localized area.

### **Modular Museum System at San José de Moro. Things done and lessons learned.**

During the past six years the San Jose de Moro Archaeological Project has developed a community development program centered in the concept of a Modular Museum System (MMS). The MMS concept has been the product of a pragmatic interaction with the community, a limited resource base and the need to make all efforts self-sustainable. Instead of building one large museum in the middle of town or in the archaeological area, we decided for the implementation of a series of small, modular units, not larger, nor more conspicuous than any local house. In this way every field season we could complete at least one new module, adding, step by step to a larger project. The reason why we opted for the modular system is also based in the idea that closely localized modules will invite visitors to walk from one to the next, thus through town, exposing them to what the locals have to offer it in term of products and services. Added to the construction of the modules we have emphasized two parallel programs, one aimed at raising the awareness of the archaeological patrimony in the site, in which the target population is basically school children, and another aimed at the improvement of skills for the development of products based on the local cultural heritage.

San Jose de Moro is located 4 km north of Chepén, the largest city in the Jequetepeque Valley, and 701 km north of Lima. Migrants started settling around the Huacas of San José de Moro in the 50s's. The very few families that settled in San Jose de Moro 50 years ago grew, adding new generations to the occupation of the site. In the 90's there was an expansion of the occupation of the site due in part to corrupt authorities that assigned lots to migrants and to demographic pressure of the traditional inhabitants. The entire settlement rests on top of the archeological remains of a vast occupation area that features a stratigraphy of more than 3 meters, and 1500 years of continuous occupation. The archaeological San Jose de Moro was for most of its history a regional ceremonial center, featuring outstanding burials belonging to the elites of the societies

that lived in the site, particularly the Late Moche. Excavations conducted through town have revealed that the occupation is continuous, thus the entire modern town rests on top of the archaeological site. This was a well known fact to us and, regrettably, to local looters that had destroyed most of the site, including contexts within private houses, before we got there. Nevertheless the site is rich enough to still contain unspoiled sections that properly studied and displayed could portray its long and complex cultural history.

Although the community is aware of the wealth of its undergrounds, little interest and respect has been paid in the past to it, maybe because all of its inhabitant are migrant to the site, many from the immediate highlands of Cajamarca. The lack of continuity from the archaeological past to the present is in part responsible for the depredation of the sites during most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. That is not to say that communities that recognize a direct link with their archaeological past do not engage in looting. Susan Ramirez (Ramírez 2002) has suggested that traditional communities in the north coast, since the 16<sup>th</sup> century transformed their perception of the past from one populated by ancestors, to one that could provide riches through looting. If native communities engaged in looting it was because they feared that not doing so would leave all their ancestral wealth on the hands of greedy Spaniards. The ancestor had accumulated a rich patrimony, a kind of social capital that could be used then to solve pressing economic needs. Looting is not seen traditionally as an illegal activity, quite the contrary, successful looters are praised in local folklore (Holmquist 1996).

Our excavations in Moro started in 1991, first as a co-directed project with Christopher Donnan (1991 and 1992), then as a collaborative project with Carol Mackey and Andrew Nelson (1995 to 1997), and since 1997, directed by Luis Jaime Castillo. The most spectacular findings were done during the first two seasons, when large chamber burials containing the tombs of Late Moche Priestesses were uncovered. Associated with them we found outstanding ceramics, particularly Late Moche Fine Line bottles, stone and shell beads, and metal implements. Elite burials and ceremonial settings at San José de Moro are particular because of the contextual character and complexity of their components, not because they include gold or silver artifacts. During the first years of excavations our attention focused on understanding the basic of the site. Small and restricted excavation areas, aimed at finding burials, were the strategy at hand. As we became more acquainted with the site and the funding base and excavations areas grew, our research strategies changed. First of all, not all elite burials were very rich nor were they Moche. A complex representation of Moche society, the rich and the poor, the young and the old, males and females, were represented in our funerary sample. At the site we found funerary contexts pertaining to the Moche, in at least five chronological phases, Transitional (Rucabado and Castillo 2003), Lambayeque and Chimú, showing the same high degree of variability in gender and wealth-status. But the site was a cemetery only when someone deserving burial there died; for most of its history the site had been a vast ceremonial center, serving the entire Jequetepeque Valley. Burials were, thus, punctual events in a long standing tradition of ceremonial feasting. Next to the burials we found a wealth of information of Chicha (maize beer) production and consumption, and other related ceremonial activities, all included in a continuous occupational history of more than 1000 years. San Jose de Moro, as many other specialized ceremonial centers provided cohesion for communities otherwise disconnected, and power to elites that controlled and manipulated the rituals performed there. Excavations have continued without interruptions on a seasonal basis, but with activities almost year round. Our

research questions have taken us outside of the site, and into the immediate Jequetepeque region. For the past several years, members of the project are conducting surveys of specific areas in the valley, as well as limited excavations of key sites. It is likely that in the next years our research questions will take us to Pampa Grande, the other Late Moche site in the northern North Coast.

One unexpected aspect of our first years of work at the site was the interest that the research provoked in people that visited us, particularly the local SJM residents. People in town, as well as most educated visitors, had never seen an archaeological excavation, nor have seen funerary and ceremonial context, as they were uncovered. Almost immediately after we open work at SJM we started to hear from the locals their interest in being able to see the findings and to show them to other people. These first experiences were an educational process. Locals, many of whom had been looters at some point, had never seen funerary contexts fully exposed. They all knew that there were rich tombs below their feet, and they even knew what these burials could produce, but they had never seen a real burial, with real dead people. Suddenly a sense of attachment grew in the community. When the Priestesses burials were found in Moro in 1991 and 1992, we were surprised by the sudden identification of the locals, particularly women, with the hypothetical characters that were produced by the archaeologists. The local residents wanted something left behind to be shown to visitor and to their own children. Several years into the project the mayor of Chepén, Mr. Lorenzo Sanchez embraced the idea of using the preliminary results of the excavations to launch a cultural program in town. A public park in Chepén was decorated with Moche iconographic motives and a 5 meters tall statue of the Priestess was erected in the intersection of the main road in town and the Pan American highway. Now, a larger than life female, goblet in hand, greets the visitors that come into town and anyone that travels through this region of the North Coast of Peru.

In 1998 we finally felt confident enough of our understanding of the site, and of the support of the community and its authorities to develop an exhibition strategy. Our original idea was to build a small module directly on top of the spot where the burial of the Priestess was found. This was not feasible, because the spot had been since somewhat damaged. Alternative sites for the location module were discussed with the community, and finally it was decided that the best spot was a vacant area where the community had long lasted a "plaza". As the module was being built with resources from the project, the Bruno Foundation and the Municipality of Chepén, the community organized itself and the plaza was finally put together. The inauguration of the first exhibition module thus coincided with the inauguration of the main plaza of San Jose de Moro. As we were dealing with the issue of how to build the module, how large to make it, what services to include and where to place it, several concepts came up to mind that ended up shaping the way the project had developed since. It was very clear that although a big effort had to be made to put together the module, maintenance on the long run would not be easy to address. The Module could not be made of materials that could not withstand time or weather, nor it could be done with services that would require paying monthly bills. It was evident that at least at the beginning few if any visitors would show up. We decide to build the module using only local expertise, materials and construction techniques, so that if any maintenance was required it could be done locally. No services (running water and electricity) were required because we did not expected nightly visitors, and these services, anyway, were not available in town. What to exhibit was another issue to deal with. We decided that the first Module had to feature the Tomb of the Priestesses because

every visitor that comes to Moro want to see the “real” Priestess as she was found. In the implementation of the tomb no “originals” could be used, thus replicas were made and set in the tomb in such way that removal is almost impossible.

Our discussion of form and content, location and purpose led us to the development of the idea that whatever we did had to be self supportive in the long run, and had to contribute to a larger scheme of community development. The idea to develop a number of Modules, now that we had seen that one was possible, came to mind. We had no funds, nor intention, to build a mammoth museum, larger than any structure in town and alienating all the local residents. We wanted to start and complete each season one module, fully furnished to have, at the end of the process a sequence of modules that could tell the story of San Jose de Moro in the past and in the present. Modules were easily made by local masons and their maintenance would require very little work by the projects guard on site.

Based on these ideas we developed a plan for nine modules that would be built through town and through several years. Although each module should be different, adapting to the kind of context exhibited, they all should be small and sturdy. Our second module was built next to the primary school in town. We managed to get a donation of a prefabricated structure from the local Eternit firm, which constructed to our specification a 50 sq meter single room structure. Our idea was to locate inside a children’s museum. Although the idea is still very much in place, we have not been successful in finding a museums person interested in implementing a children’s museum. Instead we lent the second module to the Primary school for classroom use. At least the children in Moro got a classroom much better than the others they have. We have also help built new toilet services for the school children associated to this module. It is our intention to pursue the furnishing of the children’s museum, but sharing its use with the local school.

For the third Module we decided to follow on a trend started by the Huaca de la Luna and El Brujo projects, that is to exhibit a real excavation area where relevant findings have been made under a roof constructed with bamboo and reed. At SJM we selected and prepared a large 144 sq. m. area, 3 meters deep, where Late Moche, Transitional and Lambayeque burials were found. Each burial was prepared with imitation skeletons and copies of the original pottery. A stairway was set in place so that visitor could walk into the area experiencing the complex stratigraphy and the superposition of archeological findings. The third module is, thus a visit to a real archaeological unit, where the contextual and associative character of burials of different periods can be inspected. The fourth module is guardhouse, storehouse and research facility where we could also receive visitors, or set up tables for material analysis. For the development of the third and fourth Modules the Bruno Foundation and the Municipality of Chepén, plus the PASJM contributed funds.

Finally, the fifth module was a project developed in conjunction with the Backus Foundation and the “Ruta Moche Program”. This module is a children’s archaeological activity module. Using an old excavation area we have implemented activities where groups of children can dig and find a Pre-Columbian cooking and storage facility, including large vessels, hearths, grinding stones and refuse areas; a pre-Columbian tomb including its matrix and associated ceramic and metal findings; and a little shrine decorated with complex mural paintings. Groups of children, ages 10 to 13, come to the site twice a week and dig the units and “discover” artifacts and contexts. Their activities consist of the excavation and interpretation of the findings. Since we have two settings of each kind, two groups can contrast their interpretations and reach a better understanding

of the type of settings they were studying. This activity Module is aimed at school kids from SJM and from the larger Chepén School district.

To this point, and with a lot of help from friends and patrons, we have implemented five Modules in SJM. We have plans to roof a very interesting area next to Module 2 where we find outstanding Transitional burials, and to start excavations inside town to localize future modules next to the actual houses. Our plans have run into two unexpected aspect problems. First, although it would be better to place modules evenly through town it is actually more interesting for visitor to visit real settings, where matrixes are original. This would not be a problem in SJM, were almost in any spot we could find real and interesting settings. The problem is that the need to place the modules evenly so that the attractiveness of the site is raised and to create contact points between visitors and the community has collided with local interests. The second problem we have found is resistance from some locals to place modules inside town, next to dwellings. Some residents fear that finding archaeological contexts and artifacts next to their houses could lead to an expropriation of their property by the INC. The ownership of land in the site is rather unstable because of the archaeological nature of all the area, thus residents have what is technically a possession of their lots rather than a real property. Regrettably long term development plans are faced with resistance by poor communities due to their needs to satisfy short term necessities, to a long history of unfulfilled promises and exploitation by unscrupulous individuals and politicians, and particularly by endemic local factionalism. Last but not least, one of the worst problems that we have encountered to organize the community around a development program is, contradictorily, the assistance of government and ONG run social programs. Poor communities such as SJM can find assistance, generally food, for nothing, on the hands of ONG's, particularly confessional ones. Why would they work or plan ahead under those conditions?

**Final Remarks: From Cultural Patrimony to Cultural Resources.**



The bottom line of this essay has been to sustain the idea that if cultural patrimony is transformed into cultural resources, schemes for sustainable community development are possible. Actors in this process are both the archaeologists and the communities, both at the local and regional level (in Peru this means working with local,

municipal and provincial governments). But as much as we need to recognize that not all archaeologists are trained to pursue successfully these kinds of programs, communities might lack the vision and the leadership to embark in their own development. For archaeologist this would mean outsourcing their programs with experts in development, health, education, material culture, tourism, technology and social organization. Additionally it might be interesting to consider the rational of including some elements of developmental theory in the basic training of archaeologists. On the side of the communities it might be important to recognize the pivotal role of local leaders sensible to cultural resources. In many cases municipal governments have hired archaeologists in their stable staff to overtake the tasks of monitoring and devising programming based in their cultural resources. Archaeological patrimony, because of its peculiar conditions and needs, requires properly trained people, otherwise action over it becomes detrimental.

In our understanding real development happens only if there is a real benefit for the local people. From this standpoint all activities should be aimed at contributing to personal development in terms of identity, pride and identification. Equally important aims are the development of self and community respect, the insertion in the civil society and the adherence to its fundamental values. But if the activities do not aim at the same time at the development of income, based in a rational exploitation of cultural resources then it will be doom to fail. Activities have to include an aspect of income generation through the creation of service and products that take advantage of the competitive opportunities of each community, such as local natural resources and traditional technologies. This kind of development should be sustainable, self supportive and should not contribute to the degradation of the environment or the archaeological resources; should not contribute to economic dependency and should combat the labor exploitation. Some successful examples of this kind of development are already in progress. In Túcume, for example, the archaeological excavations were followed by the construction of a local museum and a resource center. Lately a group of designers and artists, the Grupo Axius form the Universidad Católica have been helping the community to develop a line of artifacts, basically silver jewelry, with the iconography and designs recovered from the excavations. Archaeological research has to be also conducted in parallel to the developmental programming, to give all the activities a sense of legitimacy based on the real research. Furthermore, it is a known fact in archaeology that visitors to archaeological sites are equally interested in the work done by archaeologists than in the site itself. In the Huaca de la Luna Project, for example, archaeological findings are publicized gradually, to meet the demands of the visitors and the interest of the media, and to coincide with the high seasons. This has resulted in much larger crowds visiting the site and much more public exposure of their work.

Sustaining that cultural patrimony has to be transformed into cultural resources, does not mean that we think that the “use” of the archaeological remain itself (i.e. visiting the site) will be a source of important income (with very rare exceptions) neither for the community nor for the state agency in charge of their custody, depending on the case. The “paying for viewing” choice of exploitation of an archaeological remain is really an absurd. We are even talking about national goods. Thus, archaeology is only revealing the appealing qualities of the site, and if it is well presented, its attractiveness will account for the desire to visit it and therefore, generate a chance to produce local goods and services to attend the demands of the visiting public. These goods and services should nevertheless achieve an adequate standard of quality and be offered in a safe and appealing environment. Needless to say, goods and services ought to be of local

production in order to have a larger impact in the local community, both through production and commercialization.

One final thought has to be given to the operating agents. As we said above it is quite complicated to engage with the internal politics of communities. Factionalism is the rule rather than the exception and satisfaction of immediate needs is the outcome of years of neglect by the State, of a terrible education system and of the assistential policies implemented by ONG's. To engage in the kind of activities described here it seems necessary to find special individuals that will either lead the community or that would take advantage of the opportunities. Leaders with the appropriate quota of sensibility and commitment to long term programs are rare, but exist. We have found them among the most educated members of the community: schoolteachers, craftsmen and some times the same people that work in our archaeological programs. These individuals have to become role models for their communities, and they should pursue their own improvement and through it that of their communities. Once the process has started it is obvious that the conduction has to shift from the archaeologists to the local leaders.